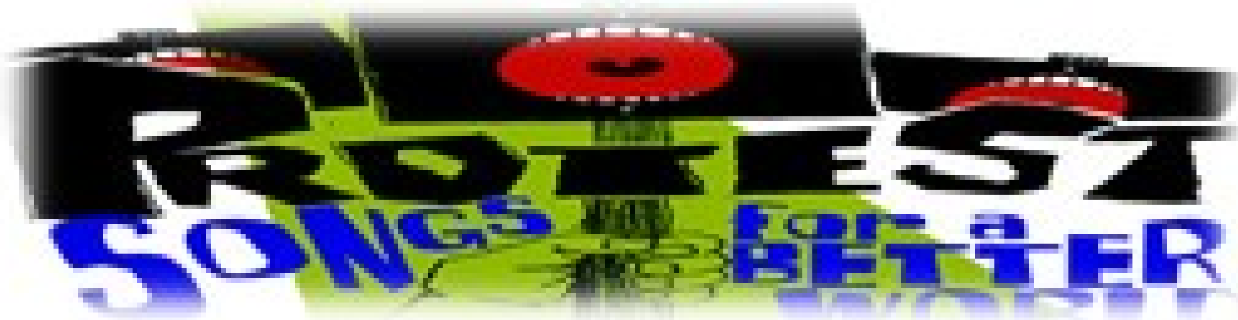
JEFFERSON
EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY

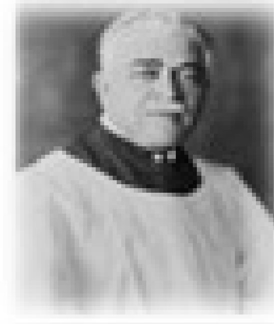
Book Notes #72

August 2021

By Jefferson Scholar-in-Residence
Dr. Andrew Roth

Songs of Freedom, Songs of Protest
Part Two





Top left: "Bloomer Girl on Bike," top right: Aretha Franklin,
Bottom left: Sister Rosetta Tharpe, bottom right: Harry Burleigh

Last week in ***Book Notes*** we began a three-part series on Protest Music. In the process, we discovered that it is much older than many a myopic "boomer" might imagine – older, in fact, than the American nation itself. Although difficult to prove, it is entirely possible that the first American "protest" song was that venerable children's tune, "Yankee Doodle," which began its career as a colonial American retort to British insults.

As noted last week, while its musical form might take any shape from rock to classical to rap, a protest song seeks to alter or change society's values. It is cause-oriented speaking to a social wrong needing correction. Protest songs are almost always linked to movements seeking change. The role of song, the role of music is to energize the movement's supporters, to lift their spirits and to arouse their emotions. As Martin Luther King, Jr. said, freedom songs "invigorate the movement – they give it unity and spirit." [1]

Today we'll explore the music of the women's movement from, if not the earliest, then one of the earliest American songs protesting women's second-class status – the 18th century's "The Rights of Woman" – to the music that invigorated the 19th-century suffrage movement and late 20th-century second-wave feminism. Then we'll pivot and explore the music of the Civil Rights Movement's antecedents in African American gospel music and the anti-slavery, abolitionist music of the early and mid-19th century. Next week in *Protest Songs Part Three* we'll conclude this survey of American protest music by examining the bridge between songs of abolition and songs of the Civil Rights Movement, by examining the ambiguous role of Bob Dylan, by asking who were the great Black artists singing songs of freedom-seeking civil rights and, finally, we'll look into the song most frequently identified as the greatest protest song of all time.

One of the earliest songs supporting women's rights and women's suffrage was an 18th-century offering "The Rights of a Woman" sometimes written as *The Rights of Woman* punning on Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man*. More specifically, it referred to Mary Wollstonecraft's 1792 *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman,* which argued for equal rights for women and men; in particular, the right of a woman to an education. [2] Bylined "By a Lady," the song was first published in the *Philadelphia Minerva* on October 17, 1795. [3] Undoubtedly sweet music to Abigail Adams, who famously asked her husband John "to remember the ladies … because every man would be a tyrant if he could." [4] "The Rights of Woman," set to the tune of "God Save the King," included lines such as:

from The Rights of Woman

GOD save each Female's right,
Show to her ravish'd fight
Woman is Free;
Let Freedom's voice prevail,
And draw aside the vail, [sic]
Supreme Endulgence hail.
Sweet Liberty …

Let snarling critics frown,
Their maxims I disown,
Their ways detest; -
By man, your tyrant lord,
Females no more be aw'd,
Let Freedom's sacred word,
Inspire your breath. [5]

A video of The Market Street Singers performing “The Rights of Woman” can be found here.

Among songs advocating women’s suffrage and women’s rights were “Daughters of Freedom: The Ballot Be Yours” and 1851’s “The Bloomer’s Complaint.” “Daughters of Freedom: The Ballot Be Yours” was composed in 1871 by Edwin Christie with lyrics by George Cooper. A friend of Stephen Foster, Cooper was “a prolific lyricist during the 1870s and 1880s. [6] “Daughters of Freedom” was a 19th-century women’s suffrage march honoring the intrepid suffragists who marched and fought for women’s right to vote. It sings:

from Daughters of Freedom: The Ballot Be Yours
Daughters of freedom arise in your might!
March to the watchwords Justice and Right!
Why will ye slumber? wake, O wake!
Lo! on your legions light doth break!

(CHORUS:) Sunder the fetters "custom" hath made!
Come from the valley, hill and glade!

Daughters of freedom, the truth marches on,
Yield not the battle till ye have won!
Heed not the "corner," day by day
Clouds of oppression roll away!
(CHORUS)

Daughters of freedom, the "Ballot" be yours,
Wield it with wisdom, your hopes it secures.
"Rights that are equal" this ye claim,
Bright by your guerdon, fair your fame!
(CHORUS) [7]

Not all 19th-century women’s songs sought the ballot. Many sang in opposition to societal restrictions placed on women. These songs advocated for women’s right to participate more fully in all of society’s activities, most importantly, women’s right to an education. A song promoting women’s right to access all of society’s activities, “The Bloomer’s Complaint” supported less restrictive, looser, and freer

clothes for women. In our society, where female beach volleyball players have to fight to wear more modest shorts, it's hard to remember that 150 years or so ago women were confined to high cut blouses and ankle-length skirts revealing absolutely no hint of ankle.

In the late-19th century, as women fought to have access to the gym and other activities, a large baggy sort of pantaloon came into vogue. They were called "bloomers." Women who wore them were also called "bloomers."

Women found them liberating and fought for the right to wear them. Their song of protest was called "The Bloomer's Complaint." "The Bloomer's Complaint" combined the "bloomers' desire for less restrictive clothing, with the desire to vote and the freedom to ride a bicycle." [8] At the time, bicycle riding was thought inappropriate and risqué for a woman. The looser bloomers afforded women the freedom to ride a bike. And in riding, they found liberation. As Susan B. Anthony said, "I'll tell you what I think of bicycling. I think it has done more to emancipate woman than any one thing in the world. I rejoice every time I see a woman ride by on a wheel. It gives her a feeling of self-reliance and independence the moment she takes her seat; and away she goes, the picture of untrammeled womanhood." [9]

Not everyone agreed. 1895's satiric "Eliza Jane" combined the desire to wear bloomers, the freedom of bicycle riding and the quest to vote "to explain the scandalous risks (a) young lady was taking. [10] Its Refrain goads:

from Eliza Jane

Oh, have you seen Eliza Jane a-cycling in the park?
"Oh, have you seen Eliza Jane?" The people all remark.
They shout "Hi! hi!" as she rides by; the little doggies bark,
For we all have a pain when Eliza Jane goes cycling in the park.
No more do skirts enfold her, tho' much her papa grieves,
But baggy trousers hold her in their big pneumatic sleeves;
For where you see the bloomers bloom she sits her wheel astride;
She makes a sight would stop a fight as in the park she rides. [11]

A recording of "Eliza Jane: can be found here.

The music of the women's movement from 19th century suffragettes to mid-20th century "second wave feminism" to Beyonce's early 21st century battle cry "Run the World (Girls)," which can be heard here, covers too much ground for a simple ***Book Notes***. The pun intentional, we'll only hit a few high notes. A good place to begin is ***Harper's Bazaar*** magazine's list of the 49 best feminist songs, which range from 2020's "WAP" by Cardi B and Meghan Thee Stallion, "whose extremely explicit lyrics make no apologies for their salaciousness," [12] to such "oldies" as Lesley Gore's "You Don't Own Me," Loretta Lynn's "The Pill," in which "she basks in the newfound freedoms that come with birth control," [13] and Aretha Franklin's "Respect." Demonstrating that historical myopia for which millennials are famous, the list slants to ***Harper's Bazaar's*** current readership omitting such older classic women's songs as Tina Turner's "What's Love Got to Do With It," Jani Ian's "At Seventeen," Helen Reddy's "I Am Woman," not to mention Bessie Smith's "St. Louis Blues" and Sister Rosetta Tharpe's "Down by the Riverside."

Let’s take a quick look at two or three frequently cited as anthems of the women’s movement that also demonstrate how protest songs can often be pop hits. Helen Reddy’s number-one hit “I Am Woman” sold a million records in 1972. Its celebration of female empowerment “was a galvanizing force in the women’s movement of the early 1970s.” [14] Its iconic lyrics sang:

from I Am Woman

I am woman, hear me roar
In numbers too big to ignore
And I know too much to go back an' pretend
'Cause I've heard it all before
And I've been down there on the floor
No one's ever gonna keep me down again

Oh yes I am wise
But it's wisdom born of pain
Yes, I've paid the price
But look how much I gained
If I have to, I can do anything
I am strong (strong)
I am invincible (invincible)
I am woman [15]

Also considered an anthem of the women’s movement is “Sisters Are Doin’ It for Themselves.” Inspired by the suffragette movement, it was written by the **Eurythmics’** Annie Lennox, who recorded the song with Aretha Franklin in 1985. [16] It sang:

from Sisters Are Doin’ It for Themselves

Now there was a time
When they used to say
That behind every “great man”
There had to be a “great woman”
But in these times of change
You know that it’s no longer true
So we’re coming out of the kitchen
‘Cause there’s something we forgot to say to you

Chorus:
Sisters are doing it for themselves
Standing on their own two feet
And ringing on their own bells
Sisters are doing it for themselves. [17]

A recording of Aretha Franklin and Annie Lennox doing “Sisters Are Doin’ It for Themselves” can be found here.

More famous is Franklin’s “Respect,” which sang not only of female empowerment but also Black pride and the need for anyone – Black or white, male or female – to be respected. It is considered “one of the most influential recordings in pop music history” because “it gave an anthem to the civil rights movement, and ultimately, it served as a call to arms for women everywhere.” [18]

Recorded in 1967, Franklin reworked Otis Redding's original version. In her hands it became a major hit and cemented Franklin's position as the era's greatest female vocalist. As Ben Chavis, a civil rights activist, recalled in ***The Detroit Free Press,*** "We always sang songs about things we didn't have … and when Aretha came out with "Respect," we weren't getting any respect. … And so when she came out with this song … it was like she was fulfilling not only an urgency of the movement at that time, but she made known through her song that we were going to get respect." [19] Or, to paraphrase Martin Luther King, Jr. quoted above, Franklin's song "invigorated the movement and gave it unity and spirit."

The 1967 original version of Aretha Franklin singing "Respect" can be found here.

Like *Respect*, another song that bridges multiple movements and social causes is Sister Rosetta Tharpe's version of "Down by the Riverside." An African American spiritual whose roots predate the Civil War, it has inspired civil rights activists, women's rights activists, and, with its pacifistic imagery – the song is sometimes known as "Ain't Gonna Study War No More" – it has even been an anti-war protest song. [20] Sister Rosetta Sharpe, a member of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, is sometimes called "the Godmother of Rock & Roll.". [21] She was a major gospel star of the 1930s and 1940s who blended gospel music and spiritual music with the newfangled electric guitar to create a sound that inspired generations of blues artists. One of the era's great gospel singers, as Jason Ankeny's short biography on ***Forum: All Music*** notes, she shocked "purists with her leap into the secular market – by playing nightclubs and theaters, she not only pushed spiritual music into the mainstream, but in the process she helped pioneer the rise of pop-gospel." [22] The daughter of a traveling missionary, Mother Bell, Tharpe mastered the guitar by the age of six. [23]

Selected in 2004 by the Library of Congress' National Recording Registry of songs that "are culturally, historically, or aesthetically significant," [24] Tharpe's 1944 version of "Down by the Riverside" brings a classic spiritual sung by slaves as a work song into the commercial mainstream. Although it is sometimes listed as a women's song, and its line "I ain't gonna study war no more" brought it into the anti-war camp, it is really one of the great gospel, pop-gospel songs that bridge the 19th century abolitionist musical tradition, the African American spiritual tradition, and the 20th century civil rights movement. Tharpe's electric performances inspired a generation to break the shackles of Jim Crow. Although its lyrics vary from performer to performer, this is Sharpe's version:

I feel so bad in the morning
I feel so bad in the middle of the day
I feel so bad in the evening
that's why I'm going to the river, to wash my sins away

I'm gonna lay down my heavy load, down by the riverside,
Down by the riverside, down by the riverside
I'm gonna lay down my heavy load, down by the riverside,
I'm gonna study war no more

(Repeat six times) I ain't a gonna study war no more,

Well, I'm gonna put on my long white robe,
(Where?) down by the riverside (Oh)

Down by the riverside, down by the riverside
I'm gonna put on my long white robe,
(Where?) down by the riverside
I'm gonna study war no more

(Repeat six times) I ain't a gonna study war no more,

Well, I'm gonna lay down my sword and shield,
(Where?) down by the riverside
Down by the riverside, down by the riverside
I'm gonna lay down my sword and shield,
(A-ha) down by the riverside
I'm gonna study war no more

(Repeat six times) I ain't a gonna study war no more, [25]

A video of Sister Rosetta Sharpe singing "Down by the Riverside" can be found here.

The abolitionist musical tradition that Sharpe's *Down by the Riverside* links back to has its roots in African American spirituals and work songs created by slaves to help them both endure a desperate situation and to sing a breath of hope for a better future. Because overt songs of freedom were too dangerous, they used Old Testament tales to sing of their suffering. Songs such as "Come Along, Moses" and "Samson" connected them to the Biblical Israelites enslaved in Egypt. [26] The songs offered hope not only in some distant future, but potentially in the "here and now," for as Frederick Douglass wrote in ***My Bondage and My Freedom*** (1855) about "singing spirituals during his years in bondage: 'A keen observer might have detected in our repeated singing of O Canaan, sweet Canaan, I am bound for the land of Canaan,' something more than a hope of reaching heaven. We meant to reach the North, and the North was our Canaan.'" [27]
Harriet Tubman during her daring journeys back south as part of the Underground Railroad movement "sang the spiritual "Go Down Moses" and a version of the hymn "Thorny Desert" to announce her presence to slaves who might want her to help them run away to freedom." [28] In 1917, Erie's own Harry Burleigh composed a famous arrangement of "Go Down Moses," which was "sung by some of the most prominent singers of the 20th century." [29] Its lyrics carol:

Go Down Moses

When Israel was in Egypt's land,
Let My people go!
Oppressed so hard they could not stand,
Let My people go!

Refrain:
Go down, Moses,
Way down in Egypt's land;
Tell old Pharaoh
To let My people go!

No more shall they in bondage toil,
Let My people go!
Let them come out with Egypt's spoil,

Let My people go!

Oh, let us all from bondage flee,
Let My people go!
And let us all in Christ be free,
Let My people go!

You need not always weep and mourn,
Let My people go!
And wear these slav'ry chains forlorn,
Let My people go!

Your foes shall not before you stand,
Let My people go!
And you'll possess fair Canaan's land,
Let My people go! [30]

A video of Steven Kirby singing Henry Burleigh's concert version of "Go Down Moses" can be found here.

A major figure in the history of American music, Burleigh, after whom the Erie School District's Pfeiffer-Burleigh School is named, was born in Erie on December 2, 1866. His parents were free-born people of color, and as such were not slaves. Burleigh first learned African American spirituals "from his maternal grandfather, who had been a slave" as the youngster joined his grandfather on his rounds as a "lamplighter" lighting the natural gas-fueled streetlights of Erie. [31] After singing in local Erie churches, in 1892 Burleigh won a scholarship to the National Conservatory of Music in New York. At the time it was headed by Antonin Dvorak, the great Czech composer who exhorted Burleigh and other late 19th century musicians "to go forth and create a national school of music." [32]

Burleigh did.

At Dvorak's urging, Burleigh began to collect, write down, and, in 1911, published his ancestors' traditional songs. His 1916 *Jubilee Songs of the United States* became the standard recital form of these traditional songs used by solo singers and choirs such as the Fisk Jubilee Singers. A pathfinder whose work broke down color barriers opened up access to all forms of American music to all people. "His arrangements brought the spirituals and 'sorrow songs' (as W.E.B. Dubois called them) out of their earlier home, plantation and minstrel settings and onto the classical concert stage. … He paved the way for artists like Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson, and Marian Anderson." [33] A great singer and concert performer himself, Harry Burleigh died on September 12, 1949. His body was later moved to Erie Cemetery through the work of an Erie organization dedicated to furthering Burleigh's rich musical legacy.

A video of Paul Robeson singing Burleigh's arrangement of "Deep River" can be found here.

Other abolitionist songs with roots in the spiritual tradition include "Oh Freedom" and "Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child," whose lyrics sing:

from Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child

Sometimes I feel like a motherless child,
Sometimes I feel like a motherless child,
Sometimes I feel like a motherless child,
A long way from home, a long way from home. [34]

A video of Odetta's classic version of "Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child" can be found here.

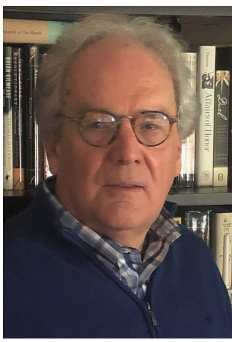
The great protest singing group of the 19th century was the Hutchinson Family Singers of Milford, New Hampshire. As we noted last week, it can be argued that they invented the American tradition of protest music and singing on behalf of social change. As their entry at **Britannica.com** reads, "In contrast to the prevailing sentimental and minstrel songs of the period, their music confronted social issues and embraced causes including woman suffrage, prohibition of alcohol, and opposition to slavery and to the Mexican-American War." [35] After an antislavery convention in Milford in 1843 attended by William Lloyd Garrison, the group began to sing antislavery songs. Pitying the slave and abhorring slavery itself, they joined the abolitionist cause. In 1845, they journeyed to England with Frederick Douglass singing their own songs, such as "Get Off the Track," "Right Over Wrong," and "The Slave's Appeal." [36]Their two most famous abolitionist songs were "Slavery Is a Hard Foe to Battle" and "Get Off the Track." Written in 1844 by Jesse Hutchinson, "Get Off the Track" sings:

from Get Off the Track

Ho! the Car Emancipation,
Rides majestic thro' our nation,
Bearing on its Train, the story,
Liberty, A Nation's Glory.
Roll it along, Roll it along, Roll it along,
thro's the Nation Freedom's Car, Emancipation,
Roll it along, Roll it along,
Roll it along, thro' the Nation,
Freedom's Car. Emancipation. [37]

Protest songs – songs of freedom – changed America. As we have seen from "Yankee Doodle" to women seeking empowerment to enslaved people yearning to be free to the Hutchinson Family Singers, Americans have used the power of music to advance freedom's cause. Next week in *Protest Songs Part Three* we'll conclude this survey of American protest music by asking who were the Weavers; what about Bob Dylan's ambiguous role; who were the great Black artists singing songs seeking freedom; and, finally, what song has most frequently been identified as the greatest protest song of all time.

Rather than simply read song titles and lyrics, to actually hear many of these songs tune into my ***The American Tapestry Project*** on WQLN/NPR 93.1 on Sunday September 12 at 4 p.m. That episode and August's episode, both of which are about protest music, can also be found on WQLN's website and other podcast sites. Past programs can be found on WQLN's website here, and on NPR One here.



-- Andrew Roth, Ph.D.
Scholar-in-Residence
The Jefferson Educational Society
roth@jeserie.org

This content is copyrighted by the Jefferson 2021.

Photo Credits

"Protest Songs for a Better World" from **Dr. Vicky V. Johnson's** syllabus for **MUSC 486-20 at** Tarleton State University available at **http://vickyjohnson.altervista.org/MUSC486CourseOutline.htm** accessed August 18, 2021;"Woman on Bike", **Wikicommons** available https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?search=bloomers&title=Special:MediaSearch&go=Go&type=image accessed August 6, 2021;"Aretha Franklin at 2009 Presidential Inauguration", **Wikicommons** available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Aretha_Franklin_on_January_20,_2009_(cropped).jpg accessed August 17, 2021;"Sister Rosetta Tharpe," **Wikicommons a**vailable at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sister_Rosetta_Tharpe_(1938_publicity_photo_with_guitar).jpg accessed August 17, 2021; "Harry T. Burleigh," Library of Congress available at http://loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3c14982/ accessed August 18, 2021.

End Notes

1. Quoted in Denisoff, Serge R. *"Protest Movements: Class Consciousness and the Propaganda Song,"* **Sociological Quarterly**, Spring 1968 (V. 9 #2), pp. 228-247. Abstract accessed August 5, 2021.
2. *"Rights of a Woman",* in **Voices Across Time** available at https://voices.pitt.edu/TeachersGuide/Unit%202/RightsofaWoman.htm accessed August 16, 2021.
3. Ibid.
4. *"Letter from Abigail Adams to John Adams, 31 March – 5 April, 1776"* in **Adams Family Papers** at **Massachusetts Historical Society** available at https://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/archive/doc?id=L17760331aa accessed August 16, 2021.
5. *"Rights of Woman, song lyrics,"* at **Protest Song Lyrics.Net** available at http://www.protestsonglyrics.net/Women_Feminism_Songs/Rights-of-Woman.phtml accessed August 16, 2021.
6. *"Daughters of Freedom"* in **The Library of Congress** available at https://www.loc.gov/item/sm1871.7102334/ accessed August 17, 2021.
7. Cooper, George and Edwin Christie, *"Daughters of Freedom, The Ballot Be Yours, song lyrics,"* (1871) in **Protest Song Lyrics.net** available at http://www.protestsonglyrics.net/Women_Feminism_Songs/Daughters-of-Freedom.phtml accessed August 5, 2021.
8. *"Bloomers, Bicycles, and Ballots,"* **Old-Time Iowa Music Project** in **Family Folk Machine** available at https://familyfolkmachine.org/old-time-iowa-music-project/ accessed August 5, 2021.
9. *"Nelly Bly interview with Susan B. Anthony in the New York paper The World (Feb. 2, 1896), p. 10"* in *Songs of Women's Suffrage* at **The Library of Congress** available at https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200197395/#note1 accessed August 17, 2021.
10. *"Bloomers, Bicycles, and Ballots,"* **Old-Time Iowa Music Project** in **Family Folk Machine** available at https://familyfolkmachine.org/old-time-iowa-music-project/ accessed August 5, 2021.
11. *"Eliza Jane – A Woman Cyclist of 1895"* in **From Wheels to Bikes** available at http://wheelbike.blogspot.com/2016/10/eliza-jane-woman-cyclist-of-1895.html accessed August 17, 2021.
12. Gonzales, Erica and Natalie Maher, *"Women Write the Most Empowering Music – and These Songs Prove It".* **Harper's Bazaar** (March 8, 2021) available at https://www.harpersbazaar.com/culture/art-books-music/a18832473/best-feminist-women-empowerment-songs/ accessed August 17, 2021.
13. Ibid.
14. Schudel, Matt. "Helen Reddy, whose 'I Am Woman' became a feminist anthem, dies at 78", The Washington Post (September 30, 2020) available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/helen-reddy-whose-i-am-woman-became-a-feminist-anthem-dies-at-78/2020/09/30/57465c1e-0320-11eb-a2db-417cddf4816a_story.html accessed August 17, 2021.
15. Burton, Ray and Helen Reddy, *"I Am Woman,"* **Musixmatch** available at https://www.google.com/search?q=i+am+woman+lyrics&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS890US890&oq=I+Am+Woman+&aqs=chrome.4.0i271j46i512l

2j69i57j0i512l6.10324j0j15&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8 accessed August 17, 2021.
16. Hoggatt, Aja. *"Eurythimics reflect on recording 'Sisters Are Doin' It for Themselves' with Aretha Franklin."* **Entertainment** (August 16, 2018) available at https://ew.com/music/2018/08/16/eurythmics-reflect-sisters-doing-for-themselves-aretha-franklin/ accessed August 17, 2021.
17. Lennox, Annie. *Sisters Are Doin' It for Themselves*", at **Genius.com** available at https://genius.com/Eurythmics-sisters-are-doin-it-for-themselves-lyrics accessed August 17, 2021.
18. Carter, Kelly L. *"Aretha Franklin's 'Respect': How sassy song became anthem for an era,"* **The Detroit Free Press** (August 30, 2018) available at https://www.freep.com/story/entertainment/music/aretha-franklin/2018/08/30/aretha-franklin-songs-respect/1133856002/ accessed August 17, 2021.
19. Ibid.
20. *"Down By the Riverside",* in **Wikipedia**, the free encyclopedia available at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Down_by_the_Riverside accessed August 17, 2021.
21. *"Sister Rosetta Tharpe: The Godmother of Rock and Roll,"* **PBS: Black Culture Connection** available at https://www.pbs.org/black-culture/shows/list/rock-and-roll-rosetta-tharpe/ accessed August 17, 2021.
22. Ankeny, Jason. *"Sister Rosetta Sharpe,"* **Forum: All Music** available at https://www.allmusic.com/artist/sister-rosetta-tharpe-mn0000013511/biography accessed August 17, 2021.
23. Ibid.
24. *"Librarian of Congress Names 50 Recordings to the 2004 National Recording Registry,"* **Library of Congress** available at https://www.loc.gov/item/prn-05-087/ accessed August 17, 2021.
25. Sister Rosetta Sharpe, *"Down by the Riverside"* at **Lyrics.com** available at https://www.lyrics.com/lyric/1577201/Sister+Rosetta+Tharpe/Down+by+the+Riverside accessed August 17, 2021.
26. *"Songs Related to the Abolition of Slavery",* in the **Library of Congress** available at https://loc.gov/item/ihas.200197383 accessed August 18, 2021.
27. Douglass, Frederick, **My Bondage and My Freedom**, quoted in *"African American Spirituals"* at the **Library of Congress** available at https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200197495/ accessed August 18, 2021.
28. *"Songs Related to the Abolition of Slavery",* in the **Library of Congress** available at https://loc.gov/item/ihas.200197383 accessed August 18, 2021.
29. *"Go Down Moses",* in **Song of America** available at https://songofamerica.net/song/go-down-moses-1/ accessed August 18, 2021.
30. Ibid.
31. *"Henry Burleigh",* in **Song of America** available at https://songofamerica.net/composer/burleigh-henry/ accessed August 18, 2021.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. *"Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child, lyrics"* at **Musixmatch** available https://www.google.com/search?q=Sometimes+I+Fell+Like+a+Motherless+Child&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS890US890&oq=Sometimes+I+Fell+Like+a+Motherless+Child&aqs=chrome..69i57.10846j1j15&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8#wptab=s:H4sIAAAAAAAAAONgVuLRT9c3LDYwLcxIyql6xGjOLfDyxz1hKb1Ja05eY9Tg4grOyC93zSvJLKkUkuJig7IEpPi4UDTy7GLSS0lNSyzNKYkvSUyyyk620s8tLc5M1i9KTc4vSsnMS49PziktLkktssqpLMpMLl7Ealacn5takpmbWqyQqZCWmpqjkJOZnaqQqJCbX5KRWpSTWlyskJyRmZOikJ-SWlKSqADRCABrUZkitAAAAA accessed August 18, 2021.
35. *"The Hutchinson Family"* at **Britannica.com** available at https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Hutchinson-Family accessed August 18, 2021.
36. *"Hutchinson Family Singers"* at **Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia** available at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hutchinson_Family_Singers accessed August 18, 2021.
37. *"Get Off the Track, lyrics"* at **Protest Song Lyrics.Net** available at http://www.protestsonglyrics.net/Freedom_Songs/Get-Off-The-Track.phtml accessed August 18, 2021.

Subscribe to our publications mailing list!

Subscribe to our Book Notes mailing list!

JES Global Summit XIII
Buy Your Tickets Today!

JES Global Summit XIII is just around the corner, and tickets are now available for purchase on our website. The Jefferson is excited to be back in action this fall with in-person events! Global Summit XIII will take place in-person with events from November 1 through 12.

Click the link below to read the full speaker biographies and event descriptions, as well as purchase tickets for the events you are interested in. Hurry! Tickets go fast. We can't wait to see you back at the Jefferson!

Click here to buy tickets

In Case You Missed It

Pool, Booze, Cards: Remembering the Modica Social Club written by Jefferson Scholar-in-Residence **Dr. David Frew**.

Book Notes #71: Songs of Freedom, Songs of Protest: Part One written by Jefferson Scholar-in-Residence **Dr. Andrew Roth**

Caring for Erie's Economy: Childcare is Economic Development written by Jefferson Scholar-in-Residence **Court Gould, MPA**

JES Mission: The Jefferson was founded to stimulate community progress through education, research, and publications. Its mission also includes a commitment to operate in a nonpartisan, nondenominational manner without a political or philosophical bias. As such, the Jefferson intends to follow the examined truth wherever it leads and is neither liberal nor conservative, Democratic nor Republican in philosophy or action. Our writers' work reflects their own views.