

EDINBORO UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

PITCHING PATRIARCHY: WOMEN, GENDER, AND MUSIC DURING WWII

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BY

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Pitching Patriarchy:

Women, Music, and Gender During WWII

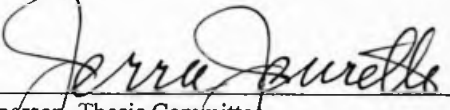
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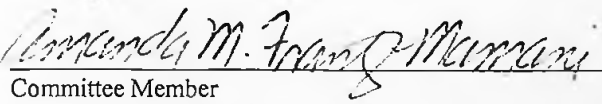
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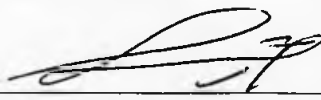
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INTRODUCTION

A culture's music reveals much about its values, and music in the World War II era was no different. It served to unite both military and civilian sectors in a time of total war. Annegret Fauser explains that music, "A medium both permeable and malleable was appropriated for numerous war related tasks."¹ When one realizes this principle, it becomes important to understand how music affected individual segments of American society. By examining women's roles in the performance, dissemination, and consumption of music, this thesis attempts to position music as a tool in perpetuating the patriarchal gender relations in America during World War II.

This thesis will provide a general background of how women musicians, both Caucasian and African-American, were subject to idealized standards of beauty and gender prejudice within their profession as musicians. Monographs by Fauser, Sullivan, Jones, Lang, and Tucker will be analyzed to provide readers with a complete picture of the current state of historiography concerning music of the World War II era and its importance to American culture. Real life examples of how women were forced into patriarchal norms within their work environments will add credence to the concept that song narrative story lines served an integral purpose in perpetuating patriarchal gendered standards during World War II. Song storylines will then be analyzed to demonstrate that it was a vital medium by which patriarchal

¹ Annegret Fauser, *The Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 195, Kindle.

standards of gender were demonstrated to men and women who were exposed to music regardless of race. However, tropes for African-American women differed from those of their white counterparts. This thesis will address their unique challenges performed by a sample of African-American women artists.

Sherry Tucker traces idealized standards of femininity for both African-American and Caucasian musicians in her book *Swing Shift: All Girl Bands of the 1940's*. This work sets a precedence that females of all races were subject to ideal standards of beauty, and moreover that these standards influenced the way music as an institution was packaged to the public. Tucker's work is important because it shows that the subject of music and culture is one which can be analyzed through a historical lens.

In addition to analyzing idealized standards of femininity which bands employed by the civilian sector were subject to, this paper will also analyze the practice of recruiting female musicians in a non-professional capacity alongside their soldiering duties. Jill M. Sullivan's work *Bands of Sisters: The Importance of Military Bands During World War II* will provide information on this topic.

Through analysis of both music made for the armed forces and that was played on the home front, some of the characteristics and traits which fictional men and women embodied in song storylines can be seen. The current study will add to the historiography of musicology in World War II as it will fully examine idealized archetypes of gender norms captured in song storylines which both men and women

in the armed forces and on the home front had the potential to consume through listening to music provided in these samples.

The methodology for this project will focus on the idealized characteristics and behaviors embodied through song narrative. This thesis will also address real life women's contributions to music as an institution during World War II, and the challenges they faced to be seen as professional women during this time period. By examining both women's roles within the labor force of music, as well as their fictional portrayals through song narrative, this paper will shed light on the gendered nature of music during World War II.

In order to accomplish this task, a survey of songs from the Victory Disc (V-Disc) collection, made exclusively for use by the armed forces, will be analyzed. Home front gender norms, as expressed through music, will also be analyzed by examining the top ten songs for the war years, 1941-1945. This will be done through the use of Top 40 charts for these years.

African-American women musicians, as well as their fictional counterparts portrayed in song, faced special and unique challenges different from Caucasian women. These differing versions of idealized womanhood will be analyzed in an effort to present a more complete picture of all women who participated, or were portrayed, in music during World War II. After discussing the fictional portrayal of women within song narrative, the author will discuss the implications of this research

in understanding popular culture's role in maintaining patriarchal gender relationships during World War II.

Although classical music was an integral part of the World War II musical landscape, military bands and those in the civilian sector focused more on dance numbers and instrumental pieces related to entertainment.² In addition, classical music is not traditionally lyrically focused. The purpose of this thesis is to examine how lyrical content showed normative gender behavior and stereotypes to the Americans who were listening. Classical music's lack of lyrics places it in a subordinate position within this thesis.

² Jill M. Sullivan, *Bands of Sisters: Women's Military Bands during WWII* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc. 2011), 20.

CHAPTER 1: HISTORIOGRAPHY

A brief historiography reveals that works dealing with women's participation, dissemination, and portrayal in music of the World War II era assists readers in perceiving women's roles in music during World War II with an emphasis on how these respective roles as performers in music, housewives who consumed it, and fictional characters within song narrative, served to place women firmly within an idealized patriarchal structure.

This historiography will detail seven works which deal with the themes of music and gender noting their combined impact on World War II. These are: *Sounds of War: Music in the United States During World War II*, by Annegret Fauser; Jill M. Sullivan's *Bands of Sisters: The Importance of Women's Military Bands During WWII*; Jane Bowers and Judith Tick's collection *Women Making Music The Western Art Tradition 1150-1950; A History of Military Music in American*; and John Bush Jones' *The Songs that Fought the War: Popular Music and the Homefront*. In addition to these works, Sherry Tucker's *Swing Shift: All Girl Bands in the 1940's* along with Heather Lang's *The Gendered Score* will also be analyzed.

Annegret Fauser's work, *The Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II*, explores the connection between government and civilian agencies which influenced the production of music. Her main argument, that music as a "medium both permeable and malleable" was conscripted to fulfill numerous duties during the war including recuperation for injured soldiers, cultural uplift,

entertainment, education and perhaps most importantly, propaganda.³ Many Patrons of the Arts questioned how best to contribute to the war effort. The result of this questioning led them to take jobs and be "...involved with the propaganda missions of the Office of War Information".⁴

It was not only musicians and composers who fully mobilized for the war effort by using their musical talents, but educators, scholars, and hostesses of popular music venues and nightclubs also did their part as well.⁵ Fauser states that their motivation for standing by the war effort was not solely generated out of an increased sense of patriotism, but rather states, "indeed, all aspects of musical production and reception was retooled... lest classical music be considered irrelevant."⁶ Popular acts often changed their venues to army camps and bases rather than theaters and auditoriums.⁷ Many people involved with music during World War II were concerned that their craft would not be valid while others conceived music as an important means to win the war.⁸

Fauser explains that while men could request to be placed in musical capacities during their military service such as bandleaders, women were confined to general military service. It was not until 1943, with the advent of the Women's Marine Corps reserve band, that military women were hired exclusively as

² Ibid., 4.

⁴ Ibid., 15.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 17.

musicians.⁹ This new hiring practice did not necessarily guarantee women a quality position alongside their male counterparts. Often, their duties were relegated to performing mainly for injured soldiers and bond drives.¹⁰

After detailing the general policy for musicians who participated within the context of the military, Fauser draws attention to the overall perception musicians created for classical music during World War II. This overarching concept was referred to by musicians and the public alike as “good music”.¹¹ The idea was that through classical music soldiers could gain not only enjoyment but uplift, education, and social mobility.¹² Fauser explains, “...good music could affect its listeners not just by immediate [medical impact] ... but also in the longer-term, by educating soldiers, especially those from underprivileged backgrounds.”¹³

She references music collector Harry Fatterman’s establishment of the Armed Forces Master records.¹⁴ This organization was designed to gather and establish records that would then be offered at record libraries for soldiers to use at home and overseas.¹⁵ Fauser details the different organizations, both governmental and private, which held sway over music’s dissemination and performance in the 1940’s, explaining while the United States Office of War Information (OWI) did use music in a great many of its campaign projects, “its endeavors were but one strand of a

⁹ Ibid., 19.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 66.

¹² Ibid., 3.

¹³ Ibid., 77.

¹⁴ Ibid., 66.

¹⁵ Ibid. These were musical records made from shellac, mostly, as vinyl was in short supply.

complex fabric.”¹⁶ Control over music was desired by a variety of organizations such as the United Service Organizations (USO), the State Department, the military, and the Pan American Union among others, as they vied for powerful positions of influence over American music.¹⁷

Fauser points out that these organizations did not spontaneously generate during the war years, rather most of them had their predecessors in organizations created by the New Deal. Fauser expounds on the similarity of these agencies as she explains that the time period did not cause significant change in the agency’s function, that “...the agency’s collective, if sometimes conflicting goals, encompassed propaganda, morale, entertainment, diplomacy, and rehabilitation... of injured servicemen.”¹⁸ Fauser then explains that although some of these agencies were far from perfect, particularly those influencing Arts and Culture, their structure and networking base was extensive, allowing them to influence the musical landscape during the war years.¹⁹

Once Fauser establishes the pervasiveness of music within this framework, she then sets classical music apart from the rest of the musical hierarchy. She explains that classical music, during the 1940’s, embodied aesthetic, moral and diplomatic features that were attributed to the idea of good music.²⁰ Fauser demonstrates how these goals were achieved by each of the organizations involved in promoting music,

¹⁶ Ibid., 76.

¹⁷ Ibid., 289.

¹⁸ Ibid., 76.

¹⁹ Ibid., 77.

²⁰ Ibid.

whether it was a special production kit issued by the Army including classical numbers for the soldiers to sing, neoclassical musical pieces based off of American folk traditions, or by instituting patriotic opera, spotlighting America's musical superiority.²¹

Fauser also highlights women in her study of music's role in World War II culture. She highlights women by discussing their roles as hostesses and performers of music for soldiers stationed overseas. She discusses how men and women were photographed attentively listening to music in harsh environments, and how the female presence reminded soldiers of women whom they had left behind to go to war. This in turn gave them comfort according to Fauser's sources.²²

Although women are featured sparingly in Fauser's book, she demonstrates that they were a vital part in the dissemination of music to soldiers. Furthermore, by performing music and offering men comfort in doing so, it can be inferred that women played a vital role in influencing society's view of music, as well as participating in a patriarchal system which placed them in traditional roles of comforters and allowed men to feel reaffirmed in their own masculinity. According to Fauser, music served as a means of cultural uplift as it served to elevate soldiers' cultural understanding and as a morale boosting tool.²³ This philosophy was dubbed "Good music" and Fauser states that music during the 1940's transcended both work and class environments.²⁴ Lastly, because sources show that music performed by

²¹ Ibid., 33.

²² Ibid., 13.

²³ Ibid., 6.

²⁴ Ibid., 13

female musicians was comforting to soldiers, it is reasonable to conclude that soldiers saw these women as conforming to idealized gender roles of women as comforters.

Annegret Fauser's work established the belief that music helped soldiers remember idealized behavior for themselves and their female counterparts. Furthermore, the women who performed music for soldiers were often categorized as good women because they were conforming to prescribed gender roles.²⁵ This theme of good women is also shown in the musical numbers performed by women in both the V-Disc collection and Home front popular music. Fauser's work should be viewed as an important contribution to gender and music's combined impact on World War II culture in America as it demonstrates that women were placed into traditional roles which allowed men to maintain their place within the gendered hierarchy of World War II.

Another monograph which sheds light on women's participation in music and its patriarchal nature is *From Spirituals to Symphonies: African American Women Composers and Their Music*.²⁶ This work highlights six composers whose careers spanned into the 1990's, however four composers fall within the World War II period for music. Their respective biographies and the accompanying synopses of social issues taking place during their careers provides insight into the general struggle of female African-American composers during World War II. For this reason, *From Spirituals to Symphonies* should be seen as an important work in understanding the

²⁵ Ibid., 39.

²⁶ Helen Walker-Hill, *From Spirituals to Symphonies: African-American Women Composers and Their Music* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press 2007).

female African-American composers' place in World War II culture. This work deals exclusively with composers and arrangers of music, not the musicians who performed it. Because many African-American musicians performed in bands, individual biographies are scarce. In addition, many African-American musicians and singers who performed popular music did not write their own material, and this material was often written by whites.²⁷

Another author who discusses the importance of women contributing to music's development during World War II is Jill M. Sullivan. Her work *Bands of Sisters: Women's Military Bands During WWII*, showcases the little-known world of military women's contribution to music during the war.²⁸ She argues that many scholars of music operate under the misconception that women only entered military music's domain in the 1970's after military units became desegregated.²⁹ Her monograph suggests that women in the armed forces contributed heavily to military performance of music during World War II. She uses primary sources such as newspaper articles and photo captions from popular periodicals concerned with military music to show that women were an indispensable part of the war effort.³⁰

She also interviewed 73 members of WAC Bands to find that these women had a largely positive attitude of the work they performed during the war.³¹ She stressed the fact that the women she interviewed were motivated through a sense of

²⁷ Charles Eugene Claghorn, *Biographical Dictionary of American Music* (West Nyack, NY: Parker Publishing Company, Inc., 1973),

²⁸ Sullivan, *Bands of Sisters: Women's Military Bands during WWII*, 1.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 67.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

duty and patriotism to their country.³² She emphasized women's dual roles through music stating that they both performed military duties for male and female troops by playing Reveille and Taps, while at the same time using their music talents to influence public opinion about the war.³³ By highlighting this duality, it becomes clear that although female military musicians were fulfilling the non-traditional role of soldier they also conformed to normative gender behavior by entertaining large portions of the public.³⁴

Another portion of Sullivan's work which highlights the gendered and patriarchal dimensions of World War II is her portrayal of women soldiers after they had completed their standard military ensembles. She states that shortly after the war, most women's military bands were transferred to hospitals. After their transfer, the women in these bands performed numbers for injured soldiers, and in Sullivan's words "became some of the first music therapists".³⁵ The medical role that women military musicians played during World War II reinforces the idea that it was acceptable for women during this time period to be a caretaker and provider to their male counterparts while they were ill.

Sullivan's work is an important manuscript in understanding the gender dimensions of World War II music because it demonstrates that music provided a culturally acceptable way for women to participate in military service while at the same time conforming to naturally stereotypical roles of comforter to ailing men. It

³² Ibid., 6.

³³ Ibid., 8.

³⁴ Ibid., 5.

³⁵ Ibid., 8.

serves to highlight the burgeoning intersection between musicology gender studies and the World War II time period.

In addition to highlighting the intersection between gender and patriarchal standards, and music of World War II, Sullivan's work serves to cast female military musicians as examples of socially acceptable women. Sullivan references the fact that female soldiers who did not participate in music were likely to be labeled as less womanly. She references scholar Lesley Myers' argument that the public thought that service in the military for women either meant that women who joined the military were sexually deviant or that service in the military would make them that way.³⁶ From this evidence, historians are able to see that music itself played a vital role in maintaining the patriarchy during World War II by allowing women who performed music to take on traditional roles such as caretaking, while at the same time fulfilling their duties as soldiers.

Music provided a framework by which women could remain in patriarchal positions which the public admired while taking on new military responsibilities to meet wartime needs which eased anxiety over public fears of women losing their femininity. This theme of women's presence as a comforting force to men is heavily emphasized in the music of the time period. Furthermore, songs of World War II also emphasize women's need to help out with the war effort and public anxiety over women's deviant behavior.

Jane Bowers and Judith Tick's collection *Women Making Music The Western*

³⁶ Ibid., 12.

Art Tradition 1150-1950 shows that before World War II anxiety over women's production of music in a professional capacity was rampant. For instance, their chapters concerning the Renaissance era demonstrate that women were only allowed to perform or compose music within liturgical institutions as an act of praising God rather than for their own professional advancement. Additionally, court singers in Venice, Italy who were often associated with prostitution depended entirely on the patronage of males in order to survive.³⁷ From this evidence, readers are able to realize that music and women's place in it was largely constrained by notions of womanhood throughout many eras including the World War II time period.

Sullivan builds on the theme of women's place in music being constrained by notions of womanhood when she discusses how many of the band members she interviewed built upon their prior musical experience with the School Band Movement of the 1920's and 1930's. This shows that before these women were recruited for musical duties by the military, their musical endeavors were still not professional as they were largely confined to school concerts and performances for which they did not receive a wage.³⁸

Another work, *A History of Music in the Military*, demonstrates that music itself was seen as an important part of military culture as early as the pre-revolutionary era. Starting with the formation of the Continental army, regiments had paid positions for band leaders of fife and drum corp. These fife and drum men were

³⁷ *Women Making Music The Western Art Tradition 1150-1950*. ed. Judith Bowers and Jane Tick (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 1986), 62-89

³⁸ Sullivan, *Bands of Sisters: Women's Military Bands during WWII*, 5.

responsible for using music to orchestrate camp activities such as reveille or taps, and even used drumming as a form of communication.³⁹ After the Revolutionary War, these regimental bands often reestablished themselves within the civilian sector playing for hotels and charity balls. By the 1860's most bands had increased their instrumentation to include bugle, clarinets, and other brass instruments. Furthermore, state loyalty among bands was prominent.⁴⁰

Despite these circumstance, which show music's importance to military functions, it was often not easy to organize a full fledge band because of its conflict with soldiering duties. This was particularly evident in the Mexican-American War. Due to the heavy fighting, many regimental bands were forced to give up practice time to fight at the front lines. From this evidence, readers are able to conclude that music was seen as an important part of military life before World War II, but that it often came into conflict with the duties of soldiers.⁴¹ Additionally, one can see that with the exception of military bands, which played at hotel balls or charity functions, little of this music was brought to the public on a mass scale.⁴² Finally, since World War II was the first war where American females were incorporated into regular units, this was the first time that they added to the functions of military music and were used as the public face of morale boosting activities.

Another author who contributes to the historiography of music during the

³⁹ William Carter White, *A History of Military Music in America*. (Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1975.), 20.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 40.

World War II era and gender's impact on this medium is John Bush Jones. His work *The Songs That Fought the War: Popular Music and the Home Front, 1939-1945*, discusses the music industry and music's important role in war time culture. He states that although he has a personal interest in wartime music, *The Songs That Fought the War* is not just a project to satisfy his own interest, rather he states, the project was "to fill a void".⁴³ He further elaborates that while writing a work on the importance of the American musical during World War II he came across books on a variety of subjects dealing with everything from journalism to cooking.⁴⁴ However, when he was trying to find books on popular music during the war, the pool of available texts was greatly limited. He states, "I became aware that while there are good, comprehensive full-length books about war-related journalism, movies, and even cooking, there is no comparable comprehensive account of popular music related to the war."⁴⁵

Jones attempted to construct a comprehensive volume by analyzing over 1,700 songs dealing with war related subject matter to depict its impact on the home front during World War II.⁴⁶ He states that these songs were those which the American public during World War II would already have access to.⁴⁷ He states that, "The body of songs... represents... the songs that were heard, or had the best chance

⁴³ John Bush Jones, *The Songs That Fought the War; Popular Music and The Home Front, 1939-1945* (Waltham, MA; Brandeis University Press, 2006), IX.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., X.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

of being heard, by large segments of the American public.”⁴⁸

Finally, after laying out his methodology, Jones discusses exactly why the music of World War II should be acknowledged as a vital part of the history of the war. He states, that World War II’s music especially within the pop genre is, “singular” because of the large number of songs produced during this time period which provided insight into American life during World War II.⁴⁹ While Jones’ work mainly addresses how musical tastes change over the course of the war, chapters 10, 11, and 12 portray a variety of themes encapsulated in World War II love songs. Jones states that in the early stages of the war, these love songs were often playful and flirtatious.⁵⁰ As soldiers began to be sent overseas near the end of the war love ballads, according to Jones, become more sentimental.⁵¹ These love songs often dealt with a soldier being away from his wife and sweetheart.⁵² Jones’ final chapter concerning love songs, chapter 12, deals with life after the war and songs that portrayed soldiers coming home.⁵³

While Jones’ work does discuss themes within popular music when related to the home front his work is concerned with capturing American life through music. Unlike the current thesis, Jones does not discuss music exclusively made for the armed forces. Furthermore, although he devotes part of his manuscript to World War II love songs, he is analyzing how much air play certain songs received or how they

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 219.

⁵¹ Ibid., 227.

⁵² Ibid., 236.

⁵³ Ibid., 273.

were viewed by the people who heard them.⁵⁴ He does not analyze the characters within World War II song story lines in a gendered context. However, Jones' work should be considered an important contribution to the importance of popular music during World War II because of its concern with lyrical content. Jones' work sets a precedent that the American public enjoyed songs which cast men and women into already accepted patriarchal roles such as that of fighting man for men and sweetheart for women.⁵⁵ Furthermore, Jones' research provides historians with evidence that as wartime labor and cultural needs were dying down soldiers who were listening to wartime music craved songs about a return to normalcy.⁵⁶ This normalcy consisted of women taking their normal and patriarchal place as wives and mothers while men were granted a peaceful world in return for their service.

Author Heather Lang captures the popular culture of World War II music published from this era in a more explicitly gendered context than does Jones. Her work focuses primarily on the portrayal of relationships between men and women presented through music scores.⁵⁷ She states that films made during this era use a distinct type of music to signal when a female character is entering and leaving a particular movie scene.⁵⁸ After setting the stage for music's importance in portraying females and males in 1940's film, Lang elaborates on the differences between the varying types of music used. Music used to portray women's scenes often predisposes

⁵⁴ Ibid., XI.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 236.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Heather Lang, *The Gendered Score: Music in 1940's Melodrama and the Women's Film* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 7.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 1.

listeners to think of them as irrational and distant from their rational male counterparts.⁵⁹ Furthermore, she says that this music often does not reflect women's characters' inner most thoughts but is used in the background to highlight the overall mood of the scene.⁶⁰

Another important aspect of Lang's work, which will be useful to the current project, is the fact that she highlights that gender is a multifaceted concept, and that women cannot be properly analyzed in a gendered context without analyzing contrasting portrayals of their male counterparts. She states, "Music shares a long and complex historical relationship with cultural concepts of women, men, 'femininity', 'masculinity', human emotionality and self-expression."⁶¹ From this evidence historians are able to infer that music is influenced by a patriarchal framework that was present during World War II. It is this core assumption that will be analyzed within the context of World War II. Thus, Heather Lang's work should be considered an integral part of the historiography of music and gender during World War II. While Lang's work examines women portrayed in the acts of making music, she also examines the difference between them and their male counterparts.⁶² The current work seeks to analyze narrative storylines that deal with ordinary men and women, not solely musicians.

A final work which captures patriarchal standard's impact on women's performance and dissemination of music is Sherry Tucker's *Swing Shift: All Girl*

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., 2.

⁶² Ibid., 4.

Bands in the 1940's. This work reconstructs histories of such popular all girl bands such as The Hour of Charm, The International Sweethearts of Rhythm, The Prairieview Coeds, and The Darlings of Rhythm, as well as touching upon how women bands worked together with the USO to promote soldier's welfare. Tucker begins her work by explaining how women both, African-American and Caucasian women, had to live up to ideal standards of femininity set for them by male managers.⁶³ The theme of music as a non-professional activity of women caused many problems in the 1940's for members of swing bands. As Tucker explains, many of these band members had been working for decades before the war and intended to keep working in a professional capacity. However, the public image of these members was often equated with women making music for company or, at best, a Rosie the Riveter like figure who was expected to give up her job after the war.⁶⁴ In order for women to make money making music, they had to carefully balance the new patriotic temporary worker image created for them with the realities of their full time musicianship.

She also explains how jazz and swing music were often perceived as promiscuous when women performed them because many of the instruments were seen as inherently male.⁶⁵ For this reason, band managers often emphasized costumes or women's ability to charm rather than their actual capability for musical

⁶³ Sherry Tucker, *Swing Shift: All Girl Bands in the 1940's* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 771, Kindle.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 445.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 217.

employment.⁶⁶ After discussing the gendered challenges, which all women faced in order to participate in jazz and swing music as a profession, she delves deeply into the struggles of women musicians of color.⁶⁷ Due to the fact that Tucker not only captures the gendered nature of women's employment in the music industry, but also the constructed images of femininity perpetuated by male band leaders in order to get them bookings, this work is invaluable to the current project as it suggests that the simple act of playing music was inherently subject to patriarchal norms even before the content of musical numbers are analyzed.⁶⁸

Taken together, the works of Fauser, Lang, Sullivan, Tucker, and Jones demonstrate that the music of World War II was highly influenced by constructs of gender. Jones and Fauser capture the idea that the government had a vested interest in attempting to control what music the public and soldiers overseas were subjected to. This interest was driven by a desire to maintain the inherent toughness of men and comforting nature of women. Jill M. Sullivan's work shows that the desire of the government to portray women as comforters of men actually played out in practice as women soldiers who saw opportunities to be gainfully employed, many for the first time in their lives, eventually were reassigned to hospitals.⁶⁹ Once there, these women became responsible for the rehabilitation of male soldiers, thereby ultimately casting their musical abilities into an acceptable gender framework.⁷⁰ This framework was

⁶⁶ Ibid., 317.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 299.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 773.

⁶⁹ Sullivan, *Bands of Sisters: Women's Military Bands during WWII*, 13.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 24.

conceived not from women's desire to be gainfully employed, but rather out of their ability to restore men to health and boost morale.

Author Heather Lang demonstrates that in addition to the gendered nature of government agendas and women's employment practices within the military as musicians, music was used as a tool to affect how fictional women were perceived by the public. She emphasizes that the music played to introduce women in film often led the public to believe that they were less rational and more emotional than their male counterparts.⁷¹ By analyzing both men and women, Lang establishes that music during the World War II era had the capacity to influence public perception. Moreover, this perception was distinctly differentiated based on a character's sex.⁷²

Finally, Tucker's work demonstrates that women who were employed by the private sector could not escape the influence of gender norms and patriarchal standards. Although they did not play a direct role in the rehab of soldiers, they were judged negatively by the instruments they played and required to live up to ideal standards of femininity in order to make a living.⁷³ Lastly, and perhaps most important, Tucker sheds light on the unique struggles that women musicians of color faced during the World War II era. Understanding the differences in discriminatory practices based on skin color helps to highlight the intersectionality between gender, music, and race during World War II.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Lang, *The Gendered Score: Music in 1940's Melodrama and the Women's Film*, 1-4.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷³ Tucker, *Swing Shift: All Girl Bands in the 1940's*, 664.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 3303.

A brief summary of the intention of the authors of these works is not enough to capture their usefulness for the current project. Deeper analysis of the historiography reveals much about music's overall importance to American World War II era culture. Once this importance is established, readers will have a stepping stone by which to see music as an integral tool for presenting gendered normative behavior to audiences of the World War II era.

In order to understand music's value as a tool for perpetuating a patriarchal standard of gendered behavior during the World War II era, one must first observe how music was shaped by external forces during World War II. This requires the acknowledgement that music itself was of importance during World War II in a variety of capacities. These capacities included representation of American culture as civilized and superior, entertainment, boosting morale of military personnel, and creating standards by which women and men musicians were ultimately judged.

Although women were not excluded from music during World War II, their participation in the art form as an institution was severely limited by the men who managed their bands and talent. Women were subject to intense scrutiny in the musical spotlight, and were ultimately not judged by their musical abilities but rather their willingness to maintain standards of ideal femininity. Sherry Tucker examines swing bands such as Phil Spitalny's Hour of Charm to find that he often required women in this band to play traditionally female instruments, such as the harp and

strings, to combat the overall perception of swing music and the female musicians who played it as sexually deviant in some way.⁷⁵

When discussing the purpose of his band, Phil Spitalny stated that his main purpose in forming the organization was to give his listeners “an impression of sweetness, of charm.”⁷⁶ He further explained that women themselves could act as a vessel through which this extremely feminine quality could be evoked. “And where in the world can you find a better exponent of charm than a charming young woman?”⁷⁷ Tucker also explains that this effect of charm was often perceived by some musical critics as a detriment to the band members’ ability to play jazz and swing well.⁷⁸ George Simon, a man writing for a popular periodical, stated that Spitalny’s band, “didn’t play very well—and didn’t always look so great either.”⁷⁹ This was despite Spitalny’s best efforts to costume his girls in such a way that they looked feminine. Tucker describes the image of “billowing dresses and cultured white womanhood conjured by the sweeps and flurries of harps and strings...shaped audience expectations on a mass level, for better or for worse, for other all-girl bands.”⁸⁰

Furthermore, she states that Spitalny purposefully crafted his musicians’ garments to have extra padding in the hips in order to give the viewer of the band “the impression that the upper body [of the women musicians] rested on a bell-shaped

⁷⁵ Ibid., 317.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 1488.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 470.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 470.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 1311.

pedestal.”⁸¹ From this information, historians are able to see that male band leaders understood female musicianship not always in terms of skill but in terms of ideal feminine stereotypes which their audiences would respond to. Furthermore, Tucker states that Spitalny’s instrumentation choices of harps and strings had a distinctive purpose. The purpose of this choice was to, “counterbalance the ‘shocking’” and in Tucker’s opinion, “titillating appearance of women playing trombones, tubas, trumpets, and drums.”⁸² Obviously, commercially successful white all girl bands had to play to both audience and industry standards of femininity.

These coping strategies employed by women participating in music did not always prevent male musical critics from downplaying their overall musical ability as Tucker emphasizes, women who played instruments such as the drums and tubas, which were necessary for swing instrumentation, were often seen as “cross dressers who performed entertainment understood as masculine in bodies understood as feminine.”⁸³

Tucker provides further information that illuminates music’s overall importance as perceived by the government during World War II. When speaking of the USO, she states that “Entertainers... often found themselves judged by contradictory standards: Like pinups they were supposed to be sexy. Unlike camp followers, they were supposed to be good girls.”⁸⁴ According to Tucker, civilian

⁸¹ Ibid., 1623.

⁸² Ibid., 318.

⁸³ Ibid., 217.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 4392.

audiences, music managers, and the public alike, saw music performed by women musicians not only for its entertainment value, but as a tool by which women's femininity could be placed on display. Furthermore, Tucker's work reveals that music itself as performed by women musicians also presented the possibility of perceived sexual deviance. Finally, Tucker's work demonstrates that music performed by female musicians was often undervalued considered to be a frivolous art form but did reflect notions concerning gender.

Performed in the prescribed way, female musician's music could serve as a reminder of what men had to look forward to when they came back from the war.⁸⁵ If a woman musician or band stepped out of line with perceived notions of femininity or failed to live up to standards of beauty and femininity presented by male industry leaders or the press, her musical ability would be doubted.⁸⁶ Thus, Tucker's work supports the idea that music itself was important during the World War II era because it set standards by which women musicians were ultimately judged.

Another facet of music's importance during World War II, is examined by author George Bush Jones. This was music's inherent morale boosting quality and decisiveness toward constructing gender behavior. The gendered nature of music during World War II is not only conveyed through the struggles of individual female musicians during World War II but also through government attitudes towards music itself. For example, the Office of War Time Information, a government agency

⁸⁵ Ibid., 670.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 142.

responsible for churning out propaganda related to the war effort, emphasized music's powerful and dangerous nature when it began to issue statements concerning the nature of musical numbers allowed to be played to soldiers at recreational events.⁸⁷ According to John Bush Jones, the OWI launched a "No slush campaign."⁸⁸ This entertainment strategy was designed to prohibit musical numbers which the American government felt were either overly sentimental or emotional, and would cause soldiers to have inappropriate feelings of homesickness or weaken them.⁸⁹

Despite this concern over how music could influence male soldiers' gendered behavior, the soldiers themselves demonstrated that the OWI was out of touch with popular culture norms of the time. As Jones explains, the OWI was operating on previous misconceptions generated by World War I which tended to see America and its music as a single homogenous group rather than a nation composed of immigrants, women, and other minorities who responded best to music that was either about them or that they could relate to.⁹⁰ The need for music to be relatable to individual groups of American citizenry demonstrates that they themselves viewed music as a tool by which to bring their communities together.

The fact that the OWI operated under previous misconceptions about the make-up of America at the time demonstrates that although both the public and government sectors viewed music as an important part of World War II culture they

⁸⁷ Jones, *The Songs That Fought the War; Popular Music and The Home Front, 1939-1945*, 11.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

approached the idea of morale boosting very differently. Thus, the Anti-Slush campaign was largely unresponsive to men's desires for songs that captured love and life after the war. Jones provides evidence that a survey done in late 1944, showed that GI's prized love songs above any other genre.⁹¹ From this evidence, it can be inferred that soldiers were using music as a way to remind them of idealized versions of women who they had left behind in order to fight the war while validating their own gender roles. This in turn shows that soldiers themselves used music as an outlet to maintain their spirits in order to get them through the stresses of war. They longed for things to get better and for a return to normalcy.⁹² This normalcy was largely dependent on the patriarchal structure of gender relations remaining intact.

In addition to music's usefulness in providing men with comfort, Jones also explains that musical artists realized that in order for their musical numbers to be successful, they would have to target them to specific demographic groups.⁹³ One of the most popular groups to target in the 1940's through popular songs were women themselves. Songs such as "Rosie the Riveter" or "The Janes that Make the Planes." were written to especially reflect the changing but still feminine roles of women who were freeing a man to fight by their labor related efforts.⁹⁴

From Jones' manuscript historians are able to infer important information about music's significance during the World War II era. Firstly, given the evidence,

⁹¹ Ibid., 17.

⁹² Ibid., 13.

⁹³ Ibid., 16-17.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 17.

that many groups including government organizations, such as the OWI, realized that music could influence ideal versions of masculinity and femininity created by the patriarchal systems in place during World War II. Furthermore, this paints a picture that government agencies' perceptions of what music was appropriate for the American public to hear did not often match with actual public perceptions of what was good music.⁹⁵ Evidence provided by both Jones and Tucker demonstrates that the United States government realized music's power to influence gendered relationships. Moreover, evidence provided by Jones, provides historians with information that supports his theory that US citizenry used the narrative storyline within songs to reaffirm their place within the patriarchal relationship dynamics present during World War II.

Music's power to boost morale is also examined from the standpoint of international relations by Annegret Fauser. She emphasizes that American composers and prominent figures within the American musical community were concerned about how their craft would be viewed during the wartime years. As evidence, she states that "Ross Lee Finney, of Smith College, and Clair Reis, of the League of Composers, sent out questionnaires to composers across the nation to find out what they could contribute to the war effort."⁹⁶ The fact that the musical community in America during the 1940's was concerned about how their musical talents could be

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

used to further wartime goals shows that they themselves believed on the whole that their craft was valuable as a tool for preserving America culture.

Fauser goes on to state that this belief eventually spread to prominent figures in the American government. She says that by December of 1941 music had been mobilized as a “wartime weapon.”⁹⁷ When musicians were concerned about their role within the war effort, Fauser states that First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt stepped in to reassure them that music was a vital tool in cultural preservation, “. . .when the United States entered the war in December 1941, the musical groundwork has already been laid, and music had been publicly turned into a ‘wartime’ weapon.”⁹⁸ According to Fauser, Eleanor Roosevelt published a letter in *Musical America* in which she told musicians to “continue making music since it was ‘one of the finest flowerings of that free civilization which has come down to us from our liberty loving forefathers.’”⁹⁹

From Eleanor Roosevelt’s language, music was a morale boosting tool on a whole new level. She is saying that music is equated with freedom as well as American superiority to the Axis Powers. By evoking music as a tool to not only motivate the American public to support the war effort but as an embodiment of American culture itself and the civilized world it can be inferred that music’s power during this time was multilayered and had components dealing with gender and the overall perception of the nation itself.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 35.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

Once one has examined the importance of music as a reflective tool in which idealized gender roles were mirrored along with its capacity to boost morale on both private and national fronts, it becomes vital to explain how these values of morale boosting and constructing of ideal versions of femininity and masculinity played out within the context of the military infrastructure. Jill M. Sullivan's work *Bands of Sisters* provides just such an example. She states that according to interviewees performing music in the military constituted "the best experience of their lives."¹⁰⁰ Interviewees also reported that their work at army hospitals was of great benefit in the recovery of wounded soldiers, stating "We played for the patients, you know, musical therapy has accomplished miracles for many of the boys."¹⁰¹

The military personnel who played for injured soldiers would often begin with softer pieces such as symphonies and tone poems.¹⁰² When their patients progressed, they would introduce them to dance numbers. According to one of Sullivan's interviewees, teaching injured soldiers how to dance and engage with music was "inspiring work!"¹⁰³ This example demonstrates that some women musicians saw their contributions in terms of what they could do for the fighting men of their country rather than in terms of making music solely for their own employment. Although this cannot be seen as strictly patriarchal, it does show that women within the military system who performed music were trained to think first and foremost of

¹⁰⁰ Sullivan, *Bands of Sisters: Women's Military Bands During WWII*, 79.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

the men they were helping and music as a tool for boosting morale rather than as a unique talent or a gift that they as women inherently possessed.

This demonstrates that the military as an institution intentionally placed women in a socially accepted role of comforter and morale booster to men and attempted to influence their perceptions of their role as women within wartime culture. Thus, from the evidence provided by Jones, Fauser, Tucker, and Sullivan, historians are able to see that music as a morale boosting tool functioned on a variety of levels and was heavily dependent on constructs of gender.

Morale boosting was not the only facet of music's importance during World War II that heavily depended on constructs of gender. In her analysis of films during the World War II era, author Heather Lang states "Music shares a long and complex historical relationship with cultural concepts of women, men, 'femininity', [and] 'masculinity'."¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, her analysis places women in 1940's films in the characteristic of muse to their male musician counterparts.¹⁰⁵ In chapter 3 of her analysis, she examines how females were often cast as listeners or audience participants rather than musicians themselves.¹⁰⁶ She concludes that "diegetic music" was used to reflect this dynamic thus Lang's work demonstrates that a popular entertainment medium could combine with music in order to narrate a story which contained ideas about gender roles that could then be delivered to wide numbers of people.

¹⁰⁴ Lang, *The Gendered Score: Music in 1940's Melodrama and the Women's Film*, 2.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

Annegret Fauser also comments on the nature of music and films' collaboration. She asserts that films such as "Star Spangled Rhythm" benefited from the help of musical artists popular during the World War II era, such as Bing Crosby and Frank Sinatra. Taken together, Lang and Fauser's work illuminates another facet of music's importance. At its most basic level, one might refer to this facet as entertainment, but through Lang's work historians are able to see that content analysis as well as historical inference is an important component when analyzing the significance of storyline within World War II pop culture. This principle of music being important as a vessel through which to convey idealized standards of gendered behavior will be further analyzed in the next section.

Examination of music during World War II reveals several key facts about its importance. Jones, Tucker, and Fauser's work all demonstrate that the government had a vested interest in music's dissemination, and in particular how women musicians' and women in narrative story lines were portrayed. Jones shows that GI's sought to affirm their own place as men coming home to their sweethearts through the music they listened to. Tucker puts forth the idea that male managers and music industry gate keepers were responsible for emphasizing women's ability to maintain their femininity despite playing previously deemed masculine instruments.

Furthermore, she suggests the idea that by conforming to ideal versions of femininity dictated for them by men, women were often forced to downplay their actual musical ability. This was reflected in commentary perpetuated by male musical critics thus women were placed in a subservient role to men first by industry leaders

and secondly by male audience members who digested the hyper exaggerated face of femininity swing musicians were forced to adopt. Jill M. Sullivan's work *Bands of Sisters* takes music's patriarchal dimensions outside of the realms of employment practices and GI musical preferences and into concrete practice.

By detailing military women's own experiences as budding musical therapists, historians are able to see that some women musicians in the military saw themselves not as professionals in their own right but as women whose main duty it was to ensure the health of the men they played for. Finally, Heather Lang's work demonstrates that the film industry partnered with music in such a way to promote idealized versions of gendered behavior that placed women in passive roles. Women were most often seen in film as listener or muse rather than creator. From these works, it is reasonable to conclude that music was a vital part of the World War II landscape. It served to boost morale, create standards of femininity by which women were judged, and embody those standards in forms of media containing narrative storylines. Keeping these principles in mind, historians can begin to analyze examples of music during World War II within a highly-gendered context which cast women as subservient or seducers and men as sexually dominant or protectors.

This thesis adds to the historiography by directly analyzing the fictional portrayal of women through song narrative. It demonstrates that fictional women, as portrayed in music, were still cast in subservient or seductive roles. The previous studies analyzed here do not encapsulate direct lyrical analysis focusing more on music as an institution or profession.

CHAPTER 2: WOMEN IN MUSIC DURING WORLD WAR II

The way in which fictional women were portrayed in songs of the World War II era suggests that the music of this timeframe served to preserve traditional notions of women's place. According to the philosophy of the cult of domesticity, a woman's place was in the home. She was to be a wife and mother, and as a young girl have no professional aspirations. If she did work, in the words of William Chaff it was for "pin money." In the World War II era, the labor shortage of manpower meant that womanpower had to be mobilized. However, as explained by author Leela J. Rupp, advertisers believed that women who had been taught to reside solely within the home needed the war to be "sold" to them. This was accomplished through ads focusing on the ease of war work and equating it to every day household tasks such as baking or sewing.¹⁰⁷

Furthermore, author Leisa Meyer demonstrates that women in the military were not exempt from the construct of women's place being in the home. In order to pass the bill, Senator Rogers compromised with existing military officials to place women not as professional members of the military but as auxiliaries who would fill non combat positions without pay or benefits which established the Women's Army Auxiliary Corp.¹⁰⁸ Although Senator Rogers originally wanted her bill to grant full

¹⁰⁷ Leila Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 96.

¹⁰⁸ Leisa D. Meyer, *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps During World War II* (Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 1996.), 16.

professional status to women members of the army, she was savvy enough to realize that if she cast the bill in terms of women's independent employment it would not pass. From evidence provided by Rupp and Meyer, readers are able to form an idea of what a woman of the time period would have looked like. She would have been able to work, but had done so for patriotic means and ultimately been a placeholder for her male counterparts instead of wholly independent in her own right.

As Rosalind Myles states, a patriarchy is a system by which, "...women are discounted from everything which counts forever."¹⁰⁹ Although women of the World War II era were not entirely excluded from song storylines, the forthcoming analysis in this thesis provides examples which depict them as often discounted as these women were most often concerned with conforming to the duties of serving men or thinking completely about romanticized notions of love putting aside practical notions of their own futures. Their relationships with their male counterparts were often restricted by these notions.

If they did take sexual initiative within song narrative, they were often seen as deviant. The forthcoming songs from the Victory Disc collection along with those that were popular on the home front tended to focus on the relationships between white men and white women. Song performed by African-American musicians were not often included in the Victory Disc collection sample analyzed. Contributions of this group, and the patriarchal standards they were subjected to, will be analyzed in a

¹⁰⁹ Rosalind Myles, *Who Cooked the Last Supper? The Women's History of the World* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001), 1694, Kindle.

separate section.

Unlike women musicians, these fictional women were not often motivated by patriotism but rather by desire for life after the war. Fictional male counterparts also shared in this idealized desire; however, an examination of their portrayal reveals them to be stoic, sexually dominant, and nostalgic. Both men and women characters often shared the desire for monogamy and marriage as an ultimate goal to happiness. However, women, when not portrayed as sweethearts, possessed a fictional duality of seducer and sexual temptress for their male counterparts. Through analysis of both music made for the exclusive use of the armed forces as well as popular songs played on the home front during the war years, this section provides concrete examples about how World War II era music subtly functioned to keep patriarchal notions about women intact.

Several songs of the World War II era capture contradictory but equally patriarchal standards for both women and men. The first of these songs is “Paper Doll” published for the V-Disc collection in 1943. The narrator of this song talks about how he is going to buy a paper doll because “I’d rather have a paper doll than deal with a fickle minded girl who’s real.”¹¹⁰ He speaks about how this doll will be waiting for him when he comes home.¹¹¹ This line implies that the ideal woman will be one who does not engage in back chat and serves to comfort her man after a hard day’s work or time at the warfront. Furthermore, he gives another nod to women’s

¹¹⁰ Hal McIntyre and his Orchestra, “Paper Doll,” ed. WA4CZD, in Archive.org, accessed June 16, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs1-991943-1944/1943-12-xx-066-V-Disc-B-Hal-McIntyre-and-his-Orchestra---Paper-Doll.mp3>.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

overall feeble-mindedness when he states that “flirty guys with their flirty eyes” will not be able to steal his new girl.¹¹² This implies that men were often seen by other men as potential poachers for their mates and more importantly that women were susceptible to these advances and could easily change their mind without realizing the benefits of their initial relationship.

The trope of feeble-mindedness for fictional women is far from a solely creative idea thought of by song writers. It has its roots deep within Christian and Greek thought as well as hundreds of years of patriarchy. According to the monograph *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, by the 1400’s theories of Aristotle which cast women as innately inferior versions of their male counterparts who lack reason were thoroughly entrenched. This feeble-mindedness often did not lead to innocence according to male philosophers at the time but rather led to infidelity.¹¹³ From “Paper Doll” song narrative, readers are able to infer that although witch crazes had died out by the 1940’s, women’s infidelity due to their feeble minds was still a major issue explored and discussed within entertainment outlets.

By placing the man as the victim of a fickle minded woman, the song “Paper Doll” illuminates the fact that some men may have wanted women more as trophies and docile companions than as real life human beings who would have to be negotiated with. This plays on similar stereotypes of women from previous eras,

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*. ed. by Merry E. Wiesner (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007), 150.

however, because the men listening to this song would have been away at war, it becomes perhaps even more important that they would need to be served by women. The stereotype of women having unbridled lust is not a new phenomenon and was often linked to not fulfilling her duty as a comforter forcing her sweetheart to resort to an objectified woman who can fulfill his needs.¹¹⁴

Another song which captures the objectification of women is “The Corporal Told the Private.” In this song, several men are speaking about the benefits of joining the army. They discuss a girl who has sweet caresses and is the secret of the army.¹¹⁵ The song ends with the encouragement of the male narrators in this song to those listening to the song to join the army in order to meet this wonderful girl.¹¹⁶ Whether or not this is a veiled reference to prostitutes who patronized the army or not, it still can be inferred that women were valued for the physical comfort they could give men and not necessarily for employment efforts they may have been making to help America during the war efforts.

Another song which continues the pattern of objectification of women is “In My Arms.” This song discusses a soldier surrounded by his friends who are all coupled with their sweethearts. Although this particular soldier receives gifts from family and friends, “his cousin wrote him a letter” and “his mother knitted him a sweater” he says, “If I want something nice and cute and female, I’m never going to

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 151.

¹¹⁵ Vaughn Monroe and his Orchestra with the Four V’s, “The Corporal Told the Private,” ed. WA4CZD, in Archive.org, accessed June 16, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs1-991943-1944/1943-10-xx-008-V-Disc-A-Vaughn-Monroe-and-his-Orchestra-with-the-Four-Vs---The-Corporal-Told-The-Private.mp3>.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

get her in V-mail.”¹¹⁷ He also refers to his eventual sweetheart as a bundle of charms. This literally reduces her to an object.¹¹⁸ Lastly, and perhaps most telling, the soldier says, “If I’m gonna go to Berlin, I better have a girl in my arms tonight.”¹¹⁹ This example shows that in the realm of World War II song, fictional men expected sexual and/or romantic love in return for their military service. The fact that things which are comforting such as a sweater or a letter from a loved one in not satisfying to the soldier demonstrates that he will only be satiated by the sexual comfort a sweetheart can provide. The fact that he wants a girl in his arms before he goes off to war reinforces the idea that in fictional song narrative, women were seen as both objects and sources of comfort to men. In turn, this reduces a woman to a medium of exchange thus detracting from her overall personhood.

Another song which highlights the army’s attitude toward women as objects is “This is the Army, Mr. Jones.” This song concerns newly arrived soldiers being told by their commanders how army life is going to be drastically different from civilian life.¹²⁰ In this song, a private named Green is told “This is the Army, Mr. Green. We like the barracks nice and clean. You had a housemaid to scrub your floor, but she won’t help you anymore.”¹²¹ While the woman in this particular line is appreciated for the assistance she renders Mr. Green, she is not really considered a person in her

¹¹⁷ Eddie Cantor, “In My Arms,” ed. WA4CZD, in Archive.org, accessed June 16, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs1-991943-1944/1943-10-xx-004-V-Disc-A-Eddie-Cantor---In-My-Arms.mp3>.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Irving Berlin, “This is the Army, Mr. Jones,” ed. CompanyBtrooper, in Youtube.com, accessed June 17, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sLgAbgEjMG0>.

¹²¹ Ibid.

own right, instead she is valued for the service she provides. This is not the only objectifying moment in the song. A private named Brown is told “This is the army, Mr. Brown. You and your baby went to town. She used to make you worry, but this is war, so you won’t have to worry anymore.”¹²² While this line is humorous on some level, it reveals that many fictional women in World War II song lines were pictured as nuisances to their husbands or servants who did the cooking and cleaning. Also, it could be inferred that Mr. Brown’s sweetheart is particularly obsessed with shopping trips that require him to go into town causing him to worry about his finances.

In addition to objectifying women as either seducers or companions for men, many World War II songs featured in the V-Disc collection speak to women’s inferred war time experiences. Most of these songs touch upon the fact that fictionalized women were often portrayed as thinking about love rather than the war at hand. Two such songs are “They’re Either Too Young or Too Old” and “Put Your Arms Around Me, Honey.” The female vocalist in “Put Your Arms Around Me, Honey” is speaking to her boyfriend or sweetheart who is returning on leave. She says “Put your arms around me honey. Hold me tight. Huddle up and cuddle up with all your might.”¹²³ As is clear from this line, the female narrator is not thinking about the challenges her soldier sweetheart is facing in the field but rather her own wants and needs for company.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Bea Wain with Orchestra, “Put Your Arms Around Me Honey,” ed. WA4CZD, in Archive.org, accessed June 17, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs1-991943-1944/1943-10-xx-001-V-Disc-A-Bea-Wain-with-Orchestra---Put-Your-Arms-Around-Me-Honey.mp3>.

She talks about her heart “rocking like a motor boat”¹²⁴ when he comes near. This implies that this particular fictional woman thinks with her heart or emotions and not necessarily with her logical mind. The fact that she wants to give her soldier cuddles shows that she is focused on distracting him from the pressures of war as well as fulfilling her own needs. It can be argued that her own need for comfort are coupled with her need to provide comfort for her soldier companion.

Another song which demonstrates that fictional women within World War II song narrative were often portrayed as having love be top priority for their lives is “They’re Either Too Young or Too Old.” The female narrator in this song complains about wartime conditions as they have led to a shortage of partners of marriageable age. “All that’s good is in the army...They’re either too grassy green or gloomy gray.”¹²⁵ She goes on to describe how her soldier boyfriend should not worry because it is hard to be tempted with a field of ineligible men. “When you’re over Australia I will never fail ya. When you’re in India, I’ll be what I’ve always been to ya.”¹²⁶ While this could be read as implying true love, it is more likely that the woman narrator is playing on popular stereotypes that women whose husbands were overseas would be unfaithful to them when they were away.

Another song which demonstrates the continued pattern of fictional women thinking solely about love and not the overall consequences of war itself is “Murder

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Tommy Tucker Time, “They’re Either Too Young or Too Old,” ed. WA4CZD, in Archive.org, accessed June 17, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs1-991943-1944/1943-12-xx-069-V-Disc-A-Tommy-Tucker-Time---Theyre-Either-Too-Young-Or-Too-Old.mp3>.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

He Says.” In this song, the female narrator’s sweetheart has his vocabulary reduced to the single word of Murder. She describes his tone as “impossible” and further declares that “if he says Murder for too much longer the only murder he will have to worry about is his own.”¹²⁷ She further asks her audience if this is “the language of love.”¹²⁸ From this song’s plotline, it is clear that fictional women like the one portrayed in this song, did not think about why their sweetheart might have been shouting murder, perhaps as a result of the horrors he had seen in war, but rather she had thought about her own discomfort and ruined ideals about love. Also, her frustrations could be linked to the fact that with a husband shouting murder over something she can’t figure out, she was denied her preconceived role as comforter for him after he had served in the war.

Another song which captures a discontented woman’s perspective with war is Harry James’ “I Heard You Cried Last Night.” The female narrator laments that when her sweetheart went away to war “You took my heart with you.”¹²⁹ She also chastises him for even beginning a relationship knowing he was going off to war. “Why did you make a start with a heart you didn’t want for your very own?”¹³⁰ This implies that the woman, once again, is thinking with her heart and that she may be perceiving her

¹²⁷ Dinah Shore with Orchestra, “Murder He Says,” ed. WA4CZD, in Archive.org, accessed June 18, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs1-991943-1944/1943-10-xx-004-V-Disc-B-Dinah-Shore---Murder-He-Says.mp3>.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Harry James and his Orchestra with vocals by Helen Forrest, “I Heard You Cried Last Night,” ed. WA4CZD, in Archive.org, accessed June 18, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs1-991943-1944/1943-11-xx-057-V-Disc-A-Harry-James-and-his-Orchestra-with-vocals-by-Helen-Forrest---I-Heard-You-Cried-Last-Night.mp3>.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

male lover as thinking more in physical terms.

Eventually, she says that she understands why he was crying, presumably because of the rough patches in their relationship and assures him that despite all of this, he can come back to her stating “now come and kiss the girl you adore and cry no more.”¹³¹ This shows that fictional women in World War II storylines embodied in song narrative were often expected to be faithful to sweethearts or husbands that they often found to be somewhat oblivious to their affections. The fact that the woman in this song places emphasis on her heart belonging to a man shows that women in World War II song lines were often portrayed as wanting nothing more than to love and be loved. Additionally, this love would presumably provide comfort to the woman and her male sweetheart. This demonstrates that the woman was not concerned with the possible heartbreak she could experience again but rather making her man’s world an ideal and comfortable place to live in.

Another number which continues this trend is “You’ll Never Know.” In this song, the female narrator states that her sweetheart will never know how much she cares. In addition, she states, “I think of you in my every prayer. If there is a better way to love you, please tell me how. You’ll never know if you don’t know now.”¹³² This line shows, like the song “I Heard You Cried Last Night,” that many fictional women were portrayed as frustrated with their sweethearts’ inability to be sensitive to their romantic feelings. Moreover, the fact that the woman in this song is caught up in

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Dinah Shore, “You’ll Never Know,” ed. WA4CZD, in Archive.org, accessed June 18, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs1-991943-1944/1943-10-xx-024-V-Disc-A-Dinah-Shore---Youll-Never-Know.mp3>.

her sweetheart's ignorance of her affections shows that fictional women in the World War II era were often portrayed in such a way as to put love first and not necessarily consider the sacrifices which soldiers in the field were making for their country.

While women were often portrayed as irrational when discussing love during World War II through song, men by contrast were encouraged to be stoic in their duties to the war after which they could think about love. A song which embodies both the faithfulness of a man to his sweetheart and also his role as her emotional moderator is "Love Sometimes Has to Wait." The male narrator of this song states, "There is duty to be done ahead of it, there is a war that must be won instead of it," however, he states that, "Love and I can wait."¹³³ In the next verse, he discusses how after the war he will go shopping with his future wife for "a kitchenette right off of Time Square."¹³⁴ Women were often portrayed as being wholesome when they could wait for their husbands. Moreover, their husbands were expected to encourage them in this pursuit and realize that their masculine and patriotic duty was first to the war and secondly to family life.

However, not all songs of the World War II era portrayed men and women as eagerly awaiting the war's end for a stable family life. In fact, some women in fictional song plot lines took advantage of the available soldier partners in need of their physical comforts. A song which embodies this idea is "Something for the Boys." The female narrator states "I'm always doing something for the boys because

¹³³ Cpl. Ziggy Lane with Orchestra, "Love Sometimes Has to Wait," ed. WA4CZD, in Archive.org, accessed June 18, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs1-991943-1944/1943-10-xx-022-V-Disc-B-Cpl-Ziggy-Lane-with-Orchestra---Love-Sometimes-Has-To-Wait.mp3>.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

they're doing something for me."¹³⁵ She also advises her audience not to punish her for her actions. "Don't punish me for staying out 'til three because I'm always doing something for the boys."¹³⁶ In this way, the song shows that some women in fictional lyric content were portrayed as overtly sexual, perhaps even seducing their male counterparts.

Nevertheless, they often tried to shield themselves from negative perceptions by cloaking their conduct within a veil of patriotic spirit. Portrayals of women within song plot lines varied greatly. Many songs painted a picture of women as carefree and only thinking about emotional love. Others, such as this one, portrayed them as overtly sexual beings and still others used Christian metaphors to enhance both of these ideas.

The song "Ain't Necessarily So" cast men and women as overtly sexual beings. Moreover, women in this song are portrayed subtly as seducers or adulterers. This is particularly evident when the song discusses the story of Moses in modern terms singing, "They say, little Moses was found in the water when old Pharaoh's daughter says she fetched him right out of the stream."¹³⁷ At first glance, this may seem like a simple retelling of the classic Biblical tale. However, it is followed by the chorus, "It Ain't necessarily so" implying that Pharaoh's daughter may not have been

¹³⁵ Carol Bruce with Red Norvo and his Overseas Spotlight Band, "Something for the Boys," ed. WA4CZD, in Archive.org, accessed June 18, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs1-991943-1944/1943-12-xx-087-V-Disc-B-Carol-Bruce-with-Red-Norvo-and-his-Overseas-Spotlight-Band---Something-For-the-Boys.mp3>.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Dinah Shore and Bing Crosby, "It Ain't Necessarily So," ed. WA4CZD, in Archive.org, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs1-991943-1944/1943-10-xx-002-V-Disc-A-Dinah-Shore-Bing-Crosby--It-Aint-Necessarily-So.mp3>.

truthful about the circumstances concerning Moses' birth.¹³⁸ Furthermore, the use of the word "says" implies that Pharaoh's daughter is just telling the audience what it wishes to hear not necessarily the truth about sexual intercourse between men and women or that it's rumored to be adultery. Another telling line in this song, which alludes to sexual intercourse between men and women is, "Adam and Eve, they did that deed, in the Garden of Eden, but what's the need for punishing you and me?"¹³⁹

When one considers the nature of Adam and Eve's original sin, that they ate the forbidden fruit of knowledge, which then caused them to realize they were naked and hence sexual, it can be inferred that the couple in the song is asking God why he should punish them for being naked together themselves. Even if this song is just talking about romantic love, it demonstrates that not all 1940's characters were necessarily prudish or engaged in objectifying their partners. Rather this song shows that both men and women could have an understanding of sexual love which focused on pleasure rather than the sanctity of marriage.

Biblical references of a more idyllic nature were also used as a means to characterize women's relationships with men. The song "I've Got a Date with an Angel" is but one such example. The male narrator in this song admits that he has been lonely due to his military service. He then declares that this feeling is soon to go away because "I've got a date with an angel so I've got a ticket to heaven."¹⁴⁰ This

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Hal Kemp and his Orchestra, vocals by Skinny Ennis, "Got a Date with an Angel," ed. WA4CZD, in Archive.org, accessed June 18, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs1-991943-1944/1943-12-xx-080-V-Disc-A-Hal-Kemp-and-his-Orchestra-vocals-by-Skinney-Ennis---Got-A-Date-With-An-Angel.mp3>.

chorus repeats several times leaving the listener in no doubt that the woman in this song is being placed onto an ethereal pedestal and the male narrator truly believes that she will end his troubles.

Analysis of “Ain’t Necessarily So” and “Got a Date with an Angel” demonstrates that women within the fictional plotlines of World War II songs were often paired with Biblical references in order to convey specific messages about them. In “Got a Date with an Angel” for example, the idealized version of angelic womanhood portrays a woman as above sinful desires and the savior of her man. By contrast, “Ain’t Necessarily So” shows women as creatures interested in sex, perhaps to the detriment of their reputation. It also suggests that both men and women within the 1940’s may have become questioning of the stricter moral interpretations of the Bible.

The pattern of using Christian elements to characterize women as pure, ethereal beings continues with “My Hero.” In this song, a couple refers to each other as “divine, noble, and true.”¹⁴¹ While they discuss physical intimacy, they only do so in conjunction with “our happy, happy wedding day.”¹⁴² Because marriage is one of the Christian sacraments, it is possible to conclude that this couple views the ideal love as one which conforms to Christian duty. Moreover, the use of words like “divine” conjure up a God-like image for the woman in this song and the love that the

¹⁴¹ Dorothy Kirsten and Felix Knight with Orchestra and Chorus, “My Hero,” ed. WA4CZD, in Archive.org, accessed June 18, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs1-991943-1944/1943-11-xx-046-V-Disc-A-Dorothy-Kirsten-and-Felix-Knight-with-Orchestra-and-Chorus---My-Hero.mp3>.

¹⁴² Ibid.

man bears her.

The song “One Alone” continues the theme of women as divine. The male narrator of this song states that he wants one to call his own and furthermore elaborates “She is the one my worshipping soul possesses. I long to feel your tender caresses.”¹⁴³ She responds, “I will give you all my life and all my love.”¹⁴⁴ One of the characterizations of females within fictional lyrical content was that of a divine creature who in payment for a man’s worshipping devotion would give her heart solely to him. This song touches on the theme on monogamy and, while not segregated to the Christian sects this song was probably speaking to a Christian audience given the evidence.

The V-Disc collection, aside from providing examples of fictional women’s attitudes toward love, sex, and the general ideal woman, also provides insight into patriarchal notions about women’s employment. Two such songs which capture the idea that women’s employment was either laughable or non-contributing to a household are “Good for Nothing Joe” and “Scrap Your Fat, By Order of the Government.” “Good for Nothing Joe” involves a female narrator who is a working-class woman. She decides to close her shop because business is slow in order to go back to her lazy husband. She states “I know he won’t be happy to see me with not a penny for the good. He’ll just be as mean as can be.”¹⁴⁵ She further laments that “I

¹⁴³ Dorothy Kirsten and Felix Knight with Orchestra and Chorus, “One Alone,” ed. WA4CZD, in Archive.org, accessed June 18, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs1-991943-1944/1943-11-xx-046-V-Disc-B-Dorothy-Kirsten-and-Felix-Knight-with-Orchestra-and-Chorus---One-Along.mp3>.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Lena Horne with Cab Callaway and his Orchestra, “Good for Nothin’ Joe,” ed. WA4CZD,

know he's good for nothing, but I'd be good for nothing, too, without good for nothing Joe."¹⁴⁶

Even though she knows that her husband is not appreciative of her efforts, this woman states that she "would walk the Earth until her feet were sore" and elaborates that even "her friends and family can tell she is not in a good relationship."¹⁴⁷ She says "They just can't understand why I would go back to him."¹⁴⁸ Because this woman is working to support her household, literally giving her savings to her husband as the ultimate form of providing for him, and because despite this, he always looks down upon her and sees her as his possession to belittle, this paints a picture that she is being placed in an inferior position to him. This in turn is by and large the definition of patriarchy because it discounts the woman from being able to think about a future exclusively for herself.

"Scrap Your Fat, By the Order of the Government" takes a more humorous if an equally patriarchal approach to women's employment during World War II. In this song, the female narrator wishes to help out the war effort. However, she finds that she is too heavy to be eligible for recruitment by any of the women's branches of the armed services.¹⁴⁹ She writes a letter to Washington, D.C. asking them what she can

in Archive.org, accessed June 19, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs100-1991944/1944-02-xx-126-V-Disc-B-Lena-Horne-with-Cab-Callaway-and-his-Orchestra---Good-For-Nothin-Joe.mp3>.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Mildred Bailey with Teddy Wilson, "Scrap Your Fat," ed. WA4CZD, in Archive.org, accessed June 19, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/V-discs100-1991944/1944-02-xx-135-V-Disc-B-Mildred-Bailey-with-Teddy-Wilson---Scrap-Your-Fat.mp3>.

do help win the war. They suggest that she begin to “Scrap her fat” saying that fat makes a whole lot of powder.¹⁵⁰ She then becomes comfortable with her size, joins the Salvation Army, and takes her kitchen waste to the local recycling plant every week.

Eventually, she has a flaming affair with the mayor of her city as a sort of reward for her contributions to victory. The fact that this woman was not interested in joining the armed services and could use already acceptable skills of recycling and house work to help the boys gets back home, demonstrates that in the World War II era, music made for soldiers that portrayed females often captured them in stereotypical roles such as housewife or recycler negating the new jobs that many of them might have been forced to take on. Furthermore, the fact that this woman is rewarded for her efforts with a “flaming affair”¹⁵¹ suggests that women in World War II song plot lines were often sexualized as a way to be relatable to their male audiences.

While this song could be interpreted as an artist’s effort to validate all women doing their bit for the war, it should not be underestimated in its role in perpetuating patriarchal gendered standards of the time. In this song, a woman forgoes the less traditional option for helping out with the war effort in favor of one which eventually gets her male attention despite her not fitting into the pre-established norm of sexy. Thus, this song sends a strong subliminal message that women’s employment was

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

most favorable when fitted into a traditional context and furthermore that this traditional context would be rewarded with a woman's ultimate goal of being able to love a man. Seen in this light, the song becomes less about women's patriotic efforts to win the war and more about what they could achieve by using their already ingrained gender typical behavior of housework.

The V-disc collection is not the only source which provides insight into how fictional women were portrayed lyrically. Popular music played on the home front continued many of the themes already discussed while adding an important one of nostalgia for the way things were before the war. The 1941 hit "Amapola" or "Pretty Little Poppy" discusses a man's wish to travel abroad. Listeners are told about Argentine summer moonlight and guitars. Next, the man compares his female companion to the poppy plant by saying "that pretty little flower must have learned all its charms from you."¹⁵² He also expresses his joy at having found her, and his desire to hold her.¹⁵³ The fact that he is comparing the woman he loves to a plant and referring to her small size and charms demonstrates that women in popular music played on the home front were often portrayed as intoxicating objects cloaked in exoticism. The emphasis on the woman's charm reveals that she is seen as an object of value for what she can provide for her male lover rather than other mental or physical qualities.

Women are also put in a lesser position to men in songs like "Chattanooga

¹⁵² Helen O'Connell and Bob Eberly with the Jimmy Dorsey Orchestra, "Amapola," ed. Bigbandrenaissance (2012), on Youtube.com, accessed June 20, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UcFNRGsDQ1s>.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

Choo Choo.” When first hearing this song, listeners may be inclined to think that it only concerns the advent of technology being widely available to the middle classes. The male narrator of the song tells us that “he has got his fare with some more to spare.”¹⁵⁴ He speaks of the amenities of the dining car and how there are plenty of magazines to read. However, it is not long before one learns that “There will be a certain someone at the station all done up in satin and lace that I used to call funny face. So, Chattanooga, won’t you choo choo me home.”¹⁵⁵ From this aspect of the plots, women of the World War II period, in fictional story lines at least, were expected to look beautiful.

Moreover, from the man’s acknowledgement that he used to tease his long-time sweetheart, it can be inferred that fictional women were expected to take their sweetheart’s teasing in stride. Lastly, the man is hoping that his sweetheart will forgive any past transgressions he may have committed. “And she shall be mine when I tell her I won’t roam anymore.”¹⁵⁶ This demonstrates that women of the World War II era, as portrayed in song story lines, were expected to be able to maintain fidelity and love for sweethearts and husbands who had either left them to go to war or had been off pursuing their own dreams for many years. After the man’s vocal, listeners are treated to a short interlude by a woman vocalist. While she speaks of many of the features of the train as her male counterpart, there is one notable difference which sheds light on the patriarchal nature of World War II relationships.

¹⁵⁴ Glenn Miller, “Chattanooga Choo Choo,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 20, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=svRBivcvnd0>.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

Whereas her male counterpart sings about how he has plenty of fare with money left over, the woman's lyrics are altered to say, "I've got my fare and nothing to spare."¹⁵⁷ The alteration in this line shows that women of the World War II era, as portrayed in song, did not have as much disposable income as their male counterparts and perhaps were dependent on them for that income. Thus from "Chattanooga Choo Choo" we learn that fictional women of the World War II home front were supposed to be gifted with infinite patience, look gorgeous, were often characterized by how well they could pull this off, and finally, did not have much income of their own. Classical music often overflowed into popular consciousness during the World War II era.

Thus, it is not surprising that a "Piano Concerto in B Flat" managed to squeak its way onto the Pop Charts.¹⁵⁸ This particular concerto was taken from Tchaikovsky; its subtitle is called "Tonight We Love." While it is difficult to say that a piano piece without narrative is inherently patriarchal, this piece is nevertheless important when one considers the musical aesthetic of World War II. Even though this piece is devoid of lyrics, it is designed to speak of love and has a slow, melodic quality with varying pitches which one might argue simulates the masculine and feminine.

Sammy Kaye's song "Daddy" reveals much about the way women were seen within song during World War II. The male narrator of this song describes his love as

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Freddy Martin and his Orchestra, "Piano Concerto in B Flat (Tchaikovsky-Arranged by Ray Austin)," ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 20, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nlXFzbY9X4A>.

alternately “charming and alarming.”¹⁵⁹ His female lover asks him for many material things such as sables, diamond rings, a new car, and caviar. This fictional woman justifies her excess by stating “Daddy, don’t you want to get the best for me?”¹⁶⁰ By casting this fictional woman as concerned solely with material things, the song conveys to the audience that she is not very bright and certainly not concerned with war time needs such as rationing. Furthermore, the pet name she has for her lover, Daddy, casts this woman as childlike, dependent upon a male for both her wants and needs. Moreover, in this song, the male persona is cast as a provider by his sweetheart as she asks him to get the best for her.

Perhaps most importantly, she hints at the possibility of rewarding her male companion of some sort of physical or emotional comfort. She states that she could be his inspiration.¹⁶¹ Even if one takes this line in its most benign sense, seeing the woman as her male partner’s creative muse, the woman is nevertheless objectifying herself and placing more value on what she can do as a lover than her own independence or personhood. The song “Daddy” based on its lyrical themes, most closely parallels the V-disc collection’s themes of objectification of women along with a woman as seducer or temptress.

“Green Eyes” also continues the theme of objectification of women as the male narrator of this song speaks of how he longs for the “stimulation and the

¹⁵⁹ Sammy Kaye, “Daddy,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 20, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U0k1wjSc5k>.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

invitation those green eyes bring.”¹⁶² He states “In dreams I seem to hold you, and those insipid green eyes are the pools which I live for.”¹⁶³ By focusing solely on one physical feature of his female lover and what she can bring him at night historians are able to see that objectification of women was a major theme in most World War II song lines regardless of who the music was made for. In this way, women were often portrayed fictionally as either seducers or at the very least mysterious. “Maria Elena” takes a slightly more purified approach to the subject of physical desire and unrequited love.

In this song, the male narrator characterizes the object of his affections as “an answer to a prayer.”¹⁶⁴ He then says that he longs to hold her. From there we learn that his affections are “big enough for two.”¹⁶⁵ The song ends with him insisting that she should share a life with him and “this is all I ask of you.”¹⁶⁶ While this song is sweeter than the others at first glance, it nevertheless employs Christian imagery to place the female sweetheart upon a divine pedestal which devoids her of real humanity. Furthermore, the song starkly emphasizes that this woman is fickle for not responding to her male suitor’s entreaties by saying that his own love is good enough for two it negates the woman’s own capacity for thinking about love and making her own decisions concerning the matter.

¹⁶² Helen O’Connell and Bob Eberly with the Jimmy Dorsey Orchestra, “Green Eyes,” ed. Bigbandrenaissance (2012), on Youtube.com, accessed June 20, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V8hMyVQaCUo>.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Jimmy Dorsey, “Maria Elena,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 20, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y8YYjvej3ds>.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

The man ignores the woman's preferences which completely minimizes this action by telling her that "this is all I ask of you."¹⁶⁷ Through the use of this language it is reasonable to conclude that he is expecting her to eventually give in to loving him simply because he loves her. Through this song, one can see that fictional women were often not given the freedom to think for themselves and that they were expected to respond to a man's affections despite their own feelings.

"My Sister and I," though it does not mention romantic love, sheds important detail on how women were treated in family dynamics and how war time conditions affected day to day life. The male narrator of this song says that "the world my sister and I once knew is taken by a cold and bitter frost."¹⁶⁸ He highlights the challenges of friends leaving for war and perhaps most importantly says "we are almost happy here but we never talk about that."¹⁶⁹ He further illuminates this theme of silent grief when he says, "My sister and I are brave but sometimes we awake in the night and cry."¹⁷⁰

The fact that the male narrator does not wish to talk about war in front of his sister, reveals that within family dynamics, fictional women were often portrayed as too fragile to face up to the horrors of war that were taking place around them. Furthermore, because it is agreed between the brother and sister that they will not talk about their wartime difficulties, it would appear that the sister is deferring to her brother's better judgement concerning war. Thus, from this song, one may infer that

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Jimmy Dorsey, "My Sister and I," ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 20, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1KKW6UUT0x0>.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

men served to shield presumably weaker women from wartime difficulties.

“Elmer’s Tune” provides insight into how both men and women coped with wartime difficulties through music. While it mentions a variety of people such as bakers, cops, and others, this song specifically mentions an old hen on the loose, as well as lovers underneath the stars.¹⁷¹ The fact that an older woman was so captivated by music that she let loose from convention demonstrates to historians that while music could promote patriarchal notions of how women were supposed to behave it could also act as a medium by which to escape these restrictions. Furthermore, by alluding to lovers under stars, “Elmer’s Tune” positioned music as a force which aided in romantic courtships.

The song “Blue Champagne” highlights women in their roles as heart breakers. In this song, a man speaks of keeping a lonely rendezvous. He says that “the champagne bubbles cloud his eyes only to reveal that lovely vision that was you.”¹⁷² He discusses how he “thinks about every little plan we had every little dream we dreamt and I think of the dream that once was you.”¹⁷³ Alcohol aside, this song reveals that World War II women, especially within song, were often characterized as ethereal. This in turn is subtly patriarchal because of Christian references to place women above the level of human beings, comparing them to dreams, denies them actual personhood and leaves them up to the imagination of a male lover of audience.

¹⁷¹ Glenn Miller, “Elmer’s Tune,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 20, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0v_53MPb3_I.

¹⁷² Jimmy Dorsey, “Blue Champagne,” ed. OnlyJazzHQ (2013), on Youtube.com, accessed June 20, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g71xusyE7Ug>.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

The fact that the man in this song is so heartbroken over his love that all he can do is drink champagne by moonlight also indirectly portrays women as fickle creatures who do not hold any stock by a man's faithfulness but will leave him as quickly as they came into his life.

The theme of patriarchal nostalgia played in music on the home front continues with Bing Crosby's "White Christmas." He states, "I'm dreaming of a white Christmas just like the ones I used to know."¹⁷⁴ From this line, it can be inferred that a male narrator is longing for a simpler past away from war. While this theme is not inherently patriarchal historians are able to see that the male narrator of the song also longs for children and family life. He speaks of children listening to hear sleigh bells in the snow.¹⁷⁵ Evidence paints a picture that the very few males that were left on the home front, and even some GIs who may have heard this song, may have been thinking about what life would be like after the war including their marital and family prospects.

Another popular patriarchal theme of music of the World War II era was a man's ability to seduce a woman and her role as passive recipient of his attention. This theme is aptly expressed in the 1942 number "Moonlight Cocktail." This song begins with instructions on how to make a mythical cocktail including soft music, starlight, and dreamers.¹⁷⁶ Interestingly, it suggests that the number of kisses, i.e.

¹⁷⁴ Bing Crosby, "White Christmas," ed. BingCrosbyLegacy (2012), on Youtube.com, accessed June 21, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w9QLn7gM-hY>.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Glenn Miller, "Moonlight Cocktail," ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 21, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_e42mD7OW4U.

physical signs of affection, are left up to the maker of the cocktail. Furthermore, the male protagonist in this song is encouraged to make quite a few of them to seduce his would be love. Perhaps the most illuminating line of this song as it relates to patriarchy is “You’ll awake in a reality of a new complexion where you’ll be king.”¹⁷⁷ From this line, we can see that seduction on the part of the male was an acceptable role for him to take, and that ultimately, he would be rewarded with his lover’s subservience and awe which is like that which a vassal might show a king.

The theme of male as sexually dominant continues with “Jingle Jangle Jingle.” The male narrator of this song is joyous because he does not have to get married. He says “There will be no wedding bells today as I ride merrily along.”¹⁷⁸ Later in the song, he explains his attitude to his female lover, “Oh Lily Bell, I may have done some fooling, but this is why I never fell.”¹⁷⁹ He then praises his spurs for creating a tune which reminds him that being single is fun.¹⁸⁰ The fact that the man is so open about fooling around shows that he is more than happy to get his sexual and/or romantic needs met but does not want to have to adhere to standards of commitment such as marriage. The fact that he also alludes to never falling could be interpreted as his lack of sentimentality or ability to fall in love.

On another level, this could also mean that he will not face retributions for his actions because of wartime conditions. While women were often portrayed as the

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Kay Kyser, “Jingle Jangle Jingle,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 21, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pSTUzFPwB8Y>.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

victims of male seducers in music played on the home front in World War II, there was another type of women exemplified in music of this era. She was the loyal sweetheart who waited faithfully for her soldier boyfriend to come home. This theme was often combined with the theme of nostalgia. The theme of faithful woman is seen in “(I’ve Got a Gal in) Kalamazoo.” The male narrator in this song discusses how he must leave his current place of residence and go back to Michigan for “The sweetest girl in all of Kalamazoo.”¹⁸¹ He further elaborates that he “fell for her looks when I carried her books in Kalamazoo.”¹⁸²

He then explains that years have gone by and my how she grew.”¹⁸³ Despite his acknowledgement of her physical growth, the male narrator of this song continues to infantilize his sweetheart by saying that he is going home to that “freckle-faced kid”¹⁸⁴ thus women were often seen as childlike by their male counterparts and that nostalgia played a large role in the expectation that a woman who had not seen her sweetheart in years would still be faithful to him. In fact, at the end of this song listeners are reassured that the woman the male narrator is waiting for will not have changed or grown sorrowful because of wartime separation. “I can hear her screamin’. Hey Mr. Jackson, everything is okay.”¹⁸⁵ Clearly, fictional women were expected by and large to be patient child-like creatures who were rarely, if ever, affected by war.

¹⁸¹ Glenn Miller, “(I’ve Got a Gal in) Kalamazoo,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 21, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gPtUQol2j54>.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

While some songs focused on relationships after the war, others had a focus on yet another patriarchal stereotype of women, that of unattainable love. This is no more evident than in the song “Tangerine.” A male narrator starts out by discussing how Tangerine, who listeners later learn is an exotic performer, is all that people claim with her “dark eyes and lips aflame.”¹⁸⁶ Not soon after this verse listeners learn that she has “all the guys on the run but her heart belongs to one, her heart belongs to Tangerine.”¹⁸⁷ This shows that sometimes-fictional women were portrayed as fickle, overtly sexual, and what’s more, unattainable to their male lovers.

The song then shifts to a rival woman’s perspective. She talks about how the men who are attracted to her rival are only drawn to her physical attributes such as clothing from Macy’s and Luis Vuitton lipstick that she wears.¹⁸⁸ The woman ends her criticism by saying “She has all the guys in a whirl but she is only fooling one girl, she is only fooling Tangerine.”¹⁸⁹ The woman’s perspective provides still more insight into the patriarchal notions of femininity and masculinity in World War II. In particular, good women could reaffirm their status as such by categorizing other women around them as bad. Bad women in turn, focused on material attributes, such as lipstick and fancy clothes, as well as employment solely for personal gain. Furthermore, both the fictional women in this song, expect that men will lust after these attributes as part of their natures, but will eventually be won back over by the

¹⁸⁶ Jimmy Dorsey, “Tangerine,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 21, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kz-swP427YY>.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

promise of an attainable wife back home.

“Blues in the Night” a musical number published in 1942 for home front consumption also portrays the patriarchal norm of woman as seducers and her counterpart in the good woman. The male narrator of this song states that when he was very young his mother told him “Women will give you big eyes and sweet talkin’, but when that sweet talkin’ is done, they’re nothing but two-faced liars that will leave you to sing the blues in the night.”¹⁹⁰ From this lyrical content, historians are able to infer that a woman filling the role of mother could serve in World War II as an advisor to her son. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that this song uses the word “women” to describe females rather than “girls.”

This choice in language shows that women who were sexually aware of themselves or more mature were often placed in the category of bad women in song story line. Whereas, when a male narrator in other songs referred to them as girls, thus making them more childlike, they often fell into a category of good woman. Another interesting patriarchal notion that this song explores is that younger men such as the male narrator in this song would not necessarily be aware of women’s inherent duplicity. By the end of the song, however, the narrator has come into his own concerning this principle. He says, “One thing I know for certain is women are nothing but two-faced liars who will leave you to sing the blues.”¹⁹¹ Some fictional women fell into the category of bad women if they had sexual agency. Furthermore,

¹⁹⁰ Woody Herman, “Blues in the Night,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 21, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jM-Z-rUIQ9s>.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

fictional mothers had some sway over their sons' romantic education but that ultimately, he would fulfill his patriarchal expectation to be rational when he learns about the soundness of his mother's character relation firsthand.

The song "I've Heard That Song Before" by Harry James and Helen Forest highlights the nature of romantic relationships from a woman's perspective. When one first listens to this song, it appears to simply recount the story of a woman who was enjoying the sweet memories of her first love that are evoked every time she hears a familiar tune. However, when one listens closer a patriarchal dimension is revealed. The woman in this song repeatedly asks her husband or sweetheart's permission to play the Sony saying, "won't you play it again even though I've heard it all before."¹⁹² Although this example is very subtle, it demonstrates the female narrator's subservience to her partner despite the simplistic nature of the request.

In addition, the female narrator highlights certain memories including being swept away in her lover's arms which can be read as sign of female submission and/or complacency as well as the physical dominance of the male character. This song illustrates that even when engaged in reminiscing, female characters often deferred to a male character's will or approval and recounted aspects of their encounters which placed them in passive positions to their male counterparts.

"Sunday, Monday, or Always" by Bing Crosby highlights another dimension to female characters in World War II storylines. In this plot, the male narrator states

¹⁹² Harry James with Helen Forrest, "I've Heard that Song Before," ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 24, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rYgZEK2xtBM>.

“Tell me when we will meet again. Sunday, Monday or always.”¹⁹³ He goes on to state, “If you are satisfied, I will be the one by your side.”¹⁹⁴ From this line, historians are able to infer that the unseen female character in this song is someone that a man has to work hard to please. This sentiment becomes glaringly obvious when the male narrator states, “Don’t wait to tell me about things that make the world go ‘round.”¹⁹⁵ Given the evidence, the things that make the world go around are the love and affection of his lady friend who he disparately wishes to see more often.

Although this desperation is far from the archetype of physically dominant male typical of World War II song plots, the song should be analyzed with consideration of patriarchal standards placed upon women. This song shows a woman as being fickle, thereby contributing to the notion of the inherent weak mindedness of the female sex. Moreover, by failing to give her sweetheart accurate information about their relationship, this insinuates that this female character could possibly be considered a loose woman. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, because the male figure in the song is promising his sweetheart a life of monogamy, it is deducible that despite his challenges in pleasing a woman, he is still hoping to assume a powerful role of husband through marriage.

“There are Such Things” performed by Frank Sinatra and Jimmy Dorsey characterized the ideal woman as “faithful and true.”¹⁹⁶ The entire song is based

¹⁹³ Bing Crosby, “Sunday, Monday or Always,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 24, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ThqL2D8NgPA>.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Tommy Dorsey with Frank Sinatra, “There are Such Things,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 24, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ZpmbLF1h_4.

around the male narrator giving listeners hope that they too, will find love and hope in a faithful woman who will help them forget about their wartime troubles by stressing the fact that the unseen female is both faithful and true, listeners are led to believe that perhaps every available woman is not like this and that one can lose hope of meeting the ideal woman if they are not careful. Frank Sinatra also gives another clue about the ideal woman when he states that “She doesn’t care about what you own but all of what you are.”¹⁹⁷ This line demonstrates that the ideal woman, as characterized in song, was not to be concerned with material goods but rather the emotional guidance and support her husband could offer her. As women were taking more jobs outside of the home to bring financial contributions back into the household, as well as provide much needed wartime labor, songs during the World War II era were speaking about idealized conditions and not actual ones as depicted through song review.

The song “In the Blue of the Evening” highlights once again the relationship between men and women during the World War II era. The Song speaks about a midnight rendezvous between a soldier on leave and his sweetheart. He sings, “We will find romance once again in the blue of the evening.”¹⁹⁸ He speaks of “your eyes yearning”¹⁹⁹ which suggests that the woman in this song is characterized as neither a wanton woman who is solely looking for sexual gratification, nor one who can only think about the idealized version of love she has in her head. Instead, it provides

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Tommy Dorsey with Frank Sinatra, “In the Blue of the Evening,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 24, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mgi3Tk2Gue0>.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

insight into how wartime conditions and romance were curtailed by wartime absence of soldiers from their sweethearts.

After the male narrator characterizes his sweetheart's eyes as having a yearning look, he 'recounts how they shared a passionate kiss saying, "When your lips meet mine it's divine."²⁰⁰ From this turn in the plot, historians are able to observe that white wartime conditions made yearning acceptable for a woman in fiction it was ultimately her male counterpart who initiated and commented on physical contact. Lastly, the song being set at evening reveals that World War II couples in fiction could sanction acts of physical intimacy best when provided with privacy.

The song "Taking a Chance on Love" demonstrates that women in fiction were often portrayed as being obsessed with the idea of falling in love. In this song, the female vocalist sings, "I'm going to try my hand again. Going to feel that flying again. Going to be wide-eyed again. Taking a chance on love."²⁰¹ She also alludes to the fact that she never thought she could fall in love after her last bad relationship and receiving a broken heart. The use of the phrase "wide-eyed"²⁰² shows that women in fiction could be portrayed as innocent when it came to romantic love even if they had experienced similar sensations before.

Furthermore, because the female narrator in this song uses card gaming metaphors, listeners can see that she views love as a game rather than a systematical process. Lastly, and perhaps most surprisingly to the listener, the female narrator

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Benny Goodman with Helen Forrest, "Taking a Chance on Love," ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 24, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ebhPooba-ZM>.

²⁰² Ibid.

sings, “We shall have our happy ending soon taking a chance on love.”²⁰³ While she could be referring to herself in the plural, a more likely interpretation, which lends credence to the idea that women in World War II songs were placed in patriarchal positions, is that the female narrator is returning to the very same man who broke her heart despite her better judgment. Women in World War II song lines were often so consumed by the idea of being in love that they would use their emotional thought process, rather than their rational thinking, to determine if they would reenter a previously toxic relationship. This course of action demonstrates to historians that fictional women with World War II music were expected to be forgiving of their husband’s or sweetheart’s transgressions.

The song “I had the Craziest Dream” continues the theme of fictional women within World War II music being obsessed with the idea of romantic love at the expense of rational thought. Additionally, it places men in an overt position of power over them. Jong, the female narrator discusses how “strange and odd” things appear in dreams.²⁰⁴ She further establishes her willingness to relinquish rational thought when she says “What silly and insane things. We do.”²⁰⁵ She then sings about, in her dream, finally kissing the man she has wanted to be with for several years.

She then says, “In daylight it never happens” and implores her unrequited love “If you care for me, just say you do, how long can a girl go on dreaming. Please make

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Harry James with Helen Forrest, “I Had the Craziest Dream,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 24, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=smmTbHdeX48>.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

my craziest dreams come true.”²⁰⁶ From the second verse of this song, historians are able to infer that the female narrator is portraying herself as silly and will not be able to realize her goal of being loved unless her fantasy is made into reality by the unseen man in the song. Thus, fictional women in World War II song lines were obsessed with love but often unable to do anything about it without the approval of their male counterpart.

The song “That Old Black Magic” showcases the ultimate archetype of the deviant female, a witch. The male narrator of this song states that he is “drawn in by the spell your eyes weave so well.”²⁰⁷ He characterizes the woman’s fingers “as like ice”²⁰⁸ as they go up his spine. Furthermore, he states, “I am aflame for you” and continues, “The only one who can put out the fire of my desire is you with your kisses divine.”²⁰⁹ He then refers to the woman’s power over him as putting him in a “spiral like a leaf caught in the tide.”²¹⁰ He then says, “I know I should stay away but that witchcraft keeps drawing me in.”²¹¹ This song demonstrates that a deviant woman during World War II, as encapsulated in song, held active power over a male figure. Moreover, she was not interested in a long-term relationship, or even gratifying his sexual needs, but simply exciting them beyond measure.

She was able through her wiles to persuade the man to give up rational

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Glenn Miller, “That Old Black Magic,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 24, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wrv1IvbjNZc>.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

thought, even when he was slightly conscious that she was not a good partner. “That Old Black Magic” thus shows that the ultimate female deviant in World War II song plot lines was a woman who not only seduced men but stripped them of all possibilities of power either through eventual marriage or the capacity for rational thought naturally attributed to them.

Lastly, one should not underestimate the issue of woman as seducer in a feminist context. According to *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, it was theorized that women themselves were inherently more likely to be witches because they lacked political and societal power otherwise. As a result, they often used their black magic in order to influence matters of the heart. By doing this, they could simultaneously “emasculate men” while at the same time becoming feared and respected in getting their daily needs met.²¹² Although the issue of women receiving food or firewood was far from prevalent in the 1940’s, the fear of women’s growing independence and the potential emasculation of men was rampant. From the evidence provided in the song, readers can conclude that male narrators often saw love and seduction as a woman’s providence which could lead them in to trouble. Thus, the 1940’s stereotype plays off much earlier notions of European thought concerning women and their mystical powers.

The song “Shoo Shoo Baby” by the Andrews Sisters captures the idealized patriarchal relationship between men and women of the World War II era. The song starts by the female narrator recounting how she met her sweetheart who has now

²¹² *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*. ed. by Merry E. Wiesner, 151-154

gone off to join the Navy. When she starts to cry at him leaving, he says, “Shoo shoo, Baby, don’t cry, Baby.”²¹³ In addition, he counsels her that “times may be rough now but when I come back we’ll have a life of ease.”²¹⁴ When the female narrator refuses to stop crying, she recounts how her male sweetheart says “Papa’s gotta be rough now, so he can be sweet to you again another day.”²¹⁵ The fact that the woman in this song refers to her male partner as “Papa” and he, in turn, refers to her as “Baby” shows that fictional women within World War II song story lines were often portrayed as childlike creatures who could not understand the importance of the war.

If they were good women and exhibited the female virtues of patience, this song shows that they would then be rewarded with possible marriage and material comforts. This song shows yet again that fictional women within World War II music were often ruled by their emotions rather than their perceptions of the political climates. In turn, it was the duty of the male figure in song to be the gruff protector of his lady friend, and explain to her in a way that she could understand, why he had to do his duty.

“Don’t Fence Me In” shows that some men during World War II did not wish to fulfill the gendered expectations of their sweethearts regarding matrimony. In this song, a male narrator says, “Give me lots of land to roam and I’ll appreciate you leaving me by myself.”²¹⁶ While this could be interpreted as his message to the

²¹³ The Andrews Sisters, “Shoo Shoo Baby,” ed. *The Best Of – Home Of Classic Music* (2013), on Youtube.com, accessed June 24, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dyR_bhpB6LY.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ Horace Heidt, “Don’t Fence Me In,” ed. *MusicProf78* (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 26, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zp37Loe4Ym4>.

American military, more likely he is talking to his sweetheart that has been left behind. The fact that the male narrator wants freedom, and is obviously able to obtain it, in the course of the song demonstrates that men had more power over what was going to happen to them after the war than did women. Fictionally, it was acceptable for a man to want to travel after his service. From this evidence concerning the ease with which males could travel, women were stripped of this power and furthermore asked not to pine after potential male partners who wanted to be by themselves. This demonstrates, finally, that women were often subordinate to men in travel as well as other concerns.

“Besame Mucho” reinforces the ideal encapsulated in World War II story lines that love was the ultimate goal for couples. The male narrator of this song states “As I cling to your kiss, it is divine. Say you’ll always be mine.”²¹⁷ He speaks about enfolding the love of his life into his arms and even implores her not to break up with him, saying “If we were through, every little dream I ever had would fly away, and my life would be through.”²¹⁸ Interestingly enough, while this song is patriarchal because it places women as the ultimate prize for men, the male narrator of this song seems to be new to romantic love in general as he states, “I’ve never felt this longing before.”²¹⁹ An interpretation which might explain this abnormality is that of a young soldier who has just gotten married and therefore is sanctioned to fully experience romantic love.

²¹⁷ Jimmy Dorsey, “Besame Mucho,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 26, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MA-MeaALXDY>.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

“You Always Hurt the One You Love” by the Mill Brothers is a perfect example of a song which frees a man from all responsibility to a woman’s feelings during World War II. The line “You always take the sweetest rose and crush it ‘til the petals fall”²²⁰ could be interpreted as a metaphor for physical and/or sexual violence. Furthermore, the male narrator of this song states that you always say the meanest words which in the morning you can never recall”. This line denotes emotional violence toward women. And finally, the male narrator says, “So if I’ve ever hurt you at all, please know it’s because I love you most of all.”²²¹ While the lines are from a male perspective, the female he is singing to is simply supposed to understand that men are inherently coarse and out of touch with their emotions.

Moreover, the male narrator of this song is fully expecting his female sweetheart to forgive him for his transgressions. He encourages her to do this by laying them off as a natural party of love, insinuating that if she loves him like he loves her she will forgive him and think not of her own feelings but of his. Obviously, women in World War II song plot lines were often portrayed as passive patience people who were expected to forgive their sweetheart’s transgressions but verbal and physical in order to have an ideal relationship.

While some songs such as “Don’t Fence Me In” highlighted that women should not burden men with unnecessary home ties as they started their new life, “San Fernando Valley” by Bing Crosby shows that matrimony and home life were

²²⁰ Mills Brothers, “You Always Hurt the One You Love,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 26, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uuDm_dZX_y8.

²²¹ Ibid.

expected of women even as their husbands moved them across country in an attempt to get them away from the war. This is perhaps best illuminated when Bing Crosby sings, “I’m alright with staging because I know she’ll be waiting...old Reverend Thomas made us a promise to join her and I as one.”²²² Although both men and women wanted to escape from the war, home and family life was still on their minds. Furthermore, the male narrator feels comfortable taking what he “knows will be a slower train because he has confidence that his female sweetheart will be waiting.”²²³ This demonstrates that women in fictional song plot lines were often portrayed as faithful and patient despite the upheaval of wartime conditions.

“My Heart Tells Me” touches on the theme exhibited in many World War II numbers that women were often so blinded by their desire to be in love that they would go back to bad relationships even when their minds were telling them not to. In this song, the female narrator sings, “My heart tells me that this is just a fling even though you say our love means everything.”²²⁴ While she appreciates her lover’s kisses, she states “Lips like yours can lie again”²²⁵ hinting to the listener that the same man has been false to her in the past. Nevertheless, she is caught between what he is saying, i.e. rational thought, and what she is feeling, irrational thought. Women were often portrayed as people who could not make up their own minds about love even

²²² Bing Crosby, “San Fernando Valley,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 26, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zvFAAflrjo4>.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Glen Gray, “My Heart Tells Me,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 26, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZdjQw6i2EXs>.

²²⁵ Ibid.

when evidence of bad relationships were staring them in the face and often looked to their husband or sweetheart to make that decision for them.

“I Love You” by Bing Crosby capitalizes on the idealized nature of romantic love. The male narrator in this song says, “I love you rushes through the summer breeze, Birds on the wing again, they sing again, I love you.”²²⁶ From there listeners learn that “love belongs to just you and I.”²²⁷ The fact that the song places heavy emphasis on love between a man and a woman with the man being the first party to admit it demonstrates to historians that unseen women in World War II song plot lines were often dependent on their husbands or sweethearts to explain to them the inherent nature of the emotion they were experiencing. While listeners cannot know the future of the two parties involved in this song, the use of the phrase “belong to” suggests an element of possession on the part of the male character. He has power over his sweetheart because he has taken up the role of explaining how romantic love is intrinsically part of World War II life.

“Rum and Coca-Cola” by the Andrews Sisters sheds light on the patriarchal nature of relationships between American GI’s and local women overseas. In this song, listeners are told that “If you go down Trinidad both mother and daughter working for the Yankee dollar.”²²⁸ While this could be interpreted as a simple employment contract to provide the soldiers with refreshments it quickly becomes

²²⁶ Bing Crosby, “I Love You,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 26, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BFelmNPf06Q>.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ The Andrews Sisters, “Rum and Coca-Cola,” ed. ScrambledEggs1969 (2012), on Youtube.com, accessed June 26, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WiyZdPESno>.

apparent that the transaction is much more sinister in nature, The female narrators state “Native girls say they’ll treat them nice, make Trinidad like paradise.”²²⁹ We are then told that a GI can “make tropic love with native peach” and that he will then cool off by drinking rum and Coca-Cola.²³⁰

From these verses, the lyrics depict that GI’s in fiction often viewed native women as exotic adventures to be explored. In return, the native women portrayed in this song felt that this was their work and could be rewarded with American currency. The men in this song literally had financial power over the native women they made love to as it was assumed that “both mothers and daughters”²³¹ were working for the Yankee dollar. Thus, fictionally native women had very little choice about the services they provided for American GI’s. This song hints that, through prostitution, these women were able to make a living but does not elaborate on other options they may have had.

“Til the End of Time” by Perry Como stresses the nature of idealized romantic love in which the male narrator is forever faithful to his one and only sweetheart. The male narrator of this song equates love to aspects of nature such as singing birds, and stars in the sky.²³² While this may just seem like a melodramatic expression of affection and does shed light on the fact that young women of the World War II era were expected to seek comfort in monogamous relationships ones which precluded

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Perry Como, “Till the End of Time,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 29, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k6yKIEugjD4>.

and sexual agency outside of marriage. Additionally, the fact that the man is stressing his ability to wait may be interpreted as seeing the woman not as a person but as an object which although sacred, is perpetually held outside of time.

“Sentimental Journey” performed by Doris Day and Les Brown speaks of a woman’s anticipation to return to her home and family. Although it does not refer to romantic love, this song, like many others, places women in a patriarchal position as it limits their freedom to travel and make a life for themselves. It can be assumed that if the woman is returning home wartime conditions may have caused her to leave it in the first place. Moreover, Jill M. Sullivan’s work lends credence to the idea that many women returned home from professional employment environments after seeking such employment to escape the doldrums of small town life.²³³ The female narrator of this song states that she is going home in order to reminisce about past pleasures she enjoyed there.²³⁴

The theme of reminiscing and trying to regain what wartime conditions had altered also shows itself in wartime advertising of the period. Author Leila Rupp states that many advertisements for products capitalized on home life which was expected to resume after the war.²³⁵ Music, like many other industries, expected women to enjoy returning home and not regret leaving behind the new lives they had created for themselves to meet wartime needs.

“My Dreams are Getting Better All the Time” also performed by Doris Day

²³³ Sullivan, *Bands of Sisters: Women’s Military Bands During WWII*, 24.

²³⁴ Les Brown with Doris Day, “Sentimental Journey,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 29, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h20YomuQ-XQ>.

²³⁵ Leila Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War*, 61.

and Les Brown continues to capitalize on the patriarchal theme of women being obsessed by love. This song tells the story of a woman who at first dreams about a man and then has him wink at her in “a different light.”²³⁶ Their courtship eventually progresses to kissing and the female narrator states that “maybe I shall hold him tight tonight.”²³⁷ This song demonstrates that women were expected to first have hopes of courtship, and then gradually allow the man to make advances. The fact that the woman states “my getting better all the time”²³⁸ highlights the fact that she is responsible for hoping and dreaming thus leaving her lover to initiate physical contact and romantic actions. Even when a fictional woman in World War II song plot line hopes for romance she will very rarely initiate it without her male partner’s approval.

“There! I’ve Said It Again” is a World War II love song that sheds light on the patriarchal notion that women in fiction were supposed to automatically respond to a man’s overtures of affection. In this song, the male narrator says, “There is no other way to tell you then to say that I love you. I’ve said it once before but here let me say it once more.”²³⁹ He then intrigues his lady love to “forgive me for wanting you so but now you know, there, I’ve said it again.”²⁴⁰

From these lines, a picture is painted that the male character wishes to possess his intended female partner and has attempted multiple times to gain her

²³⁶ Les Brown with Doris Day, “My Dreams are Getting Better All the Time,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 29, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-_ug1nLarhl.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Vaughn Monroe, “There! I’ve Said it Again,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 29, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Um92VEf66A>.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

notice. However, because he has had to state his intentions multiple times it can be inferred that she has not responded in a favorable way as expected of women. The fact that the man then asks his lady friend to forgive him for wanting her denotes not only an emotional want but a physical aggression which may be too much for her delicate sensibilities. “There! I’ve Said It Again” demonstrates on the whole that women were supposed to be both passive and receptive to male advances even when these advances had to be repeated several times.

“I Can’t Begin to Tell You” by Bing Crosby is another song which highlights a woman’s expected acquiescence to male advances as well as her purported ability to captivate males at the expense of their rational thought. Listeners are told by the male narrator of this song that “I can think of the sweetest things when we’re not together but as soon as I see you the pretty little speeches fly away so think of all the sweetest things that have ever been said and just pretend I’m saying them all to you.”²⁴¹

Women in World War II fictional song narrative would sometimes have to use their imaginations to conjure up the emotions of their sweethearts. Moreover, this song demonstrates that fictional men were often freed from the creative responsibility of courting because of a woman’s ability to captivate. The assumption is that women would understand their capacity to charm a man away from rational thought and be forgiving of his clumsiness. Thus, power is inadvertently stripped away from the man but that the woman gives back to him by pretending he has done his duty as seducer.

²⁴¹ Bing Crosby and Carmen Cavallaro, “I Can’t Begin to Tell You,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 29, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZT9AWspisPs>.

“It’s Been a Long, Long Time” and “I’m Beginning to See the Light” by Harry James are two songs which demonstrate the acceptable shift away from total passivity brought on war time conditions. In the first song, we are told that a woman cannot imagine that her long away GI is back in her arms. She states that “there are so many words I know I should say.”²⁴² This line positions her as knowing her expected place as a comforter to her man. However, she then turns to a different form of comfort. She says, “Now kiss me once, now kiss me twice, now kiss me once again for it’s been a long, long time.”²⁴³ Because she first positions herself as emotional comforter it then makes her offer of physical comfort acceptable as she promises that she will say “all the words that need to be said another day.”²⁴⁴

Through this song, historians are able to gather evidence that physical intimacy between men and women was not entirely frowned upon especially in long term committed relationships once the woman has done her duty in waiting for her husband or sweetheart to return home as well as promising him that she would serve as an emotional support after his physical needs have been gratified. “I’m Beginning to see the Light” illuminates a similar trope of circumstances in which physical affection given to men by women would not be frowned upon by audiences. In this song, a woman narrator states “I never went in for catching fire flies, I never made love by lamp shine, but now that the light is in your eyes, I’m beginning to see the

²⁴² Harry James, “It’s Been a Long Long Time,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 29, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MUI4NbQSE0A>.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

light.”²⁴⁵

In this song, listeners are made aware that it is only after the male husband or sweetheart begins to show affection that the woman’s physical actions are sanctioned. Also, light being in a male figure’s eyes probably denotes that this couple was in close enough proximity through which to engage in courtship. Physical affection was most sanctionable on the part of women when their male sweethearts were near enough to be satisfied. Moreover, the fact that this couple was in close proximity to each other probably denotes stability in their relationship which could not always be guaranteed to those who were further apart. A woman’s sexual agency in song narrative was largely controlled by queues from a male figure and that the nature of their relationship was largely dependent on proximity.

Music from both the top 40 pop charts as well as the Victory Disc collection reveals several patriarchal themes regarding the fictional portrayal of white women. The most evident theme is that of a woman who is not concerned with anything else other than the idealized versions of romantic love she holds in her head. Both collections also demonstrate that objectification of women as exemplified by songs such as “Girl in My Arms,” and “The Colonel Told the Private.” Still others such as “That Old Black Magic,” and “Something for the Boys” show a woman as a seducer who refuses to be chastised. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, several of the songs within this collection demonstrate that fictional white females often turned to

²⁴⁵ Harry James, “I’m Beginning to See the Light,” ed. MusicProf78 (2014), on Youtube.com, accessed June 29, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qrJZoj3SkHk>.

male counterparts for approval of their romantic and/or sexual feelings such as “I’ve Heard that Song Before,” and “Taking a Chance on Love.”

The theme as seducer or deviant sexual agent was rooted in much earlier ideals concerning women’s struggle for power in the economically changing time of the early modern era. Even though witch hunts were extinct by the time of World War II, the fictional specter of a woman as seducer had simply changed guise and function. The deviant woman still needed sexual gratification from the men around her and was often willing to catch them unawares to receive it. Furthermore, fictional men thought of these women as deviant for the same reasons real life witches were thought to be so in the early modern era.

These women, through their seduction or magic, “inverted normal social order.”²⁴⁶ They attempted to take power away from men or persuade them to fall into temptation. In the 1940’s, their fictional counterparts did so under the guise of patriotism as in the song “Scrap Your Fat” or “Something for the Boys.” When they did not use patriotism to cloak their seductive efforts, the seducer often was distracting her male counterpart from his patriotic duty or not rewarding him for it as seen by evidence in “Paper Doll.” Thus, the issue of a women as seducer, whether fictional female character in World War II song or actual witch in the early modern era can be seen as a prevalent patriarchal anxiety.

When taken together, the objectification of women, the idea that women in fictional song narrative often did not concern themselves with the wider concerns of

²⁴⁶ *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*. ed. by Merry E. Wiesner, 151

the war, and the fact that those who did take their own sexual initiative were cast as deviant, shows that patriarchal standards concerning relationships between white men and white women were especially present within World War II music.

CHAPTER 3: AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN AND MUSIC DURING THE WAR

African-American women musicians experienced a variety of patriarchal challenges. Some of these challenges were similar to the obstacles that white women faced, while others such as racism, were unique to the African-American experience. The compounding of racism alongside sexism for African-American musicians can be explained best through Kimberle Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality. She states, "I think of intersectionality as a term that captures the fact that systems of oppression are not singular; they overlap and intersect in the same way that power does."²⁴⁷ In previous studies, of discriminatory legal policies affecting African-American women, Crenshaw states that, "...black women struggled to represent their own interests when those interests didn't align with the way white women experienced sex discrimination or with how black men experienced race discrimination."²⁴⁸

She concludes, "that if antiracism isn't explicitly gendered or if feminism isn't explicitly raced, women who can come up under race or gender don't actually come up at all."²⁴⁹ Given these definitions and thoughts concerning the nature of African-American women's oppression, it is vital that those who were musicians during World War II are thought of in this framework. Although they experienced sexism, as

²⁴⁷Crenshaw, Kimberle, "Intersectionality in Promoting Equality," *The Equal Rights Review*, Vol. 16, 2016, accessed December 20, 2017, <http://www.equalrightstrust.org/ertdocumentbank/Intersectionality%20interview%20with%20Kimberle%20Crenshaw%20and%20patricia%20schulz.pdf>, 207.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 206.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid*.

did their white counterparts, they were under more pressure to forgo their identities as African-American women and adhere to standards of white beauty especially if they were part of the Sweethearts of Rhythm.

While this may appear to be a combination, it is important to realize that many African-American women musicians saw themselves as musicians first, African-American women second. This arrangement of identity is explained aptly by Helen Walker-Hill. In her study of eight composers, she reveals that her sample size would have been larger except that many composers chose not to participate because they felt that this study was boxing them in to predetermined labels. One such composer is Tania Leon who stated:

I am tired of all our labels... I am not a black conductor... [I] am not a woman conductor.... The fact that I am in this physical costume does not describe my energy, does not describe my entity. My chosen purpose in life is to be a musician, a composer, a conductor. This is the way I am making my contribution to mankind.²⁵⁰

While Walker-Hill did not ultimately use Leon for her study and attributed her views to not being raised in the United States, biographies of both Irene Britton Smith and Julia Perry reveal an ambivalent attitude towards their race's effect on their musical careers. For example, Perry did not come into race consciousness until the 1960's when the Civil Rights movement was in the public consciousness. This is not to say that she did not face racial inequity, but rather that she did not choose to express it in her music until well after the 1940's. Britton Smith, throughout her life,

²⁵⁰ Tania Leon, xiiv, quoted in Helen Walker-Hill, *From Spirituals to Symphonies: African-American Women Composers and Their Music* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press 2007).

was conscious of her supposed educational superiority to inner city students who she taught because they did not understand classical music.

Understanding the lived experiences of African-American women as well as how they were perceived by male audiences only relates to part of the picture when discussing how they were subject to patriarchal standards and how these standards interacted with race to create a uniquely African-American experience. In order to fully understand how African-American women were portrayed during World War II it is paramount that one examines fictional portrayals of these women through songs of the era. As the contributions of African-American female artists were extensive during World War II, only selected examples of African-American female musicianship will be highlighted.

Even the composers who saw their positions as female musicians as inextricably intertwined with race consciousness did not necessarily want to be categorized as black because they knew that it would be harder to obtain employment if the musical establishment saw them as African-American first. Moreover, musicians such as Moore and Bonds, while unafraid to talk about their experience as African-Americans also spent a considerable amount of time discussing the stigma they faced simply by being female. Bonds mentioned to Walker-Hill that female composers in the 1940's were almost always unable to pursue dreams of composing full time because of their marital and distinctly female concerns. She elaborates that "If you had talent, you were always apologizing for it and instead of working a 12

hour day, you worked 24.”²⁵¹ This evidence suggests that while race and the issues of discrimination which accompanied it were pervasive for African-American female musicians, they ultimately wished to be judged not by the color of their skin but by their inherent musical gifts, thus it is reasonable to assume that musicianship carried its own distinct difficulties which were often compounded by race but that these difficulties, in some cases, were similar to white women who were also musicians. Tucker sheds light on many of these circumstances.

African-American female musicians also experienced a variety of obstacles concerning their craft. They too had to live up to ideal standards of femininity. However, it would do African-American female musicians a disservice if one were to conflate their experiences as exactly those which their white counterparts experienced. For this reason, it is important to note that while African-American musicians were subject to a patriarchal system, it affected them differently than their white counterparts. The first obstacle African-American female musicians had to overcome or work with was the black press’s perception of them. While white women had to negotiate perceptions that they would be sexually deviant if they engaged in swing musicianship, African-American women had to deal with a very different burden. This was the burden of being constructed as women whose duty it was, by virtue of their race, to almost single-handedly tackle the public’s views of racial hierarchy.

²⁵¹ Walker-Hill, *From Spirituals to Symphonies: African-American Women Composers and Their Music*, 157.

Tucker points out that many advertisements in the black press captured African-American swing musicians as “race women”.²⁵² She explains that this concept was directly related to the Double Victory campaign. This campaign, at its core, argued that African-Americans, regardless of sex, had a distinctive role to play during World War II. By engaging in either military or civilian efforts to help win the war, black civil rights leaders hoped that the United States government would then understand their own hypocrisy in combating fascism while continuing to endorse American racism based on the color of one’s skin.²⁵³

This theory influenced public perceptions of black female musicians who, by and large, played for black audiences in segregated venues such as the Apollo Theatre in New York City. It was thought by the black press and political leaders of the Civil Rights movement at the time that “respectable”²⁵⁴ African-American women musicians would provide an idealized version of race heritage for audience members and America at large to aspire to. Tucker explains that by playing music such as jazz or swing which had historical roots and strong heritage in the African-American community, female jazz musicians were vessels by which their audiences could see

²⁵² This was a term used by newspapers which were segregated during the 1940’s to issue news to a black audience. While it may seem pejorative today, this term was actually used to indicate African-American’s distinctive place as harbingers of racial uplift for the African-American community. Tucker, *Swing Shift: All Girl Bands in the 1940’s*

²⁵³ Tucker, *Swing Shift: All Girl Bands in the 1940’s*, 2933.

²⁵⁴ As explained by Tucker, some African-American musicians such as those who played in the Darlings of Rhythm were seen as rawer or ragged than those who played in the Sweethearts of Rhythm who often had lighter skin. Tucker also explains that because black talent was often booked and managed by whites, black musicians had to face the constant prejudice of being perceived as promiscuous. For this reason, many bands emphasized the educational accomplishments and chaste conduct of their members to combat this negative image. During this time, women who used these strategies to combat negative imagery were seen as elevating themselves to a point of respectability.

the potential of all African-Americans and be reminded of their race's achievements.²⁵⁵

African-American women musicians placed as "race women"²⁵⁶ did much to influence a separate construction of African-American womanhood for female musicians. Tucker emphasizes that bands such as The Prairie View Co-eds, and The International Sweethearts of Rhythm, two bands which had their origins in African-American educational institutions, represented to their audiences, all women who were at once respectable, educated, and doing their bit to enhance America's vision of African-Americans at large. Crenshaw shows, in her study on racial equality, women that are involved in race pride movements often feel as though they have to give up their identity as women to support such movements.²⁵⁷ Although the black press did not force African-American women to totally give up their identities as women, it did, as evidenced by Tucker, portray them as harbingers of racial uplift who just happened to be women. In this way, we can see that the culture of the 1940's did not take in to account multiple identities even when considering female African-American musicians.

The manuscript *Double Victory* provides evidence showing that the issue of African-American women as wholesome representatives to both black and white

²⁵⁵ Tucker, *Swing Shift: All Girl Bands in the 1940's*, 263.

²⁵⁶ This was a term used by newspapers which were segregated during the 1940's to issue news to a black audience. While it may seem pejorative today, this term was actually used to indicated African-American's distinctive place as harbingers of racial uplift for the African-American community. Tucker, *Swing Shift: All Girl Bands in the 1940's*

²⁵⁷ Crenshaw, Kimberle, "Intersectionality in Promoting Equality," 207.

public audiences was of vital importance to both their success and role as comforters to men. While *Double Victory* shows this principle through instructions given to African-American WACs by Mary McLeod Bethune it can be inferred that this notion of African-American women as cultural representative was shared across discipline boundaries. Mary McLeod Bethune arrived at Fort Demoinis, Iowa and reminded the female officers that these officers were chosen to represent every African-American woman who wanted a free America and that the public as well as the military institution would be counting on them to demonstrate that African-American women could do their part to support the war effort.²⁵⁸ Moreover, these two bands took direct steps in order to both enhance the construction of their female musicians as respectable, while at the same time calm the fears of over protective parents who were concerned about their young girls going on tour. Tucker explains that both of the bands had mandatory chaperones and strict curfews despite some members being considered legal adults.²⁵⁹

Unlike their white counterparts, who were exclusively focused on maintaining an image of heterosexual charm, the notion of respectability for African-American musicians relied heavily on their association with racial uplift and their potential to be viewed as chaste because they were managed mostly by white males. Finally, Tucker notes that while white women were constantly trying to prove that they were either real musicians, or not a threat to their male counterparts, African-

²⁵⁸ Cheryl Mullenbach, *Double Victory: How African American Women Broke Race and Gender Barriers to Help Win World War II* (Chicago, IL: Chicago Review Press, 2017), 95.

²⁵⁹ Tucker, *Swing Shift: All Girl Bands in the 1940's*, 297.

American female musicians were often valued for their hard work and presumed by the community to be employable. Tucker explains these differences in strictly racial terms. She states that for years before the war, black women had historically been expected to provide for their families as roughly equal to their husbands. In short, they did not have the option to be housewives.²⁶⁰

In addition to African-American women musicians being considered by the press to be race women, whose duty it was to uphold positive images of African-American culture, these women also faced a color barrier which was not experienced by their white counterparts. This color barrier extended to their communities. Tucker draws attention to the fact that many African-American female musicians could only acquire work within certain bands based on the color of their skin. For instance, many of her interviewees stated that the International Sweethearts of Rhythm and all women bands for women of color refused to hire some musicians not because of their lack of skill, but rather because of the hue of their skin. The supposed preference of The International Sweethearts of Rhythm for lighter skinned African-American women may speak to pressures of the music industry. Tucker points out that because most African-American bands during the 1940's were managed and booked by whites they had to live up to standards of white beauty. Tucker emphasizes this point by recounting how many female African-American musicians would wear makeup to

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 481.

lighten their complexions once they joined The International Sweethearts of Rhythm.²⁶¹

The fact that band managers often hired lighter skinned African-American women suggests a subtle layer to the patriarchal systems of World War II which influenced women's participation in music. This preference shows that African-American women were subject to double standards set largely by men. On the one hand, they were expected to be harbingers of racial uplift, thus influencing white male decision-makers, while simultaneously reminding their communities that despite racism, they could and would achieve full equality through hard work and perseverance. On the other hand, in order to fulfill this ideal standard of African-American womanhood they were also subject to idealized standards of white beauty. If they did not maintain a standard of beauty to please both the white patriarchy, and secure employment, they could not hope to fulfill their expectations as race women.

The contradictory standards of African-American womanhood exhibited by The International Sweethearts of Rhythm, was somewhat tempered by the presence of another African-American all women group, The Darlings of Rhythm. These women prided themselves on not using makeup to alter their complexions and on dressing more simply than the International Sweethearts.²⁶² The difference in aesthetic between the two bands reveals an alternative for African-American womanhood at large. This was that a true African-American woman would work hard both in the

²⁶¹ Ibid., 1173.

²⁶² Ibid., 1905.

home and outside of it to support her family. In this way, while The International Sweethearts of Rhythm adhered to industry standards of beauty, and cultural standards of racial uplift, The Darlings of Rhythm largely thought that it was more important to cater to real black men as real black women who were relatable.

Despite the differences between aesthetics of ideal beauty perpetuated by The International Sweethearts of Rhythm and The Darlings of Rhythm respectively, they should both be seen as distinctly African-American, and distinctly patriarchal. Both of these all women groups were drawing upon ideal images of beauty or womanhood, and thus reaffirming their femininity in the eyes of audiences and media outlets. As a result, both groups were subject to ideal standards of beauty and hence femininity set either by male audiences or by male industry leaders. If either one of these bands had failed to capitalize on notions of beauty or womanhood, they would fail to relate to male gatekeepers or audiences; they could have lost the ability to be employed. African-Americans who played in all women bands during the 1940's not only had to conform to patriarchal standards of beauty, but had to balance this with patriarchal notions of race which did not affect their white counterparts.

Another patriarchal factor which influenced the lives and careers of African-American female musicians during World War II was the Jim Crow Laws. These laws had a particular impact when African-American all-girl bands traveled in the South. Tucker explains that the white police officers who were tasked with enforcing Jim Crow were predominantly men. This added a particularly gendered tension to segregation, since it was men who quite literally took out their physical frustrations

on black women who they believed to be white. The theory of intersectionality can also come in to play here. In the report entitled *Say Her Name: Resisting Police Brutality Against Black Women*, Crenshaw explains that although her study is modern, police brutality against black women can be characterized as “a historical phenomenon.”²⁶³

She further explains that instances of sexual assault and sexual violence committed by police officers are due to the misconception that black women are seen by white men as sexually available. She explains that the women’s sex or gender puts them at risk for sexually related crimes but that the fact that they are black often complicates their ability to report such crimes and be taken seriously.²⁶⁴ Although there is shame and stigma for all victims of rape, upper middle class white women had the reliability of privilege on their side when rape is perpetrated upon them. It is often not considered a minority problem, and therefore, tends to receive more attention from the public at large. On the other hand, African-American women are often terrified to report instances of rape committed upon them by a police officer because their minority status makes them less in the eyes of the law.²⁶⁵

Although this framework is modern, scholars can use it to theorize about the intersectionality of African-American women musicians in the 1940’s. These women,

²⁶³ Kimberle Crenshaw, *Say Her Name: Resisting Police Brutality Against Black Women* (New York, NY: Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies, 2015), 507, Kindle

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 577.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 71.

like their modern-day counterparts, were often seen as promiscuous. Furthermore, if they tried to pass as white and were found out, they would be subject to rape as a form of discipline because they were women and African-American. Lastly, unlike their modern-day counterparts who at least have a semblance of due process of law when instances of rape by police officers are perpetrated, women in the 1940's in all girl bands were working against a legal system which codified the punitive action against black women as acceptable behavior.

From interviews with band members in the Sweethearts of Rhythm, Tucker shows that many wore makeup to lighten their skin tone. Also, two members of this band were known to be white women. Ros Kron and Toby Butler were two white women who performed with the band. They often wore makeup in order to make their skin look darker because they knew there would be legal consequences for the band if they did not.²⁶⁶ Tucker explains that suspected white women who were seen socializing with black women during the 1940's, were seen by male police officers as "fallen."²⁶⁷ In other words, they were seen as less respectable and therefore subject to police officers unscrupulous sexual assault and battery.²⁶⁸

Segregation and other Jim Crow policies not only affected those black women who looked white, but did indeed have an impact on an entire band no matter the shade of their skin. If a white male police officer deemed that women traveling in an

²⁶⁶ Tucker, *Swing Shift: All Girl Bands in the 1940's*, 2706.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 2478.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 2477.

all-girl African-American band looked suspicious, or that they would be destructive while performing, he had the discretion to cancel their shows. This happened most often with suspect bands such as the Sweethearts of Rhythm who were illegally racially integrated.²⁶⁹ In order to combat segregation, many African-American all women bands would hire a white bus driver or other personnel who would pretend to be their manager.²⁷⁰ This tactic proved very effective because most white police officers would not question a white man's dominance over an all African-American female group.²⁷¹

While both Caucasian and African-American women had to conform to idealized standards of beauty and at times exaggerate their own femininity in order to be received well by military and civilian audiences, African-American female musicians had the added struggles of racial tensions created by Jim Crow along with the issue of colorism within their own communities. Several band members of the Darlings of Rhythm told Tucker that they were denied a place in the International Sweethearts because their skin was too dark. Furthermore, Tucker explains that band members in the Sweethearts of Rhythm were often seen as making their music white because they generally used less improvisation and played in a less ragged style. Patronage is an important component to consider when analyzing the behaviors of the Sweethearts of Rhythm when performing.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 2668.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 3941.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 3940.

Although this band was headed by African-American band leaders, the agents in charge of booking them were white males. Thus, these booking agents would have had their own standards of beauty and may not have wanted darker skinned members having the possibility to play music for military audiences.²⁷² Helen Walker-Hill's study of female African-American composers also highlights this issue in her biography of Irene Britton Smith. She discusses how this composer was reluctant to perform arrangements of spiritual pieces or go to churches where spirituals were performed because "They were reminders of slavery and degradation."²⁷³ Walker-Hill further elaborates that this particular composer disliked how many of her inner city students could not identify with European style classical music, going so far as to refer to them by the color of their skin to account for this deficit.²⁷⁴

In addition to the biography of Smith and evidence provided which suggests that she was conditioned to see African-American people who, because of their socio-economic status and darker skin color, could not understand classical music as inferior to herself, Walker-Hill comments on the issue of class and skin distinction amongst the African-American musical community more broadly, stating that it was difficult to illicit responses from her interviewees directly regarding how race and class comingled in order to influence composer's perceptions of the wider community.²⁷⁵ She then quotes a prominent sociologist who conducted an extensive

²⁷² Tucker, *Swing Shift: All Girl Bands in the 1940's*, 993.

²⁷³ Walker-Hill, *From Spirituals to Symphonies: African-American Women Composers and Their Music*, 199.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 356.

study on this issue concluding that features such as hair texture or skin color would always affect class perceptions in the African-American community.²⁷⁶

Double Victory: How African-American Women Broke Down Race and Gender Barriers to Help Win WWII also elaborates on issues of skin color particularly as they affected the International Sweethearts of Rhythm. This band, although billing itself as black, had members from many races. While police in 1940's society in general did not care whether those of African and Mexican descent mixed in professional activities, the band did encounter dangerous prejudice when it was discovered that two white women trying to pass as light skinned African-Americans were involved with the band. In particular, alto saxophone player Roz Kron was forced to wear dark make-up and perm her hair in order to make herself look like an African-American woman to avoid police brutality for her and her band mates.²⁷⁷

Furthermore, *Double Victory* demonstrates through quotations from Sweetheart members that they felt relieved when asked to tour in Europe, because unlike the South, the band would not be "scrutinized for any hint of whiteness."²⁷⁸ Although racial factors did not relate directly to women's production of music from evidence provided by Tucker, historians are able to see that race did influence differences in gendered perceptions of African-American and Caucasian musicians.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Cheryl Mullenbach, *Double Victory: How African American Women Broke Race and Gender Barriers to Help Win World War II*, 214.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 217.

Taken together Tucker, Walker-Hill, DV shows that the issue of skin color was a major concern largely instituted by men which affected women's ability to participate in the dissemination of music during World War II.

Lastly, these perceptions demonstrate that race became a factor in how African-American and Caucasian bands crafted their public image as musicians. White women focused on being feminine and charming, but intentionally sidelined their wishes or capacity for employment. African-American women by contrast did not sideline their ability to work, but rather focused on how their idealized versions of womanhood and musicianship would better the race as a whole. They also emphasized how their employment was a natural extension of their roles as family supporters.

One of the most well-known performers during this period is Billie Holiday whose song "All of Me" published in 1941 sheds much light on the fictional portrayal of African-American women during the World War II era. The female narrator in this song states that her male counterpart should "take my lips for I long to lose them, take my arms for they belong to you."²⁷⁹ She also informs listeners that her male lover has taken the best part of her that was her heart and therefore he should have all of her body.²⁸⁰ Because the female narrator is literally giving away her body parts in this song, it is reasonable to deduce that the unseen male counterpart is claiming literal

²⁷⁹ Billie Holiday, "All of Me," ed. Okmusix (2014), in Youtube.com, accessed June 30, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NcBxXRVhV_o.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

possession over her thus putting him in a position of power and the female narrator in a submissive position.

Another song by Holiday, that illustrates a uniquely African-American trope which pertains to women of the World War II era, “Gloomy Sunday,” speaks of mourning as a result of race related violence. The female narrator of this song states that “pretty little white flowers will not save you from where the black hearse is taking you.”²⁸¹ She then elaborates “that in death I will be caressing you.”²⁸² Listeners then learn that her depressing fantasy is merely a dream and that she wakes to her sleeping husband or sweetheart lying on her heart.

The fact that Billie Holiday uses the colors white and black very prominently in this work suggests that the song could be referencing racial violence taking place during World War II as she states, “Your pretty little white flowers will not eliminate the black of this coffin,”²⁸³ and that the conciliatory efforts of whites to minimize racial hate crimes serve as a pitiful apology for the millions of African-American men who lost their lives to such crimes. She states that although white women had to deal with war related death, a vast majority of them did not have to deal with death in racial terms. If historians take Billie’s references to white and black as not only literal representations of a funeral color scheme but also as a symbol of the racial divide

²⁸¹ Billie Holiday, “Gloomy Sunday,” ed. Okmusix (2013), in Youtube.com, accessed June 30, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9vjNdSOgFso>.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Ibid.

they can see that race relations during World War II were an ever-present patriarchal obstacle which was uniquely African-American in nature.

Holiday also provides insight into the patriarchal role of African-American women as mothers. Her song “Mandy is Two” states, “If you could see Mandy now, getting tall with eyes of cornflower blue, she knows her alphabet and no one taught her, Miss Amanda thinks she’s a big girl now.”²⁸⁴ Despite her young age, Mandy, presumably a young African-American girl is fiercely independent. Moreover, her mother, in referring to the silent you, is likely speaking to an absent father indicating that she is raising the child alone possibly while she is working or otherwise away from the home. Lastly, the female narrator of this song states, “Mommy is so blue, because Mandy is two.”²⁸⁵ This line perhaps indicates that although she is proud of her daughter for exhibiting a strong independent nature of African-American womanhood, she also fears that the fate of a love gone wrong will lead to her child having to raise a child of her own alone. Thus, this song demonstrates that within fictional song plot lines African-American women were fiercely independent yet subject to the hardships of an absent husband leaving them to find means of their own support. This stands in stark contrast to the popular representation of white women through song which often portrayed them as being consumed by the idea of being in love rather than with the responsibilities of a single parent.

²⁸⁴ Billie Holiday, “Mandy is Two,” ed. Okmusix (2014), in Youtube.com, accessed June 30, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fv2gQk2YXVs>.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

Holiday also lent credence to the idea put forth by Tucker that African-American women served as examples of racial uplift as well as supporters for their men fighting overseas. Her song “Wherever You Are” states that “in millions of hearts there’s a fire still burning, a yearning as our hearts go with you wherever you are.”²⁸⁶ After this line, she brings in a religious element stating that “our prayers go with you, too, wherever you are.”²⁸⁷ While the majority of people stationed overseas were men, it is reasonable to infer that the female narrator of this song was speaking to men who were away during the war assuring them that the female figures in their lives will continue to hope that they come home soon. African-American women during the World War II era acted as harbingers of hope for African-American men who were far away from their homes and loved ones.

This brief review of works by Billie Holiday during the World War II era reveals several uniquely African-American yet still patriarchal forces that shaped fictional portrayals of women within song. Firstly, African-American women, were often unafraid to talk about the aspects of a physical union in songs like “All of Me.” Other songs, by African-American women, dealt with a realm that the majority of white women did not have to face. This was death induced by racial violence or the fear of it. Finally, while many songs by white women dealt with the prospect of being

²⁸⁶ Billie Holiday, “Wherever You Are,” ed. Okmusix (2014), in Youtube.com, accessed June 30, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=20DJxb5WKkk>.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

denied love, African-American women were unafraid to discuss the consequences of being strong-minded and independent while raising a child on their own.

Another iconic African-American female musician who sheds much light on the patriarchal standards African-American women were subject to during World War II was Ella Fitzgerald. Fitzgerald's 1941 hit "My Man" portrays African-American women as the sufferers of domestic violence who, despite this, are faithful to their menfolk. "Girls, he's got two or three that he likes as well as me, does my man. Black and blue, he beats me too, does my man."²⁸⁸ African-American women were often portrayed through songs as faithful companions to their menfolk even when their men were exerting physical power over them and did not provide in the relationship. This theme continues in another one of Ella Fitzgerald's World War II numbers, "He's My Guy." This song portrays the man's power in a slightly less violent manner, but nevertheless, proves the point that fictional African-American women were often portrayed through songs as faithful wives or sweethearts who endured their husband's indifference. "He doesn't even try, but he's still my guy."²⁸⁹ Tucker draws attention to the fact that many African-American women were expected to be faithful to the men in their lives or else were seen as Jezebel's. She further explains that this embodiment of faithfulness can be seen through African-American actresses'

²⁸⁸ Ella Fitzgerald, "My Man," September 13, 1994, *The War Years (1941-1947)*, The Verve Music Group, mp3.

²⁸⁹ Ella Fitzgerald, "He's My Guy," September 13, 1994, *The War Years (1941-1947)*, The Verve Music Group, mp3.

portrayals of the stereotypical role of a mammy or dumbed down matriarch figure such as that scene in the 1939 *Gone With the Wind*.

Later in the song, listeners are told that what keeps the woman in the relationship is the hope of fidelity of her husband, “Sometimes he takes me in his arms and smiles and for a while I can see me in his eyes.”²⁹⁰ Fictional African-American women as portrayed through songs were expected to hope for fidelity even when their fictional male counterparts had provided evidence to the contrary. Fitzgerald also touches directly upon the theme of fictional African-American women in the patriarchal roles of wives and mothers as well as what can happen when this balance is upset. Her 1942 hit, “Mama Come Home,” is narrated by a daughter who states, “Mama come home, you’ve been at the jitter bug box since a quarter to three, and Daddy and me are hungry. Gone are the crackers. Gone are the cheese. Please, oh mama, please.”²⁹¹ After detailing various food items which they do not have, the daughter implores her mother, “Make slick with a chicken, bake quick with a cake.”²⁹² Fictional African-American women were expected to support their husbands through prescribed household duties such as cooking rather than think of their own enjoyment first.

This theme of putting family and husband before one’s own enjoyment as a woman is further solidified when the daughter suggests a solution to her mother’s

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Ella Fitzgerald, “Mama Come Home,” September 13, 1994, *The War Years (1941-1947)*, The Verve Music Group, mp3.

²⁹² Ibid.

dancing absences, “You know, Papa loves to jitterbug, too. So, take him out to the jitter box, for that won’t do no harm.”²⁹³ Activities such as dancing were only acceptable for a woman to do, in fictional context, with a male partner. If she were married, she was expected to enjoy these activities not solely for herself, but in the company of her husband. Thus, this song supports the idea that fictional African-American women were often placed in patriarchal positions as their husband held power over their leisure activities, and they were considered deviant if they did not fulfill household responsibilities.

In addition to highlighting how African-American women were expected to conform to duties of the house and endure domestic violence while remaining faithful, Fitzgerald’s catalog also highlights how fictional African-American women were portrayed as stoic in the face of emotional adversity. Her song “You Don’t Know What Love Is” tells female audience members that in order to truly experience the full scale of love they must first experience pain.²⁹⁴ The female narrator of the song states “You don’t know what love is until you’ve had a love you’ve had to lose.”²⁹⁵ She goes on to states that “You don’t know how lips hurt until you’ve kissed and paid the cost.”²⁹⁶

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ella Fitzgerald, “You Don’t Know What Love Is,” September 13, 1994, *The War Years* (1941-1947), The Verve Music Group, mp3.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

Finally, she states that “until you’ve spent the night with sleepless eyes, you don’t know what love is.”²⁹⁷ Fictional African-American women were often portrayed as having to go through pain in order to experience the sweetness of love. While this song does not directly state that the female narrator is being jilted by a male counterpart, it nevertheless shows that African-American women in the World War II context who listened to songs like this would have thought of their own experiences within a majority of heterosexual couplings.

Fitzgerald, in addition to discussing physical and emotional pain as well as appropriate gender roles for African-American women of the World War II time period in her songs also discusses fictional women being placed in another patriarchal position, that of naïve student with a patient male teacher. This theme is expressed in her song “I Want to Learn About Love.” In this song, the female narrator states “Take me, teach me how a heart should feel when it’s real.”²⁹⁸ African-American women much like their white fictional counterparts in song were often denied choice and power in their romantic relationships, relying on males to cure them of their naïveté. Additionally, this song touches on the theme of monogamy as the female narrator asks, “How would I go about making you my own, my own, my own?”²⁹⁹ The fact the female narrator stresses this point demonstrates that, at least in song narrative, African-American women valued monogamy and stability. This view is in stark

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Ella Fitzgerald, “I Want to Learn About Love,” September 13, 1994, *The War Years (1941-1947)*, The Verve Music Group, mp3.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

contrast to another stereotype of African-American women as promiscuous vessels waiting to be sated by male gratification.

The theme of love as a paramount desire for African-American women and monogamy being an important part of the scheme continues with Fitzgerald's "Somebody Nobody Loves." In this song, the female narrator compares herself to a "lonely Cinderella" who's "praying for the gay Prince Charming."³⁰⁰ Because the female character literally uses a fairy tale in order to describe her ideal romantic interaction and because Cinderella was subject to a male trying to capture her heart, it can be inferred that the fictional African-American woman in this song is naïve and innocent similar to the Cinderella character and just wants someone to take care of her. This in turn can be interpreted as an African-American woman's willingness to provide her husband or sweetheart with complete control over their romantic lives.

In fact, this idea is supported by another lyric of this song which states, "If I don't find somebody soon, I'll die, I'll die, I'll die."³⁰¹ The fact that the narrator portrays herself as being vulnerable to death if her romantic desires are not fulfilled shows that fictionally in song narrative that men, even when unseen, held power over their female counterparts.

Another song by Fitzgerald which exemplifies the patriarchal place that women were positioned in during the World War II era is "Benny is Comin' Home on

³⁰⁰ Ella Fitzgerald, "Somebody Nobody Loves," September 13, 1994, *The War Years (1941-1947)*, The Verve Music Group, mp3.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

Saturday.” In this song, the female narrator speaks of plans to throw a home coming party for her boyfriend who has been gone during the war. She states, “Cancel the hash, nix the beans, cause Benny has had plenty of that.”³⁰² Listeners then learn that through her cooking, “Benny’s gonna be fat, he’s gonna be fat.”³⁰³ From these lyrics historians are able to gather that many African-American women portrayed fictionally were expected to provide for their wartime husbands’ welfare when they came home and cater to his taste. Because the woman in this song is so fixated on what to serve her husband, to make sure it does not look like his normal wartime meal, it can also be inferred that African-American women were expected to prepare special and comforting meals for their returning veterans rather than think about economics or what they, themselves, would like to eat.

An African-American female musician who brought home the theme of the importance of religion to African-American women through song was Sister Rosetta Tharpe. The songs she published during the war years were largely concerned with God, hope, and the end of war. One such song which exemplifies African-American women’s roles as hope bringers to their community is “All Over This World.” In this song, the female narrator discusses all the things that will “soon be over”³⁰⁴ with the ending of war. She sings “Moaning in the land will soon be over, all over this

³⁰² Ella Fitzgerald, “Benny is Comin’ Home on Saturday,” September 13, 1994, *The War Years (1941-1947)*, The Verve Music Group, mp3.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁴ Sister Rosetta Tharpe, “All Over This World,” ed. Sister Rosetta Tharpe – Topic (2015), in Youtube.com, accessed June 30, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8bnc5P1JILY>.

world.”³⁰⁵ She then states that “shouting will follow along with singing, dancing, and praying.”³⁰⁶ From this lyrical evidence, and Tharpe’s other work, one can conclude that fictional female African-American narrators often were portrayed as having an interest in religion.

In Tharpe’s case, her interest in religion began before the war. Her mother was involved in an African-American church, and she used Tharpe’s musical talents from a young age to engage the congregation. Furthermore, when Tharpe’s band manager asked her to veer away from her gospel roots, she asserted her independence after 1941 and demanded to play music with a religious hue. Since Tharpe wrote her own music, or used music from her spiritual upbringing, it is reasonable to assume that the female narrators in her songs would have been based on herself, and therefore, and would have had an investment in religion well before the war.³⁰⁷

Tharpe’s work produced during the war years also touches on the theme of women moral guiders for their male counterparts. “I Want a Tall Skinny Papa” exemplifies this idea perfectly. The female narrator states “I want a tall skinny papa who walks the chalk line, who treats me fine, who brings home that gold to soothe my soul.”³⁰⁸ The fact that the female narrator emphasizes that her ideal beau is to do what he is told and walk a “chalk line”³⁰⁹ suggests that she will be the one telling him what

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ *Sister Rosetta Tharpe: The Godmother of Rock & Roll* (PBS, 2017), mp3, accessed on August 25, 2017, <http://www.pbs.org/black-culture/shows/list/rock-and-roll-rosetta-tharpe/>.

³⁰⁸ Sister Rosetta Tharpe, “I Want a Tall, Skinny Papa,” ed. BD Music (2016), in Youtube.com, accessed June 30, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zVnbqxehXTk>.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

to do thereby curbing his more uncomely masculine urges. Consequently, fictional African-American females, as portrayed in song, were often seen as a stabilizing force when their husbands were thrust into tempting situations.

Another religious theme Tharpe touches on in her song performance is that of studying religion and peace rather than being concerned with the troubles and horrors of war. Her song “Down by the Riverside” addresses this quandary aptly. The female narrator of the song states that her “sins are making her feel so ill and depraved at all hours of the day and night”³¹⁰ that she must go down to the riverside to wash them off. Later, she sings “I’m going to put on my white raiment down by the riverside, down by the riverside and I ain’t gonna study war no more.”³¹¹ She repeats this line, giving listeners the impression that their mental efforts, especially if they are women, should be concentrated on studying religion and the word of God rather than preoccupying themselves with war’s destructive power. Tharpe not only made songs which subliminally advised women to be moral coaches for men as well as having paramount concerns with religion. She wrote songs concerning mothers’ relationships with their daughters and how death could be conquered by a strong faith in God.

One such song is “Sleep on Darling Mother.” In this song, the female narrator, presumably Tharpe herself states, “I had a loving mother who used to walk and talk with me.”³¹² Listeners learn in the second stanza of the song that the mother said “I

³¹⁰ Sister Rosetta Tharpe, “Down by the Riverside,” ed. Jcyphe (2006), in Youtube.com, accessed June 30, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4xZR_GBa8qk.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Sister Rosetta Tharpe, “Sleep On Darling Mother,” ed. Sister Rosetta Tharpe – Topic (2015), in Youtube.com, accessed June 30, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xahC5vbSCrw>.

have to leave you child to be with God on high.”³¹³ Later Tharpe reiterates that she hopes to meet her mother in heaven again and that she is grateful that her mother can rest in God’s glory.³¹⁴ Analysis of this song reveals that fictional African-American women, as portrayed in song, took great pride in being loving wives and mothers regardless of their employment status during the World War II era. Furthermore, it is implied through the song’s lyrics that fulfillment of such matronly duties was rewarded with a fulfilling afterlife.

In addition to songs which captured how patriarchal rules set forth for African-American women would be rewarded in the afterlife, Tharpe’s songs also highlight how faith in God, particularly a male one, would ultimately carry a woman through her own trials and tribulations. In her song, “Nobody Knows, Nobody Cares” Tharpe states that “Nobody knows my burden. Nobody shares my load.”³¹⁵ She goes on to state that her only comfort is with her male God figure. “My only comfort, my only stay, is that Jesus is walking by me all the way.”³¹⁶ Thus, African-American women shouldered their responsibility because they could take comfort in the protection and all-knowing love of Jesus even when their community has deserted them.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Sister Rosetta Tharpe, “Nobody Knows, Nobody Cares,” ed. Sister Rosetta Tharpe – Topic (2015), in Youtube.com, accessed June 30, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ZJ5mTAiBFY>.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

In this case, because Jesus is male, one can argue that he is holding power and influence over African-American women similarly to the way in which their husbands could hold it over them. Sister Rosetta Tharpe also used her music inspired by religious fervor to drive home the point that education was not of value unless tempered by proper religious teachings. In so doing, she inadvertently places fictional female narrators in a lesser position to men who have gone to university. This theme is exemplified by her song "Pure Religion." She states that people from all levels of society need true religion to get through hard times, such as a doctor having a patient he can't cure, a mother and father having to face the death of their child, and dreadful circumstances.³¹⁷

Most tellingly, she says, in her song, "That's All," "And there's a type of preacher who's fine of speech, who has to go to college after learning how to preach."³¹⁸ She goes on to state that this preacher may "go to all the schools, and read all the books. But the preachin' don't mean nothing, without that true religion."³¹⁹ Tharpe elaborates that all of this education is useless without a true belief in God.

She further elaborates that she knows her song will offend people who find themselves in this circumstance but that's all she has to say.³²⁰ Because she criticizes her own thinking mind in terms of gender by calling it a woman's mind, she is

³¹⁷ Sister Rosetta Tharpe, "Pure Religion," ed. Sister Rosetta Tharpe – Topic (2015), in Youtube.com, accessed June 30, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rPv2WghMxfk>

³¹⁸ Sister Rosetta Tharpe, "That's All," ed. Via Nocturna (2016), in Youtube.com, accessed June 30, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-XXVJSudHuo>.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Ibid.

inadvertently acknowledging the power, albeit corrupt power, that a man who has a university degree holds over a pious, yet uneducated, African-American woman. When examining “That’s All” along with “Pure Religion” one can glean important data about fictional African-American female characters. They were often portrayed as pious beings who could and did use religious faith to get through hard times. However, this was tempered by the knowledge that no matter how pious they were, African-American men, especially those who were educated, often held more power within the temporal world than their female counterparts.

The issue of the influence of spirituality within the African-American community, especially for women musicians, can not only be seen in works by Tharpe. Helen Walker-Hill’s study demonstrates that composers such as Margaret Bonds and Undine Smith Moore were profoundly influenced by their upbringing within the church. Both composed arrangements for spirituals and did so using syncopated rhythms and gap scales which were popular in traditional African-American folk music at the time. Walker-Hill explains that the use of these compositional techniques was a conscious choice made on the part of these composers to highlight the achievements of their race. She refers to this compositional choice as the use of “black idioms within music.”³²¹ In her biography of Moore, readers are also given insight into how a strong upbringing within the church could have patriarchal implications. Moore is quoted by Walker-Hill as

³²¹ Walker-Hill, *From Spirituals to Symphonies: African-American Women Composers and Their Music*, 62.

stating, “while women had a considerable amount of power in the church with regards to dissemination of music, there was nevertheless a certain type of etiquette which kept them in their proper place.”³²²

African-American women were unafraid to write about the circumstances that affected their lives as depicted from works by influential African-American women during the World War II period. The first, and perhaps most telling, is that African-American women not only wrote about being discontented in relationships, but were unafraid to capture the physical violence that could result from a bad relationship. In addition, women such as Billie Holiday referenced the colors black and white in their songs and connect these subliminally to racial violence. The songs of Sister Rosetta Tharpe emphasized the importance of an African-American woman’s deference to a male God as well as her role as moral protector for her husband. Lastly, all three artists have songs which touch upon the importance of an African-American woman’s duty as a wife and mother and what happens when she fails to fulfill this duty.

³²² Ibid., 63.

CHAPTER 4: COMPOSERS

An examination of people who wrote the songs performed during World War II provides insight into the role of patriarchal gender norms that were an influence on society. Due to the scope of the current project, composers for every song used in this paper cannot be analyzed. However, it is possible to make very general conclusions based on the list of 59 songs that composers and lyricists were overwhelmingly male and white. When women did appear, they were often in what can be assumed to be husband and wife teams.

With the exception of Sister Rosetta Tharpe who arranged and chose her own music to sing, many of the songs used in this thesis were recycled from earlier decades and women performers did not have agency over them.³²³ The composers and lyricists featured in this section were ones who wrote multiple songs used in this study and who were easily accessible in the *Biographical Dictionary of American Music*.

By analyzing brief synopses of their lives, it is possible to gain insight as to why they may have written the songs discussed here. Irving Berlin, an American composer who immigrated to the United States as a child from Russia, has interesting biographical information which provides insight into why he might have written both wartime music featured on the V-Disc collection and the home front hit of “White

³²³ *Sister Rosetta Tharpe: The Godmother of Rock & Roll* (PBS, 2017), mp3, accessed on August 25, 2017, <http://www.pbs.org/black-culture/shows/list/rock-and-roll-rosetta-tharpe/>.

Christmas.”³²⁴ In World War I, he served in the United States army. After his service, the content of his song writing became more sentimental when he wrote “Let’s Have Another Cup of Coffee.” However, his wartime experience would have prompted him to write songs like “This is the Army, Mr. Jones” which dealt with civilians adjusting to military life given his own transition between those worlds.³²⁵ It does not mention in Berlin’s biographical sketch whether or not he served in World War II, however, scholars can infer that because his song writing generally focused on love and not war that a longing for a simpler time, when the world was changing around him, may have motivated him to write “White Christmas.”

Author John Bush Jones comments that many soldiers during the World War II era, as well as their families on the home front, fell in love with this 1942 hit although army officials thought it too sentimental to risk playing it at army sanctioned events.³²⁶ Given this evidence, it is reasonable to infer that songs which talked about stability and simplicity and the patriarchal standards of home and family would have been comforting to those overseas.

Another American composer whose military experience probably influenced the subject matter they chose to write about was Cole Porter. In 1918, he served with the French Army during World War I. By the time World War II was well under way, 1943, he had written a musical in which the number “Something for the Boys” was featured.³²⁷ Here, just as in Berlin’s “This is the Army, Mr. Jones” as well as “White

³²⁴ Charles Eugene Claghorn, *Biographical Dictionary of American Music*, 48.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ Jones, *The Songs That Fought the War; Popular Music and The Home Front*, 11.

³²⁷ Charles Eugene Claghorn, *Biographical Dictionary of American Music*, 357.

Christmas,” “Something for the Boys” capitalizes on the subject of military life with an added emphasis on the comfort a woman can provide a man. Porter, due to his military service, was able to write easily about war time life and conditions. However, since he did not serve in World War II, it would make sense that he was adjusting his music to capitalize on his own experience and the nostalgia of simpler times.

In addition to composers during the World War II era who may have been motivated to write because of past patriotism, many seemed to be motivated by the prospect of financial gain. Two such composers exemplified in this sample are Johnny Burke and Johnny Mercer. Both of these men were paid to write songs. Burke worked in various music firms in Chicago and New York as a staff song writer³²⁸ while Mercer was listed as a contract writer for Miller Music in New York City from 1929-1933.³²⁹ As both of these men were paid for their lyrical skills they would have had to have been savvy concerning what both the public and army sector consumers of music would have wanted to hear.

Scholars have insight into the public’s desire for normalized gendered behavior through the work of Leila J. Rupp and Leisa Meyer. Meyer points out that some people in the military were reluctant to hire women to fulfill men’s jobs because the concept of female as relating to gender and soldier did not blend well together in the minds of military officials.³³⁰ To ease this transition necessary to alleviate wartime shortages of manpower women within the United States army during World

³²⁸ Ibid., 74.

³²⁹ Ibid., 306.

³³⁰ Leisa D. Meyer, *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women’s Army Corps During World War II*, 3.

War II were portrayed as ultra-feminine and patriotic.³³¹ Rupp made a similar comparison when she states that advertising agencies stressed women's ability to do wartime industrial work while emphasizing their femininity through magazine articles as well as emphasizing how easy the work would be.³³² This need to alleviate public anxiety about possible changes in gender roles probably filtered down to the male dominated music industry.

From the list of songs provided in this thesis, it is evident that women were most often performers not writers of their own music therefore women were being portrayed by men not relating their own experiences as actual women. Moreover, women who were performing numbers written by men who had begun their careers well before the changing needs of war were subject to a male interpretation of idealized womanhood. As the songs in this thesis were predominantly written for the armed forces that constituted a male dominated institution in the 1940's that was having to adjust to the often-unwanted presence of women, it is reasonable to assume that songs produced for soldiers' ears would be better received if they did not capitalize on the changes brought on by war but rather on the stable role of women as comforter or sweetheart. The role of seducer exemplified in many of the songs could also be said to serve the role of alleviating anxiety because it was a safe way in which soldier audiences could demonize women who dared to show their own agency.

³³¹ Ibid., 54.

³³² Leila Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War*, 96.

Composers who wrote about the transition between civilian and army life such as Porter and Berlin were writing for male audiences. If they wanted to sell music, they had to write songs which would capitalize on men's perceived desires or viewpoints. In "White Christmas" for instance, we see a male narrator longing for the comforts of home and children, which are presumably provided by a woman. In "This is the Army, Mr. Jones" women are valued for their adherence to household duties and dismissed as frivolous creatures whose husbands should be glad they do not have to take them out shopping any more. In "Something for the Boys" Porter capitalizes on the male perpetuated stereotype of woman as seducer. The female narrator cloaks her seduction of soldiers in patriotism. Because both Berlin and Porter wrote about women in stereotypical ways based on military and nostalgic standards of womanhood the evidence suggests that they had a vested interest in maintaining patriarchal standards through their music.

Mercer and Burke were paid exclusively to write songs which appealed to the masses. Mercer's song "Tangerine" was definitely made to appeal to a male audience. He drew upon the classic example of woman as seducer and opposed it with the notion of a good girl who eventually wins her male lover's heart. In the second song by Mercer used in this paper, "Blues in the Night" he again characterizes the woman in this song as nothing but a liar. From this evidence, we can see that Mercer chose to write songs which he believed would sell in the American market. These songs drew on stereotypes already popular in American culture at the time and did not take into account changing economic or social realities. Burke, another famous American

composer who had experience in the music business, also realized that songs about women conforming to ideal roles of morale booster would sell better than those that spoke about independent women.

One such example of a popular song written by him exploring this theme was “Scrap Your Fat.” In this song, a woman is too fat to join up with the military so instead she uses her kitchen waste to help the army. From this evidence combined with Burke’s experience in the business side of music it is reasonable to conclude that this song was systematically designed to paint women in an acceptable light to audiences while at the same time provide validation of those women who did not wish to join the military. Burke also wrote another number which portrayed women in a patriarchal light for the pleasure of male audiences. This is “Sunday, Monday or Always”. In the World War II era version performed by Bing Crosby a male narrator asked his presumed sweetheart when he shall see her again, Sunday, Monday, or always. In this song, the woman is portrayed as fickle while the man is trying to stay true to himself as well as her. Burke probably chose this lyrical content based on his employment as a full-time songwriter for a company. By portraying males and females in an acceptable light not only could Burke make money, but he was also conforming to music’s designated wartime function as a tool for boosting morale.

A final important duo in American music to consider when analyzing music from the World War II era is Mack Gordon and Harry Warren. Both of these men show similar patterns to composers already discussed. Gordon was featured prominently in the entertainment business as an actor and singer and from these

experiences had insight into the type of song storylines audiences would have desired.³³³ Furthermore, other songs written by him during the World War II era such as “You’ll Never Know” were designed to idealize notions about love and fidelity of the World War II era. When he teamed up with Warren, Gordon was choosing a cowriter who also knew his way around the music business. Warren had been contracted with Stark and Cowan specifically to plug, or sell, music to the public. In addition, Warren would have had special insight into the separation from their sweethearts that soldiers would have had to endure as he had served in the Navy in World War I.³³⁴ Gordon could have used Warren’s understanding of wartime emotions to enhance his already well-known ability to write love songs thus making their music more appealing to soldiers returning from battle and to their home front sweethearts. On the surface “Chattanooga Choo Choo” may not seem like a love song until one gets to the final verse in which the male narrator talks about the girl who is waiting for him all done up in lace.

Analysis of Gordon, Warren, Burke, Mercer, Berlin, and Porter reveals several life factors which influenced their ability to write captivating if patriarchal numbers for the World War II era. First, all of these composers were men who had begun their careers before World War II. Four of these men had careers expressly in the business side of the music industry. It can be inferred that this led them to write songs which they believed would be most likely to be consumed by a World War II

³³³ Charles Eugene Claghorn, *Biographical Dictionary of American Music*, 178.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 461.

public wanting stability in a time of uncertainty. Because these composers were not women, they may have been less likely to sympathize with independent women who were seeking to assert their own agency during this era. Lastly, Porter, Berlin and Warren all had military service which made them invested in creating songs that would appeal to the male dominated institution of the military. Importantly, because none of them served in World War II, this would also have dated their gender schema which in turn may have led them to base their portrayal of women on patriarchal notions of genders such as woman as seducer or sweetheart. Regardless of their lack of service in the military during World War II, they were still well known and well-regarded figures of the music scene.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

The importance of music as an art form to the World War II era should not be underestimated. Works by Jones, Fauser, Tucker, Sullivan, and Lang touch upon various ways in which music was used to influence entertainment, propaganda, and women's employment prospects. This thesis, however, takes their respective research one step further in analyzing both professional female musicians, career restrictions concerning image, as well as fictional portrayal of women through song.

Analysis of the Victory Disc collection, created exclusively for use by the armed forces, reveals that fictional white women within song narrative were constantly placed in patriarchal positions to their male counterparts. These women were often denied the opportunity for rational thought, as they were preoccupied with the idea of a romantic relationship rather than wartime needs. Furthermore, the V-Disc collection also places white women as objects to be used for men's sexual gratification. In the instances that a woman, as portrayed in song narrative, is giving agency over her own romantic or sexual choices, she is often seen as a seducer.

Patriarchal stereotypes concerning the supremacy of monogamy, preoccupation with love and objectification of women continue when one examines a sample of popular music played on the home front. This collection reveals a slight increase in sentimentality and concern with life after or before the war years. However, women are still placed in patriarchal positions as they are often required to ask their husbands or sweethearts permission before partaking in physical affection.

A separate analysis of African-American portrayals of female through song reveals differing, yet equally patriarchal, standards. Billie Holliday, Ella Fitzgerald, and Sister Rosetta Tharpe all produced songs during the war years which capitalized on the African-American woman's role as wife and mother rather than as wage earner. Tharpe's work demonstrates to historians that African-American women as portrayed through song, were subject to patriarchal norms dictated by their religion. They were expected to be spiritually pure and give up their agency to a male God through which their hard times could be endured.

Finally, Billie Holliday speaks to the racial hardship faced by many African-American women. Ella Fitzgerald's music also speaks to physical violence or indifference suffered by fictional African-American females in song narrative. When taken together, the Victory Disc collection, popular music played on the home front, and the world of African-American women musicians shaped by racism, resilience, and a lack of fear to write about these circumstances, and song narrative reveals that women experienced subjugation and interpretation by male audiences, listeners, and management. This then resulted in them, regardless of race, being placed into inferior positions to their male counterparts.

Although music has not been examined extensively within the framework of World War II and gender, this is nevertheless, an important area of study. Pop culture and art can reveal much about norms or wishes of a society. Music in the World War II era, when analyzed in a gendered context is no different. A brief analysis of pop music played on the home front, a collection designed exclusively for use by the

armed forces, and the African-American community overwhelmingly demonstrates that fictional women within song narrative were rarely given power over their significant others. They were expected to be mesmerized by the idea of falling in love. They often misunderstood the harsh realities of war. In her book *Women and Popular Music: Sexuality, Identity, and Subjectivity*, Sheila Whitley provides examples from the 1960's and 1970's using music as a way to express their identities and places within the world. She then states that the willingness of musicians to appear to be singing issues like love and sexual desire encourages audiences, both male and female, to buy their albums and vicariously experience their memories³³⁵

In her study of swing bands, Tucker states that during the 1940's "While the demand for swing bands boomed, the musicians who played in them were likely to be seen as morale boosters regardless of sex..."³³⁶ Furthermore, in her study *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, & Sexuality* by author Susan McClary, she uses the example of speeches given in an Italian opera to show that Monteverdi would have been influenced in his portrayal of the female character, not necessarily by what he thought of women, but rather the cultural expectations that his audiences had concerning womanhood itself.³³⁷ She further states that more generally "critics often rely on analogies to cultural habits of thoughts based on binary oppositions between male and

³³⁵ Sheila Whiteley, *Women and Popular Music: Sexuality, Identity and Subjectivity* (New York, NY: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2000.),1.

³³⁶ Tucker, *Swing Shift: All Girl Bands in the 1940's*, 789-790

³³⁷ Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1991)

female.”³³⁸ In other words, McClary is saying that composers are influenced by the world around them and the constructs they already possess of what gender means. Finally, Annegret Fauser writing about music during World War II states, that influential figures such as Eleanor Roosevelt believed in the power of music to save democracy. According to Roosevelt, music was a key component in maintaining the essence of American civilization and preserving the ideas of liberty and freedom.³³⁹ From the works of Whitley, Tucker, McClary, and Fauser it becomes clear that composers themselves did not exist in a vacuum and moreover that audiences demanded music which conformed to ideas about gender or allowed them to escape from the grim realities of war.

In those rare instances in which women were given agency over their romantic decision in song, they were often seen as taking something away from their male counterparts. Since fictional women were often forced into stereotypical roles, in which they did not have power over their male counterparts, music during the World War II era should be seen as an art form which perpetuated patriarchal gendered standards for men and women during World War II. Men were expected to be either tough and domineering or overly protective of their womenfolk.

Women, on the other hand, were expected to defer to their husbands, or be objects for a man's pleasure. When they did not conform to these roles, they were seen as silly, at best, and at worse, cruel temptresses. While music cannot be expected

³³⁸ Ibid., 48

³³⁹ Annegret Fauser, *The Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II*, 35

to reflect the lived experience of every woman in World War II America, it should be viewed as a pervasive art form which had a heavy reliance of patriarchal standards for both men and women during this time period.

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