Curating Music Curation

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Abstract

National cultural heritage institutions are charged with representative preservation of their countries' cultural materials and the ways their staff undertake preservation activities impact to whom and how these materials are representative. Music is hailed as an integral part of a nation's cultural heritage, but while aspects of its preservation are individually understood, their combined treatment in cultural institutions — music curation — and its ability to alter concepts of national identity are not. Consequently, we must ask how does music curation influence notions of national identity? By answering this question, this thesis seeks to contribute to our understanding of the ways that national cultural heritage institutions shape and promote a sense of national community. Since its beginning in 1800, the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. has adopted several roles: a congressional resource; a copyright repository; a research centre; a hub for and leader in the library community; and cultural heritage institution. These combine to make the Library of Congress the *de facto* national library of the United States. However, these roles are not inherently congruent and in some instances undermine each other. Additionally, music has not always been easily integrated into its mission and its collections. Functioning as a national library, the Library of Congress potentially performs significant roles in the preservation and presentation of music, activities that make it an appropriate case study for investigating how music curation affects notions of national identity. Therefore, this work is structured in the following way: first, it offers an historical overview of the Library of Congress' three music related departments — the Music Division, the American Folklife Center and the Recorded Sound component of the Motion Picture, Broadcast and Recorded Sound Division — to illuminate political, cultural and aesthetic forces that shaped their developments and their approaches to music curation. Second, it presents Howard Becker's art world as the analytical framework by which this thesis critically engages narrative and identity theories. Third, employing the Library of Congress as a case study, it then investigates eight music curation narratives and juxtaposes them against its image as a cultural heritage institution. Narratives, gathered during semi-structured interviews and presented as interpretive stories, provide a focused insight into the tensions between staff and institution as well as institution and projected notions of national identity. In the context of music curation, this thesis' conclusions illustrate a gap between the Library of Congress' iconic image and its actual image, one that is perpetuated by its focus on research.

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List of Abbreviations

AACR2	*Anglo-American Cataloging Rules, Second Edition*
AFC	American Folklife Center
ALA	American Library Association
BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
BML	British Museum Library
BdR	Bibliothèque du Roi
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale
FMP	Federal Music Project
FRAD	Functional Requirements for Authority Data
FTP	Federal Theater Project
FWP	Federal Writer's Project
HCUA	House Committee on Un-American Activities
IFLA	International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions
JSC	Joint Steering Committee
LC	Library of Congress
LCCSA	Library of Congress Celebrates Songs of America
LCGFT	*Library of Congress Genre/Form Terms for Library and Archival Materials*
LCMPT	*Library of Congress Medium of Performance Thesaurus for Music*
LCSH	*Library of Congress Subject Headings*
MARC	*Machine Readable Cataloging*
MBRSD	Motion Picture, Broadcast and Recorded Sound Division
MD	Music Division
MLA	Music Library Association
NAVCC	National Audio-visual Conservation Center
NRPB	National Recording Preservation Board
PCC	Program for Cooperative Cataloging
RDA	*Resource Description and Access*
RFBR	Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records
RS	Recorded Sound (part of MBRSD)
RSS	Recorded Sound Section (part of Music Division)
SA	Song of America
SI	Smithsonian Institution
The Plan	*The Library of Congress National Recording Preservation Plan*

Note

Due to matters of sensitivity and in agreement with all interview participants, raw data have been removed from the final version of this dissertation. Therefore, within this document, reference to either a sample interview transcript or an appendix should be ignored with the understanding that redacted data were considered during the viva and were deemed both suitable and appropriately handled.

Timeline: key moments in the history of the United States and the Library of Congress

1585 Roanoke colony founded

1607 Jamestown colony founded

1619 First black Africans in English colonial America

1620 Plymouth colony founded

1691 Bibliotheque du Roi (France) opened to the public

Early 1700s English involvement in African slave trade began

1701 First slave code published in South Carolina

1753 British Museum and its Library established (England)

1759 British Museum and its Library opened to the public (England)

1776 Declaration of Independence written, War of Independence started

1783 War of Independence ends, United States of America founded

1783 First proposal for US legislative library made, unsuccessful

1789 First seven articles of the Constitution put into effect

1789 French Revolution began

1789 French ecclesiastical libraries confiscated and centralised in Paris

1789 Bibliotheque du Roi renamed Bibliotheque Nationale (France)

1790 Second proposal for US legislative library made, unsuccessful

1790 Copyright Act of 1790

1793 Reign of Terror (France) began

1794 Reign of Terror (France) ended

1800 Third proposal for US legislative library made, successful. Library of Congress established in US Capitol.

1808 US involvement in African slave trade abolished

1812 War of 1812 with Great Britain began

1813 US Capitol and Library of Congress burned by British forces

1815 War of 1812 ends

1815 Thomas Jefferson sold personal library to Congress to re-establish the Library of Congress

1829 James Smithson estate passed to US government

1829 John Silva Meehan appointed Librarian

1831 Music compositions covered by Copyright Act

1841 Panizzi appointed Oliphant to arrange and shelve BML music collections (England)

1846 Smithsonian Institution established

1846 Copyright Act amended, one copy of copyright deposits sent to the Library of
Congress, one to the Smithsonian Institution

1848 Seneca Falls Convention held, first women's suffrage convention

Early 1850s Charles Coffin Jewett proposed the Smithsonian Institution as national library

1851 Fire destroyed 2/3 of the Library of Congress materials

1861 Civil War began

1861 Union created blockage of Confederate coastline and port cities

1863 Abraham Lincoln issued Emancipation Proclamation

1864 Ainsworth Spofford appointed Librarian

1865 Smithsonian Institution building The Castle devastated by fire

1865 Confederacy surrendered to Union, Civil War ended

1865 Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery

1866 Smithsonian Institution library transferred to the Library of Congress

1868 Fourteenth Amendment granted equal citizenship, legal and civil rights to African
American males

1870 Copyright Act amended, all copyright activities centralised at the Library of
Congress and became national copyright repository

1870 Fifteenth Amendment prevented denying right to vote based on race. African
American men vote for first time.

1876 American Library Association formed

1876 Jim Crow Laws established and introduced racial segregation

1877 Thomas Edison invented the phonograph

1881 First library school founded by Dewey at Columbia University

1883 Pendelton Civil Service Reform Act

1896 Joint Congressional Committee on the Library of Congress held hearings about the
library's purpose

1897 John Russell Young appointed Librarian

1897 Jefferson Building completed

1897 Music Division established

1899 Herbert Putnam appointed Librarian

Early 1900s Robert Gordon began collecting folk songs

1902 Oscar George Sonneck appointed second Chief of the Music Division

1902 Sonneck toured Europe to purchase materials and survey European music libraries

1904 First sound recording acquired by the Library of Congress

1909 Copyright Act amended to give Librarian power to dispose of unneeded copyright deposits

1914 First World War began

1917 Sonneck resigned from post due to anti-German sentiments

1918 First World War ends

1920 Eighteenth Amendment abolished production, sale and transport of alcohol. Prohibition begins.

1920 Nineteenth Amendment prevented denying right to vote based on sex. US women vote for first time.

1922 Carl Engel appointed third Chief of Music Division

1925 Library of Congress Trust Fund Board established

1925 Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation established

1925 Coolidge Auditorium constructed

1925 Music Division sponsored concerts began

1925 Victor Talking Machine Company deposited sound recordings made between 1901 and 1925 and a phonograph

1928 Archive of American Folk Song established in Music Division

1928 Robert Gordon appointed first Chair of American Folk Music

1929 Wall Street Crash, Great Depression began

1933 First wave of New Deal initiatives commenced

1933 Twenty-first Amendment repealed Prohibition

1933 John and Alan Lomax began first Library of Congress supported folk song collecting project

1934 John Lomax appointed Honorary Consultant and Curator of the Archive of American Folk Song

1935 Second wave of New Deal initiatives commenced

1935 Federal Music Project began. Nationwide folk song collecting projects initiated.

1936 Alan Lomax appointed Assistant in Charge of the Archive of Folk Song. Continued folk song collecting.

1938 House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) established

1939 Second World War began

1939 Archibald MacLeish appointed Librarian

1939 Federal Music Project absorbed by Works Progress Administration

1939 Adams Building completed

1940 Carnegie Corporation grant funded Recording Laboratory

1941 Benjamin Botkin became subject of fifteen-year FBI investigation

1942 Alan Lomax became subject of a thirty-year FBI investigation

1942 Benjamin Botkin appointed Head of American Folksong

1945 Second World War ended

Late 1970s Cold War began

1950 Subcommittee on the Investigation of Loyalty of State Department Employees
(Tydings Committee) established

1950 Tydings Committee trials investigated claims of Communist Party members in
Department of State positions

1954 L. Quincy Mumford appointed Librarian

1955 African American Civil Right Movement began

1956 Vietnam War began

1957 Rockefeller Foundation grant funded research into sound recording preservation

1963 Recorded Sound Section established in Music Division

1964 Civil Rights Act

1963 Recorded Sound Section established in Music Division

1968 Martin Luther King Jr. assassinated

1969 First bill to establish American Folklife Center proposed, unsuccessful

1969 Stonewall Riots in New York City

1972 Copyright Act covered sound recordings

1974 Second bill to establish American Folklife Center proposed, unsuccessful

1975 Vietnam War ends

1975 House Committee on Internal Security (formally HUAC) dissolved

1976 Third bill to establish American Folklife Center proposed, successful. Archive of
Folk Song transferred from Music Division to American Folklife Center.

1978 Motion Picture, Broadcast and Recorded Sound Division established

1980 Madison Building completed

1987 James Billington appointed Librarian

1991 Cold War ended

1993 "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy instituted for U.S. military personnel

2000 National Recording Preservation Act

2003 National Recording Registry started

2003 Sexual activity between members of the same sex nationally decriminalised

2007 National Audiovisual Conservation Center completed

2011 National Jukebox launched

Chapter 1: Introduction

<u>Introduction</u>

> We do not categorise individual recordings by genre – there would be too many arguments and it would be too time-consuming (although some of our data from external sources is tagged by genre so there are some occurrences). (Linehan and British Library, n.d.)

While investigating the use of music genre terms in bibliographic and archival description, I came across this statement from the British Library (BL), the United Kingdom's national library. If users are searching the BL's online catalogue for popular music in its six million item sound archive, then this is part of the advice its staff gives: do not try searching for music by genres because they are not included in the catalogue. In general, genres are concepts that help people to identify and relate items, ideas, populations and places, but genres do not provide clear boundaries. Genres are contextual and likely to change or disappear all together because genres can describe something's compositional elements, its conventions for use as well as its social functions. Therefore, as people change — as their tastes evolve and their creation and consumption habits drift — genres can also change. This subjective aspect is precisely what gives rise to arguments about their boundaries, where one genre ends and another begins, and keeping abreast of changing genres can be very time-consuming. The BL staff highlight these difficulties in their advice to users, but difficulty is no excuse for the exclusion of genres in classification or cataloguing. Despite their shiftiness, genres, which have been applied to a wide range of literature, music, television and radio programming, film, poetry and video games, are significant navigation tools. They enable people to manoeuvre large bodies of information and separate metal from madrigals, gospel from glam rock. They also enable people to locate themselves in a wider social context, indicating belonging or otherness. Genres, then, are significant parts of language which people use to communicate. Therefore, their uses in bibliographic and archival descriptions of music should not be optional. If people are to have efficient and relevant access to music, they should be necessary. (Sepko, 2013)

The BL's omission of music genre terms in its catalogue illustrates one institution's choice about how its users will engage with its music collections, but rather than satisfy my original inquiry, this example raised more questions about the ways that national cultural heritage institutions manage their music collections and the impact those choices have on their populations. In neglecting genre terms, the BL has rendered its catalogue — and thus

its collections — alien to people who not only use genres but also identify with them. Beatniks are cut off from jazz, ravers are separated from acid house; they are divorced from their cultures. Or beatniks and ravers — indeed, punks, mods, thugs, pop stars and all other music related identity groups — blend together; they become one homogenous group devoid of identifying characteristics. Consequently, the BL's decision to exclude genre terms in its catalogue becomes less about resource allocation and polite conversation and more about how the BL, indeed how any national cultural heritage institutions, create or close off opportunities for people to feel a distinctive part of their national community. If we consider that these institutions' decisions and activities project an image of how they perceive their national communities, then we must ask: how does music curation influence the presentation of national identity?

Initial Definitions

In order to begin answering this question, there are two elements that require brief explanation. Both will be explored in more depth later in this work, but in the meantime, it will be helpful to provide a cursory understanding of their uses here. First, curation, in a very broad sense, is the combined acts of selecting and presenting. What is selected and presented will depend on the context, but perhaps the most common example comes from the museum world. In *The Culture of Curating and the Curating of Culture(s)* Paul O'Neill explores a proposed shift in a curator's role and the impact it has potentially had on art curation. Preparing to examine the activities related to museum curation, he describes the approach to his investigation in the following way:

> To study the practice of curating is to reveal the ways in which art has been displayed, mediated, and discussed as part of our histories of exhibition making. To write about any aspect of the curatorial is to think about how the exhibition of art has become part of a developmental process, of conceptualizing ways in which art and its contexts are understood. To analyze how these presentations are initiated and organized is to think about how art is framed, how it is spoken about, and how it is expressed by those responsible for their conceptualization and production. (O'Neill, 2012, 1)

Curation is mediation. Curators choose only a small portion of possible materials and, as a result, act as intermediary between items and audience. Curation as mediation is also translation. The ways materials are presented will reflect curators' decisions and these decisions impact on the ways in which audiences engage with the exhibitions. In this work, curation is regarded as mediation and translation and explores the effects they have when applied to music.

Second, national identity is defined in this work as an individual's affinity with his or her nation and fellow citizens. Over the course of his or her lifetime, one person may adopt, foster and abandon multiple identities — parent, student, guitarist, chocolate lover - and as a result, a single notion of personal identity becomes difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain because they are situational and dynamic. People have *identities*. This difficulty extends to national communities too. In increasingly pluralistic societies, there is often a dearth of uniform racial, economic, political, sexual and religious factors that act upon and influence its citizens, which, in turn, determine the opportunities people have to contemplate and express individual identities. For example, some religious factors can make expressions of sexual identities problematic or even lethal. Therefore, an all-encompassing national identity, one that not only recognises but also includes all of the nation's inhabitants, is equally elusive. Like people, nations have *identities*, though these identities are often caricatures. Simply put, national identity is an individual's sense of belonging to his or her national community, regardless of, or perhaps in reaction to, changing personal identities and social forces. Furthermore, national identity is not limited to political identity. Affiliation with or membership of political parties can play important roles in the ability of some people to connect with their fellow citizens because values promoted through political agendas — sometimes secular, sometimes religious — always broadcast to the largest possible audience resonating with their personal and social values. These values are affirmed through political platforms and campaigns and, as a result, individuals can see themselves reflected within and thus feel a part of a wider community of adherents. Considering these points, we can ask our research question in another way: does music curation provide enough opportunities for the population to identify musically with some part of their national community?

Survey of Previous Research

Music-related research has been conducted through the lenses of numerous disciplines. Exploring the essence of music, philosophy has wrestled with what music is in an attempt to answer ontological and aesthetic questions related to its possible core characteristics and its role as an art object (Davies, 2001) (Gracyk, 1996) (Langer, 1953) (Thomasson, 2004). History has grappled with music's development in wider historical contexts and traces, among other things, the evolution of compositional and performance practices, instruments and music theory over time (Taruskin, 2005). Approaching from a

biological perspective, neuroscience has explored music-related cognitive activities such as listening, performing and composing as well as the emotional responses it induces in its listeners and its rehabilitative potential (Clark, et al., 2014) (Levitin, 2006). Information sciences, including the related field of conservation, have developed methods for capturing, organising, preserving and retrieving music in libraries, archives and museums (Smiraglia, 2006). Furthermore, computer science has produced machine-assisted methods that identify and extract particular sonic aspects of music for their use in automated tasks such as transcription, categorisation and recommendation services commonly incorporated in music streaming platforms such as Spotify and Pandora (Byrd and Crawford, 2002). In addition, cultural studies, initially inspired by anthropology and ethnomusicology, has sought holistic insight into music within cultures and as a reflection of them (Hebdige, 1988) (Shuker, 2012). Finally, sociology has focused on how people use music to construct individual and collective identities (Adorno, 2002) (Walser, 1993). Not meant to be exhaustive, this introduction to music related research illustrates music's permeability and reach, its relevance to and impact on every aspect of human life. Even though disciplines have been listed separately, the theoretical approaches and analytical methodologies they employ often cut across disciplinary lines. It also highlights the various conceptions that researchers have about music: it is an object, an activity, a relationship, a signifier of emotion, a language and a combination of all of these things. Music is a constantly changing and evolving creative endeavour and as such there is still scope for further research in all those areas. Artists come and go. Media formats change. Venues open. Others close. All the while, the social significance of music is shaped and re-shaped by factors such as aesthetic preference, marketing and accessibility. Therefore, as long as music is still part of the fabric of humanity, it is unlikely that there will be an end to these studies.

The Need to Represent the Unrepresented

Where, then, amongst all of this research does this work fit? After surveying all the studies of the people associated with music — performers, producers, engineers, publishers, broadcasters, distributers, consumers and publicists — it becomes clear that there is one group of people who are absent: the people who curate music in cultural heritage institutions. Perhaps a large part of the general population and even some academics do not realise there is an intricate system of people and processes that lies behind the materials housed in libraries. They may get a sense of it when the system falls short of expectations

— when call slips are returned with notes saying "item not on shelf" or when materials are absent from catalogues or projects — but in these instances, the system is exposed and revealed as flawed, broken, somehow incomplete. But when users easily discover their desired materials and librarians promptly deliver them, as if by magic, from labyrinthine stacks there may be only a brief "thank you" exchanged before the user delves into the materials. The system functions as it is meant to and, as a result, becomes opaque. Either way, users will generally only meet reading room staff when they visit a library and not the multitude of cataloguers, conservationists, content managers, policy specialists, technicians, programmers and managers who work behind the scenes. Despite their lack of public profiles, these individuals all play significant roles in providing users with access to materials. In the case of national institutions, such as national libraries, some of these materials are cultural heritage items, the products of a nation's creative activities. Libraries, once temples to the written word, have greatly expanded their scope and now house a dizzying array of books, maps, films, sound recordings, photographs, manuscripts, correspondence and newspapers. Largest and usually most prominent of the libraries, national libraries are places for the population to discover and engage with these materials and in the process, establish a sense of self and their relationship with their local and national communities.

Libraries are, however, only one such place to engage with these materials. In the case of music, people can listen to it on the radio, buy it from shops, play it on a stage or read about it in magazines. But, once music fades from daily use — once the shops stop selling it, the radios stop playing it and the magazines stop publishing articles about it — then libraries' roles in preserving and providing access to it becomes important, if not necessary. Library staff deserve their turn in the spot light, but there is a need to investigate and not simply showcase them and their activities. Their contributions to music curation in national cultural heritage institutions — specifically *how* and *why* they contribute what they do when they do — are unexplored yet critical factors in how cultural heritage institutions project national identity to the populations they serve. Through their actions, staff select and preserve. They curate cultural heritage materials and these actions help or hinder people's abilities to see themselves in the materials preserved and presented by their national libraries as well as in institutions' activities and missions.

However, the general public are not the only uninformed people. National libraries are exemplars of librarianship, models of the methods, standards and ethics relevant to the

professional community. Sometimes this leadership role is willingly taken on by an institution, sometimes it is imposed from outwith, but either way, information professionals in general and librarians in particular look to national libraries for guidance and inspiration. Despite their high profiles, national libraries do not always share the rationale behind their decisions with the rest of the library community. As a result, libraries that follow a national library's example do so without fully comprehending why those decisions were reached, which means that librarians can be just as ignorant as the general public about why their national libraries do what they do.

Outline of Thesis

Exploring how music curation affects presentations of national identity, this work engages the Library of Congress as a case study and is structured in the following way: Chapter 2 begins with an historical overview of America's initial link with and subsequent break from Great Britain. The political, social and cultural context of late eighteenth century colonial America had a significant bearing on the Library's contested beginning in 1800 as a congressional resource. Empiricism and realism gave value to so-called 'useful knowledge' and, as a result, there was widespread support for and interest in physical and natural sciences. Library staff and management also adopted this epistemology and they built up the Library's collections to serve the research needs of Congress and *bona fide* scholars. Music, in general, was not actively collected and popular music, in particular, was shunned by Library staff, although Western art music eventually gained credence as a worthy scholarly topic. Therefore, at the end of the nineteenth century, the Library's first dedicated music department was proposed as part of a major institutional re-organisation and promoted as the key to creating a distinctive American musical sound.

Chapter 3 explores from the beginning of the twentieth century until the present day the history of the Library's music collections and the expansion of its music related departments. During this period, the Library's Music Division evolved from a solitary bastion of Western art music to three music-related divisions — the Music Division, the American Folklife Center and Motion Picture, Broadcast and Recorded Sound — that preserved and programmed the broad spectrum of America's musical endeavours. Accordingly, this chapter focuses on the music-related technological, cultural and legal forces that shaped the Library's development as a national cultural heritage institution and its mission to represent and serve America's diverse population. Examining these

numerous and complex forces as well as congressional records, legislation, scholarly publications and publicly-available policies, this chapter suggests that the Library's image as an iconic, democratic institution — as evidenced through its music curation — requires reconsideration.

Chapter 4 is split into two sections. The first half establishes this work's theoretical underpinnings and begins by examining how epistemological shifts associated with the Enlightenment, realism and empiricism gave rise to musicology. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Western art music, scientific-like inquiry and the concept of a fixed, autonomous work dominated nascent musicology, however by the middle of the twentieth century, sociologists and anthropologists began to investigate music's dynamic social and cultural functions. After highlighting this trajectory — from fixity to fluidity, from scientific to social — Howard Becker's concept of the art world is established as the theoretical model for the Library's case study because Becker's active, porous art worlds provide an appropriate space within which music curation, defined by this work as a triptych of people, tools and activities, can be examined holistically. Then the interest in and study of narratives are traced from linguists' attempts in the 1960s to form universal laws of human behaviour through social scientists' work that regarded narratives not as objects of study but as forms of inquiry to explore a range of social activities. Finally, this section concludes with a discussion of how narratives — more specifically those about music curation — inform and express notions of personal and national identity.

The second half of Chapter 4 addresses data collection methods. As previously mentioned, the Library of Congress — the *de facto* national library of America that houses one of the world's largest music collections — was chosen as a case study to highlight the ways music curation affects representations of national identity. Semi-structured interviews with members of staff about their roles in music curation were the primary method for gathering qualitative data, but extensive field notes were also taken over the course of a three-month resident fellowship at the Library. The remainder of the chapter clarifies methodologies employed during this work's four stages of data collection: informal meetings, interview proposals, interviews and transcription.

Chapter 5 presents analysis of eight interviews about various facets of music curation at the Library of Congress. Adopting a narrative analysis method put forward by Coralie McCormack, each interview transcript was independently and recursively read.

(McCormack, 2000a) These readings revealed sub-narratives about identity and image, which were teased out of the transcripts and then supplemented with field notes. Complementing the narrative theories adopted by this work, the act of writing interpretive stories was the analytical process for interview data, but the stories also serve other necessary functions. Terms of use stipulated that interview data would be anonymised so interpretive stories provided the ideal format for disseminating relevant parts of interviews in a way that honoured those terms. Redaction often rendered transcripts unintelligible. Nonetheless, one sample transcript is provided in this work's appendix. Each interview is followed by further analysis that places the interview in a wider context of music curation.

Finally, Chapter 6 reflects on the transformations the Library of Congress has made from a congressional resource to a copyright repository, a hub for the library community and a cultural heritage institution and the effects each role has had on its progression from a private resource to a library for a nation. This chapter also suggests that, when examined through the lens of music curation, the Library's iconic image as a democratic institution is not in harmony with the images of the Library presented in the sample of music curation narratives I present here. This work concludes that this discord is the result of the Library's commitment to research, which has been and still is its most fundamental institutional value. It alienates the majority of the population who are either uninterested in or unable to conduct traditionally conceived research. Recognising the complexity of music curation, this work finishes by highlighting some opportunities music curators can take to help bridge the gap between the pursuit of research and being a library for a nation.

Chapter 2: The Birth of a Nation, the Birth of a Library

<u>Introduction</u>

We begin this chapter with a brief historical overview of America's British colonisation that illustrates the effects geographical and cultural disparateness and slavery had on the colonies' social climates. Following that, the War of Independence and the Constitution — the former fuelled by demands for political representation and the latter promising inalienable rights — are discussed with particular concern for their roles in creating deep social fissures at the heart of the newly independent nation. It is in this climate that the Library of Congress was formed in 1800 for the exclusive use of its namesake's members. Then in regards to the Civil War, we further consider America's social paradox to illustrate growing divides amongst the nation's diverse communities. As fragile relations were rebuilt between the North and South and America expanded further westward, we turn our attention to the impact copyright legislation and the Smithsonian Institution's establishment had on the LC's mission and collections. In this context, we observe that the LC's role as America's national copyright repository and subsequent copyright deposits changed the substance of the LC collections. Music was counted amongst these deposits, but the LC had neither the resources nor the expertise to engage with these materials. Finally, the professionalisation of librarianship, which marked the beginning of the LC's relationships with organisations such as the American Library Association, and the LC's first major institutional restructuring are discussed in relation to the LC's proposed role as a cultural heritage institution for all Americans and, more specifically, to its provisional Music Division.

<u>Breaking Away, Breaking Apart</u>

At the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century small contingencies of British settlers colonised continental North America.[1] They did not depart from the same place, arrive at the same place and they did not share the same

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[1] Several European countries sent expeditions to North America, but they were not permanent. In 1541 France first attempted to establish a permanent colony in the contemporary city of Quebec, Canada but due to bad weather and attacks from American Indians, it failed after the first year. England was the first country to successfully establish a permanent colony.

motivations.[2] They came across the Atlantic Ocean in waves. Ripples of emigration gradually swelled and broke on sandy beaches and rocky outcrops up and down the east coast. North America was an unclaimed land of unknown size and potential that captured the expansionist imaginations of entrepreneurs and monarchs alike. The first installation of British settlements included the infamous Roanoke Colony founded in 1585 in North Carolina, Jamestown founded in 1607 in Virginia and the Plymouth Colony founded in 1620 in Massachusetts. Notably, the Plymouth settlers — Pilgrims — were the first group that included not adventurers and entrepreneurs but religious refugees.

Pilgrims were British Puritans who "believed that the Church of England was so corruptly entangled with Catholicism that nothing short of a clean break would suffice." (Waldman, 2008, 7) That break lead them first to Holland and then to the Massachusetts coastline. These separatist Puritans were opponents of religious persecution, more specifically the kind directed at their religious practices, but they were not advocates of universal and equally applicable religious freedom. (Harvey and Blum, 2012, 2) In the introduction to *The Columbia Guide to Religion in American History*, editors Paul Harvey and Edward Bloom offer a darker version of the narrative that often casts Pilgrims, harmoniously supping with their Native Indian neighbours, as "proponents of "religious freedom" in the modern sense," but this simplistic view obscures Puritan tendencies to "[direct] rhetorical blasts at Roman Catholicism, [jail] and [exile] Protestant dissenters, and [execute] Quakers." (Harvey and Blum, 2012, 2) America was a religiously unclaimed land where "many settlers came to enact their visions of holy societies" and instate "a religious commonwealth in which a particular set of beliefs would be normative." (Harvey and Blum, 2012, 3) Not just any beliefs, *their* beliefs. It was not wholesale religious freedom they sought, but rather the freedom to practice their religion the way they saw most appropriate, which meant that "all other faiths and people were to be converted or else excluded, repressed, or punished." (Harvey and Blum, 2012, 3) Accordingly, trans-Atlantic ships transported people *and* their ideas.

The distances between settlements were substantial and in the beginning, there was little to no infrastructure to connect them. Religious sentiments were raw from persecution and their adherents were defensive. Each colony's isolation meant that there was no cohesion between them, yet a large number of settlers shared a link with Great Britain.

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[2] Christopher Columbus was searching for the Northwest Passage, which would potentially provide a new trade route to Asia. The concept of the New World was only established after Columbus realised he had not reached his intended destination and landed somewhere else entirely.

When they arrived in the New World, they "took with them … explicit and deeply held claims to the culture they left behind and to the national identity implicit in that culture." (Greene, 2006, 62) They were not Americans; they were Britons who lived very far away from Great Britain.

Freedom and Slavery in Colonial America

In the beginning, British colonists had limited support after they landed on American shores. They could only rely on each other to build homes, sow and harvest crops, tend the sick and minister to spiritual needs. However, if colonists were to develop their land and communities, then they would need to build, harvest and tend on a scale much bigger than they alone could accomplish. For each British colonial tale of adventure and new beginnings there is parallel tale about the black slaves that "played a major, though unwilling and generally unrewarded, role in laying the economic foundations [and infrastructure] of the United States." (Encyclopaedia Britannica Online, 2014, 4)

The Jamestown colony was established by The London Company, one of the many joint stock companies of the time, as a corporate venture, and as such, the company needed to find, harness and capitalise on New World resources in order to make a return on shareholder investments. While settlers came to America for a variety of reasons, the trading companies that provided them with passage were economically motivated. In exchange for transport to colonial America, colonists entered into indentured servitude and worked their debts off for a set number of years. Even though relations with the Native Indians were, on the whole, strained or hostile, some colonies did have amicable enough dealing with their neighbours. For example, local tribes in Virginia taught colonists how to grow tobacco and due to its popularity in Europe, this cash crop as well as cotton, sugar, rice and indigo quickly became integral parts of Virginia and the South's economies. (Horton and Horton, 2004, 28) Such a sizable agricultural endeavour required an equally sizable work force, but there simply were not enough people in the colony to maintain the expansive plantations that dominated the Southern colonies. Native Indians were unwilling and responded with violence when coerced. Also European indentured servants were not plentiful enough. (Horton and Horton, 2004, 28) The Portuguese and Dutch were involved in slave trade as early as 1472 and when their explorations brought them to the New World, African slaves, predominantly captured from the continent's west coast, came with them. (Horton and Horton, 2004, 14) Consequently, black Africans, including

those captured and forced into slavery, were present in colonial North America and the Caribbean. However, they did not feature in English colonies until 1619 when the first Africans were brought to Jamestown. They were prisoners of a Dutch war campaign in the Caribbean — traded by the Dutch for much needed food and supplies — and this trade marked the beginning of a black African presence in English colonial America. (Horton and Horton, 2004, 28) These Africans were "bound laborers who worked long hours in the fields and in the homes of white Virginians, who increasingly shunned field work." (Horton and Horton, 2004, 29) They were not slaves, but spoils of battle. Neither were the majority of the first Africans in America. They were indentured servants, just like their white counterparts, and as such, they would be released from indenture after their allotted times were finished. From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, poor economic conditions in Great Britain improved. Lack of job prospects had previously driven some of the British to the colonies as indentured servants, but when the economy picked up, this supply of labour dried out and in turn heightened the labour crisis in the colonies. Consequently, colonists found "the abundant supply of African slaves … irresistible." (Horton and Horton, 2004, 29)

However, slavery was justified in other ways. Practical matters such as labour supply certainly edged colonists towards its support or, at the very least, its tolerance, but they do not explain why it was viewed as an acceptable practice. James Comer targets religion as the framework that allowed colonists to "demonstrate that the slave was a different kind of man — indeed, less of a man." (Comer, 1969, 802) Specifically, he highlights the effect the Protestant Reformation had on man's understanding of his relationship with God. The Reformation changed a great many things, but the one Comer focuses on is "the belief in man's direct accountability to God." (Comer, 1969, 802) After the Reformation, each Protestant man, woman and child had to justify their actions to God without any intermediaries. Religion became personal and this shift invested individuals with "dignity and rights unparalleled" in pre-Reformation Europe. (Comer, 1969, 802) Labour forces in the colonies were in short supply, but deeply ingrained religious precepts made it "necessary to devalue the man who would be used to exploit the land." (Comer, 1969, 803) As far as the white colonists were concerned, they were the dominant population and when pushed to justify slavery, "it was relatively easy to reduce the black African — different in culture, appearance, and religious practice — to the suitable picture of a savage beast suitable for enslavement." (Comer, 1969, 803) This became the dominant image whites conjured and pulpits, presses and political platforms spread it

around the colonies. Slavery was an occasion not only to supply the necessary work force but also to "[bring] religion, light and civilization to black heathens." (Comer, 1969, 803)

Over the course of the early and mid-eighteenth century, Great Britain — and by extension the American colonies — became increasingly involved in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Perhaps the most infamous trade triangle, a three-part import/export route between West Africa, the Caribbean and colonial America grew to meet the supply needs of these areas. Cash crop colonies not only benefited from this trade but also came to depend upon it for a livelihood because it provided a vital means of generating an income and an economy. Desperate for labourers, colonists, particularly in agricultural Southern colonies, were reluctant to let their indentured work forces go once their times of servitude were finished. Ultimately, "attempts to hold black servants beyond the normal terms of indenture culminated in the legal establishment of black chattel slavery." (Encyclopaedia Britannica Online, 2014, 3)   Throughout this early period of colonial America, "concepts about race, slavery, and standards for race relations were still being formulated," but Virginians, reliant upon agriculture and its work forces, began to regulate the emerging slave trade system in a way that benefited slaveholders. (Horton and Horton, 2004, 30) For example, colonial slave status departed from traditional English common law so that it passed not through the father but the mother. This change permitted white slaveholders to father children with slave women, commit any offspring to slavery and increase their number of slaves. Also, Virginia and the other colonies adopted legislation that prevented interracial relationships and marriages and carried severe penalties.[3] By the beginning of the eighteenth century, South Carolina had "already readily proceeded down the slippery slope of race-based slavery" and in 1701 published the first slave code: Act for the better ordering of Slaves. (Roper, 2007, 397)   The Act stipulated:

> … that all Negros, mulattos, & Indians which at any time heretofore have been sold or now are held or taken to be or hereafter shall be bought and sold for slaves are hereby made & declared they and their children slaves for all intents and purposes; except all such Negroes, mulattos, or Indians which heretofore have been or hereafter shall be for some particular merit made free by their respective owners or masters and except all such Negros, mulattos, & Indians which can prove they ought not to be sold for slaves. (Act for the better ordering of Slaves quoted in Roper, 2007, 408)

Evident in localised slavery practices and legislation, "it was becoming clear that Africans and white servants received different treatment." (Horton and Horton, 2004, 30) Indeed, there were a host of populations "called [sic] "the herd," the "degraded rabble," or "the

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[3] More often than not, the penalty for white transgression was indentured servitude or slavery.

mean and vile ranks" that included black slaves, white and black indentured servants and the poor white. (Horton and Horton, 2004, 39) These sentiments were issued by highly class-conscious Southern colonists that valued so-called refined backgrounds, breeding and political connections. (Horton and Horton, 2004, 39) White servants lived and worked in very similar situations to the black slaves. Genteel Southerners lumped these populations together despite differences in race because they had neither the pedigree nor the status valued in Southern colonies.

This period in American history marked the beginning of a social paradox. (Roper, 2007, 398) More and more Africans were enslaved and forced to live in the colonies and provide the manpower necessary to support the plantations that had become the cornerstones of Southern life and economy. Accordingly, a black presence in the colonies became more and more pronounced. Outnumbered and terrified of slave revolt, white colonists became increasingly afraid of the captives they had come to depend upon. (Horton and Horton, 2004, 39) Yet slaves were the dominate population. Twenty years before South Carolina drafted its slave code, slaves accounted for 17 per cent of the population. Twenty years after, it rose to 70 per cent. (Horton and Horton, 2004, 33) The slave numbers were so significant that one European visitor remarked that South Carolina, saturated with West Africans, seemed ""more like a negro community than like a country settled by white people."" (Horton and Horton, 2004, 33) Codes like North Carolina's were designed to control the seemingly savage and dangerous African population, to give white colonists guidelines for managing them and perhaps to instil some sense of security to the white minority. In order to accomplish these objectives, the Act treated enslaved Africans and Native Indians as property, chattel in particular.[4] They could be brought, sold, beaten, confined, castrated, killed and raped according to laws designed to not only subjugate but dehumanise. These two narratives — the white and the black — lie at the heart of the paradox. In "Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox," Edmund S. Morgan highlights this tension when he notes that "the rise of liberty and equality in [America] was accompanied by the rise of slavery." (Morgan, 1972, 5) One narrative is about freedom. The other is about slavery. And one cannot be told without the other.

It could be argued that at first the rise of slavery was economically driven. Labour — as cheap as it could come — was needed to run plantations and keep the South's economy afloat. However, white colonists began to view black slaves as inferior to whites,

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[4] Chattel is a moveable piece of personal property such as livestock, furniture, etc.

even the poor whites. In his work regarding the precepts of American slavery jurisprudence, A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr. argues that "there were several basic premises, goals, and implicit agreements concerning the institution of slavery that at once defined the nature of American slavery and directed how it should be administered." (Higginbotham, 1995, 1696) Some of these premises are explicitly expressed in statutes and other judicial regulations, but others were subtly expressed in implicit agreements between white colonists — what Higginbotham describes as common understanding — about practices "that catered to their shared economic interests and political views." (Higginbotham, 1995, 1696) He identifies ten precepts that governed colonial slavery jurisprudence, but highlights three as *sine qua non*:

> Inferiority: presume, preserve, protect, and defend the ideal of the superiority of whites and the inferiority of blacks.
> Property: Define the slave as the master's property, maximize the master's economic interest, disregard the humanity of the slave except when it serves the master's interest, and deny the slaves the fruits of their labor.
> Powerlessness: Keep blacks — whether slave or free — as powerless as possible so that they will be submissive and dependent in every respect, not only to the master, but to whites in general. Limit blacks' accessibility to the courts and subject blacks to an inferior system of justice with lesser rights and protections and greater punishments than for whites. Utilize violence and the powers of government to assure the submissiveness of blacks. (Higginbotham, 1995, 1996)

Blacks, whether enslaved or free, were not simply different, but inferior to whites. The implicit common understanding and explicit legislation regarding blacks and slavery in Southern colonial America coalesced to form a formidable social and cultural barrier between blacks and whites, rich whites and poor whites and Northerners and Southerners. Consequently, the rise and subsequent success of colonial slavery illustrated that in its formative years, America was a land of contradiction, a cacophony of political, economic, social and religious values, where the promise of freedom — that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights — seemed to be in direct opposition with the institution of slavery. (United States of America, 1776)

War of Independence

The latter part of the eighteenth century was a formative period in the development of what would later become the United States of America. In 1776 inhabitants of Britain's thirteen colonies rejected their mother country's control. The War of Independence, also known as the Revolutionary War, ensued. While it is entirely likely that some colonists individually developed new ideas about a national identity, overall discontent was not the

result of a newly formed, overarching sense of an American identity. (Murrin, 1987, 334) Immigrants from Great Britain or their offspring, colonists viewed themselves as British and as subjects of the Crown, they wanted the same privileges and rights as their compatriots living in their homeland. (Murrin, 1987, 340) Initially, the majority of colonists thought America should grow *with* Great Britain and not apart from it. Nonetheless, their claim to Britishness became problematic. Over time, the physical distance from Great Britain removed colonists from the hubbub of British life. In turn, this cultural gulf drove America and Great Britain's relative social refinements further apart. Britons moved forward while colonists started from scratch. Finally, the introduction of aliens — Africans, American Indians and other European adventurists — to their societies diluted any notion of Britishness. These three factors ultimately rendered that claim weak. (Greene, 2006, 62) For example, the Boston Tea Party in 1773 was a poignant expression of colonists' desire to remain English.[5] They objected to taxation and other impositions on their "internal affairs without their consent precisely because such measures were contrary to the rights and legal protections traditionally enjoyed by free or "independent" Britons." (Greene, 2006, 63) Taxation without representation in Parliament was not something they were willing to tolerate, yet independence was not on their agenda. Representation was. Keen to retain their colonial outposts, the British Parliament launched an offensive that was meant to quell the uprising, but after roughly eight years of fighting that saw European countries like France and Spain supply military aid to the so-called rebel colonists, Great Britain lost its hold. In 1783 the two sides signed a peace treaty and the colonists proceeded with the business of developing their country.

There are two important points to make about this time period. First, colonists' primary concerns immediately before the war were their lack of representation in government. As subjects of the Crown, they expected to be treated like their countrymen in Great Britain, who were represented. When these rights were not conferred, colonists felt disaffected, neglected and, finally, rejected. They wanted to remain part of Great Britain, to be accepted rather than refused. Independence was a last resort and the only option they saw available for gaining representation in government. The second point is the absence of a distinct American national identity. Even though colonists claimed links with Great Britain, its government and its culture, their daily dealings took place approximately 3,500 miles away. That distance, compounded by the immense physical

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[5] Colonists had no voice in Parliament regarding the additional tax placed on tea imports to America. In defiance of what they viewed as egregious taxation, the Sons of Liberty dressed up as American Indians and threw a ship load of tea into the Boston Harbor.

barrier of the Atlantic Ocean, made it difficult for them to stay involved. Life in the colonies often occasioned greater needs than cultural items. In his study of the Atlantic economy of the eighteenth century and the history of the colonial book, David Hall observes that the "the place of books in … shipments from Europe was, in the aggregate, extremely modest compared to the colonists' need for textiles, rum, sugar, iron, glassware, and other consumer goods." (Amory and Hall, 2000, 154) Yet some British culture did filter though as "the American market became an increasingly significant outlet for the British book trade." (Amory and Hall, 2000, 154) Despite the fact that books — printed and written — were imported from Europe, they were second-hand transmissions of some aspects of English or other European cultures and were no substitute for the daily experiences of life in their home countries. Yet there was one book that did have tremendous success: the Bible. Part of the first wave of immigrants, religious refugees flocked to the colonies to freely practice a more text-based version of Christianity, one that put emphasis on the direct word of God as revealed through the Bible. Colonists "were quick to import [books] from overseas" because vernacular translations of the Bible, more easily copied and circulated thanks to printing technology, were a significant part of how colonists maintained their religious practices in the decentralised New World. (Amory and Hall, 2000, 3) Colonial hold on British culture would have been tenuous and could have just as easily been an interpretation, a memory, something someone else experienced. Colonists were not British in a practical sense and they were not American in an ideological sense. It was only after the Revolutionary War concluded that the colonists were afforded the literal and ideological space to consider what their identity might be. John Murrin observes that "American identity was, in short, an unexpected, impromptu, artificial, and therefore extremely fragile creation of the Revolution." (Murrin, 1987, 344) After severing ties with Great Britain and, by extension, the culture of their home land, colonists were free to develop their own, but that process would require the disparate former colonies to unify, or, at the very least, to find some common ground beyond their British heritage.

The Constitution provided conditional, pliant common ground. Its first seven articles were written in 1787 and they went into effect on 4 March 1789. These articles outlined governmental separation of powers, the relationship between state and federal government, the procedures for amending and ratifying the Constitution and the composition of Congress.   Although colonies had banded together to fight the British, they did not rise from the ashes of war as one people. Instead, as members of different colonies

came into contact with each other over the course of the conflict, "the shock of recognition was uncomfortable and disturbing" because it "revealed, in effect, the underlying spectrum of settlement." (Murrin, 1987, 343) Regional factors such as religion, climate and heritage created variation in the colonies and inhabitants formed "well developed and deeply held provincial identities with which they were comfortable, of which they were proud, and about which they could be extraordinarily defensive." (Greene, 2006, 63) Settlers in Massachusetts and Barbados had very little in common. Sometimes these regional differences meant "Americans discovered that they really did not like each other very much." (Murrin, 1987, 343) However, colonists agreed on at least one point: the interests and local governments of each state should be protected. The primary principle of supporting and fighting the Revolutionary War was "the doctrine that government had to be founded on consent," one of the basic tenants of a republican government, and that consent was achieved through representation at a local level. (Greene, 2006, 74) Articles Four and Six of the Constitution provided that consent and established state/federal relationships that "left the balance of authority with the states." (Greene, 2006, 73)

Representation

Who or what was being represented? During the eighteenth century, the concepts of governmental representation were varied and split roughly between Parliament and the colonists. In *The Concept of Representation in the Age of American Revolution*, John Phillip Reid argues the most intense pre-war disagreements raged over "the theory that representatives who gave consent to legislation represented property rather than people." (Reid, 1989, 33) Parliament argued the former while colonists desired the latter. Colonial representatives, who operated at the local level, were likely to advocate and legislate on behalf of their fellow colonists because "American voters told their representatives to consider themselves part of their communities" whereas the "British told their representatives to consider themselves part of an independent institution." (Reid, 1989, 63-64) Even though colonial representatives may have hailed from the towns and villages they represented, they were politically integrated and situated in the community because colonists "expected [them] to be responsible to voters in particular and to "the people" in general." (Reid, 1989, 64) They were expected to reflect the will of the people and act on their behalf.

In 1689 English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) published the *Two Treatises of Government*.[6] Reacting to Sir Robert Filmer's (1588-1653) absolutist views, he denied the monarchy's claim to absolute rule by divine right because autocratic governance is "inconsistent with civil society." (Locke, 2003, 138) His refutation weaves together the notions of man's state of nature, his inalienable rights to "life, health, liberty, [and] possessions" and his political representation by consent. (Locke, 2003, 102) Locke's vision counters what he views as the self-interested, absolutist position of the monarchy with a civil government underpinned by the people's consent and representation. (Locke, 2003, 142) Faced with ever increasing tension with Parliament, it is not surprising that some colonial leaders found solace in Locke's words. When drafting the Declaration of Independence, the colonial statement of separation from British rule, Thomas Jefferson drew on Locke's *Two Treatises*. His influence is revealed in two ways. First, Jefferson's Declaration echoes Locke's concept of the state of nature when he claims that "all men are created equal" because they are endowed with inalienable rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." (United States of America, 1776) Second, Jefferson plainly admits to having great admiration for Locke. In 1789 Jefferson sent a letter to John Trumbull that identifies Francis Bacon, John Locke and Isaac Newton as "the three greatest men that have ever lived, without any exception."[7] (Library of Congress, 2014u) Jefferson makes apparent his regard for Locke and as a result, it would not be unreasonable to assume Jefferson would have turned to his trio of heroes when helping to draft the Declaration of Independence.[8]

Reid's study focuses on the legal history of eighteenth century representation, but his discussions of the concept and its mechanics illuminate a nascent national identity. Following independence from Great Britain, colonists were preoccupied with daily needs like feeding, clothing and raising their families, but they also were concerned with forming a government that reflected their values. Reid demonstrates that political representation — what colonists valued, but were denied by Parliament — was a key concept in that process.

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[6] *Two Treatises* was originally published anonymously, but after his death in 1704, Locke's last will and testament disclosed him as the author. The first American version was published in 1773 in Boston.

[7] In his letter to Trumbull, Jefferson expressed not only his admiration for the trinity of Locke, Bacon and Newton, but also drew their names in three individual circles and then enclosed them all in a fourth. His illustration is a curious visual homage that seems to underscore his esteem.

[8] There is debate over the influence of Locke's writing on the American founding fathers and the Revolution. Vocal amongst the sceptics, Oscar and Lilian Handlin (*Who Read John Locke? Words and Acts in the American Revolution*, 1989) argue that the lack of marginalia about Locke in Jefferson's books prove he was not an influence. This work does not aim to prove or disprove Locke's impact, but it does recognise that absence of evidence is not the same as evidence of absence. Therefore, Jefferson's own words regarding Locke are taken as an indication that influence is not just possible, but likely.

They argued with and ultimately fought against their compatriots for representation in Parliament. However, when founding fathers such as Jefferson applied this same concept to their fledgling government, they appeared to bestow rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness upon the populace, and in doing so, took the first steps in exploring what it might mean to be American.

European Libraries: Bibliothèque Nationale de France

The Bibliothèque du Roi (BdR) was established during the reign of Charles V (1364-80), who installed 917 books in a dedicated space at the Louvre, the royal palace at the time. (Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2013) Following Charles' death, his collection was broken up and throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the library was dispersed, reassembled and relocated several times, but always remaining in private hands. In 1537 François I issued the Ordonnance de Montpelliar, the country's first legal deposit legislation, which changed the scope of BdR's collections:

> le roi François 1er introduit un principe nouveau par une ordonnance du 28 décembre, enjoignant aux imprimeurs et aux libraires de déposer à la librairie du château de Blois tout livre imprimé mis en vente dans le royaume. Cette obligation, appelée dépôt légal, constitue une étape fondamentale pour la bibliothèque royale. (Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2013)

Legal deposit required "every printer in France to provide the king's library with one copy of each printed work." (Priebe, 1982, 389) Yet the BdR, as its name suggests, was a resource for the king and his successors — "a state library without equal anywhere in Europe" — not a public resource. (Priebe, 1982, 389) Louis XIV had greatly expanded the BdR's collections and in 1691 opened its doors, but it is not clear to whom this invitation was extended. Regardless whether BdR was available to every member of the country, the bourgeoisie or other royals, Louis XIV's change in policy was lost amongst the eighteenth century growing public rage against the perceived privileges of the monarchy, the upper class and the clergy. The French Revolution erupted in 1789 and ushered in a decade of social and political turmoil. The period immediately preceding the Revolution was characterised by famine, peasant resistance to France's feudal system, increased availability of reformist literature, bourgeoisie discontent about their perceived exclusion from power and politics and, finally, substantial national debt resulting from France's involvement in the Seven Years War and the American War of Independence. (Aftalion, 1990, 23) In the first year of the Revolution, the radical National Assembly — the self-proclaimed government composed of commoner representatives of the Third

Estate — instigated several changes. Most relevant to the BdR was the seizure of all ecclesiastical property including their libraries, which were to be transferred out of private hands, thus chipping away at clergy privileges, and made the property of the nation. (Priebe, 1982, 391) In 1789 the BdR was renamed the Bibliothèque Nationale (BN) and "intended to serve as a visible symbol of republican pride, open and accessible to all citizens." (Oliver, 2007, 49) However, collecting and organising confiscated materials would prove a lengthy process that was primarily overseen by local, uninformed officials. Books were lost or stolen in transit. Some were destroyed with revolutionary zeal. Still others were sold off to pay pensions to evicted monks and nuns. Copies were mistaken for originals. Originals were mistaken for copies. (MacFarlane, 1896, 103)

In 1792, the beginning of The Reign of Terror, French playwright and republican Nicolas Chamfort (1741-1794) was installed as the BN's co-director, and as a result, he and his co-director Jean Louis Carra (1742-1793) were put in charge of overseeing the consolidation and re-organisation of France's libraries. However, both men "found that patriotic zeal apparently counted for more with the revolutionary government than scholarship and expertise."[9] (Oliver, 2007, 374) If the BN was a symbol for republicanism, then its staff had to be patriots. Chamfort was forced to replace the former BdR's staff, seen to belong to the old regime, with predominantly untrained yet suitably patriotic men. (Oliver, 2007, 374) This habit of replacing staff not considered patriotic enough with others who were would eventually be Chamfort's undoing. Despite his exuberance for revolutionary ideals, he fell victim to a fevered round of counterrevolutionary accusations during The Reign of Terror.[10] One of his co-workers at the BN, a malcontent fellow named Pierre-Ancher Tobiésen-Duby (1721-1782), denounced him for a celebratory remark Chamfort made regarding the death of Jean Paul Marat (1743-1793), the editor of the republican newspaper *L'Ami du Peuple*. Not long before his assassination, Marat had publically accused Chamfort of being "too bourgeois." (Oliver, 2007, 375) Also Tobiésen-Duby, a former employee of the BdR, felt he had been treated unfairly when positions at the new BN were allocated. (Oliver, 2007, 376) As a result, his allegations against Chamfort were unlikely to be solely motivated by his

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[9] The Reign of Terror, or simply called The Terror, was a period during the French Revolution that was dominated by the deaths of tens of thousands of so-called counterrevolutionaries and dissidents. Accusations were registered with the Revolutionary Tribunal and eventually individuals were sentenced to death by guillotine. Others were lynched by mobs before they were brought to court. While some legitimately died for their political beliefs, others were simply suspected of wrong doing or were unfortunate enough to be the targets of personal or political grudges.

[10] Chamfort participated in the storming of the Bastille.

commitment to revolutionary ideals. In the early hours of a September morning in 1793, Chamfort and several other library employees were arrested and brought to the Madelonettes prison — infamous for its horrific conditions — and were released two days later. However, Tobiésen-Duby persisted with his accusations. Despite Chamfort's attempts to re-assert his patriotism, more guards confronted him at his home with the aim of taking him back to prison. Chamfort — severely dismayed by his first experience in prison — feigned the need to pack a bag and in the privacy of his room, shot himself through the eye then slashed his body with a razor. Neither of these drastic actions killed Chamfort, who was later pardoned. (Oliver, 2007, 377) Chamfort's experience was not unique. However, his story offers some insight into the tumultuous beginnings of France's national library, which was built up as society, as it had been known, was torn down. Chamfort was a man of books, but his troubles while at the BN had nothing to do with them. They had everything to do with politics. Established by the victorious political parties, the BN was a contested site from the moment it was established. Built with confiscated private libraries and held up as proof of the nation's transformation, the BN was a symbol of a society supposedly made more open, a monument to not only society but also the politics and activists that created it.

European Libraries: The British Museum Library

Established in 1753 in London, England the British Museum (BM) collections were partly based on a bequest made by Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) to the nation. Sloane was a man of science and curiosity and as such, his 71,000-item collection included a range of objects, natural specimens as well as books and manuscripts. (British Museum, n.d.) The Cotton Library, another part of the founding collections, was built up by Sir Robert Cotton (1570-1631) during the latter half of the seventeenth century and eventually donated to the nation by his grandson Sir John Cotton (d.1702). Finally in 1757, only a few years after the BM opened, King George II (1680-1760) donated the Old Royal Library — the sovereigns' collection of books and manuscripts. The Old Royal Library contained at least one piece of written music: motets composed by Magister Sampson. (Royal MS 11 E XI) This triptych of donations — consisting of various formats but dominated by books and manuscripts — would form the foundation for future collections, but from the very beginning, the British Museum Library (BML) held music in its collections. Yet its acquisition was incidental. Legal deposit legislation was first established in Great Britain in 1662, but from 1757 "the privilege of legal deposit came to the British Museum Library

with the Old Royal Library" and it became one of eleven libraries to receive legal deposit copies of printed works. (Sternberg, 1991, 61) (Gibby and British Library, n.d.) Printed music was included in these deposits but "in the 18th and 19th centuries, BML authorities regarded sheet music of lesser importance than the printed word." (British Library and Anderson, 1990, 33) Therefore, "no serious attempt to collect, organise, bind, and catalogue printed sheet music was made until the 1840s." (British Library and Alston, 1989, 29) However, during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the musicological aspects of the institution were given a major injection of new items and a new building. Greek, Roman and Egyptian artefacts such as the Rosetta Stone, the Colossi of Memnon and the Elgin and Towneley Marbles dominated the museum's galleries as well as the public's imaginations. Science and gathering useful knowledge through methods employed in chemistry, physics and archaeology were not simply the lofty pastimes of the rich or means of acquiring material gain. English chemist Sir Humphry Davy argued that "the object of science was *utility*, but it also had an end, *truth*." (Foote, 1954, 440) He believed knowledge and truth would connect the different social classes and, in doing so, would make all of society "more enlightened and happier." (Foote, 1954, 441) There were probably a few people alive in Great Britain during the early 1800s that were not as confident about science as Davy, but it would have been hard to escape the nation's love affair with its various branches. George Foote describes this time in British history as the point when "Art had given up its position as the distinctive factor of civilization." (Foote, 1954, 441) Considering the BM's emphasis on natural history and artefacts, its music collections — or lack thereof — were temporarily ignored.

The Birth of a Legislative Library

Set against this backdrop, early American legislators were busy organising and building a government. Initially, the U.S. Congress took several forms, but its members finally settled on a two-house bicameral government based on majority rule. The Library of Congress began in 1800 when America's second President John Adams (1735-1828) approved an expenditure of $5,000 for books and a space to house them that would support activities of the newly formed republic's government. However, the place of books in government work and the subjects they contained were matters debated not once but twice before Adams successfully negotiated the library's naissance. Fresh from their traumatic departure from what they viewed as European elitism, early republicans were divided over how books would affect their fledgling government. The first unsuccessful attempt to

lobby for a congressional library came in 1783 from James Madison (1751-1836) and Theordorick Bland, who were both members of the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia. (Ostrowski, 2004, 8) On the one hand, those in favour of a congressional library, including Madison and Bland, argued that these books "fell under the rubric of useful knowledge and could help solve practical problems." (Ostrowski, 2004, 8) These practical problems could arise in areas such as politics, economics and law — spheres of activity necessary for conducting state affairs — and supporters valued books as sources of information about these matters. As a new player in the international arena, they argued members of Congress needed useful knowledge about how its allies and enemies conducted their business in order to conduct their own. On the other hand, opponents of not only books but also a congressional library regarded them as "symbols of the corrupting power of luxury to subvert republican institutions." (Ostrowski, 2004, 8) Concern about the power of luxury was not merely for opulent dress or furniture, but for the effects these items had on a nation's well-being; in this sense, "luxury was regarded by both statesmen and ordinary citizens as the most significant threat to the continued existence and prosperity of the nation." (Ostrowski, 2004, 29) They viewed books as the domain of European aristocrats and opponents regarded them as vehicles for so-called elitist values they had just struggled to separate themselves from. It should be noted that Madison and Bland's proposal for making books available to legislators was not a plea for access to purely theoretical writings or any form of art or ephemeral materials such as newspapers; it was driven by the practical needs of Congress. Books were not simply helpful for politics; Madison and Bland considered them vital. Accordingly, their suggested book list reflected the intended purpose of the proposed library. It was not a storehouse for American culture. It was not a public lending institution. It was to be a resource for congressional members as they went about their duties. As a result, it would have "limited, practical ends" that were fit for only this purpose. (Ostrowski, 2004, 10)

After debating Madison and Bland's list of 307 titles, which were a mix of topics including American history, politics, economics, law and the natural sciences, opponents cited the library's cost as an unnecessary expense — the nation was bankrupt from war and only on the cusp of peace with Britain at the time — and a significant majority rejected even a pared back list. (Ostrowski, 2004, 9) Considering prevalent objections to luxury and its perceived detrimental effect on society, Carl Ostrowski speculates that Madison and Bland's proposal was rejected as much for cultural reasons as it was for economic ones. (Ostrowski, 2004, 37) Wars are expensive endeavours and budgetary objections to a

congressional library would not seem unreasonable or out of place in that climate. Even though the full extent of cultural prejudice in the first proposal's failure will never be known, its prospective influence should not be ignored. Ostrowski observes that a legislative library "potentially represented an encroachment of luxury into the federal government because the books could be viewed as a frivolous purchase of dubious utility." (Ostrowski, 2004, 29) They were frivolous because they were not deemed important enough to warrant use of public funds; they were dubious because they harboured Old World sentiments and values that could first infect Congress and then the populace. Considering objections about the proposed library's cost and use, Ostrowski's observations about the proposal's rejection seem to reflect the fledgling nation's preoccupation with necessary and useful knowledge.

The second lobby came in 1790 from Elbridge Gerry (1744-1814), a Representative from Massachusetts, who led a committee that drafted a list of books and prepared a budget for procuring them. Gerry, seemingly mindful of previous economic concerns associated with a congressional library, submitted a more modest list of roughly 80 titles and argued that a Washington, D.C. based library would solve more mundane concerns about transporting personal libraries to the Capitol. (Ostrowski, 2004, 21) Making his argument, Gerry assumed that members of Congress owned and drew upon their own libraries — hence his abbreviated list — but they did not always have them to hand because they hailed from disparate parts of the country. (Ostrowski, 2004, 21) When the capitol was temporarily based in Philadelphia and New York City, members of Congress in need of particular materials could conceivably access materials from the social or circulating libraries available in these parts of the country. Both the Library Company of Philadelphia and the New York Society Library were at their disposal. (Conaway, 2000, 7) In the end, Gerry was probably responsible for his proposal's failure. If members of Congress had their own collections, then why should the government finance an extension of those libraries? Also, personal libraries, especially those comprehensive enough to have a bearing on state affairs, were associated with the elite and privileged; he invoked the very same image that early Americans were reacting against. Some opponents doubted the necessity of books in conducting state affairs. In response to Gerry's proposal, one such critic unleashed a scathing condemnation:

> It is supposed that Members of Congress are acquainted with history; the laws of nations; and possess such political information as is necessary for the management of affairs of the government. If they are not, we have been unfortunate in our choice … it is supposed that the members are fully

> competent for these purposes, without … the expense of furnishing them with Books for their improvement. (anonymous contributor to the Boston newspaper the *Independent Chronicle* dated 13 May 1790 quoted in Mearns, 1946, 3)

According to this critic's view, member of Congress should *already* be knowledgeable about issues relevant to conducting state affairs and a library would either expose their ignorance or possibly encourage unqualified men to fill Congress' ranks. Either way, supplying a library for congressional use was a waste of precious resources. It is no surprise then that "Gerry's report was laid on the table and not revived." (Ostrowski, 2004, 22)

Before the capitol was permanently established in Washington, D.C., politicians used books from their collections, friends' collections or the social or circulating libraries in cities such as New York or Philadelphia. Previous to Madison's proposal, the government had not supplied legislators with reference materials; efforts by the library's supporters to convince those who held the purse strings that government proved difficult indeed. As the inherently functional but ultimately failed attempts by Madison, Bland and Gerry show, "establishing a congressional library was not an uncomplicated proposition." (Ostrowski, 2004, 37) Despite earlier resistance to a congressional library, President Adams signed a bill on 24 April 1800 that approved funds for an executive mansion, a building for Congress and, within Congress' new base, a library. (Conaway, 2000, 9) This bill not only accounted for the space in which books would be housed but also appropriated funds "for the purchase of such books as may be necessary for the use of Congress at the said city of Washington." (quoted in Conaway, 2000, 9) In 1801, 704 books and three maps arrived from London and the congressional library was finally realised. As the bill stipulated, it was located in Washington, D.C., the official and permanent site of the government, and situated deep within the walls of the newly built U.S. Capitol. (Cole, 1993, 12) From its very beginning, the LC was linked both in name and proximity to Congress. Its name reflected its association with the legislature, the beating heart of the nation, and its location reflected the seat of that government at the centre of Pierre-Charles L'Enfant's city.

War of 1812 and Jeffersonian Ideals

From 1801 to 1812 the library was slowly expanded both in regard to access and content under the care of America's third President Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809). The

pool of people who could engage the materials grew from members of Congress to the President, Vice President, some governmental agencies and Supreme Court justices. (Cole, 1993, 13) Yet as the library's audience swelled and the interest in it multiplied so did the difficulties of its operation. Clashing political personalities, mishandled budgets and negligent record keeping plagued its formative years. However, its contents grew and in 1812 the Library produced its first catalogue of 3,076 volumes and 53 maps and charts. (Conaway, 2000, 21) In 1809 James Madison (1809-1817) became the fourth President and the beginning of his term "was dominated by the prospect of open conflict with England." (Conaway, 2000, 21) Relations with the former mother country became severely strained by continued fighting between Great Britain and France. As both nations supported settlements in North America, American politicians found themselves physically and politically caught in the middle. Although they tried to adopt a position of neutrality, America was bound to France by the 1778 treaties of alliance and commerce. (Stagg, 2011, 24) The French wanted to use American ports to launch offensives. The British considered these acts violations of America's neutrality. Employing a range of diplomatic and economic tactics, each belligerent vied to pit America against its enemy until on 19 June 1812 Congress declared war on Great Britain for its so-called violations of American rights. (Stagg, 2011, 24) In 1813 American forces invaded the British colony of York, the modern site of Toronto, Canada. Devastated by the loss of US General Zebulon Pike, who was killed during the campaign, American soldiers destroyed the settlement. (Marsico, 2010, 50) This act set a very bad precedent because when British troops advanced on Washington, D.C. and its residents fled further west leaving the city undefended, the invading British forces returned the courtesy and set fire to symbolic structures in the city: the War Office, the Executive Mansion, the Treasury, the bridge over the Potomac River, the Capitol and thus the library. After the library's meagre twelve years of existence, all of its records and materials were destroyed.

If Adams provided the initial momentum for the LC, then Jefferson set its course. Already responsible for guiding the library through its first eight years, Jefferson played a fundamental role in re-establishing the legislative library after war with Great Britain. After his presidential term finished in 1809, he retired from public life and spent his time at his plantation — Monticello — in Virginia. Word of the library's demise reached Jefferson and he set about making plans to resurrect it. Known for his admiration of books and insatiable love of learning, Jefferson had amassed a substantial personal library during his adulthood; in 1814 it was estimated to be as large as six or seven thousand volumes.

(Conaway, 2000, 25) Meant to help rebuild the congressional library as well as alleviate his personal debt, Jefferson's plan was to sell his library in its totality to Congress. Unlike the first two times the library was proposed, this time there was consensus amongst members of Congress that a library was necessary for their duties. (Conaway, 2000, 28) David Mearns points out that up to this point, the LC had "attained an unconscious but remarkably successful anonymity." (Mearns, 1946, 15) The American people had little or no knowledge of the congressional library, but the Capitol's destruction occasioned widespread indignation from every strata of society, including members of Congress, and they were quick to respond to the perceived British barbarism. (Mearns, 1946, 15) However, there was still debate about the subject matter of some of Jefferson's volumes. His enthusiasm for books meant that his collecting reached far beyond the practical list he drafted about thirty years earlier; satires by Voltaire and a copy of James Thomas Callender's *The Prospect Before Us*, a stinging commentary published in 1800 on political corruption in Adams' administration, caused opponents, who invoked morality and decency, to object to what they viewed as the collection's dubious nature. (Conaway, 2000, 30) Jefferson's interests extended to almost every subject and included philosophy, religion and art; volumes were often in other languages.[11] Successful passing of Adams' initial legislation was due in part to supporters restricting topics to what was viewed as useful knowledge so the relevance of these particular volumes to state affairs was harder to establish. Nonetheless, members of Congress were so desperate to have their library back that they voted in favour of the purchase for $23,950 for Jefferson's complete collection and on 30 January 1815 Madison signed the bill into law. (Conaway, 2000, 30) Over the span of approximately fifteen years, the legislative library had become a resource for members of Congress and a small selection of other government employees while carrying out their duties and, as a result, part of the political fabric of Washington and the U.S. Capitol.

During discussions about the library's establishment and its recreation, there were several objections raised, but the most problematic and, until at least 1815, still unresolved, came from what could be called an anti-intellectual contingency. Some of the first settlers in America were refugees who fled from what they considered educated and elitist oppressors. By the time they arrived on the shores of the New World, they were already distrustful of books. Consequently, knowledge was valued if it were useful and applicable. However, Jefferson, in selling his collection to Congress, not only expanded the number of

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[11] Jefferson was literate in at least six languages.

volumes available to Congress but also challenged the prevailing notion that some books and topics were unnecessary or even detrimental when conducting state affairs.   No doubt a result of his experiences during the library's creation, Jefferson anticipated arguments against not just the utility of a legislative library but also its scope of content: "there was "no subject to which a Member of Congress may not have occasion to refer."" (quoted in Cole, 1993, 13) Jefferson "believed that the power of the intellect could shape a free and democratic society." (Cole, 1993, 13) Accordingly, the library would play a vital role in the legislature's survival and growth. Even though Jefferson's views on knowledge and books were quite different from his contemporaries', his support of accessible knowledge only extended to members of Congress and selected other governmental departments. The library was not a public institution and, therefore, it was not open to the public.

The Civil War

From 1815 onwards the library's development was slow but steady. It "began receiving government documents and other publications obtained through official exchanges with other countries" and continued to be accessible to select governmental employees. (Cole, 2005, 286) Then disaster struck again in 1851 when a fire destroyed two-thirds of the library's roughly fifty-five thousand volumes. (Cole, 1993, 14) Almost immediately Congress responded with $168,700 to restore its room within the Capitol and to replace — and only replace — the lost volumes. (Cole, 1993, 14) John Cole credits this conservative approach to rebuilding the legislative library to Librarian John Silva Meehan (1829-1861) and Senator James A. Pearce (1805-1862), head of the Joint Committee of the Library at the time, "who favoured keeping a strict limit on the Library's activities." (Cole, 1993, 14) These sentiments reflected the view of most members of Congress. (Cole, 2005, 386) While Meehan and Pearce remained at the helm of the library's administration and oversight, they perpetuated and supported the notion that "the congressional library should play a limited role on the national scene and that its collections, by and large should emphasize American materials of obvious use to the U.S. Congress." (Cole, 2005, 386) Jefferson's vision of a universal collection remained unrealised despite the opportunity the fire presented for expanding the collections, and it would remain unrealised for another fifteen years because of the outbreak of the Civil War.

Throughout the 1850s social tensions, present from the nation's founding, grew between the Northern and Southern states. Broadly speaking, the discontent was over the

balance of state and federal power. The Constitution as it was introduced after the War of Independence favoured local power and decision making. However, this balance was precarious. Local economies in Southern states produced "great profits in the burgeoning Cotton Kingdom [that] translated into increasing political power for southern slaveholders, power that supported slavery's continued existence." (Horton and Horton, 2004, 104) Some Americans, particularly those in the North, were not content to let slavery continue, let alone grow.[12] This clash of values reached the federal level, but due to its restricted power, the federal government was not in a position to enable or stop it. Thomas Jefferson, himself a slave owner, recognised this predicament as "a dangerous balancing act … [akin to] holding a "wolf by the ears."" (Horton and Horton, 2004, 104) Slavery was by no means a trivial issue during this time because it had become an integral part of the New World economy and, as a result, had become part of the daily lives, either directly or by association, of all Americans. Nonetheless, these disputes over political power were expressed through debates about slavery. Even though American involvement in the African slave trade had been abolished in 1808, slavery was still legal in some states and Southerners met the demand for black slaves by selling off surplus slaves (or children of slaves) from their plantations. Those practices were threatened by opposition to what abolitionists viewed as aggressive expansion of slavery in western territories such as Missouri.[13] If slavery were made illegal in these new Western regions, then representation in Congress, determined by a state's population, would favour abolitionists and their agendas.[14] (Spalding, 2002, 3) Southern political power would weaken. The debate over slavery was as much about political control as it was about individual liberty. After several failed initiatives such as the Missouri Compromise, relations between the North and South

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[12] Abolitionist agendas were motivated by several convictions. First, some opponents took a moral stance against the practice. They thought slavery was against the will of God, but Jeremy Tewell notes that "sympathy for the slaves and religious conviction may have been driving impetuses for some northerners, but not enough to sustain a popular political movement." (Tewell, 2012, 78) Second, others took an economic stance. They thought slavery threatened the Protestant work ethic valued in the North because "it inhibited upward social mobility by stigmatizing labor and, consequently, [threatened] their access to the West [of America]." (Tewell, 2012, 78) Finally, others thought that support for or complacency concerning slavery was akin to giving up their own freedom. If the nation "rejected the Declaration's principle that all men are naturally free, [then] Americans eliminated simple humanity as an unquestionable defence against … oppression" and everyone, regardless of skin colour, risked enslavement. (Tewell, 2012, 76)

[13] In 1820 President James Monroe signed the Missouri Compromise. It was meant to regulate slavery in the western territories by establishing a line north of the 36^0 30' north parallel (except within the proposed boundaries of the state of Missouri) above which slavery would be illegal. It was eventually ruled as unconstitutional in the wake of the 1857 Dred Scott v. Sandford hearing that determined that blacks, whether free or enslaved, were not American citizens.

[14] The 1787 3/5 Compromise was an agreement between Northern and Southern interests concerning slave populations in the census. This matter was deeply contentious because members of the House of Representatives are determined by population. Southern states housed the bulk of slave populations and if slaves were counted in the census, then Southern representation in Congress – and power – would be greatly increased. In the end, slaves were counted as 3/5 of a person.

reached breaking point. Open hostilities began in 1861 and the nation literally divided over the matter. Eleven pro-slavery states — South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee — that interpreted slavery as a constitutional right seceded and they called the area these states occupied the Confederate States of America. After less than one hundred years of nationhood, America was at war with itself.

Which American?

During this period, notions of national identity and Americanness were at stake. Discussing the competing forms of nationalism expressed during the Civil War, James McPherson highlights ethnic and civic sentiments issued by abolitionist Unionists and pro-slavery Confederates. Ethnic nationalism, argues McPherson, was the predominant war cry of the Confederates. Drawing on imagery from sources such as Sir Walter Scott's novels and events like the conflict between the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons, Confederates portrayed the conflict as one between different ethnic groups. These groups were not identified along white and black lines; they "had nothing to do with Caucasian and Negro … [rather] Southern and Northern *whites* belonged to distinctive ethnic groups." (McPherson, 1999, 105, emphasis in original) Unionists expressed civic nationalism and viewed the conflict as a battle between those loyal to the Constitution — the institution of America — and those who threatened it. Accordingly, Unionists portrayed Confederates as rebels or traitors regardless of perceived ethnic origin. (McPherson, 1999, 107) The Civil War was ignited over slavery, but it was a struggle over how Americans saw themselves, saw their fellow countrymen, and how they viewed the balance between state and federal government. It was "a crisis of nationalism, indeed of two nationalisms" that was resolved in the most visceral way. (McPherson, 1999, 107)

Guided by America's sixteenth President Abraham Lincoln (1861-1865), Unionist agendas would come to shape the nation's post-war institutional framework, but that framework was already in flux before the South fell. Lincoln shared Jefferson's concern about the place of slavery in America. Clearly, slavery and all its sub-narratives were factious issues and as such "Lincoln believed slavery's status in the West would determine the character of the entire nation." (Tewell, 2012, 81) Lincoln's initial intention was to keep the nation together by appealing to a notion of individual liberty that, when interpreted to exclude blacks, endangered everyone's liberty. (Tewell, 2012, 80) His

argument against slavery was meant to provoke a Southern change of heart and banish Northern indifference, but this tactic was unsuccessful. Before the Civil War's beginning, Southern investment in slavery was substantial and this meant that abolishing slavery or interrupting the trade of its products would most certainly cripple its economy. Understanding the Confederacy's dependency on slavery and particularly the cotton trade with Europe, Lincoln imposed in 1861 a Union naval blockade of 3,500 miles of Southern coastline that included major ports like New Orleans and Mobile. The blockage choked Southern imports and stifled its exports. In 1863 Lincoln also issued an executive order — the Emancipation Proclamation — that freed slaves in the rebellious Confederate states.[15] Slave-less, trade-less and without European support, General Robert Lee (1807-1870), commander of the Confederate army, surrendered in 1865 to Unionist General Ulysses Grant at Appomattox Court House in Virginia. Both factions suffered a combined loss of over 600,000 black and white soldiers, but "out of the fires and transformations of this war would emerge the modern conception and institutional framework of the American nation." (Bernath, 2012, 1) Yet that transformation came only once the South was economically decimated, politically stunted and socially humiliated. Official military engagement was over, but the Southern attitudes towards freed slaves and Northerners either remained the same or intensified. After receiving pardons, Confederate patriots "passed new laws reinstating much of their control over black people" and intimidated blacks who seemingly dressed too well, spoke too eloquently, resisted white criticism or showed too much aspiration. (Horton and Horton, 2004, 213) White Southern eyes continued to see freed blacks as inferior, but their condemnation had to be expressed through more clandestine channels. White abolitionists were also subject to Southern scorn. Perhaps Lincoln's assassination was the most resounding example of Confederate displeasure. Not long after the war's conclusion, disgruntled Confederate loyalist John Wilkes Booth (1832-1865) fatally shot Lincoln while he was attending a performance at the Ford Theatre. Far from harmonious, Southern whites and freed blacks began a new war with "African Americans seeking dignity and respect and southern whites attempting to maintain the principle of white supremacy." (Horton and Horton, 2004, 214) Passed in 1865 the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution nationally abolished slavery and in 1868 the Fourteenth Amendment granted citizenship and equal civil and legal rights to blacks. On paper freed blacks were finally counted as citizens and as such, enjoyed access to the legal system, but

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[15] Emancipation was limited to Confederate states only. Lincoln's edict stripped the South of its most precious commodity – free labour – and allowed Unionists to recruit black soldiers. The Emancipation Proclamation did not end slavery, but it did change the fundamental character of the war.

in practice, there were still significant barriers to their cultural and social integration, to being considered American by their white neighbours.

The Smithsonian Institution

Just before the Civil War's conclusion, President Abraham Lincoln appointed Cincinnati bookseller Ainsworth Rand Spofford (1864-1897) the sixth Librarian of Congress. Spofford's tenure had a significant impact on the LC's role and scope. Perhaps his greatest contribution was overseeing the acquisition of the entire Smithsonian Institution (SI) library. In 1829 English scientist James Smithson (1764-1829) bequeathed his estate "to the United States of America to found at Washington, under the name Smithsonian Institution, an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." (Smithson's last will and testament quoted in Cyrus, 1904, 8) The funds from his estate — approximately £100,000 — were held by the British Court of Chancery and it took Honorable Richard Rush two years of litigation in British courts to secure and deliver the funds to Washington, D.C. Smithson's motivations for leaving his fortunes to a foreign government are unknown and his enigmatic gift prompted eight years of heated debates over how to interpret Smithson's instructions for the institution's purpose. His stipulation was sufficiently vague that "every imaginable disposition of the legacy was proposed and discussed in Congress" because "every man had a scheme peculiar to himself, and opposed all other schemes with a vigour proportionate to their dissimilarity to his own." (Cyrus, 1904, 10) Accordingly, their suggestions were wide ranging — a university, an agricultural school, a school for the blind, a library, a botanical garden, an observatory, a chemistry laboratory, a publishing house and an art museum. These were all presented to Congress, and in 1846, after years of hard negotiating, the SI was set to materialise. (Cyrus, 1904, 10-11) Part of that negotiating necessitated a compromise between the library advocates and the scientific establishment advocates: at least for the first few years, both would be fostered. (Cole, 1983, 248) On 10 August of the same year President James K. Polk (1795-1849) signed an act, known as Public Law 76, to establish the SI:

> a suitable building, of plain, and durable materials and structure, without unnecessary ornament, and of sufficient size, and with suitable rooms or halls, for the reception and arrangement, upon a liberal scale, of objects of natural history, including a geological and mineralogical cabinet; also a chemistry laboratory, a library, a gallery of art, and the necessary lecture rooms. (An Act to Establish the "Smithsonian Institution," 1846, section 5)

After the Board of Regents was established, they selected a Secretary who, they thought, "should be a man possessing weight of character, and a high grade of talent." He should

be a man of science, accomplished in his own right and capable of advancing science. (Smithsonian Institution, 1847, 10) That man was American physicist Joseph Henry (1797-1878).[16] Henry believed that, despite P.L. 76's broad remit, Smithson's intended purpose for his institution was "to advance science by original research and publication." (Cyrus, 1904, 12) Although Congress may have been ambiguous about its intentions for the Smithsonian, "Henry was from the outset very clear on the subject." (Mearns, 1946, 100) He focused the SI's efforts on providing researchers with laboratories and building an extensive collection of physical science materials. Henry also established *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, the first of many SI publications designed to disseminate research results. Laboratories would provide the means of increasing knowledge. Publications, museums and lecture halls would all serve as outputs for disseminating knowledge. Fitting with Henry's vision for the SI, its library "was developed as a purely scientific collection." (Mearns, 1946, 101) In 1865 the Smithsonian building, also known as the Castle due to its Norman architectural style, was devastated by fire. The disaster presented Henry with an opportunity in regard to the SI's library. It had escaped the blaze, but it was housed in the Castle's west wing, which was not fire proof. Furthermore the library had outgrown the SI's facilities. (Smithsonian Institution, 1865, 70) Around this time, the LC was poised to move into a new building, which, according to the 1866 LC Annual Report, would be fire proof. (Library of Congress, 1866, 1) Henry, rigidly focused on the SI's scientific work, saw an opportunity to cement the SI's future. In the 1865 Annual Report of the Board of Regents, Henry described potentially transferring the SI's library to the LC and:

> hope[d] that it will in due time make provision for the establishment and care of a museum worthy [of] the government of the United States, and thus relieve the Smithsonian fund of a burden to which, in strict accordance with what I have always conceived to be the proper interpretation of the will of the founder, it ought not to be subjected. (Smithsonian Institution, 1865, 67)

It would not be unreasonable to assume Henry viewed the fire as an excellent opportunity to relieve SI staff of the "burden" of maintaining a library, which clearly took a back seat in Henry's vision for the institution. The library was merely a place to store their publications and any other reference materials required for research. Spofford wanted a national library as much as Henry did not. (Mearns, 1946, 102) In 1866 Congress passed an act that allowed Henry to transfer the SI's 40,000-volume library to the LC's new building. (Gwinn, 2007) At the same time, the SI would transfer responsibility for its care and preservation, but would retain control over and have unfettered access to the collection.

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[16] Henry is credited with the discovery of the electromagnetic phenomenon of self-inductance.

(Smithsonian Institution, 1865, 70) In essence, Henry could keep the library, but not have to maintain it. Consequently, this transfer solidified the trajectory of each institution. The LC was a library. The SI was practically everything else.

British Museum Library and Music

In 1837 the BML's Keeper of Printed Books Anthony Panizzi (1797-1879), motivated by complaints from prominent musicians such as composers Vincent Novello and G. H. Rodwell, urged the BML's Trustees to address "the absence of any catalogue of [the music collections] and urged that a person should be temporarily engaged to deal with the mass of music accumulating daily in virtue of the Copyright Act." (Oldman, 1961, 62) (British Library, 1988, 178) After three years of all but being ignored by the Trustees, Panizzi was finally authorised to carry out the work. In 1841 he appointed Secretary of the Madrigal Society Thomas Oliphant (1799-1873) to organise and catalogue the BML's music collections and copyright deposits. By 1846 Oliphant had catalogued the BML's music according to a system designed by Panizzi and shelved approximately 24,000 volumes, but his tenure was not without difficulties. (Oldman, 1961, 65) First, his relationship with Panizzi was strained and this tension led to disagreements about additional duties Panizzi expected Oliphant to carry out beyond the catalogue. Second, circa 1850 Oliphant wrote to the Board of Trustees and expressed his vision for the music collections:

> If it be thought proper to include musical works among the requisites of a National library, such works should be for the most part first rate. I do not pretend to set myself up as an arbiter of what is good or bad in original compositions, which to a certain extent may be a matter of opinion, but I do maintain without fear of contradiction, that a great proportion of the music which is annually deposited in the Museum in compliance with the Copyright Act, neither is nor ever can be of the slightest use for reference or any other purpose, being chiefly composed of Polkas and other dance tunes, trumpery songs, etc. merely manufactured to satisfy the craving for novelties … What would be thought of an Act of Parliament that compelled the Trustees to receive and place by the side of the Towneley and Elgin Marbles all the plaster casts which are hawked thro' the streets by the Italian boys![17] (Oliphant quoted in Oldman, 1961, 65)

Panizzi agreed with his position on music copyright deposits, but Oliphant's proposal regarding his potential role in acquiring original compositions such as "the Masses,

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[17] Oliphant is comparing marble antiquities like those collected by Charles Towneley and Thomas Bruce, the 7th Earl of Elgin, to cheap plaster replicas. His implication is that original musical compositions, whether viewed as aesthetically good or bad, are superior to popular arrangements acquired through copyright deposits.

Motetts, Madrigals, Chansons and such like, published in Venice, Antwerp, etc …[and the] Church Music, Operas, etc., by the great masters of every country" was rejected. (Oliphant quoted in Oldman, 1961, 65-6) Given their disagreements, Panizzi was most likely glad to release Oliphant from his commitment to the BML, but "Panizzi's attitude to the music collections under his charge [as Keeper of Printed Books and then as Principal Librarian] was … somewhat ambiguous." (Oldman, 1961, 67) He championed the creation of a music catalogue yet claimed there were other collections at the BM in greater need of funds and storage space. During his subsequent term as Principle Librarian, which culminated in 1866, he placed the music collections "in the hands of one of the regular members of the staff, who only spent part of his official time on it." (Oldman, 1961, 67) Thus during the latter part of the nineteenth century, the development of the BML music collections was haphazard. Lack of knowledgeable staff to catalogue music and the Trustees' disinterest in developing the music collections occasioned an "interregnum in which the Music Room and its catalogue struggled into existence." (King, 1957, 3) On 12 October 1885 the Board of Trustees authorised the appointment of William Barclay Squire (1855-1927) to oversee the music collections. Squire, who inherited collections in disrepair, "worked off most of the [cataloguing] arrears single-handed[ly]" and "gradually changed the attitude of those in authority towards music." (King, 1957, 3) Nonetheless, Squire's efforts to support music collecting were also troubled. The prevalent attitude amongst the administration that music acquired through copyright deposit was not suitable for the BML was still strongly felt, but at the turn of the twentieth century, music at the BML had found a foot hold. (King, 1957, 3)

Copyright

Six years after his appointment, Spofford had orchestrated or endorsed several changes that expanded the library's space on Capitol Hill, initiated international document exchange and revised the Copyright Act of 1790 not once but twice by 1870. (Cole, 1993, 18) Another significant change during the initial period of Spofford's term was the centralisation of all copyright deposits at the LC. The Copyright Act of 1790 reflected Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution, which "gave the Congress the power "To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries."" (Cole, 1995, introduction) However, materials covered by the Act were limited to "any map, chart, book or books already printed within these United States" and it was not until its

substantial 1831 revision that musical compositions were protected. (Copyright Act of 1790, 1790, §1) Nonetheless, the LC generally and its collections specifically did not initially benefit from the Act. Registrations took place at district courts and the Department of State housed one copy of registered items. This procedure meant the LC did not play any part in copyright registration or house any copyrighted material until 1846 when President James Polk enacted a bill that required authors and inventors to deposit one copy with the SI and one with the LC. (LaVine, 2004, 378) Copyrighted materials had an avenue into the LC collections and should, at least theoretically, have increased their breadth and depth, but there was no penalty for noncompliance. Consequently, copyright deposits were not used as a means of developing collections because they were too unpredictable. In 1865 the Librarian of Congress gained the right to demand copies if they were not submitted within one month of publication. Spofford also gained the right to deny copyright if his request were not met. (Rudd, 1971, 139) Despite these changes to the Copyright Act, Spofford was not content. He lobbied to further streamline copyright deposit by making the LC — the natural site for a national library after the SI relinquished its library — the centre of its associated activities. In a letter to Representative Thomas A. Jenckes (1818-1875), Spofford gave several reasons to support his proposal and claimed that:

> The advantage of securing to our only National Library a complete collection of all American copyright entries can scarcely be over-estimated … We should have one comprehensive Library in the country, and that belonging to the nation, whose aim it should be to preserve the books which other libraries have not the room or the means to procure. (letter from Spofford to Jenckes quoted in Cole, 1995, 126)

Spofford's stance was part practical and part ideological. Centralising copyright activities at the LC would save money and time because efforts would not be duplicated. He also suggested that "a complete collection of all American copyright entries" had more merit than an incomplete collection, that there was value in accumulating the total of the nation's copyright-protected materials. While by no means the last revision to the Copyright Act, the 1870 amendments finally recognised the LC as the national copyright repository; they "centralized the copyright business in the Library of Congress … and extended copyright protection to paintings, drawings, sculpture, and models or designs for works of art." (Rudd, 1971, 140)

As a result, roughly eighty years after the Copyright Act was first enacted, the LC collections started to benefit from the legislation for two reasons. First, registration and deposit became the sole purview of the LC. Efforts for recording and storing copyrighted

materials were no longer divided between district courts, the Department of State, the SI and the LC, which meant the LC users could theoretically access copyrighted materials from a single location. Second, a broad range of works of art fell under this revised mandate. Although musical compositions were covered by 1831, there was no muscle behind the legislation until 1865 and their numbers amongst deposits were inconsistent and unpredictable. Yet once activities were centralised and the legislation was enforced (or at least threatened), those numbers grew. For example, in 1871 musical composition deposits had risen from 2,891 to 5,085. (LaVine, 2004, 378) Newly published American music entered the LC and as a result, its materials were beginning to reflect a limited selection of American creative output. When its role as a legislative library was combined with its role as the national copyright repository, the LC appeared to take one step towards Jefferson's universal collection.

Copyright Deposits and the LC Collections

Until the 1870 Copyright Act amendments, the LC's music acquisitions were relatively small and highly selective because the library was closely identified with the needs of Congress. Collection-building efforts were constrained to meeting those needs and Spofford's vision of the LC did not include a music collection *per se*. (Anderson, 1989, 111) Music acquisitions were the by-products of copyright deposit activities. (LaVine, 2004, 379) Once it became the sole institution involved in copyright activities, the LC received roughly eighty years of copyright deposits from the SI's library and the Department of State and would accept all future deposits. Consequently, the volume of materials substantially increased and lack of storage space, a problem in the past, became an urgent concern. (Cole, 1983, 250) By the time Spofford took the helm at the LC, the library had long outgrown its home in the Capitol. Consequently, he obtained funds from Congress for a purpose built building. Constructed between 1890 and 1897, and situated across from the U.S. Capitol, the Jefferson Building solved, at least temporarily, the space crisis faced by Spofford and his predecessors.

Copyright centralisation also had a major impact on the type of materials held at the library. Deposits changed the substance of the LC collections because they encompassed materials covered by the Copyright Act. Not only music but also other forms of art were introduced to a library that was originally built with exemplars of so-called useful knowledge that aided members of Congress. This influx of other materials challenged the

LC's function as a legislative library because the LC's collections began to reflect some of the nation's creative and intellectual output as well as satisfying the legislative research needs of Congress. Music compositions, which seem to have only been accidentally acquired prior to 1870, trickled into the LC. (Anderson, 1989, 119) Before this date there were virtually no purposeful music acquisition activities. The LC had only actively sought and purchased approximately 500 music related works in its first seventy years. (LaVine, 2004) Compared to deliberate music acquisitions, copyright deposits were second in number only to published books. (LaVine, 2004, 378) Even though it was a significant proportion of total copyright deposits, music was incidentally introduced to the LC due to its role as the copyright repository of the United States, not due to formal or informal acquisition policies or statutory obligations as a cultural heritage institution. (LaVine, 2004, 378) Not surprisingly, music's integration was reactionary. Even if the LC staff expected such a high volume of music through copyright deposit, they were not in a position to do anything with them. Until the Jefferson Building was completed, there was neither storage space for music deposits nor staff to catalogue it.

New Century, New Library

Spofford's ambitions for the LC went much further than its function as a legislative resource, but he was not the first advocate for a national library. During the early 1850s loudest among them was Charles Coffin Jewett (1816-1868), the Smithsonian's librarian, who aggressively campaigned to imbue his institution with that role and title. However, his efforts were stonewalled by Smithsonian secretary Joseph Henry, who "favoured the eventual development of a national library at the Library of Congress," and in 1854 after much disagreement over the matter, Henry dismissed Jewett from his post. (Cole, 1993, 14) Yet despite Jewett's failure, the campaign carried on. Spofford too was an advocate for the development of a national library. The LC he envisioned was based on "the European model … a unique, independent institution — a single comprehensive collection of national literature to be used by both Congress and the American people." (Cole, 1993, 18) Historian John Cole credits Spofford as "the person responsible for transferring the Library of Congress into an institution of national significance in the Jeffersonian spirit" because his ambitious changes would expand the LC's collections and its user base and bring the library closer to Jefferson's vision of a universal collection. (Cole, 1993, 15) With the SI out of the running, Spofford redoubled his efforts to obtain that status for the LC, if not in name, then in function.

Restructure

In 1896, shortly before the move into the new Jefferson Building, the Joint
Congressional Committee on the Library of Congress oversaw a congressional hearing
about "the Library's role in society and government, as well as the direction of its future
development." (LaVine, 2004, 378) Spofford and ten expert witnesses — six of whom
were members of the American Library Association (ALA) that included Herbert Putnam
(1861-1955, future Librarian of Congress) and Melvin Dewey (1851-1931, creator of the
Dewey Decimal classification system) — spoke on behalf of the LC and the challenges it
faced at the turn of the century.[18] Storage, which had been a serious concern before the
Jefferson Building's construction, had been temporarily resolved, but there were other
challenges the LC faced which needed congressional support for resolution because not
only did Congress hold the purse strings, but it also controlled staff hiring and the LC
governance. One of the hearing's discussion points was the LC's administrative structure.
Spofford proposed a significant reorganisation that included "new administrative units …
for the reading room, the art gallery (graphic arts), maps and charts, and the cataloguing,
copyright, manuscripts, music, and periodicals departments." (Cole, 1993, 26) Copyright
deposits had transformed the substance of the LC collections, but they also created
challenges for cataloguing and access that only increased as more deposits were accepted.
Spofford's restructuring proposal would provide dedicated departments into which
materials could be channelled and thereby would give the expansive and vastly different
materials some shape. Organising the LC's administrative structure was Spofford's way of
also organising the collections.

Professionalisation

Expert witnesses also "called for the development of acquisition policies in order to
fill the large gaps in the collections and the hiring of experts to realize these goals."
(LaVine, 2004, 378) Both requests would have implications for the LC *modus operandi*,
but the latter would poke at an open wound shared by some members of Congress and
government employees. These deliberations took place immediately following fierce
debate over the allocation of civil service jobs. Before the 1883 Pendelton Civil Service

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[18] Expert witnesses had never been called to an appropriation hearing before 1896. This unprecedented move
by Spofford speaks to the witness' experiences in the library community and their abilities to potentially
convince and sway the Committee. It may also speak to Spofford's inability to make these changes alone.

Reform Act, appointments were made based on the patronage system, which allowed victorious political parties to place supporters, family and friends into government jobs.[19] The Act made the merit system, which was supported by the principle of "appointment by competitive examination," common practice, but the bill covered less than half of government positions. (Rosenberg, 1991, 252) From its creation, the position of Librarian of Congress has always been a presidential appointment, but the LC staff were predominately hired by the Joint Congressional Committee and appointments were based on the patronage system. For example, out of seventy people hired by Spofford between 1864 and 1897, only five had previous library experience. (Rosenberg, 1991, 252-3) The low number of staff with relevant knowledge or training meant that progress — from tackling the vast arrearage of materials to expanding the LC's national and international activities — would have been very slow. Moreover, political agendas permeated the staff because patronage appointees — fellow politicians, party loyalists and old school chums — filled the LC ranks. (Rosenberg, 1991, 252-3) It is possible that despite inexperience some of the staff could have been committed to the library's care and development, but given these widespread habits of filling government positions, it is also possible, perhaps even likely, that appointees felt a greater allegiance to the party or individual who instated them. As a result, "the library [firmly] belonged to Congress rather than the nation." (Rosenberg, 1991, 252)

The ALA members had a substantial investment in the outcome of this hearing. Campaigning since their inception in 1876 for the growth of public libraries and the professionalisation of their trade, they acted as "a small but persistent voice for the library community." (Wiegand, 1999, 3) Consequently, Dewey and Putnam's presences at the hearing would have been a major opportunity for them to advocate on behalf of the ALA and potentially further their agenda. Committed to the "goal of making the American library a force for an ordered, enlightened, educated, and informed society," the ALA members were "deeply … interested in the future of the Library of Congress" because they believed that "it should stand at the head of American libraries, as the best organized and the best equipped of all." (Lane, 1899, 99) Public libraries were cropping up all over the country thanks to the philanthropy of citizens such as Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919). For example, Carnegie is credited with giving $41 million to build 1,679 public libraries in 1,412 communities across the United States, which prompted a wave of subsequent library related philanthropic activities from patrons such as Walter Newberry (1804-1868), John

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[19] Also called the spoils system.

Carter (1795-1874) and Henry Huntington (1850-1927). This influx of general and specialist libraries meant that they were becoming prominent features in local communities and competition amongst them grew "to collect the right books, to subscribe to the right periodicals, to organize their collections according to the latest library science, and to have their new facilities run as efficiently as possible by people of the right character." (Wiegand, 1999, 7) On the one hand, Dewey and Putnam championed much needed standardisation for their trade. The growth of American public libraries resulted in a plethora of local activities and practises that had no relationship to each other at a national level and they believed that the LC would be the rightful entity to create, issue and amend those standards.

On the other hand, they argued that the average, untrained person was not suitable for work in libraries. Putnam, Dewey and other librarians at the time were "convinced that by inducing the public to read quality literature and consult reliable information about contemporary issues, the library would inevitably contribute to the nation's progress and social order." (Wiegand, 1999, 4) Librarians, unlike the average citizen, knew the 'right' literature from the 'wrong.' Dewey was so convinced that trained librarians — professionals — were the appropriate people to help align the country's social compass that in 1881 he helped establish the first library school in the United States at Columbia University. If Putnam and Dewey had their way, then the LC would acquire all the right sorts of materials that would be selected and managed by trained librarians and, as a result, be a model for the American library and a beacon for American social and moral order.

Although centralising copyright activities at the LC helped direct a broader range of materials — music making up a significant portion — to the library, Dan Lacy and John Cole both point out that they did not fill the existing gaps in the collections. (Cole, 1978, 57) (Lacy, 1950, 159) Their numbers were significant, yet somehow lacking in substance. If copyright deposit activities and active acquisition practices were combined, then the LC collections were poised to expand, but even raising the idea of implementing policies implied that growth in all directions was not desirable. In theory, acquisition policies would reflect the LC's mission. Each unit or division would develop guidelines for choosing new materials that should direct staff when making decisions about what to introduce into collections. Division-specific policies would not be necessary if the LC operated according to a narrow acquisition remit — like it did when it was only a legislative library — or if it favoured an all-or-nothing stance. In practise, adopting

acquisition policies would simultaneously expand and constrict collections because those materials covered would grow while those not covered would plateau, be packed away into storage or simply never be acquired. Proposing these policies, Spofford and the other witnesses underscored what they and the rest of the library community valued about their jobs — selectivity — and aimed not only to affirm but also formalise it because policies would give credence to acquisition decisions and perhaps help legitimise the fledgling profession.

Redirection

During the deliberations, the expert witnesses called for reorganisation that incorporated new staff and new materials, but more importantly, they gave voice and shape to Spofford's vision for a national library. Initially, the LC was a legislative library. After 1870 it became the national copyright repository, but copyright deposits pushed the LC further and further away from its exclusive role as a legislative library. Could it be something more? The witnesses argued it could be. Their consensus was:

> that the Library of Congress should no longer be only a depository for the legal copyright record nor only the working collection of the country's legislature. It should be the nation's library, and it should play an active role in the promotion of learning, the increase of knowledge, and the intellectual and cultural development of the United States. (Anderson, 1989, 119)

These roles — promoter, educator, developer — were vastly different from those it already performed and they would change its user base.

First, acting as a national library would significantly increase the LC's responsibilities because the congressional witnesses did not propose an exchange of roles. Rather, they suggested adding responsibilities that would undoubtedly stretch the LC's expertise, finances and facilities. Yet promoting and facilitating learning were activities the LC staff undertook in their services to members of Congress. Therefore, providing them to the nation could be viewed as a matter of scale and not something entirely new. However, none of the LC's activities prepared its staff for potentially undertaking the "cultural development of the United States." Spofford and other advocates believed a national library "was essentially a comprehensive, archival collection of a nation's literature, a cultural symbol as well as a working library." (Cole, 1983, 251) The steep increase in collecting activities during the latter half of the twentieth century arguably brought the LC's collections closer to a "comprehensive, archival collection of [the]

nation's literature," but claims that the LC could function as a "cultural symbol" should have raised questions about whose culture it was symbolising. (Cole, 1983, 251) The United States was, and still is, a conglomerate of local jurisdictions, immigrant communities and disparate values that are spread over a large land mass. Introducing culture to the debate, Spofford and the congressional witnesses further challenged previous notions of what purpose the LC served. Previously, it had never assumed a role in cultural development or preservation let alone one that was comprehensive, but in making their argument for a national library, the expert witnesses and Spofford certainly ventured into that territory. Even though the LC's user base grew throughout the nineteenth century, it was still limited to members of Congress, some governmental employees and *bone fide* researchers. Yet at the heart of these discussions is a question of ownership: to whom does the LC belong? Congress? The nation? (Goodman and Dalrymple, 1982, 219) Given the diversity of the American population, any notion of a universal American culture would be difficult to formulate. And given this diversity, how would the LC "play an active role … in the cultural development of the United States"? Putnam, Dewey and the other ALA members had the answer. Professional librarians would select and make available materials they thought enabled the development American culture.

Second, this expansion of activities would introduce an unconsidered, and at least by this period in the LC's history, unknown element into the LC operations: non-LC people and their multitude of interests and agendas. Widening its audience from members of Congress and the occasional civil servant or Supreme Court judge to the entire population of the United States would fundamentally change its operation because the LC would have to develop methods of reaching and serving this new, greatly expanded audience. Up until this point, the LC's congressional and governmental audience only had one interest: materials relevant to state affairs. As already discussed, these materials covered a range of topics and consensus about their relevance was never reached, but they were roughly circumscribed by their uses, which were influenced by what members of Congress considered useful for their business. However, if the LC's audience were widened as the expert witnesses suggested, then public interest could touch on any subject. If indeed the LC took on these roles, then it would have to grapple with the shifting intellectual and cultural trends of an entire nation. Did they mean to represent and make available materials relating to all of these interests? At this point in the LC's history, it is unlikely because user access was still restricted. If librarians were to fill the staff ranks, then they would undoubtedly perform the role expected of them and filter materials.

Consequently, any call for the addition of cultural symbolism at the LC would have been narrow.

Chapter 3: Music and the Library of Congress

<u>Introduction</u>

In this chapter, we trace the history of music collections and music-related Divisions at the Library of Congress. We begin at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century when Librarian of Congress Herbert Putnam engaged Oscar George Theodore Sonneck (1873-1928) as Chief of the Music Division. Amid a growing scholarly interest in folk music and folk culture, these two men embarked on an ambitious collection building programme that filled the Division's shelves with Western art music that they considered appropriate for serious musicological research. Considering their commitments to using the LC music collections as a stimulant for America's nascent musical sound as well as their desires to rival European national libraries, we explore the negative effects these ambitions had on popular music the LC acquired through copyright deposit. We then pause to discuss how the patronage and influence of Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge (1864-1953) changed the Music Division from custodians to programmers when she financed an auditorium for musical performances and an endowment that funded regular concerts, commissioned new music and financed acquisitions of out-of-budget materials.

Then we trace the numerous, conflicting and turbulent social factors that surround the Archive of Folk Song's creation in 1928. Established by Robert Gordon (1888-1961) but impelled by John Lomax (1867-1948) and his son Alan Lomax (1915-2002), the Archive plugged into a nationwide network of folklorists and engaged in numerous folk music collecting projects. We consider how these activities, some of which were part of President Roosevelt's (1882-1945) New Deal initiatives, were appropriated by conservatives and liberals alike to further political agendas and champion their visions of Americanness. In the process, we observe that America's social and cultural fissures widened yet again. To further illustrate the extent of the Archive's instrumentalisation, we mark Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish's (1892-1982) establishment of the Recording Laboratory within the Music Division and its role in his quest to combat fascism. The influx of sound recordings created during folk music projects plus the development of the Recording Laboratory necessitated a dedicated Recorded Sound Section within the Music Division. Yet again, we encounter social and cultural upheaval during the 1960s and 70s that splintered whatever remained of a universal notion of Americanness. In this context, we consider the lengthy and divisive process of establishing the American Folklife

Center at the LC. Rounding out the chapter, we observe the beginning of the amalgamated Division of Motion Picture, Broadcast and Recorded Sound and focus the remainder of chapter on the Recorded Sound component. Here we discuss the National Recording Preservation Act of 2000 and how its mandates have locked Recorded Sound into the physical preservation of audio recordings.

Music Division

The LC's Music Division (MD) was formed in 1897 as part of Spofford's reorganisation.[20] He did not include an independent music department in his original proposal to the Joint Congressional Committee, but it did include "a separate music room that would be run by a superintendent and three assistants." (Anderson, 1989, 118) However, despite his initial suggestion, the reorganisation ultimately included an independent but conditional department. Music had a tentative place within the LC's stacks, but as a conditional department it had to prove its value and establish its role in the library's future. Two men had a significant part in orchestrating music's place within the LC and amplifying its presence. The first man was the eighth Librarian of Congress Herbert Putnam. The former head of the Minneapolis and Boston public libraries, Putnam was the first librarian to occupy the post.[21] Speaking at the congressional hearing on behalf of the LC's future, Putnam supported its role as a national library and he believed music was important to achieving that goal. He recognised that music collections at the LC were predominantly the result of copyright deposits, but those deposits were not sufficient to achieve that status. These deposits — sheet music and other printed notation — were arrangements "intended for popular consumption" and "did not accurately reflect … the products of the American musical mind and press." (LaVine, 2004) Putnam did not value all music in the same way. He argued "a national library should contain … a reasonable representation of the classical and standard [music] material" because it is a vital part of the overall the LC collection that "seeks to exhibit the important factors in civilization."[22] (Library of Congress, 1902, 27) According to Putnam, classical and

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[20] It was initially called the Music Department.

[21] John Russell Young, Putnam's predecessor as Librarian, died soon after President McKinley appointed him in 1897. Young's appointment was vehemently contested by American Library Association members. They felt a librarian should occupy the post and that the President should choose ""a man whose ability to deal with the problems of a large library [had] already been demonstrated by successful library administration."" (Rosenberg, 1991, 21)

[22] Standards are compositions considered established features of musical repertoires. The implication in Putnam's statement is that some, but not all, non-classical compositions are standards. It is unclear whether he considered all classical compositions standards.

standard music were products of a *civilized* nation. The implication in his statement is that only some music enabled social progress or reflected an advanced, American society. Accordingly, Putnam expected his division Chiefs to review daily copyright deposits and "select only those items deemed suitable for the library's collections." (Aikin, 2001, 45) Music was no exception. He dismissed popular music and thus the bulk of music copyright deposits as trivial, frivolous parlour tunes. (Aikin, 2001, 47) Those suitable deposits — "items by the best known composers of the day, or items that were otherwise thought to be interesting or important" — were catalogued and shelved. The unsuitable ones never left the Copyright Office. (Library of Congress, 2014q)

Folk Song Collecting

Outwith the LC there was a growing academic interest in and taste for folk song. From the early 1900s, Robert W. Gordon, a Harvard educated folk song enthusiast, "[lugged] an old-fashioned Edison phonograph to the San Francisco and Oakland waterfronts" for the purpose of recording dock worker and sailor songs. (Aikin, 2001, 52) Gordon's trip was unusual for two reasons. First, Gordon's place of research was an unusual site compared to the previous generation's collecting destinations. Gordon was a pupil of Harvard literary professor George Lyman Kittredge (1860-1941). (Aikin, 2001, 52) Kittredge was the protégée of Harvard's first professor of English, the American Francis James Child (1825-1896). Outwith Child's work on Chaucer and Shakespeare, he was also an avid folk song collector. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, he collected English and Scottish ballads along with their American variants in a collection that became known as the Child Ballads. Child was of the mind that America's history was not old enough to have produced the rich community necessary for quality folklore and folk songs. (Bell, 1988, 299) Kittredge inherited Child's fondness for these traditional folk songs and when Child died in 1896 before he finished preparing *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Kittredge inherited that task as well. Both Child and Kittredge's work was based if not literally then ideologically in Europe. Therefore, Gordon's decision to collect folk songs in California would have been a sharp departure from the sites favoured by his mentors.

Second, Gordon's use of a phonograph to collect songs was a significant deviation from traditional means of collecting because song texts were the primary format for capturing previously undocumented folk songs. However, in 1877 Thomas Edison (1847-

1931) made the first recording of a human voice using a tinfoil cylinder phonograph. The medium was fragile so early recordings such as Edison's had virtually no permanence. By the time Gordon travelled from Boston to Berkeley, other opportunistic inventors, such as Emile Berliner (1851-1929), introduced sound recorders that used wax cylinders or discs, which, while still delicate, were hardier than their tinfoil predecessors. Whether they produced cylinders or discs, or were powered by electricity or hand, these early phonographs were heavy, cumbersome and odd-looking contraptions. Gordon's chosen recording tool would have been a strange sight on the Californian docks. Moreover, if his collecting methods did not raise eyebrows, then his publishing methods certainly did. Rather than disseminate findings from his work in so-called respectable academic journals of the day, he chose to publish his work in the men's pulp magazine *Adventurer* and regularly wrote a column called "Old Songs that Men Have Sung" in which he solicited the public for folk songs. (Aikin, 2001, 53) As a result, Gordon's research area and his collection and publication methods ran counter to what his University of California, Berkeley colleagues thought suitable for both the burgeoning field and someone of his academic pedigree. (Aikin, 2001, 53) Gordon was fired from his position in Berkeley's English department and he began collecting folk songs with an unprecedented scope and fervour.

Developing Music Collections at the LC

Oscar George Theodore Sonneck was the second man that proved critical in the MD's growth. In 1902 Putnam appointed Sonneck, an American born, German educated musicologist and composer, as Chief. Under its first chief Walter Rose Whittlesey, the MD was a directionless ship. It accepted music copyright deposits, but did little else by the way or cataloguing or organising. However, there is a hint at what other activities were taking place in Whittlesey's department. Donald L. Leavitt points towards a log book from the year 1901-2 in which reference staff recorded the names of patrons and the purposes of their visits to the MD. There is some indication that a great number of ladies played the piano rolls, acquired by copyright deposit, for entertainment purposes on the division's pianola. For example, the entry for 19 November 1901 lists 142 customers for just this activity. (Leavitt, 1972, 54) However, for reasons unclear, the entries abruptly stopped after 21 November 1901. Was there something undesirable about women in the reading room? Was the pianola attracting the wrong sort of attention? Were staff simply too busy to record such detailed log entries? We can only wonder. Nonetheless, when Sonneck

took over, he "was faced with the formidable challenge of arranging [the] unwieldy volume of material, without benefit of either precedent or a permanent classification scheme." (LaVine, 2004, 379) Largely the result of copyright deposits, LC music collections were larger than other American music libraries. (Bradley, 1986, 273) By 1902 music compositions acquired by deposit were 256,721. (Library of Congress, 1902, 58) The total items in the music collections approximately numbered 400,000. (Library of Congress, 2014q) Other libraries such as the New York Public Library, the Boston Public Library and the Yale University School of Music had music collections or even dedicated music departments. For example, the New York Public Library established its music department in 1892 after several of its collections were amalgamated. (Coover, 1970, 112) (Benton, 1962, 30) Sonneck, aware of other major music libraries in America as well as those in Europe, kept a keen eye on their developments. In a letter to Putnam he identified Yale as the LC's biggest American competitor because they were "so far the only other American institution which develops its collection of music literature with a critical and scientific method." (letter from Sonneck to Putnam quoted in Anderson, 1989, 126) If the LC were to stay at the top of America's music libraries, then Sonneck and Putnam would have to systematically fill the gaps that he and Putnam thought music copyright deposits had made. Additionally, there was no established classification system at the LC for music. If Putnam and Sonneck were to realise their vision, then the collections and their associated processing activities such as cataloguing and classification would need substantial work. Immediately after hiring Sonneck, Putnam sent him to Europe "where he re-examined outstanding music libraries, studied their classification systems, and visited music dealers" in order to gather information that might help inform his division's priorities and practices. (Bradley, 1981, 294) In a letter to Sonneck, Putnam advised him about the types of materials he should seek out while in Europe:

> You are to compile lists to be submitted to me as your recommendations for the enlargement of our collection. You need not restrict these lists to a definite sum. You are, however, to indicate upon them (preferably by the use of some symbol as a, b, and c) the relative importance of the items to the Library at the present time. You may assume that the possible immediate expenditure for the musical compositions shall be within $2,000, exclusive of binding, and for the literature of music an equal amount. In making your selection you are to consider the practical rather than merely the antiquarian … The Library can not afford to buy antiquities in music, it can not afford to buy autograph or manuscript material … Works on the history of music and on musical theory are to be considered as more pressingly important than those on musical criticism. (letter from Putnam to Sonneck quoted in Anderson, 1989, 124)

After he returned from his travels, he focused efforts on acquiring classical scores because they were rarely included in copyright deposits. Until Sonneck took over the MD, "the

majority of the Library's music holdings were copyright deposits … They were sheet music, school books, religious books of an elementary character, pamphlets, and other minor music publications" that were often only given a cursory record and then passed back to the Copyright Office for storage. (Anderson, 1989, 117-8, footnote 20) So long as Sonneck heeded Putnam's orders regarding a restrained use of funds for "practical" items, then, in theory, materials that Sonneck acquired in Europe plus potential purchases from his wish lists would push the LC's music collections beyond the reach of Yale or any other institution.

During his first year in the position, Sonneck practically transformed the MD. He started his mountainous task by submitting his wish lists and purchasing over 1,769 music items — almost a 1,200 per cent increase over the previous year's acquisitions. This inaugural surge of deliberately purchased materials was the first instance of the LC staff exercising curatorial control over its music collection. Prior to Sonneck's arrival, music acquisitions were predominantly passive. Copyright deposits entered the LC, but most never even made it to the MD. (Aikin, 2001, 45) Some deposits did not receive even a simple bibliographic record. (Anderson, 1989, 118, footnote 20) Following the recommendation he made at the congressional hearing in 1896, Putman required all division Chiefs to develop and implement formal acquisition policies that "adhered closely to standards of taste that Congress could be expected to endorse." (Aikin, 2001, 45) Clearly, the appetites and decorum of Congress had a perceived bearing on what the LC staff did and how they did it. Unlike maps, which were thought to have strategic value, and photographs, thought to act as historical documentation, music did not receive the same approval from members of Congress. In a letter to *New York Times* music critic Richard Aldrich (1863-1937), Sonneck admitted his concern for the collection and the division's future:

> The mere existence of such a division puzzles Congress, even very
> intelligent Members of Congress. They do not understand the need
> of a collection of musical compositions and they do not appreciate
> that there is any great body of musical literature entitled to
> consideration in the Library. (Sonneck quoted in Aikin, 2001, 47)

Although not said outright, Sonneck hinted to Aldrich that the LC and its collections should reflect what some members of Congress considered "great" musical compositions and literature. In order to obtain these so-called "greats," the LC staff had to develop a sense of selectivity when acquiring music. Copyright deposits were potentially an

abundant, free[23] source of music acquisitions, but in practice they were deemed too popular, too lowbrow and, as a result, did not represent the "great" compositions and literature that members of Congress expected their library to contain. Initially, these expectations were closely linked with the LC's role as a congressional resource. However, America's growing status as a world power would have affected those expectations. (Aikin, 2001, 48) Congress had the opportunity to create a national library that housed the "best" of American creativity, to establish an institution of national significance and to promote American culture to its citizens and the rest of the world. America, as imagined by Congress, had something to prove. The newly built Jefferson Building was a striking example of how Congress wanted the world to view America: imposing, classical, awe-inspiring and embedded in a web of myth and history. Accordingly, chief architect Paul J. Pelz's designs incorporated dizzying staircases, grand halls, domed roofs, arches, marble, gilding, statues, murals and mosaics typical of the Beaux-Arts architectural tradition of the times. The building was supposed to mirror the LC's superior collections, not the plethora of mundane commercial publications acquired through copyright activities. Acquisition policies gave staff a degree of autonomy in collections development, but it does not appear that Putnam or Sonneck needed it. Their views of the 'right' sort of music seem to reflect Congress' or at the very least they all agreed that not everything was suitable.

Rival to European Libraries

Sonneck's wish list detailed books that, if acquired, he thought would "put the Library of Congress on an equal if not superior footing with Harvard, Yale, Boston, New York and various European libraries of standing." (letter from Sonneck to Putnam quoted in Anderson, 1989, 126) Generally, his aim was to keep American scholars in America and specifically to keep them in Washington, D.C. Sonneck echoed earlier arguments made by Jewett in his quest to make the SI the national library. In his fight against Henry, Jewett claimed that "we look, at least most of us look, to the British Museum as a model Library." (Cole, 1983, 249) Jewett, Spofford and Putnam all looked towards European institutions in general and the library at the British Museum in particular for inspiration because they wanted to "ultimately relieve the American scholar of the necessity of consulting European libraries."[24] (Lichtenwanger 1983, 43 quoted in Anderson, 1989, 129)

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[23] Free in the sense LC did not have to pay for their purchases. Other costs related to storage, cataloguing and retrieval were incurred.
[24] See Cole, J. 1983. Cross-Currents: BL and LC in Historical Perspective. *Library Review*, Winter Issue, pp.247-258.

However, their concern was not for the inconvenience or expense of trans-Atlantic travel. At the turn of the twentieth century, American composers were consulting European music libraries for historical musical research and inspiration. Sonneck thought that European resources, rich in European history and culture, were hindering the development of a distinct American sound and as a result, he shared the view with "many composers and conservative intellectuals … that American compositions amounted to feeble imitations of European masters." (Johnson Jr., 2011, 191) Sonneck and Putnam, then, were motivated by pride. Domestically, the LC had taken the title of the nation's largest library, but internationally, it still vied with European libraries for analogous collections that "would make domestic scholarship far more feasible — and would provide strong potential for increasing American intellectual output." (Aikin, 2001, 44) Yet these hopes went further than acquiring more materials than any other library. They wanted a music library that was, at the very least, "the peer in all respects of its great [European] prototypes" and their achieving that status depended on more than the number of compositions and books they could pull into the LC. (Anderson, 1989, 123)

Sonneck and Putnam's efforts were partly motivated by one-upmanship, but Sonneck, at least, had greater ambitions for his division. While his gaze skimmed Europe, his focus was on America. He aspired to "build a preeminent collection of music in the Capitol of the United States … to improve the musical life of the whole nation." He believed that investigation of music's past through research would improve America's musical future. (Anderson, 1989, 127) When he issued his first annual report for 1902/3, Sonneck was convinced that American music was still in development because "we [have not] produced masters equal to the great European" masters. (Sonneck quoted in Bradley, 1981, 296) America would have its own masters only after they were trained and that training entailed a thorough understanding of musical history. Enabling the study of music, Sonneck hoped to raise the composition and performance standards of American musicians and match those in Europe.[25] However, his vision for the MD was not another library filled with European compositions. Instead, it would be an equally rich and sophisticated library of *American* compositions — written by Americans on American soil — that defined and issued an American sound. Despite Sonneck's preference for local influence and domestic compositions, he denied the merit of most folk songs in relation to their uses

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[25] "Scientific" was another common adjective in Putnam's rhetoric. He explained to Congress that the study of music –musicology - was a methodical, scientific process. This view had traditionally appealed to previous members of Congress in debates over LC and useful knowledge. By making this comparison, Putnam hoped to combat questions about the necessity and use of music in LC collections. (Aikin, 2001, 47-8)

in a national compositional tradition. According to Sonneck, the majority of folk songs were a "virus" because African and Native American influences infected the "the real and pure American folk-songs … [composed of] the component *white* elements of the American people." (Sonneck, 1916, 140-1, emphasis in original) So-called black folk songs were the black man's domain, which clearly fell outwith Sonneck's vision of white America. Worse yet, folk music "threatened the cultural and racial purity of the nation." (Johnson Jr., 2011, 192) When Sonneck imagined what America sounded like when he took his place in the LC, he "heard a fictional, racially homogenous nation — a United States where African Americans were second-class citizens, Native Americans unassimilable exotics, and Mexican American and Asian Americans perpetually alien." (Johnson Jr., 2011, 192) Sonneck feared a time when white and non-white musical elements might be joined to create "a hybrid, a mongrel product … [the result of] an unnecessary musical miscegenation." (Sonneck, 1916, 143, footnote) It should be noted that Sonneck did not wholly discredit African American or Native American music. In his essay "A Survey of American Music" he expresses some support for the study of "American Negro" and "North American Indian" music, but despite his musicological interest, Sonneck's stance on musical mingling resoundingly echoes the Jim Crow laws of the times. Like black and white citizens, black and white music should stay separate. In 1909 the Copyright Act was amended yet again and this time the revision gave the Librarian the power to cherry pick copyright deposits:

> The Librarian of Congress shall determine what books and other articles shall be transferred to the permanent collections of the Library of Congress, including the law library, and what other books or articles shall be placed in the reserve collections of the Library of Congress for sale or exchange, or be transferred to other governmental libraries in the District of Columbia for use therein. (An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Acts Respecting Copyright, 1909, sec.25, lines 24-33)

This revision would not have changed the daily business of the MD or how it treated its unsuitable copyright deposits. With Putnam's approval, Sonneck was already separating materials, but now he could shift some of them out of the Copyright Office. Copyright centralisation at the LC was hailed by many as "an effective method of building library collections." (Cole, 1995, 114) Yet as Sonneck's highly selective acquisition practices and Putnam's support for them illustrate, not all music copyright deposits were incorporated into collections. Much noise was made about the tremendous benefit copyright deposits would bring to the LC, and indeed they did bolster collections, but they were not used to create a broad collection of America's music.

By the time America joined WWI in 1917, a strong anti-German sentiment had permeated American politics and press. (Ellis and Panayi, 1994, 240) German-Americans, one of the county's largest immigrant groups, were suspected of adding and abetting German spies, who supposedly had infiltrated government offices. (Ellis and Panayi, 1994, 240) Sonneck, born to first-generation German immigrants and educated in Germany, became a target of this nationalist sentiment and "fell under official suspicion of being a German sympathizer." (LaVine, 2004, 380) All secondary accounts of Sonneck's time at the LC make brief mention of his departure under strained conditions, but none of their authors seem willing to tarnish his memory by making any further reference to who accused Sonneck and in what context. It would not be unreasonable to infer that his German heritage and education made Sonneck a target for the swelling domestic paranoia about German infiltration. In 1917 he resigned from his post and despite Putnam's repeated attempts to entice him back to the LC, Sonneck never returned.

Carl Engel and Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge

In 1922 Carl Engel (1883-1944) became the second Chief of the MD. A Paris-born musicologist and composer, Engel shared Sonneck's commitment "to apply the standards of continental musicology to American scholarship … [and] like Sonneck, he had little use for copyright deposits." (Aikin, 2001, 48) Sonneck's treatment of music copyright deposits was generous compared to Engel's. On average, Sonneck *kept* two-thirds of his department's deposits. Engel believed the deluge of deposits over-stretched his staff, which was a valid practical concern, but in a letter to Putnam, Engel described copyright deposits as ""the good, the bad, and the utterly worthless,"" and asked "that much of the popular material be discarded." (Aikin, 2001, 48) Engel was not merely concerned with his staff's workloads. He was worried that the wrong sort of music was entering the LC's collections. Investing resources was not a problem, but it became a problem when he thought they were wasted on unsuitable materials such as the bulk of music copyright deposits. Putnam consented and Engel routinely *returned* about two-thirds to the Copyright Office. He also scorned "a flourishing collection of player piano rolls [that] attracted the attention of too many other staff members." (Aikin, 2001, 48) Perhaps the pianola Leavitt referred to was in the MD after 1901, but Engel's sentiments jeopardised its continued existence. Sure enough, he closed the area housing the piano rolls and "the music division remained firmly oriented to the classical tradition." (Aikin, 2001, 48)

Hampered by "Victorian restraints that prohibited women of her background and breeding from aspiring to such a public life," Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, a pianist, composer and supporter of chamber and contemporary classical music, was denied a life as a performer. (Barr, 1997, 11-14) Instead, after her mother, father and husband passed away in quick succession, she began what would prove a life dedicated to philanthropy in general and music in particular. She and Engel first met when she invited him to attend her Berkshire Music Festival. Engel's first contribution to the MD's growth was to establish a life-long and genial professional relationship with the Chicago-born socialite. Coolidge worried that her festival, which she established in 1918, would not last beyond her lifetime if she did not free it from the bank accounts or good wills of people. (Barr, 1997, 19) Her solution was to link the festival with a government institution thereby giving it stability. (Barr, 1997, 19) Engel was open to her suggestion in 1924 to bring her Berkshire Chamber Quartet to the LC and present a series of concerts that would bring music to life within its walls. However, there was no performance space. In 1925 the only means of playing music at the LC was an old upright piano housed in the basement. Coolidge was not a woman who gave up when told there was no auditorium. She not only offered Engel and the LC $60,000 to build an acoustically suitable performance space for chamber music but she also proposed an endowment for the MD. (Barr, 1997, 21) However, her offer was problematic. The LC could, and did, accept the auditorium, a material gift akin to albeit larger than a manuscript, but the endowment "created innumerable problems of bureaucratic red tape never before encountered." (Barr, 1997, 21) At the time, there was no entity within or outwith the LC that could accept and administer the endowment.[26] On 23 January 1925 President Calvin Coolidge (1872-1933, no relation to Elizabeth) signed a bill that created the Library of Congress Trust Fund Board, whose members would accept and administer the funds for the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation and any endowments that might follow.[27] Concerts and commissions were key motivators behind Coolidge's "desire to build a twentieth-century chamber music repertoire" and would, as she hoped, bring music to life through performance. (LaVine, 2004, 381) The Foundation sponsored concerts in her sonically superb but sparsely adorned auditorium and commissioned new works by contemporary composers such as Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Bartók and the American composer Copland. In 1925, roughly one year after its proposal

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[26] The U.S. government is not allowed to accept monetary gifts. As LC is under governmental control, it would not have been able to directly accept Coolidge's endowment.

[27] Only two months passed from Coolidge's initial letter of intent to the bill's enactment. This was, and still is, an unprecedented length of time for the House, Senate and President to act on a bill.

to Congress, the 500 seat Coolidge Auditorium was constructed in the Jefferson Building's courtyard.

Engel and Coolidge's relationship and her resulting patronage illustrate an important milestone in the MD and the LC's growth. Until 1924 when Coolidge began negotiations with Engel and Putnam, the LC was entirely dependent upon Congress for funding. Her Foundation marked the first time private funding flowed into any LC division and while this kind of financial stream would never support an entire division, it could enable activities or acquisitions considered outwith normal operations. In a 1925 letter addressed to Putnam, Coolidge voiced her ambition:

> To make possible, through the Library of Congress, the composition and performance of music in ways which might otherwise be considered too unique or too expensive to be ordinarily undertaken. Not this alone, of course, nor with a view to extravagance for its own sake; but as an occasional possibility of giving precedence to considerations of quantity over those of quality; to artistic rather than to economic values; and to opportunity over expediency. (Library of Congress, 1993, Foundations for Music)

Indeed, Coolidge was very clear about how her Foundation's funds should be used. Her vision for commissions and concerts was international. As a result, she "insisted on programming "the best music," which to her, at least at this point in time, meant European," and although she was an incredible music enthusiast, she echoed Sonneck's concerns about the lack of American musical masters. (Barr, 1997, 27) Sonneck and Engel were both keen to build the division's classical and standard repertoires and fill the gaps they believed existed in the music collections. Coolidge's patronage enabled them to do so, but in ways that they perhaps could not have imagined or accomplished without specifically dedicated funds. Support from the Coolidge Foundation would help them create, collect and promote both American and international chamber music.

Archive of American Folk Song

Engel's second major achievement was the formation of the Archive of American Folk Song. Gordon's year-long, post-Berkeley escapades took him across the country and his unorthodox activities attracted the attention of Engel and Putnam. Unlike Sonneck, Engel "considered folk music important to national musical development" and worked with Putnam to secure funds from private donors to support Gordon as Chair of American Folk Music in the MD because they wanted to bring Gordon's expertise *and* his recordings to the LC. In April 1928 Engel announced that the LC would initiate "a national collection

of folk songs, to be directed by Gordon, to ensure their preservation and to recognize the value of the folk heritage." (Aikin, 2001, 55) In the MD section of the LC Annual Report for 1928, Engel alluded to some of the reasons for the LC's interest in folk songs and the value they were thought to have:

> Countless individuals, numerous walks of life, several races have contributed to this treasure of songs and ballads. It is richer than that of any country. Too much of it has remained scattered or unrecorded. The preservation of this material in the remote hands where it still flourishes is endangered by the spread of the radio and phonograph, which are diverting the attention of the people from their old heritage and are making them less dependent on it. (Library of Congress, 1928, 144)

Engel did not object to audio technology like the radio or the phonograph *per se*. Gordon used a phonograph to record. If Engel disapproved, then he would have never lobbied to have Gordon's collection transferred to the LC or support his projects. Instead, he was sceptical of the content that might sound from radios and phonographs. Jane Aikin identifies musical heterogeneity and nostalgia as two themes underpinning Engel and Gordon's rhetoric about the folk song archive initiative. In his original pitch to Engel, Gordon described folk songs "as reflecting the values of an earlier America — a simpler society, a more honest, genuine populace" that he felt were under threat. (Aikin, 2001, 54) Popular music — the bulk of copyright deposits eschewed by Sonneck and Engel — and jazz diluted the musical market. Until Gordon's recording efforts, folk songs were predominantly a live phenomenon that often took place in small or isolated communities. Gordon's recording destinations — Appalachia, the deep American South and the Great Lakes region — were all marginalised parts of the country. They were isolated areas populated by labouring families and presumably Gordon thought this remoteness sheltered folk music from the corrupting forces of popular and jazz music. Engel echoed Gordon's worry. He bemoaned the potential loss of folk music due to the "spread of the popular music of the hour." (Engel quoted in Aikin, 2001, 55) Amplified and widely available, phonographs and radios literally broadcast music to a much wider audience than intimate folk settings like the ones Gordon recorded. In this case, musical heterogeneity was not a desirable state if most of the music being played on the radio, through phonographs and in clubs was viewed as below standard or somehow detrimental to society.

To remedy the situation, Gordon argued that the collection would appeal "to a public that worried about the effects of speakeasies and jazz on the American character." (Aikin, 2001, 53) In 1928 America was still in the grips of Prohibition. In 1920 the Eighteenth Amendment outlawed the production, sale and transport of alcohol, but more

importantly, supporters of the temperance movement in America — called drys — who played a significant role in garnering support for the ban thought it would discourage or eliminate alcohol's associated so-called devious behaviours. For the many religious groups that supported prohibition, intoxication was a personal sin and therefore something that should be strongly discouraged. Morality, only thinly masking religious and racial undercurrents, was a reoccurring theme in the call for a sober nation. For example, American Temperance Society members wrote songs "to inspire guilt about the consequences of alcohol abuse." (Library of Congress, 2014r) In this climate, nativist views about the supremacy of America's white Anglo-Saxon ancestry found a voice in organisations like the Klu Klux Klan and legitimacy in Jim Crow legislation during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In the 20s and 30s, jazz was considered black music. Descended from slave work songs, gospel music and ragtime and nurtured, shaped and played by Southern black African and Caribbean communities, jazz was a musical manifestation of all that the Klan members feared for American society. Prohibition organisations such as the Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union would have equally feared jazz because of its links with underground saloons and nightclubs — speakeasies — that illegally sold alcohol and their connections with the Mafia. (Shipton, 2007, 85) (Collier, 2004, 133) Jazz was sultry. It was improvisational. It was emotional. People listened to it in dark, smoky clubs, drank contraband booze and no doubt indulged in morally suspect interracial mingling.[28] This climate and its soundtrack were the targets of Gordon's criticisms and a main point in his appeal to Engel and Putnam. Phonographs, radio broadcasts and speakeasies all threatened Americans' abilities to make "contact with a simpler past — more authentic, more tradition laden, more patriotic, more truly American," despite the fact that black communities and 'their' music were part of American contemporary culture. (Aikin, 2001, 55) Folk songs diversified the LC's music collections, but it happened at the expense of other music.

John Lomax

John Avery Lomax was raised in Texas and it was there that he was exposed to the cowboy songs that would later dominate his folk song collecting efforts. As the son of a farmer, he was obliged to work on the family farm and, as a result, his education was patchy. Determined to continue his education, he enrolled in 1895 — at the age of twenty-

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[28] Interracial marriage was not legal until 1967. Desegregation occurred gradually during the mid to late 1960s. As a result, interracial socialising in the late 1920s would have been a clandestine or, at the very least, a carefully orchestrated activity.

eight — in the English literature programme at the University of Texas at Austin. Lomax arrived at university with a roll of cowboy songs he had written down, but when he showed them to his professor Morgan Callaway (1849-1968), he was chastised for their "cheap and unworthy" nature; Lomax subsequently burned them. (Porterfield, 1996, 59-60) However, in 1906 Lomax secured a stipend from the Austin Teaching Fellowship and enrolled on a graduate course in English literature at Harvard University. Here he met George Lyman Kittredge and Barrett Wendell (1855-1921). Wendell was something of a local celebrity with his students, but Kittredge "had the place of honor as the direct inheritor of [Francis James] Child's mantle as the leading philological comparativist in the United States." (Abrahams, 2000, 106) Under the guidance of these two men, Lomax would re-invest himself in folk song collecting. After a period of odd jobs supplemented with teaching at Texas A&M University, Lomax arrived in 1923 at the New York offices of the Macmillan publishing company where he "proposed his idea for an all-inclusive anthology of American ballads and folksongs." (Library of Congress, 2014s) Luckily for Lomax and his family, who had run into hard times after their wife and mother passed away, his proposal was accepted.

During Gordon's time at the LC, Lomax visited the Archive of American Folk Song to further his research for the anthology, but he found the archive's materials lacking. Accordingly, he struck a deal with Engel. If the library provided recording equipment, then Lomax would deposit his recordings into the archive. Funds were obtained, a portable recorder was bought and Lomax was sent on his way. Gordon's collecting efforts had laid the ground work for the LC's folk song archive, but his methods and long, often unexplained trips away from Washington, D.C. created tensions between him and Engel. As a result, once the funding ran out in 1932, Gordon ceased to work for the LC. Without Gordon at the helm, the archive could have been in jeopardy of stagnation or closure, but "the scholarly interest in folk culture had begun to multiply." (Aikin, 2001, 56) Folk culture related publications like Benjamin Botkin's journal *Folk-say* and Constance Rourke's series *American Humor* began to circulate and organisations like the American Council of Learned Societies hosted folklore events and activities. When Gordon left in 1932, Lomax became the Honorary Consultant and Curator of the Archive of American Folk Song. Due to the swelling academic interest in Americana, the Archive of American Folk Song remained situated in the MD and steadily grew under Lomax's stewardship and collecting efforts.

America was in search of a "bard who would celebrate the American accomplishment" and there was a growing feeling "that folksong was the *lingua franca* for American bardic expression." (Abrahams, 2000, 107-8) Evident in Engel and Coolidge's quest for an American musical culture, and in the formation of the Archive of American Folk Song, there was a national desire, strongly felt by Engel and those involved in the Archive, "that an American Homer or Virgil must somehow emerge from this great social and political experiment." This home grown hero "would find the story and voice by which Americans could imagine themselves as having climbed beyond the frontier barbarism and into the ranks of the civilized." (Abrahams, 2000, 107) Lomax's initial collecting projects focused on cowboy songs, odes to the perseverance and glory of the American spirit and the men who supposedly embodied these characteristics, but he also collected so-called black music: blues, ballads and work songs sung by prisoners in Southern penitentiaries. (Library of Congress, 2014s) Prison isolation, Lomax believed, protected "traditional art forms that [were] … endangered by the widespread acceptance of popular music and the influence of radio and record players." (Library of Congress, 2014s) The longer a prisoner had been incarcerated, the more pure the songs would be. In these places and with these beliefs, Lomax, aided by his son Alan, recorded black folk singers such as James "Iron Head" Baker, Mose "Clear Rock" Platt, Huddie "Lead Belly" Ledbetter (1888-1949) and Ferdinand "Jelly Roll Morton" LaMothe (1890-1941). (Library of Congress, 2014s) Consequently, the recordings the Lomaxes made "were not about George Washington or even Daniel Boone." (Abrahams, 2000, 107) Like those sung by Iron Head and the rest, they were about the African experience in America: brutal, resilient, heart breaking. Yet there were other types of folk songs and they did not celebrate the Founding Fathers either. Instead, they tapped into another American narrative that celebrated the likes of the blacked-faced minstrel character Jumping Jim Crow and the nativist, anti-Catholic, anti-Irish New York gang the Bowery B'hoys. (Abrahams, 2000, 107) Folk songs were as varied as the communities that sang them and John and Alan were committed to bringing them to the LC.

The New Deal

Part of the archive's collecting was undertaken by the Lomaxes and other LC staff, but other acquisitions came from the efforts of a network of regional folklorists who could borrow recording equipment from the LC and then deposit their materials with the archive. This grassroots approach to collecting folk songs had several advantages. Relying in part

on contributions from other sources, archive staff did not need do all the gathering themselves. Additionally, involving regional specialists in the archive's activities helped build a professional relationship between the LC staff and the folklore community as well as strengthen support for the field and advocate for the value of the materials. Still embroiled in the economic depression following the 1929 Wall Street Crash, Americans were desperate, unsure about their futures and in need of massive boost in the wake of a bloody and gruesome WWI as well as the economic downturn. Companies and banks went out of business. Unemployment was high. Houses and farms were repossessed. Families, homeless and jobless, drifted around the country. For most, life in America was grim. In an effort to pull America out of the wreckage, President Franklin D. Roosevelt launched at least forty federally-funded 'alphabet agencies' as part of his New Deal, a nation-wide programme designed to increase public projects in order to increase jobs and productivity. At a fundamental level, New Deal agencies were designed to relieve America's economic distress by employing the stricken masses. A great number of these agencies were designed to bolster national infrastructures and improve or build dams, buildings and highways. However, others were cultural programs and initiatives. Roosevelt and his New Deal supporters believed that "inherent in the American dream of a more abundant way of life was the promise not only of economic and social justice but also of cultural enrichment." (Mathews, 1975, 316) The economy needed to be restored, but so did the cultural health of the nation. Jane De Hart Mathews suggests that Roosevelt did not view programs as merely relief measures. Rather, he regarded them as ways to "use the uplifting power of art to enrich the lives of ordinary citizens" which would entail "creating a nation of cultural consumers." (Mathews, 1975, 319) Access was vitally important to achieving this aim because "through accessibility … people [would] come to regard the arts, not as an expendable luxury, but as a community asset. (Mathews, 1975, 319) Denied access to private collections or institutions where so-called high art resided, the bulk of the American population seemingly "subsisted on the aesthetically deficient pap served up as entertainment." Yet cultural programmes were not designed to bring only high art to the nation. Nor were they meant to negate popular influence on the masses. If Roosevelt's New Deal objectives for what he viewed as a healthy national culture were to be realised, then "the arts would have to be freed from a cultural milieu that kept them as "high" culture — a thing apart — and returned to the healthy channels of everyday life." (Mathews, 1975, 321)

Federal Project Number One, or more commonly referred to as Federal One, was an umbrella organisation encompassing five art and history-related New Deal agencies.[29] Started in 1935 as part of Federal One, Federal Music Project's (FMP) "central objective … was to employ out-of-work musicians as instrumentalists, singers, and concert performers." (Bellmore and Jackson, 2012, 23-4) Like every other profession, the Great Depression severely affected musicians, whose trade relied upon activities such as theatre and cinema going that became increasingly frivolous if not outright flagrant during financial hardship. People simply could not afford theatre tickets, that is, if the theatre was even open. Nor could philanthropists generously support the arts in the same way they had before the crash. Yet a more profound impact came from the advancement and proliferation of audio technologies such as phonographs. By the early 1930s musicians who worked in theatres and cinemas were replaced by recorded soundtracks. As a result, these two factors combined to decimate musicians and their profession. The FMP helped get musicians playing again. The FMP's second objective was to "inspire music appreciation through access to live musical performance and through educational initiatives." (Bellmore and Jackson, 2012, 24) Under the FMP's stewardship, musicians were employed to play in symphony orchestras, dance bands, chamber and choral ensembles that provided free public concerts in local institutions such as schools, hospitals and prisons. (Bellmore and Jackson, 2012, 24) Giving public concerts would have exposed communities to both live performance and a range of music that were perhaps uncommon or unheard of in their areas. Music was taken out of grand concert halls and played directly to audiences in their home environments. However, its director's vision was not always in alignment with Roosevelt's. Nicolai Sokoloff (1886-1965), former conductor of the Cleveland Orchestra, had an understandably strong preference for classical music. He and his staff "settled on a slate of the classics, interspersed with popular American works by Victor Herbert [1859-1924], John Philip Sousa [1854-1932], George Gershwin [1898-1937], and the like" which hardly fit with "the "common man" ideology of Roosevelt's New Deal Democrats." Roosevelt's ideology did not call for an affirmation of European composers or even high art American works. It called "for a reaffirmation of the American spirit," wherever it might be found. (Bellmore and Jackson, 2012, 24)

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[29] The five agencies were: Federal Writers' Project, Historical Records Survey, Federal Theatre Project, Federal Music Project and Federal Art Project. In 1939 the FMP was absorbed into the Works Progress Administration (WPA) Music Program.

Finally, and most directly relevant to the LC and the Archive of American Folk Song, the FMP launched music documentation projects. One of the spearhead initiatives, the California Folk Music Project was a joint project between the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the University of California, Berkeley and the LC's Archive of Folk Song. Conceived and conducted by Sidney Robertson Cowell (1903-1995) between 1938 and 1940, this project aimed "to be a representative collection of folk music being actively performed in Northern California" and is credited as being one of "the earliest attempts to document the performance of English-language and non-Black, non-American Indian, ethnic folk music in the United States." (Library of Congress, 1997, second paragraph) Like Gordon and the Lomaxes, Cowell took her recorder to the streets, but she also took along a camera, a sketchpad and copious numbers of notebooks. Her collection of materials included more than sound recordings. It included photographs of performers, to-scale sketches of their instruments and extensive field notes about performance context. Cowell's work was ethnographic and as a result, used a range of formats and methods to investigate multiple facets of an element of American culture: folk songs in Northern California. Music was certainly the focus of Cowell's work, but her collection challenged both the content and the format typical of the MD's collections at the time. Americana had only just been recognised as relevant to the LC's acquisition practises, but sound recordings — more specifically their physical formats and their requisite playback hardware — were still highly experimental. Playback hardwares were continuously in development. Playback speed and stylus size were unstandardised and consequently, left up to the discretion of individuals who created recordings. Even recording mediums were constantly changing.[30] By the late 1930s cylinders were replaced by discs of various compositions (lacquer, wax, acetate) and companies such as 3M Co. and BASF were trialling magnetic tape. (Schoenherr, 2005, Magnetic Recording Tape Invented section) Ethnographic projects in general and folk song projects in particular were truly multi-format and as a result, challenged the expertise and operations of the conventional paper-based MD. WPA-supported projects like Cowell's were eventually placed in the LC's Archive of American Folk Song, which meant that the collection would benefit from the aptitude, innovation and initiative of outsiders.

The Hunt for the Un-Americans

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[30] Even in the present day, the constant evolution of playback hardware and recording medium and their resulting obsolescence remains a challenge.

However, not everyone ascribed to Roosevelt's notion of the "American spirit." Some members of Congress, indeed a sizable portion of the populous, did not support Roosevelt's New Deal objectives or his administration. A strong supporter of social reform, Roosevelt and his attempt to get Americans working again fell under harsh criticism because, to his opponents, reform implied change, a departure from perceived traditional American values. His opponents understood American identity as something passed down from the Founding Fathers and inherited by their descendants. Roosevelt's sweeping reform initiatives were dependent upon change and progress, which were seen to have socialist undertones. Harshest and loudest amongst his critics was Martin Dies (1900-1972), a Representative from Texas, who led the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). Created in 1938 the HCUA was "an investigating committee … charged with the assignment of discovering the extent of subversive activity." (Carr, 1951, 599) HCUA members' reach extended to private citizens, public employees and organisations alike and while they could pursue any sort of subversive behaviour, their investigations mostly concentrated on alleged Communist activity. Between 1938 and 1941 Dies and his cronies — including future President Richard Nixon (1913-1994) and J. Parnell Thomas (1895-1970) — used the HCUA used as "a vehicle to pillory the Roosevelt Administration" and provided a forum for those who were eager to indict the Roosevelt Administration as Communist-inspired. (Polenberg, 1968, 165) It was also deeply concerned with public opinion and assessed the public's view of the Committee's work. (Carr, 1951, 599) The HCUA functioned as an investigative body and a self-proclaimed propaganda machine because if the public "fail[ed] to share its understanding of the nature and of subversive activity," then they would not "appreciate the seriousness of the threat offered by this activity to the "American way of life" as seen by [the Committee]." (Carr, 1951, 599) Dies — aggressive towards and suspect of organised labour and foreigners — was the New Dealers' mortal enemy because they thought he "was a dangerous demagogue whose vendetta against the [Roosevelt] Administration jeopardized civil liberties and served the cause of reactionary interests." (Polenberg, 1968, 168) Hundreds of citizens were dragged before the HCUA to defend their patriotism. Those who refused to cooperate were blacklisted, which financially and socially crippled their lives. In 1938 the HCUA investigated alleged infestation by Communist party members and sympathisers of two Federal One agencies: the Federal Writer's Project (FWP) and the Federal Theatre Project (FTP). Head of the FTP, American playwright and theatre producer Hallie Flanagan (1890-1969), was brought before the Committee to answer questions regarding "its collectivist approach to social issues." (Wilmeth and Bigsby, 1998, 228)

Unconvinced by Flanagan's refutations, the Committee found the FTP's output "subversive and dangerous." (Wilmeth and Bigsby, 1998, 228) In 1939, the Committee pulled its funding and literally overnight, it ceased to operate.

While working for the LC, Lomax Sr. was involved with two New Deal agencies. In 1936 he was appointed folklore collecting advisor to the National Records Survey and folklore editor for the FWP. Lomax's work with the WPA and the LC brought him into contact with folk collectors such as Benjamin Botkin (1901-1975) and the host of writers, editors, archaeologists, cartographers and art critics employed by the FWP. Together, this group of over 6,000 staff produced 48 historical writings called the *American Guide Series* that showcased the history and cultures of each state. Like the FTP, the FWP came under the scrutiny of Dies and the HCUA. The FWP officials "saw their work as contributing to national identity" because they "worked to make [the guides] inclusive, representative of American regional, ethnic, and racial diversity, while trying to avoid criticism." (Hirsch, 2003, 197) Much the same way that the HCUA rejected the FTP's quasi-socialist and thus suspected anti-capitalist slant, it did not support the FWP's portrayal of a diverse, multi-coloured America. Yet again, Dies summoned the FWP staff to hearings, all the while brandishing staunch anti-Communist rhetoric and questioning their patriotism. Certainly, Dies and other HCUA members used their fiefdom as "a mode of discourse for voicing a rejection of the political and cultural values of the New Deal," but Jerrold Hirsch suggests HCUA attacks were motivated by more than a desire to bring down Roosevelt. (Hirsch, 2003, 198) The FWP literature presented an alternative, arguably more representative portrait of America and "it was this redefinition of the American community to which the committee and its star witness objected." (Hirsch, 2003, 198) Hirsch sums up Dies' perspective on national identity:

> For Dies, American identity was already established. It was not unfinished — in the process of becoming — but under attack. Looking back at the birth of the republic, Dies thought he saw a country that "was practically homogenous, with similar political, constitutional and cultural traditions." The men who established American political institutions, he held, were products of a "homogenous race." (Hirsch, 2003, 199)

Colonial America was not a homogenous place and the men who created it did not share the same or even similar traditions. Therefore, Dies' notion of an era that encapsulated a true and unified American identity was fundamentally skewed. Nonetheless, he charged ahead with his mission and used an array of weapons to secure it. Words became bombs. "Communism" and "communist" were heavily charged and inflammatory terms and Dies effectively used them to prey on and exasperate American fears and paranoia to garner

support for his vision of America. It did not matter that he conflated ideologies.
"Communism was a good catchword for all [that Dies and the HCUA] rejected." (Hirsch,
2003, 198) Considering the aggressive and often speculative charges the Committee
hurled at the FTP and the FWP employees, the FMP workers somehow escaped the HCUA
barrage and blacklisting. It seems very unlikely that the FMP was free from reformists or
anyone who deviated (or was merely suspected of deviating) from Dies' vision of America,
but perhaps Sokoloff's influence and his preference for European classical music provided
them with the diversion necessary to dodge the HCUA accusations.

In 1939 Roosevelt nominated Archibald MacLeish, American poet and literary man,
as Putnam's replacement as Librarian. Just like Russell's nomination, MacLeish's would
prompt an outcry from the ALA members and Roosevelt's congressional opponents. Yet
again the library community rejected MacLeish's nomination on professional grounds.
The ALA members "had for months unsuccessfully sought an appointment with Roosevelt
to advance the candidacy of one of their own, the ALA executive secretary Carl H. Milam"
and Roosevelt's nomination was seen to directly undermine their efforts. (Donaldson and
Winnick, 2001, 295) The ALA members coordinated a full-scale campaign to overturn the
nomination. They signed petitions. They wrote letters to Senators. They believed that
"the Library of Congress would almost certainly deteriorate under [the] amateur leadership"
of a non-librarian. (Donaldson and Winnick, 2001, 296) His nomination also enraged
"violent anti-New Dealers [in Congress because they] saw in the appointment of this
alleged pro-Communist and fellow traveller one more bit of evidence "of Communist
influence on appointments emanating from the White House."" (letter from Feliz
Frankfuter to Roosevelt quoted in Goldschmidt, 1969, 13) Before he had taken on the
position of Librarian, MacLeish, speaking as a poet and an artist, openly "quarrel[ed] with
the Marxists in the early thirties" about their anti-individualism doctrine that, according to
MacLeish, stifled art. (Sickels, 1943, 226) He was an outspoken man and a social critic.
His words commanded attention, but not the sort anti-New Dealers wanted. Roosevelt
finally convinced MacLeish, who initially refused the President's offer, by "[painting]
visions of the library as a great educational institution for the country at large" and
promising he would still have time to write his poetry. (Donaldson and Winnick, 2001,
293) Roosevelt saw an ally in MacLeish because he needed backing from inside the LC to
garner support for his heavily criticised New Deal initiatives. The Archive of American
Folk Song and the LC spearheaded numerous New Deal folk song collecting projects, and
if they were to bolster Americans and the economy in the ways Roosevelt hoped as well as

help give Roosevelt's administration credibility, then Putnam's replacement had to be a man who would not buckle under pressure from the likes of Dies and his zealous Committee. MacLeish's arrival at the LC marked the beginning of a mutually beneficial relationship between Roosevelt and his New Deal initiatives and the Archive of Folk Song. In MacLeish, Roosevelt had a political ally at the highest level of the biggest library in the world. In Roosevelt, MacLeish had a direct line to the President and support for the burgeoning work of the Archive of American Folk Song.

The Recording Laboratory

The first sound recording in the LC — a personal greeting from Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany — was introduced in 1904. From that year onwards, audio recordings were haphazardly acquired by the LC, the result of "ad hoc collecting activities undertaken by different organizational units." (Loughney, et al., c2004, 357) "Library collections did not benefit from mandatory copyright deposits of recordings as they did from deposits of books, maps, photographs, musical scores, and other materials" because they were not covered by the Copyright Act until its 1972 amendment. (Loughney, et al., c2004, 357) Even though recordings received relatively late recognition and protection under this legislation, they were first acquired in substantial numbers during folklife documenting projects undertaken in the 1930s by the Archive of American Folk Song. Just before the archive's formation, the Victor Talking Machine Company "offered the Music Division [in 1925] a selection of its new releases on 78 rpm disc as well as a machine on which to play the recordings." (Loughney, et al., c2004, 357) This deposit was significant because it marked the first time a commercial company voluntarily contributed recorded music to the LC collections.[31] It was also significant because recordings required an intermediary for access — a record player — and at the time, this equipment was expensive, bulky and required specific technical knowledge to operate. If the Victor Company had not given the LC a "machine on which to play the recordings," then the 78s would have remained silent and inaccessible to staff and researchers alike. Previously having a predominantly paper-based collection, the MD was literally not equipped for this material. As previously stated, the Archive of American Folk Song's materials encompassed a range of formats — first cylinders and discs, then magnetic tape — that included a mixture of content such as spoken word and music, but early collecting efforts from John Lomax and his

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[31] Founded by Eldridge R. Johnson in 1901, the Victor Talking Machine Company had several commercial enterprises. In addition to manufacturing acoustic and electric playback hardware like the Victrola, it also recorded music.

contemporaries were dependent upon sourcing equipment or funds to purchase equipment from non-LC sources.[32] Anthropologists and folklorists adopted portable recording technology such as gramophones and magnetic tape recorders that could be taken into the field, but this method of documenting meant that when their work was deposited at the LC, the MD staff contended with new, fragile formats that required specific technical knowledge to play and preserve as well as dedicated hardware to access. As a result, the MD desperately needed support for the staff and equipment required for operation.

That support came in 1940 when MacLeish secured $41,520 in funding from the Carnegie Corporation to build and maintain a recording laboratory within the LC. The equipment and expertise gained by implementing such a section would help the LC staff manage sound recordings. MacLeish stated the "purpose of the laboratory was to disseminate copies of the field recordings in the Archive of American Folk Song" and would be based in the MD. (Loughney, Brylawski and Bucknum, c2004, 357) At least one motivation for establishing such a laboratory was to alleviate operational challenges such as playback, duplication and transferring between formats. Motivations seemingly focused on practical issues, but the ability to perform these functions was not the only reason why the facilities were required or desired. In *Encyclopedia of the Library of Congress: For Congress, the Nation & the World*, Patrick Loughney and Samuel Brylawski, authors of part of its Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division entry, only briefly mentioned the lab's formation. They highlight its link with the Carnegie Corporation and the Archive of American Folk Song as well as quote MacLeish as to the laboratory's purpose, but their account of its beginnings made no mention of MacLeish's 19 October 1939 speech from which they sourced their quotation. Speaking at the Carnegie Institute on Founder's Day, MacLeish directly addressed the ALA critics about his supposed lack of credentials for the position of Librarian and with the elegance and imagery of a poet, he introduced the role of "libraries in the contemporary crisis." (MacLeish, 1939, title) "The tyranny of time," MacLeish explained, was driving America towards an era without inherited culture, a dilemma that had forced every citizen into an either/or situation. (MacLeish, 1939, 4-5) He described the situation in the following way:

> The "either," as I see it, is the education of the people of this country. The "or" is fascism. We will either educate the people of this Republic to know, and therefore to value and therefore to preserve their own democratic culture, or we will watch the people of this Republic trade their democratic culture for the

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[32] Lomax's agreement with Engel stipulated that LC would provide a recorder for his collecting trip. Funds for the equipment had to be secured from outwith the library because the library did not have either to lend to Lomax.

nonculture, the obscurantism, the superstition, the brutality, the tyranny which
is overrunning western and central and southern Europe. (MacLeish, 1939, 5)

Each day no action was taken against the threat of fascism was one day closer to total loss of inherited culture that included "American guaranties of freedom to ask, freedom to answer, freedom to think, and freedom to speak, which make American democracy democratic." (MacLeish, 1939, 6) MacLeish's anti-fascist stance is strong, but his criticisms extend far beyond the tyrannical rule of Hitler or Mussolini. For MacLeish, fascism enters and fills a void created by American proponents of a theory "that America is all right and … Americans are all right and everything else would be all right if only the Communists could be prevented from spreading their insidious propaganda and wrecking the country." (MacLeish, 1939, 6) This theory — an unflattering snapshot "offered by those who are loudest in their protestations of love for their country" — is the object of MacLeish's criticisms. At the same time he delivered this speech, Dies and his committee members, self-proclaimed 'true' patriots, were waging a domestic war on citizens who appeared to threaten their image of merry, white America or spoke out against their investigations. By "stopping American ears with legal wax and strapping American arms with legal thongs," MacLeish believes the HCUA stripped Americans of their democratic rights to freedom of thought and speech and in the process, created a void in which fascism would take hold and thrive. (MacLeish, 1939, 6) Fascism was a potential danger, but only if Americans were denied education about their own or fellow countrymen's cultures. MacLeish directly addresses the "people in the United States who do not wish to admit that there are large numbers of their fellow citizens who have been excluded from the American tradition and the American culture." (MacLeish, 1939, 9) These "excluded" people — the African Americans, the Native Indians, the immigrants, the women — were all stripped of their own cultures and denied a place in the narrow image of Americanness. Quite rightly, MacLeish rejects this prejudice-ridden notion of patriotism. (MacLeish, 1939, 9) His remedy for bullish assertions of uniform national identity is education. He wants to educate the nation about its cultural heritages, which will, in turn, eradicate cultural prejudice and the threat of fascism. As the newest leader of the world's biggest library, MacLeish potentially had the resources to do just that. He believed that the folk recordings at the LC would invoke an earlier, more American, more genuinely patriotic time, appeal to the democratic way of life and (re)instil its values. (Library of Congress, 2002, 39) As a result, the recording laboratory would enable better recording-related operations at the LC, but it would also take centre stage in MacLeish's cultural awareness educational programme.

MacLeish believed "that the burden of this education must fall" upon libraries. (MacLeish, 1939, 10) The public school system could only educate the younger generations and, therefore, would not accomplish the nationwide programme he envisioned. Nor could his campaign be trusted to newspapers, magazines or publishers regardless of their "earnest … protestations of honesty and disinterestedness." The radio or cinema, those suspect mass media outlets, were equally biased sources of information. (MacLeish, 1939, 10) Yet MacLeish boldly states he has a building full of people who could be trusted to carry out his mission:

> The libraries and the libraries alone are staffed by people whose disinterestedness is beyond suspicion. And though there are occasional directors of libraries and occasional boards of library trustees who will stoop to the exclusion of books which offend their social or political or economic preconceptions — books, let us say, like The Grapes of Wrath — the directors and trustees of libraries are in general men with the highest sense of their duties to their institutions and their country. The libraries, in brief, are the only institutions in the United States capable of dealing with the contemporary crisis in American life. (MacLeish, 1939, 10)

Convinced as he was about the role of librarians in the war against fascism, MacLeish, newly instated as Librarian, was a literary man, not a librarian.[33] Perhaps his relative ignorance about and short history with the library community enabled him to make such a bold claim. Previous to his appointment, the LC staff were far from disinterested in their collections. Collecting efforts undertaken by men such as Sonneck and Lomax are testament to the MD staff's profound interests in their work and the LC's collections. Their acquisition wish lists, acquisition policies, concerts and projects all demonstrated interest. Yet, while not necessarily suspicious, it is not neutral. Certainly, within the MD there were strong ideas about suitable and unsuitable materials. Interest, as MacLeish viewed it, was a coin with two sides. When exercised without too much prejudice, it can build a great library capable of educating every member of the nation. When exercised with too much prejudice, it can destroy a democratic society. MacLeish's view of librarians' "disinterestedness" — at least the one he expressed in his speech — was not congruent with established, internal LC views or those of the library community. Librarians were not quite arbiters of taste, but they did consider themselves discriminatory forces responsible for presenting the best or most appropriate materials. MacLeish's picture of the disinterested librarian is most likely an eloquently dealt reprimand aimed at those who would use a library to showcase only suitable material as well as a slightly naïve

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[33] By the time he was appointed Librarian, he had already been awarded one Pulitzer Prize. He would receive a total of three.

hope for a profession he had almost no history with and that had little faith in his abilities to act as Librarian. Despite his strained relationship with the ALA, MacLeish praised them and librarians in general for their progress and success in getting suitable books for their readers. (MacLeish, 1939, 11) Great advances had been made in cataloguing practices and inter-library loans, but these successes were only part of MacLeish's glue for a fracturing nation. The other part required librarians to find readers for their books — whatever their content — in order to raise awareness of un-tapped or sequestered materials, to bring into the light those aspects of American culture that had been relegated to the darkness. (MacLeish, 1939, 11) He believed they were deficient in this respect because they neglected their responsibility to "[open] that knowledge and that understanding to the citizens of the Republic." (MacLeish, 1939, 10) If his librarians and staff stepped up to this responsibility, then they would become the disinterested educational army of the New Deal era.

More so than at any other point in the LC's history, MacLeish challenged expectations about the library's role and purpose. His campaign for a national cultural education programme neatly squared with Roosevelt's New Deal ideology and this pairing enabled MacLeish to instrumentalise the LC. Previous to his appointment, the LC was obviously a physical place, but it primarily existed as an idea for the average citizen. It was out of their reach as a closely guarded congressional resource and a place of lofty learning for heady scholars. In his speech MacLeish proposed transforming the idea of a national library into a tool for educating the nation. Success, then, would be measured according to how many people it not only reached but also meaningfully informed and not simply by the number of so-called suitable collections the LC held. Nonetheless, MacLeish sent mixed messages about the role of discretion in library services. He disapprovingly cited some men "who will stoop to exclusion of books which offend their social or political or economic preconceptions" — a perceived offence against education, democracy and the American people — yet considering his charged rhetoric and his activism, he would almost certainly have objected to so-called fascist materials in the LC collections. Consequently, his admonishment of other librarians' biased selection and acquisition practices is difficult to reconcile with his views. This particular moment in the LC's history yet again highlights the uneasy relationship between theory and practice. MacLeish, a man who challenged the basic tenants of who and what the LC was for when he envisioned a national library at the service of the nation, was arguably more open to a broader range of materials for a broader range of people. Would he have accepted

materials relating to and then educated the nation about the German American Bund, a pro-Nazi organisation active when MacLeish took office?

The 'Un-American' Contingent at the LC

MacLeish's cultural education programme did not proceed without consequences. HCUA members previously focused on New Deal initiatives, but they would turn their gaze towards the LC and its staff. In 1937 Benjamin Botkin undertook research as part of a Julius Rosenwald Fellowship in Folk and Regional Literature at the LC. He succeeded Lomax Sr. as folk editor for the FWP and then become the chief editor of the Writer's Unit at the LC. Finally, in 1942 when Lomax Sr. left the LC, Botkin replaced him as head of the Archive of American Folk Song. (Davis, 2010, 5) Botkin had spoken with members of Dies' committee as early as 1939, but his FBI file was officially opened in 1941 "as part of a loyalty investigation of WPA administrative employees." (Davis, 2010, 8) Renewed European unrest renewed American unrest. Yet again, Communism was supposedly seeping into American society and these claims "allowed Roosevelt's congressional antagonists to begin a wide-ranging investigation of the Washington New Deal and the trade unionists and social activists of all kinds who supported it." (Davis, 2010, 8) The Hatch Act of 1939 made any partisan political activity illegal for employees of the executive branch and "forbade [any] federal employee membership in any organisation that advocated the overthrow of the U.S. government and so opened the way for thousands of loyalty investigations." (Davis, 2010, 9) Botkin's commitment to a multi-faceted American identity — perhaps best illustrated by his contribution to the 1941 FWP publication *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writer's Project, 1936-1938* — and his links with supposedly radical writers' groups and peace activists meant that it was only a matter of time before not only Dies but J. Edgar Hoover himself wanted him removed from the LC. Despite the fact that fellow the LC employees were testifying against Botkin, on 6 May 1942 MacLeish wrote to Hoover "saying that he had faith in Botkin and would take no disciplinary action." (Davis, 2010, 12, fig.2) (Davis, 2010, 11) While at the LC, Bokin was relatively safe, but his departure in 1945 put him beyond MacLeish's help. However, even as he was leaving, Botkin published a short article dedicated to the Archive of Folk Song and its role in society:

> What impresses us most about American folk music as we listen to these Archive records is the tremendous vitality and variety, an upsurge of energy, a complexity and multiplicity of content, function, and style that belies the common assumption of the simplicity of folk song that reflects the diversity of

American life. This is the American rhythm, the American declamation, the American experience. It is a rich and wonderful heritage, and the job of preserving it and making it better known and more widely understood and enjoyed calls for a program of popular education in which the Archive should lead rather than follow. (Botkin, 1945, 66-7)

It is unclear why Botkin left the Archive to pursue a freelance writing career. Even though his time at the Archive was over, he made sure that he had the last word about folk song, the Archive and their roles in disseminating and preserving an American identity.

The FBI preyed upon Alan Lomax too. Lomax Jr., Assistant in Charge of the Archive of Folk Song from 1937 through 1942, was based at the LC while the recording laboratory was installed and would have been intimately connected with the archive's activities. On 3 April 1942 the FBI summoned Lomax Jr. for questioning that "moved quickly to accusations and denials" about his so-called communist sympathies, apparently expressed by his involvement in an organisation called People's Songs, his membership in the folk band The Weavers and associations with other folk singers and activists such as Pete Seeger (1919-2014) and Woody Guthrie (1912-1967). (Szwed, 2010, 189) This questioning was part of a larger investigation into "federal employees alleged to be members of groups advocating the overthrow of the government." (Szwed, 2010, 189) Not long afterwards, the FBI approached MacLeish about Lomax Jr. and MacLeish vouched for his loyalty saying that "he saw no evidence of subversive activities … declared him a loyal American citizen" and took no disciplinary action. (Szwed, 2010, 189) For the second time, MacLeish defended his employees but, after the younger Lomax's departure from the LC later that year, he too was beyond MacLeish's protection. Lomax Jr. continued to suffer intense and prolonged FBI surveillance and repeated investigations that eventually compelled him in 1950 to emigrate to England. He did not return to America until 1959, but remained under investigation as late as 1980. It is no surprise then that Lomax Jr., whose work made a significant contribution to the LC's collections and its profile in the field and beyond, was accused of subversive and un-American activity. He was deeply invested in social reform activities outside of the LC — indeed, they had him blacklisted from working in the music industry — and it would be unrealistic to assume that his beliefs and actions would have remained separate from his LC work.

Lomax Jr. and Botkin were no doubt partly subjected to decades of FBI surveillance because they were early supporters of the Archive of American Folk Song as well as significant figures in fostering a national interest in Americana and folk culture, but

they were not the only the LC employees to upset Hoover and his minions. Despite his relationship with Roosevelt, or perhaps partly because of it, MacLeish racked up a 600-page file of his own. (Donaldson and Winnick, 2001, 355) His efforts to keep left-wing writer Malcolm Cowley (1898-1989) in the Office of Facts and Figures, an agency that MacLeish oversaw from 1941, brought Hoover and MacLeish to metaphorical blows. Again, MacLeish fought against Hoover and Dies regarding an investigation into Crowley's work with the League of American Writers and his suspected Communist ties. Hoover wanted Cowley fired. MacLeish refused. Frustrated with what must have seemed never-ending interference from the FBI, MacLeish appealed to his friend and Hoover's superior Attorney General Francis Biddle (1886-1968). He complained "that FBI agents "seem not only to be out of touch with current intellectual currents, they seem to be in other currents of a most suspicious nature."" (letter from MacLeish to Biddle quoted in Donaldson and Winnick, 2001, 354) Biddle forwarded MacLeish's complaint to Hoover, but rather than solve matters, it only made them worse. "J. Edgar Hoover did not take criticism lightly, and he was known to bear grudges." (Donaldson and Winnick, 2001, 355) Before MacLeish came to the LC, he was already an outspoken man on controversial issues and his brief governmental career made him subject to special legislation like the Hatch Act, "but the sheer volume of [his] file probably owed something to Hoover's animus against him." (Donaldson and Winnick, 2001, 355) Unlike Lomax Jr., Botkin and countless others, MacLeish was never directly questioned by the FBI or called to testify at an HCUA hearing.

Any affirmative or negative statement regarding these men's actual involvement in so-called subversive activity is a subjective position. Made apparent through the multiple and long-standing debates about American identity, there was no established or widely held notion of Americanness. In fact, any perceived overarching national identity was splintering. Rather than determine one person's guilt or another's innocence, this rash of investigations into the MD staff illustrates the lengths some members of Congress went to in their attempts to instrumentalise the LC. Much like MacLeish's quest to make the LC a cultural educational resource rather than an idea, Hoover and Dies, through their efforts to interfere with the LC operations, orchestrate hiring and firing, censor WPA/LC publications as well as intimidate staff, tried to make the LC the tool box that would renovate and restore their idea of Americanness. Neither camp was innocent in their attempts to appropriate the library and its materials, but they took radically different approaches.

<u>"They Can't Kill Us All"</u>[34]

In addition to perceived foreign cultural threats of Communists and Fascists, America was thought to be at risk from other domestic hazards. During the 1960s marginalised communities began to voice discontent about the government's infringement of civil liberties. The Red Scare and HCUA trials had ripped open old wounds in the populace. The Civil War had ended, but distrust between American communities as well as between some of these communities and the government had only intensified. After years of building up, and exacerbated by the witch hunts of the 1930s and 40s, tensions had reached breaking point. The 1960s were, broadly speaking, a contentious period in American social and cultural history because several nationally-based civil rights movements vied against what they considered hegemonic forces. African-American communities fought using a range of strategies to end racial segregation and discrimination. For example, organisations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People provided financial support for civil suits, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee initiated countless direct-action sit-ins in Southern states. These types of activities were also taken up by lesbians and gays who had been criminalised, incarcerated, institutionalised and publicly humiliated for promoting or engaging in homosexual activities. The American Psychological Association classed homosexuality as a sociopathic personality disorder in 1952 and did not remove it from its *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* until 1974. This position became common amongst medical practitioners who developed various methods of conversion therapy. Shock treatments, psychoanalysis, hormone adjustments and confrontational tactics were all used to 'cure' homosexuality. Reacting against this position, activist groups like the Gay Liberation Front advocated for radical sexual liberation and decriminalisation. Feminism, as interpreted by several women's liberation movements, contested prevailing social, economic and political inequalities between the sexes. On behalf of the National Organization for Women, Betty Friedan (1921-2006) claimed in their statement of purpose that they were "part of a world-wide revolution of human rights" that strove to "bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society." (Friedan, 1966, first and second paragraphs) Millions of previously stifled voices were competing to be heard.

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[34] Slogan written on a bed sheet and hung out of a New York University dorm room window in the wake of the Kent State Shootings.

Simmering and periodically boiling over, tensions also ran high regarding America's intervention in Vietnam. The U.S. government considered the possible spread of communism in South East Asia a threat to democracy, but Americans had a range of strong opinions about their country's involvement in the conflict. To say that some Americans objected would be an understatement and undermine the dangerous situations that some people faced in order to express their opposition. Perhaps the most infamous example of public outrage happened in the wake of the Kent State shootings. On 4 May 1970 the National Guard opened fire on protesting students at Kent State University, killing four and wounding nine. Some of the event's details are still contested, but the aftermath is clear. The shootings prompted the largest student strike in U.S. history. Photographs of the skirmish, the most infamous being John Filo's of Mary Ann Vecchio screaming over Jeffery Miller's body, flooded the press.[35] On 9 May, 100,000 people demonstrated in Washington, D.C. against the war and the shootings. 4 May 1970 could mark the day the Vietnam War arrived on American soil and public reaction was split. Thousands of people rallied against the shootings and military involvement, but there was equally strong support for the National Guard's actions. In a 2010 National Public Radio programme marking forty years since the Kent State shootings, Dean Kahler, shot and paralysed in Kent by National Guardsmen, remarked that the first letter he opened after he came out of an induced coma "started off with: Dear communist hippie radical, I hope by the time you read this, you are dead." (Roberts, Lewis and Kahler, 2010, first response from Kahler) On the evening of 3 May 1970 Ohio Governor Jim Rhodes declared a state of emergency and with election-time zeal exclaimed that:

> we're going to use every weapon of law enforcement to drive them out of Kent … They're worse than the Brownshirts, and the Communist element and also the knight riders and the vigilantes. They're the worst type of people that we harbour in America. (Shots Still Reverberate For Survivors of Kent State, 2013, first soundbyte from Rhodes)

Even the president expressed his condemnation. On 8 May 1970, Richard Nixon (1913-1994), President and self-proclaimed mouthpiece for the great silent American majority, defended his use of the word "bums" — which he was recorded saying just three days before the event — to describe protesters when "they engage in violence, when they break up furniture, when they terrorize their fellow students and terrorize the faculty." (Nixon, 1970) Kohler, speaking later in the programme, highlights the use of highly charged

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[35] This image won Filo a Pulitzer Prize in 1970.

rhetoric such as Nixon's — "violence," break up," and "terrorize" — to stir up and strengthen support for the war:

> The — we — the victims, were blamed for this, and that was primarily because in the late '60s and into the early '70s, the speeches by our political leaders who supported the war basically said that if you were against us, then you were a communist or you were a dirty hippy. And they used language to victimize people who disagreed with them. And the prevailing feeling on the part of most of the country when we got shot was that we deserved it because of the language that was used by our political leaders. (Roberts, Lewis and Kahler, 2010, fifth response from Kahler)

The 1960s can be characterised as a struggle between 'us' and 'them.' The dominant force, the one with the greatest number of foot soldiers and backing from the law, was the government and its supporters of a white, Christian, male, heterosexual America. The minority was comprised of all those who opposed that image of Americanness. However, as three major civil rights movements gained momentum during the 60s, their efforts not only raised awareness of the gross civil liberty infringements perpetuated by one group onto many but also illustrated the breadth and depth of the American population.

Recorded Sound Section

In the years immediately following its creation, the recording laboratory carried on with it original purpose of duplicating and distributing folk song recordings, but it eventually took on a range of activities. Preservation, a collection of activities or processes designed to enable long-term access to materials, became a growing concern for the LC's non-paper music collections. Paper-based products were by no means exempt from deterioration, but their rate of decay was (and still is) much slower. Additionally, recording formats were dependent upon machines to interpret their grooves or magnetic field fluctuations to reproduce their sounds. Consequently, developments in recording and playback hardware accelerated the obsolescence of their predecessors. The fragile media used to capture the Archive of American Folk Song's older projects were deteriorating and, as a result, the instantaneous recordings typically created as part of the LC's early twentieth century collecting projects had to be transferred to new formats before they were lost. (Loughney, et al., c2004, 358) In the 1950s a Rockefeller Foundation grant helped the LC begin their preservation programme and would mark the beginning of a constant battle against time and technological obsolescence. Therefore, as the number of sound recordings at the LC increased, the recording laboratory naturally focused more of its efforts on preservation activities.

In 1963 the Recording Sound Section (RSS) was added to the MD "to administer the work of the Laboratory and the development and service of the audio collections." (Leavitt, 1972, 56) The increase in technical work relevant to preservation and duplication services undertaken by laboratory staff most likely conflicted with the MD staff's reference and cataloguing services. On the one hand, assisting researchers in the reading room and cataloguing materials would entail an in-depth knowledge of content if staff charged with these duties were to be not only successful but also efficient in their work. However, by 1963 there was a vast array of recording formats and even more and often obsolete associated playback hardware. Knowing what was pressed into the groves of a disc was not sufficient to also know how to prepare and use its requisite hardware or how to handle vulnerable materials. Considering the range of formats the MD had acquired over the years, their collection of playback hardware would have been equally extensive.[36] Any staff operating playback hardware — legacy equipment such as gramophones and contemporary equipment such as ½" and 2" tape machines — would have necessitated technical knowledge. For example, tape machines require specific calibration and alignment for reliable, accurate audio reproduction. This task alone would have been beyond the expertise of the average librarian, even a music librarian. On the other, preservation and duplication necessarily require specific technical knowledge about recording technologies, recording techniques and media formats, but these activities do not demand expertise in a recording's content. An acetate disc and all its associated playback and preservation needs do not change based on the noises it issues. Consequently, a division of labour was created based on recordings' needs.

The RSS presumably relieved pressure experienced by the MD and recording laboratory staff, but this division of media and activities based on physical format would affect the relationship between sound recordings — including recorded music — and the rest of the LC's music collections. Recording hardware was bulky and thus required a large space for operation. Due to the lack of early recording standardisations for speed, stylus size and equalisation curves, each analogue recording required a bespoke playback set up. Through a recursive process of listening and adjusting, these settings could be determined by ear, but achieving results was slow and labour-intensive. This fiddly work

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[36] Thanks to the Carnegie Foundation's 1950s grant, some of the oldest and most vulnerable formats – most notably the Archive of Folk Song's wax cylinder collection - had been transferred to new formats. Consequently, some of the most critical preservation work was already completed and had relieved the need to maintain and operate some of the more antiquated hardware.

limited researcher access to these materials. Again, Leavitt highlights this point as a unique MD venture because "the service role was, in fact, new to the Library at this juncture, since there had been virtually no listening service until 1963." (Leavitt, 1972, 56) Evidenced in log books and Engel's views on his Division's pianola, there were very limited means for researchers to listen to recordings. Leavitt does not explain how the RSS provided even rudimentary access for researchers, but at the very least, his remarks, issued as a former head of the RSS, illustrate some desire to open the collections to the public. Technical knowledge aside, storage space and conditions for recordings were such that a multitude of media shapes and sizes had to fit together on the same shelves. Sound recordings were not easy to shelve, which meant that the shape of sound recordings was a major part of caring for them. If these day-to-day activities were joined with preservation activities, then combining and delegating them to a dedicated section of the MD would be a pragmatic way to resolve the challenges they presented. However, some music, most notably mass produced popular music, had already been deemed unsuitable for the LC, but more and more music was created, distributed and purchased in this way. Beginning in the 1920s Americans entered "a world of mass culture, in which goods — including cultural goods such as sound recordings, films, and more — were produced and consumed on a scale previously unknown." (Taylor, Katz and Grajeda, 2012, 2) Part of this increase was the result of domestic audio equipment, including the wireless. Americans never had the long, government supported musical tradition common in Western Europe and thus access to live performances "was beyond the means of many Americans" due to the country's size and location of most of the population outside of urban music centres. (Katz, 2010, 58) Radio broadcasts and music recordings would have been a novel way for people to hear music, and the music industry gave them exactly what they wanted.

Any efforts by staff to regulate the flow of popular music sound recordings into the LC collections would have been difficult after 15 February 1972. From that day onwards, the Copyright Act covered sound recordings and as a result, they would at the very least be deposited with the LC. Much like the previous waves of copyright deposits, this one crested and brought the full weight of popular music recordings down on the LC staff. Not surprisingly, this event would have revived old concerns about storage, but the LC campus had already expanded into the area surrounding the Jefferson Building. The Art Deco styled Adams Building (originally called the Annex Building) was completed in 1939 and "was intended, essentially, as a functional and efficient book stack "encircled with work spaces."" (Cole, 1993, 85) However, the MD did not benefit from this expansion. In 1972

when sound recording copyright deposits were pouring into the LC, the MD was still located in the Jefferson Building. By that time all the space in the Adams Building had been allocated to other divisions, leaving the MD staff to make do the best they could.

American Folklife Center
S.1591

Folk song collecting projects were carried out by the LC staff through the 1950s and 60s, but on 20 March 1969 Senator Ralph Yarborough (1903-1996) — a member of the Committee on Labor and Public Works — introduced bill S.1591 to the Senate. This day would mark the beginning of a seven-year effort to establish a centre for folklore research and preservation. In his introduction, Yarborough acknowledged the country's varied cultural heritages and explained that American folk culture is the product of the "many people, many traditions, many lands, and customs [that] have combined to make up the distinctive American character," a layering that Yarborough likened not to "refinement of taste, but … [to] the total way of life of a people." (115 Cong. Rec., 1969, 6928-9) His distinction ran contrary to the general understanding of culture that the LC Librarians and the MD Chiefs had adopted: the best creative products their country had to offer. This understanding reflected the broad range of ethnographic work that the Archive of American Folk Song undertook since its inception because it encompassed the "complex whole … [of] knowledge, beliefs, art, music, morals, law, customs, and habits acquired by a unique society." (115 Cong. Rec., 1969, 6929) For example, Cowell's Californian project affirmed music's centrality to the archive, but also demonstrated that music, at least in the context of folk songs, was more than recordings or song sheets. It was the nexus of instruments, venues, performers and technologies. It was historically dependent and entwined with the moral and social values of people and their communities. As a result, folk music could not be documented without consideration of these aspects. Folklife or traditional culture, explained Yarborough, was under threat and needed federal support for survival. Its vulnerability resulted from its transmission — "orally or by imitation from one generation to another, often without benefit of formal instruction or of written sources" and the rise and popularity of privately manufactured, economically motivated mass media was responsible. (115 Cong. Rec., 1969, 6929) Indeed, it was the speed of technological change and the quickened pace of life associated with mass media that encouraged "rootlessness," "insecurity" and "national instability." (U.S. S. Rpt. 91-1274,1970, 3)

Testifying on behalf of S.1591, Alan Lomax supported Yarborough's views of the ills of mass media. Lomax bemoaned its "industrial approach" to production that taught people "to like songs designed to last a week, to buy disposable art, to care for the phony, to dote on the false and to chase fads." (U.S. S. Rpt. 91-1274,1970, 3) In addition, Yarborough invoked the image of America's melting pot culture, but not with any regard for it. Often equated with assimilation and sometimes called Americanization, the melting pot was a metaphor for cultural uniformity. The premise was that immigrants, regardless of their origin, could transcend their numerous heritages and adopt a national American identity. Yet the melting pot metaphor could be interpreted one of two ways. On one hand, multiculturalists viewed this scenario as oppressive. Immigrants had to give up their previous cultural identities to become American. On the other, assimilationists believed that their country's progress and status was the result of forging and maintaining one national identity. Americanness would trump any other cultural heritage and, as a result, transcend Old World grudges or prejudices. Favouring the multiculturalist perspective, Yarbourough championed the "unique folk cultures" that converged to inform the nation's "identity as a people" — a concept Yarborough never explained - but that "pluralistic society" was in danger of being "hidden behind an artificial curtain of homogeneity." (U.S. S. Rpt. 91-1274,1970, 2) What was the culprit? Mass produced, ubiquitous media. According to S.1591, folklife was the totality of peoples' lives so long as it was expressed without commercial influence or transmitted via mass media outlets. In fact, Yarborough even suggested that folklife's isolation from commercial forces made it "purer than any other type of creative expression in our society." (115 Cong. Rec., 1969, 6929) This distinction is problematic because it acknowledged, at least shallowly, the holistic cultural perspective adopted in anthropological research and integrated into the Archive of American Folk Song ethos, yet it shunned and sequestered music that typified Lomax's description. Again, an attempt to federally recognise folklife's role in American society was made at the expense of other music. S.1591 successfully passed the Senate but despite Yarborough's efforts, it failed passage in the House and as a result, did not become public law.[37]

H.R.17382

On 15 October 1974 Representative Lucien Nedzi (b.1925) introduced a comparable bill — H.R.17382 — to the House. This time, the bill, known as the American

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[37] There is no mention in congressional records about why S.1591 failed passage in the House.

Folklife Preservation Act, proposed an American Folklife Center at the LC that would be supervised by a board of trustees and be "authorized to enter into contracts, make grants and loans, and award scholarships to individuals and groups for activities including research, scholarship, training, exhibits, performances, and workshops." (U.S. H. Rpt. 93-1527, 1974, 2) Introducing H.R.17382, Nedzi, speaking five years after the first bill, used a similar justification for the measure. He cited the fragility of folk traditions in the face of mass media, cultural assets turned "victims of the pressures to conformity brought on by urbanization and technology." (120 Cong. Rec., 1974, 40141-2) While the rationale for an American Folklife Center remained the same, congressional records relating to this bill's discussion illustrate some of the reasons why some Congressmen would *not* support it and most vocal amongst the opposition was Representative Harold Gross (1899-1987). Gross most frequently cited budgetary constraints as the reason why he did not support the bill. America was heavily in debt after funding eight years of war in South East Asia, but this was merely cover for his bias. Gross questioned the necessity of funding yet another cultural organisation in light of the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities $159 million appropriations budget for 1974, but in drawing attention to its large budget, he also took the opportunity to wonder aloud why the Foundation, which was tasked with supporting humanities research, was "so little interested in this form of culture, if it may be called culture." (120 Cong. Rec., 1974, 40142) By pointing out the Foundation's lack of support, Gross doubted the legitimacy of folk culture. Furthermore, he even went as far as to suggest that folklife might be anti-American:

> I repeat, $159 million goes to the Art and Humanities which are supposed to be looking after our cultural welfare yet it cannot support this promotion. I am reminded of the statement by former President Theodore Roosevelt who said: there is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism. The one absolutely certain way of bringing this nation to ruin, of preventing all possibility of its continuing to be a nation at all, would permit it to become a tangle of squabbling nationalities. (120 Cong. Rec., 1974, 40142)

Celebrating the nation's diverse cultural heritages would presumably endorse a "hyphenated Americanism" and, as a result, destroy the image of national cohesiveness. This threat of divided allegiance would have aggravated Congressmen who were raw and sensitive from more than a decade of civil unrest. All of these instances of social and cultural unrest throughout the 1960s would not have gone unnoticed by members of Congress and would have provided the subtext of discussions about any potential folklife resource sponsored by the government. Throughout congressional debates, there are many illustrations of what is *not* folk culture (mass media), *not* representative of American values (dissent and counter-culture) and, as a result, *not* deemed worthy of preservation for

research or posterity purposes. However, neither did members of Congress articulate their understanding of "the distinct American character" championed by Yarborough and others. Who were the 'real' Americans and what was their character? Clearly the nation was deeply divided along every conceivable line — age, race, gender, sexuality and location — and it was poised to shatter. Furthermore, the understanding that folk culture as "the total way of life for people" was at odds with the expressions of cultural diversity made in 1960s America. It seemed that the American character was "the total way of life" of some people, not the entire nation. Congressional records regarding H.R.17382 do not answer these questions directly, but Gross' sarcastic tone and demeaning language suggest folklife was not part of that character. Gross' criticism is a fine example of the continued and continually widening fault line between communities in America, between 'true' Americans and the 'transgressors.' It is not possible to determine how many other Congressmen shared Gross' views.

Congressional Records relating to these bills' debates only communicate what Congressmen said in session. Considering the American Folklife Center's bumpy beginnings, conversations and opinions about its purpose and merit would have certainly taken place outside of session. Wherever these conversations took place and whatever was said, there were enough who opposed the bill and, without even making passage to the Senate, H.R.17382 was scrapped.

P.L.94-201

Seven years after the first efforts to establish a federally supported research centre, H.R.6673 — a bill substantially similar to its predecessor H.R.17382 — was approved by the House and Senate and on 2 January 1976 the President signed the bill making the American Folklife Preservation Act public law. Finally, the American Folklife Center (AFC) was established at the LC. Perhaps the third and final bill was successful due to its proximity to the national bicentennial. The 1950s and 60s had re-invigorated a heated national debate about Americanness, a debate that affected the MD at the LC and its staff, and even though a consensus was not reached, supporters of a pluralistic national identity had gained substantial ground and they would not easily let go of it. If the AFC had been rejected yet again, then it is possible that there would have been a backlash against the government in the very year it celebrated its beginnings as a democratic nation.

Motion Picture, Broadcast and Recorded Sound Division

The RSS was not the only section that was experiencing challenges with preservation, access and storage. The Motion Picture Section, which was based in the Prints and Photographs Division, was struggling with similar issues relating to film formats, rapid deterioration or, in the case of nitrate film, hazardous storage conditions. (Library of Congress, 2014e) In 1978 these two sections were combined to form the Motion Picture, Broadcast and Recorded Sound Division (MBRSD). They were merged "in part to fulfil the mission of [the 1978 American Television and Radio Archives Act] by consolidating the Library's broadcasting archival collections and programs into one unit." (Library of Congress, 2002, 81) This Act, designed to preserve American television and radio programmes, would require two previously separate sections that handled different but comparable materials to join forces. Despite variations in content:

> Each of the four media — sound recordings, motion pictures, radio, and television recordings — began with an invention that captured sounds, images, or both, converted them to signals, transformed the signals into compact material forms or transmitted them through space, and converted them back to sounds and images for presentation in a different time and place. Although prolonged storage presents unique problems for each of these media, all four share the same need for conservation and preservation if they are to survive for later generations to experience. (Library of Congress, 2002, 88)

Physicality, then, was a significant aspect of the new division's formation, but this practice of segregating music by format would have consequences beyond failing to attend to physical preservation or conservation needs. Regardless of which division acquired collections that contained sound recordings, Recorded Sound (RS), a sub-section within the MBRSD, assumed custodial responsibility — obligations for an item or collection's physical care and storage — for most recordings. The exception, however, was the AFC recordings. Beginning with the Rockefeller supported preservation activities during the 1950s, the AFC staff had ample experience with conservation and transfer practices. Consequently, RS staff had no need to relieve them of the technical or custodial responsibilities related to sound recordings, but they would share storage space. However, when other divisions transferred recordings to RS, these parts were physically and conceptually separated from the whole from which they came. Captured in an audio format, music concerts, radio broadcasts, interviews and all other manner of recorded audio were pulled out and stored away from the rest of the collections, which added another layer of complexity to access. For example, if the MD staff wanted to retrieve sound recordings, then they had to coordinate with RS staff in order to make recordings

available to researchers. RS was also responsible for cataloguing the materials they received, while the rest of the collection was catalogued by staff in other divisions. Therefore, re-connecting recordings with their parent collections was entirely dependent upon detailed bibliographic records and cooperation between divisions. Furthermore, if a division maintained bespoke finding aids or catalogues that were not integrated into the main LC catalogue, then joining up the parts would be difficult. Finally, the Copyright Act was amended again in 1978 to allow copyright claimants "to register musical works by submitting a sound recording rather than a musical score." (Library of Congress, 2002, 75) This amendment recognised the practice within popular music of composing and capturing music without notation, which was and still is the chosen means for Western art music.[38] Popular music, primarily expressed and distributed through recordings, was destined to accumulate under the control of RS.[39] (Gracyk, 1996, 1) As a result, genres of music that favoured mechanical reproduction for capture and listening were in danger of being conceptually isolated from the rest of the LC's music collections because they were physically different.

National Recording Preservation Act of 2000

In November 1999 Representative Steny Hoyer (b.1939) from Maryland read for the first time a proposal for the National Recording Preservation Act to the House of Representatives with the intention of raising awareness and garnering support for legislation enabling preservation of what he promotes as an "irreplaceable aspect of America's cultural heritage": audio recorded on perishable media. (145 Cong. Rec. 162, 1999, H12077) This Act was modelled after the National Film Preservation Act of 1988, which enabled the LC to develop and implement a preservation programme aimed at "America's disappearing film heritage," and by invoking the Film Preservation Act, Hoyer sought to use its success as momentum to push forward his proposal. (145 Cong. Rec. 162, 1999, H12077) Like the Film Preservation Act, the Recording Preservation Act establishes a Registry of significant recordings, a preservation programme, a Foundation whose responsibility is to raise private funds for preservation activities and an Advisory Board

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[38] Western art music artists have adopted sound recordings and mechanical reproduction, but their integration was slow, perhaps even reactionary, and primarily took hold as a means of distributing music rather than a tool for composing or creating it. There are notable exceptions in the classical world that did embrace recording as a composition tool. For example, the Canadian pianist Glen Gould extensively edited his recordings and in the process, raised heated debates in the classical community about musical authenticity. Popular music artists have not reciprocated by adopting notation.

[39] Gracyk's work focuses specifically on the aesthetics of rock music. However, he identifies rock as part of a broad tradition of popular music.

whose function is to advise the Librarian of Congress and assist him in carrying out duties related to the Act.

The Act was formally introduced to the House on 13 July 2000 by Hoyer and Representative William Ney (b.1954) from Ohio and debated on 25 July 2000. At the beginning of deliberations, the congressmen made a case for the bill's necessity. It invoked images of "national treasures" being lost to future generations "due to the lack of proper restoration and preservation" and to illustrate the magnitude of this loss, Peggy Bulger, the Director of the AFC at the time, presented a list of recordings that were in need of preservation. (146 Cong. Rec. 98, 2000, H6849) The list offers examples from several eras of recording media that are all at risk— wax cylinders, discs, wire recordings and tapes — and Bulger highlighted the efforts of ethnographers like Alan Lomax and the talent of artists such as Jelly Roll and Woodie Guthrie as some of the content that was in danger. (146 Cong. Rec. 98, 2000, H6850) Congressional daily records show that there was little resistance to H.R. 4846, as the proposal was named, in the House of Representatives. There was no objection to audio recordings' importance to American culture or to the need for their preservation. There was only one amendment proposed; Bill Thomas (b.1941), the Chairman of the Committee on House Administration, requested that Henry Hyde (1924-2007), the Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, waive the judiciary's right to mark up the bill. The reports of congressional committees like the House Administration and the House Judiciary are not publically available. Consequently, the reasoning behind the judiciary's decision to waive its rights is unknown. However, two letters between Thomas and Hyde, which Ney requested be included in the daily congressional record for 25 Jul 2000, demonstrates this agreement between these committees. Waiving the Committee's right expedited the bill's passage to the House and allowed it to quickly progress to the Senate. This amendment was approved and H.R. 4846 passed in the House with a voice vote on the same day that it was debated.

The message in H.R. 4846's deliberations is clear. There are audio recordings that capture the richness of American culture and these relics of national identity are in danger of being lost forever if preservation efforts are not made. Raising this possibility, Hoyer and Ney stirred the hearts of legislators and moved them to pass the bill with no further efforts: no hearings, no studies, no roll call vote. Possibly due to its 'heritage in danger' message, H.R. 4846, sailed through the House, but it was scrutinised once it arrived in the Senate. On 25 October 2000 Senate debated the bill and conversation focused exclusively

on the Registry. Senate members proposed two amendments. The first of these two, amendment No. 4341, had three sections that addressed phrasing like "in section 101, insert "and collections of sound recordings" after "recordings,"" expanding the Librarian's responsibilities to include the establishment of bylaws that "govern the operation and operation of the Board" regardless of any changes to its name or nature of the organisation and a charge to the Librarian and Board to specifically champion recordings that are "rare and collections of recordings that are in danger of being lost due to deterioration." (146 Cong. Rec. 135, 2000, S10953) The second, amendment No. 4342, was a change to the Registry's title. Both amendments were passed by voice vote on the same day it was debated in the Senate and notification regarding these changes was sent to the House. On 1 November 2000 without any explanation the House unanimously rejected the Senate's two amendments (146 CONG. REC. 142, 2000, H11739) and the very same day, the Senate withdrew them (146 CONG. REC. 135, 2000, S11501) and the original bill passed unaltered to the White House. On 9 November 2000 President Bill Clinton (b.1946) signed the bill and the National Recording Preservation Act of 2000 became Public Law 106-474. Its implementation fell to James Billington (b.1929), the thirteenth Librarian of Congress.

The National Recording Registry

What, if any, were the concerns while P.L. 106-474 was in development? According to congressional records, there were none. The House made no amendments to the bill's content; the Senate did, but they did not protest when its suggestions were rejected. When its easy passage through Congress is considered along with the lack of hearings, surveys or roll call votes, this Act, compared to the turbulent history of the National Folklife Preservation Act, is an uncontroversial piece of legislation. Remarkably, the vast majority of all discussions about the bill focused on the Registry. Subtitle A outlines the National Recording Registry that serves "the purpose of maintaining and preserving sound recordings that are culturally, historically, or aesthetically significant." (Nat. Rec. Pres. Act, 2000, §101) While Section B covers the technical and inter-disciplinary aspects of preservation, Section A invites Billington and his staff into the subjective realm of significance. Billington and subsequent Librarians of Congress "establish criteria and procedures under which sound recordings may be included in the National Recording Registry" but any potential entry must be at least ten years old for consideration and only

25 recordings are added per year.[40] (Nat. Rec. Pres. Act, 2000, §101, 114 Stat. 2085)

While the Librarian ultimately "determine[s] which sound recordings satisfy the criteria …

and select[s] such recordings for inclusion," he is not the only person who can submit

nominations. (Nat. Rec. Pres. Act, 2000, §101, 114 Stat. 2085) Each year, the public can

suggest recordings and, in theory, these suggestions will be considered for inclusion. The

specifics about the selection criteria and procedures are not publically available, but when

the first round of recordings were added in 2003, Billington hinted at what purpose the

Registry should serve:

> The challenge of reviewing more than 100 years of the history of recorded
> sound in America and selecting only 50 significant recordings for the inaugural
> recording registry was formidable. The registry was not intended by Congress
> to be another Grammy Awards or 'best of' list. Rather, Congress created the
> registry to celebrate the richness and variety of our audio legacy and to
> underscore our responsibility to assure the long-term preservation of that
> legacy so that it may be appreciated and studied by generations to come. The
> creation of the registry is one part of the legislation that charges the Library of
> Congress with developing a comprehensive national recording preservation
> program, the very first of its kind. Acknowledging the inception of this
> significant responsibility, many of my first selections for the recording registry
> recognize important firsts in the history of recording in America: technical,
> musical, and cultural achievements. (Library of Congress, 2003)

As Billington described in the LC press release, the Registry could highlight

recordings with a very broad range of content. Indeed, the first round of successful

nominations included cylinders created by Thomas Edison, a recreation of a 1895 Atlanta

Exposition speech by Booker T. Washington (1856-1915), "Who's on First" by Abbott and

Costello (1895-1974 and 1906-1959 respectively), "Respect" by Aretha Franklin (b.1942)

and "The Message" by Grand Master Flash and the Furious Five. (Library of Congress,

2013b) Perhaps the range of eligible content prevents the Registry from outwardly

functioning as a "best of" list, but Billington's charge was to select recordings of

significance. In order to present significant recordings, he had to explore and evaluate

American "technical, musical, and cultural achievements" captured as an audio recording.

The Registry may not contain the "best" recordings, but by creating a short-list, he

established a relative scale of achievement and uses it to demonstrate significance to the

American public. Despite vague selection criteria and procedures, the Registry could act

as a promotional platform for preservation activities but also for music in general. If it

were publicised well enough and used to garner support for the National Recording

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[40] To jump start the Registry, 50 recordings were added for 2002 and 2003. From 2004 onwards, 25 were
added per year. Also, yearly additions are announced at the beginning of the following year. For example,
Billington's 2003 announcement covered selections for 2002.

Preservation Program, then it could "celebrate" American recording achievements as well as "underscore" the preservation activities mandated in Subtitle B of the Act.

National Recording Preservation Plan (in theory)

Other than receiving passing mention when the bill was initially introduced to the House, the preservation programme, the Board and the National Recording Preservation Foundation get almost no attention. While not effortless, the Registry, the Board and the Foundation require the Librarian to select and promote recordings or select and organise the various stakeholders. However, the preservation programme is a much taller order and it was not given any deliberation. The National Recording Preservation Act of 2000 states:

> SEC. 111. ESTABLISHMENT OF PROGRAM BY LIBRARIAN OF
> CONGRESS
>
> a) IN GENERAL. – The Librarian shall, after consultation with the National
> Recording Preservation Board established under subtitle C, implement a
> comprehensive national sound recording preservation program, in
> conjunction with other sound recording archivists, educators and
> historians, copyright owners, recording industry representatives, and
> others involved in activities related to sound recording preservation, and
> taking into account studies conducted by the Board.
> b) CONTENTS OF PROGRAM SPECIFIED. – The program established
> under subsection (a) shall –
>> (1) coordinate activities to assure that efforts of archivists and
>> copyright owners, and others in the public and private sector, are
>> effective and complementary;
>> (2) generate public awareness of and support for these activities;
>> (3) increase accessibility of sound recordings for educational
>> purposes;
>> (4) undertake studies and investigations of sound recording
>> preservation activities as needed, including the efficacy of new
>> technologies, and recommend solutions to improve these practices;
>> and
>> (5) utilize the audiovisual conservation center of the Library of
>> Congress at Culpeper, Virginia, to ensure that preserved sound
>> recordings included in the National Recording Registry are stored
>> in a proper manner and disseminated to researchers, scholars, and
>> the public as may be appropriate in accordance with title 17,
>> United States Code, and the terms of any agreements between the
>> Librarian and persons who hold copyrights to such recordings.
>> (Nat. Rec. Pres. Act, 2000, §111, 114 Stat. 2085, 2087-2088)

Parts (1)-(5) of section 111 describe what areas the programme should cover. Individually, each is a substantial undertaking. Coordinate preservation activities in the private and public sector? Not only make the general public aware of preservation efforts but also

drum up support for them? Improve access for education? Study, and then presumably write and disseminate reports about, preservation activities? Not simply make use of the Library's Culpeper facilities but also do it in a way that does not violate copyright legislation? Any one of these parts would entail expertise, equipment, publicity, time, money and a savvy group of people to negotiate all of them. Subtitle B — the National Recording Preservation Program — is the shortest, least prescribed part of the Act, but it asks the most from the Librarian and his staff. It mandates Billington to coordinate national and collective preservation efforts, but in asking him to do these, Congress told him and his staff to be leaders in this field and for seven years, they will receive no more than $250,000 per fiscal year to fund all of the Act's facets. (Nat. Rec. Pres. Act, 2000, §132, 114 Stat. 2091)

The State of Recorded Sound Preservation in the United States

In order to deliver a comprehensive preservation plan, the Board commissioned five surveys into various challenges — copyright, access and technology — related to audio preservation in the United States.[41] Rob Ramberger, Sam Brylawski and the National Recording Preservation Board (NRPB) consolidated, analysed and presented "the web of interlocking issues that … threaten the long-term survival of [America's] sound recording history" in the 2010 publication *The State of Recorded Sound Preservation in the United States: A National Legacy At Risk in the Digital Age*. (Ramberger, et al., 2010, vii) This publication provided "supporting and statistical information where none had previously existed" so that an informed preservation plan could rise from its findings. (Ramberger, et al., 2010, vi) Billington sums up the studies' findings:

> This study tells us that major areas of America's recorded sound heritage have already been destroyed or remain inaccessible to the public. It suggests that the lack of conformity between federal and state laws may adversely affect the long-term survival of pre-1972-era sound recordings in particular. And, it warns that the continued lack of national coordination among interested parties in the public and private sectors, in addressing the challenges in preservation, professional education and public access, may not yet be arresting permanent loss of irreplaceable sound recordings in all genres. (Ramberger, et al., 2010, vii)

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[41] Publication 133: Survey of Reissues of U.S. Recordings; Publication 135: Copyright Issues Relevant to Digital Preservation and Dissemination of Pre-1972 Commercial Sound Recordings by Libraries and Archives; Publication 137: Capturing Analog Sound for Digital Preservation: Report of a Roundtable Discussion of Best Practices for Transferring Analog Discs and Tapes; Publication 144: Copyright Issues Relevant to Digital Preservation and Dissemination of Pre-1972 Unpublished Sound Recordings by Libraries and Archives; Publication 146: Protection for Pre-1972 Sound Recordings under State Law and Its Impact on Use by Nonprofit Organizations: A 10-State Analysis.

In short, sound recordings in general and their access and preservation in particular were fettered by multiple interests, conflicting legislation and lack of public awareness or support. Nonetheless *The State of Recorded Sound* was the first publication that provided the ammunition for a counter-attack against the degrading force of time. Time was the enemy of preservation because "age [was] no arbiter of what [was] endangered or what might be lost to future generations." (Ramberger, et al., 2010) Recording formats, analogue and digital, are all subject to obsolescence, deterioration or corruption; time has no regard for content. Ragtime ditties, Coolidge Foundation concerts and any other conceivable type of music were at risk. Yet time was not the only conspirator. The explosion of digital formats during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries only complicated preservation matters because the sheer volume of material meant that "few institutions [knew] the full extent of their holdings or their physical condition." (Ramberger, et al., 2010, 3) Neither did these "institutions have the facilities, playback hardware, and staff resources to preserve recordings." (Ramberger, et al., 2010, 4) Even if institutions understood the extent and condition of their recorded collections and had the proper resources to attend to vulnerable materials, copyright laws hindered or complicated a great deal of the work required to save them. *The State of Recorded Sound* unflinchingly describes this situation:

> Were copyright law followed to the letter, little audio preservation would be undertaken. Were the law strictly enforced, it would brand virtually all audio preservation as illegal. Copyright laws related to preservation are neither strictly followed nor strictly enforced. Consequently, some audio preservation is conducted … Privileges extended by copyright law to libraries and archives to copy sound recordings are restrictive and anachronistic in the face of current technologies, and create only the narrowest of circumstances in which making copies is fully permissible. (Ramberger, et al., 2010, 7)

If copyright legislation were a hydra, then its multitude of heads would be the various parties that have stakes in copyright. Musicians, recording companies, music publishers, archives, libraries, researchers and enthusiasts have their own agendas and they are not always complementary. Some want to protect intellectual property rights and earn money. Some want access, often without paying. Others want to make copies for preservation and provide access to them. As a result, *The State of Recorded Sound* targets access as a primary issue in sound recording preservation because it "has not only fostered conflict between rights holders and potential users but also puts rights holders into conflict on a new front, namely, with libraries and archives." (Ramberger, et al., 2010, 8) How will all these interests be negotiated? How will institutions lawfully preserve their recordings?

How will they be made available to users? Two years would pass before anyone had potential answers to these questions.

National Audiovisual Conservation Center

   In 1980 the MBRSD relocated from the Jefferson Building to the newly built Madison Building, but its biggest move came in 2007 when the Library of Congress National Audio-Visual Conservation Center (NAVCC) opened its doors. Located 75 miles south-west of Washington, D.C. in the pastoral outskirts of Culpepper, Virginia, the NAVCC was primarily funded by another public/private partnership when the LC secured a $10 million grant from the David and Lucile Packard Foundation. Moving image and recorded sound collections had long outgrown the LC's Washington, D.C. campus, which meant inadequate storage conditions — spread over sites in D.C., Pennsylvania, Maryland and Ohio — and the lack of adequate preservation facilities increasingly impeded all aspects of music curation.   On 15 Dec 1997 President Bill Clinton signed into law P.L. 105-144, which congressionally authorised the purchase of the former Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond. Originally designed as a Cold War emergency back-up operations centre for the Federal Bank, the mostly underground structure was perfectly suited to the conditions necessary for long-term preservation of moving image and recorded sound materials. (Library of Congress, 1998)

   The size and scope of the NAVCC was immense. 415,000 square feet were converted into 124 vaults for storage, which included below-freezing facilities for film masters and nearly 90 miles of shelving space, work areas for staff, a 200-seat film theatre and state-of-the-art listening facilities. (Mashon, 2007, 140) (Library of Congress, 2012a) From the outside, the NAVCC only hinted at the vast underground network. Recessed almost entirely into the side of Mount Pony, the crescent-shaped portion of the building housing the Conservation Laboratory is the only section visible from the outside. Intended to blend in with its surroundings, this small portion is covered with a living roof of native grasses and surrounded by trees planted during one of the largest private sector re-forestation projects on the east coast. (Library of Congress, 2012a) The NAVCC's architecture — harsh concrete transformed and softened by plants and floor-to-ceiling windows — was a marked departure from the opulent, urbane, monumental architecture of Washington, D.C. in general and the main LC campus in particular. No doubt the landscape had an impact on the NAVCC's design. Its neighbours were the Blue Ridge

Mountains, not the U.S. Capitol or Supreme Court, which meant that NAVCC's design did not need to match or outdo the grand architectural expressions found in Washington, D.C. presumably because the NAVCC was not a national monument like the Jefferson, Adams and Madison Buildings. Accessible only by car, the NAVCC was physically isolated from the main campus and this distance literally separated the MBRSD from the rest of the LC.[42] The Culpeper facilities provided the space the MBRSD desperately needed to function, but it came at the expense of community and integration with the rest of the LC Washington campus.

The National Recording Preservation Plan (in practice)

Published in 2012 — almost two years after *The State of Recorded Sound Preservation in the United States* and twelve years after the Act was established — *The Library of Congress National Recording Preservation Plan* (*The Plan*) finally offered some solutions. The length of time it took to collect data and formulate *The Plan* is testament to the complexity of America's sound recording preservation situation. In *The Plan*'s forward, Billington describes its publication as "America's first significant step toward organizing an effective national collaboration to meet the challenges of saving [the nation's] recorded sound patrimony." (Nelson-Strauss, et al., 2012, viii) These challenges fall into four categories: conservation and preservation reformatting; barriers to public access; the need for professional education; and, out dated laws that impede both preservation and access. (Nelson-Strauss, et al., 2012, ix) Technical challenges relating to media formats and reformatting are well understood, if not always easily overcome. (Hall, 2011) Indeed, the Recording Laboratory's formation marked the beginning of six decades of audio preservation work at the LC. Even though the LC staff gained a lot of experience with preservation during that time, as long as new formats and hardware entered the market, they would never stop learning and thus adapting and updating techniques. Underlying all of the four key areas is a challenge far greater than technical expertise: collaboration. The key word in his statement is "collaboration" because *The Plan* recommends that all interested parties will need to work together "to take advantage of the promise of the digital revolution and confront the daunting challenges of recorded sound preservation." (Nelson-Strauss et al., 2012, ix) There are many facets — including

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[42] Without traffic, the drive from the Jefferson Building in Washington, D.C. to the NAVCC in Culpeper takes about an hour and a half. There is a local Amtrak station in the centre of Culpeper, but scheduled stops are infrequent and designed to accommodate commuter travel from Culpeper to Washington, D.C. It is impossible to make a round-trip train journey from Washington, D.C. to Culpeper in one day.

technical, legal, financial and educational aspects — that affect every creator, user and information professional. Consequently, *The Plan* issues an all-encompassing call to arms:

> sharing of facilities and knowledge; coordination of efforts to make the best use of limited resources; agreement on standards and best practices; and cooperation at the institutional, regional, national, and international levels, and between public and private entities — all will be necessary to achieve the national-level infrastructure for preservation. (Nelson-Strauss et al., 2012, 5)

As the authors state in *The Plan*'s executive summary, "some recommendations can be achieved in the near future. Long-term initiatives may take a generation." (Nelson-Strauss et al., 2012, 1) As a recent initiative, only time will reveal how effective *The Plan*'s collaborative approach will be and what part the LC will play in its execution.

Chapter 4: Theory and Data Collection

<u>Introduction</u>

The following chapter is divided into two parts: theory and data collection. In the first section we begin with a brief historical introduction to musicology and highlight its adherent's privileging of an authoritative, fixed work as the object of their studies. Then we mark a shift in the discipline when some musicologists and social scientists called for an exploration of music's social and cultural functions. Next we introduce Howard Becker's notion of art worlds — dynamic, porous hives of activity that centre around an art object — and establish his model as this work's methodological framework. As a result, we refute Christopher Small's (1927-2011) position that music is not an object and instead, define music as objects and activities. Furthering this idea, we establish music curation as a triptych of people, tools and activities and use this to identify relevant activities undertaken in cultural heritage institutions. Then we introduce a brief history of how researchers employed narratives to study and understand human behaviour and, in doing so, we observe a move from viewing narratives as objects of study to a means of inquiry. Consequently, we adopt Clifford Geertz's (1926-2006) 'thick descriptions' as one method for investigating music curation. With this broad scope of narrative research in mind, we subscribe to a fuzzy, functional approach to defining narrative uses rather than attempt to delineate narrative boundaries. Finally, the last part of this section will relate music curation and narratives to notions of identity.

The second section of this chapter addresses data collection methods. To start, we situate the research by introducing the LC as this work's case study and explain why it is an appropriate context to investigate music curation and its effect on national identity. A major source of data for this work came from semi-structured interviews with LC staff who engage in some aspect of music curation. As a result, we discuss the recruitment process, how interview proposals were written and the kinds of questions they addressed, the interview environment, transcription methods and participant representation. In the end, these processes prompt questions about narrative 'reality,' but this chapter concludes by stating that narratives are relational and contingent expressions of meaning making.

<u>Theory</u>

<u>Musicology and the Concept of the Work</u>

Changes in Western European epistemological perspectives broadly known as the Enlightenment prompted a surge of scientific, cultural, philosophical and political activity. Beginning approximately in the mid-seventeenth century and continuing through the eighteenth century, The Enlightenment affected countries differently, yet they shared, at a very basic level, a belief that intellectual development "would dramatically improve human life." (Bristow, 2011, Introduction) As a result, advances in scientific inquiry and their perceived contributions to the human condition had significant effects on how Western societies interrogated and learned from the world around them because:

> the dramatic success of the new science in explaining the natural world …
> [transformed] philosophy (in the broad sense of the time, which includes
> natural science) from a handmaiden of theology, constrained by its purposes
> and methods, to an independent force with the power and authority to
> challenge the old and construct the new, in the realms both of theory and
> practice, on the basis of its own principles. (Bristow, 2011, Introduction)

New and improved methods of inquiry — rational, methodical, empirical — were thought to occasion newer, better knowledge. Superstition and dogma fell out of favour and instead man observed, measured, tested and classified the natural world and then used his intellect to decode and reveal nature's secrets.

Before the Enlightenment in Europe, the study of music was confined to the realm of general knowledge as part of a wider, theoretical educational programme. (Duckles et al., 2014, section I.2) Enlightenment ideals in general and commitment to expanding knowledge through investigation in particular eventually encompassed music; musicology — the scholarly study of music — developed as an independent research area in cultural centres such as Germany and France. Early musicologists explored music history, acoustics, composition and performance and their investigations embraced "respect for the use of critical standards in the treatment of evidence, the employment of objective criteria in the evaluation of sources, the creation of a coherent account involving explanation and the sharing of one's research findings with a community of informed specialists." (Duckles et al., 2014) In 1885 the Bohemian-Austrian musicologist Guido Adler (1855-1941) published 'Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft' ('The Scope, Method and Aim of Musicology') and his influential article would cement a divide between historical and systematic musicology. The former was concerned with research into music history and its corresponding epochs, genres, countries and composers; the latter was concerned

with aesthetics, musical laws, composition and performance. (Duckles et al., 2014) However, the object of their studies seems problematic. If music is an intangible entity, then from where did musicologists gather their evidence? This question speaks to heart of the dilemma about "the identity or nature of the art object in nonphysical arts, e.g. music and literature" because "unlike painting and sculpture — there is no particular physical "thing" that one can plausibly take to be the artwork itself." (Levinson, 1980, 5) The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed "a shift in the balance between composition and performance in music history." (Samson, 2001, 26) Musical scores — texts — were written using notation. Performances were live events. The relationship between composition and performance, a mixture of texts and events, was flexible, fluid and dynamic, which meant that "the text remained in a sense in search of 'completion' by the performer" and this understanding meant that one was never fully realised without the other. (Samson, 2001, 26)

Nonetheless, the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century brought about a change in this relationship. Performance lost significant ground to text and Jim Samson identifies the concept of the autonomous work as the catalyst. Intangible art objects like music suffered from a lack of empirical focus, something tangible from which investigators could gather data. It was thought that fixed expressions of musical texts not ephemeral performances "[embodied] a kind of intentional knowledge — an 'idea' that originated with the composer" and the performer's single, important task was to "unlock the mysteries, to make available the idea, to interpret" it for the audience. (Samson, 2001, 4) Yet performers miss entrances and play incorrect notes which means they are in danger of incorrectly interpreting a score. As a result, scores and any other written form of music became definitive expressions of a composer's intention and supposedly rightful objects of investigation. The concept of the musical work — autonomous, pure and aesthetically superior — as expressed in written scores took hold and "from that point onwards, the work concept swept all before it." (Samson, 2001, 26) Any diversity ascribed to eighteenth century music and performance "was reduced [in the 19th] to a monolithic Classical culture" where "alternative voices were presumed to have adopted an oppositional, counter-cultural stance, and 'popular culture' was born." (Samson, 2001, 26) Classical music, partially characterised by its use of notation and the relevant literacy skills required to read scores, became an ideal and thus the measure by which all other music was judged and valued. A high/low music dichotomy was established. The consequences of this shift in epistemological perspective, in how music was studied and how knowledge

was gleaned through its notes and structure, were such that the musical work — a thing, an object, something stable and knowable — became not only the primary focus of musicology but also the standard by which all other music was evaluated. Additionally, an emphasis on scores meant that only those individuals who could read notation could undertake so-called serious musical research. Consequently, the range of music deemed suitable and capable of enriching society was greatly reduced — indeed, focused entirely on classical music and its notational things — and the number of people who could access it, interpret it and determine its value was similarly restricted.

However, the investigative scope of musicology expanded in the latter part of the twentieth century. Researchers questioned the primacy and privileged position of 'great' works composed by 'great' European men — the canon — and explored social, phenomenological and cultural aspects of music that included composer, performer and listener perspectives. The high/low dichotomy and the primacy of an autonomous work were slowly deconstructed by so-called new musicologists. Yet the first musicologists to raise concerns about the state of their discipline did not advocate for a complete overhaul. Rather, they attempted to fix what they considered broken. In 1977 German musicologist Carl Dahlhaus (1928-1989) published *Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte* (*Foundations of Music History*), but an English translation was not available until 1983. In its opening essay 'Is History on the Decline?' he warns the "music historian who does not want to demean his subject [that he] can ill afford to overlook the current aesthetic presence of some of the works he wishes to put into an historical context." (Dahlhaus, 1983, 4) Dahlhaus may have urged music historians to pay more attention to contemporary aesthetics, but in comparing the relationship between political and musical historiographies, he deflates any historian's temptation to treat a score as one of many documents that may reconstruct an event such as a premiere or performance. (Dahlhaus, 1983, 4) Accordingly, he emphatically defends the view that "the concept 'work', and not 'event', is the cornerstone of music history" and that its materials "[reside] not in *praxis* or social action, but in *poiesis*, the creation of forms." (Dahlhaus, 1983, 4) History and aesthetics could and should be reunited, but according to Dahlhaus, the balance was by no means equal. Around the same time in America, musicologist Joseph Kerman (1924-2014) published the polemic *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology*.[43] First published in 1985 it calls attention to what he describes as a restricted scope of contemporary musicology that

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[43] *Musicology* is the name of the US publication. *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology* is the name of the UK publication.

"is perceived as dealing essentially with the factual, the documentary, the verifiable, the analysable, the positivistic." (Kerman, 2009, 12) Recalling Adler's distinction between historical and systematic studies of music, Kerman bemoans a "study of music history [that lost] touch with the aesthetic core of music." (Kerman, 2009, 19) Like Dahlhaus, he did not attempt to overturn traditional musicology, but rather he argued for the unification of its two strands and the primacy of the work.

Criticism of traditional musicological practices did not stop after Kerman's. What is missing from the earlier part of this transition is any significant application of musicology's analytical tools to popular music or any in-depth consideration of music's social or cultural functions. As previously mentioned, musicologists branded popular music trivial — or worse, an intellectually damaging force — and, therefore, not worthy of serious research. At this point, it should be mentioned that musicologists did not produce research completely devoid of social or cultural context. Comparative musicology, the precursor to ethnomusicology, had its beginnings in François-Joseph Fétis' (1784-1871) *Histoire générale de la musique*, a five-volume work published between 1869 and 1876 that discussed not only European but also Indian and Asian music. (Duckles et al., 2014) (Fétis, 1869) Partly drawn from communities outwith Western Europe, these studies required scholars to have at least a basic understanding of other cultures in order to make comparisons. In addition, musical historiographies would have captured some social and cultural aspects relevant to their objects of research: composers, epochs, genres, etc. These studies were not designed to capture that sort of information — nor were their authors keen to do it — so it is no surprise then that another group of scholars that concerned themselves with the social functions of music rejected this kind of musicological work.

In a 1991 review of Richard Middleton's *Studying Popular Music*, Susan McClary, American musicologist and author of *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality*, presents a forthright account of the state of popular music studies before she explains why Middleton's book makes a major contribution to the field. She credits much of the early research into popular music not to musicologists but to sociologists "because their discipline made them sensitive to the profound impact of pop music on social organisation in the 1960s." (McClary, 1991, 237) "Beleaguered defenders" of the Classical canon and dodgers of "signification or criticism in *any* repertory," the majority of musicologists working in the early 90s, McClary argues, "failed or refused to contribute to the study of pop music." (McClary, 1991, 237, emphasis in original) As a result, sociologists such as

Dick Hebdidge (1979), Simon Frith (1978, 1981), Lawrence Grossberg (1992) and Middleton (1990) examined the social functions of popular music and in the process, forged a new inter-disciplinary academic discipline that finally provided an investigative space for popular music. Published in this context, Middleton's work earns high praise from McClary because he not only "distilled … the most productive trends in popular music study [to date]" but he also "[disentangles] from Adorno's work those aspects … that remain tied to the historical moment of the 1930s." (McClary, 1991, 239) The German sociologist and musicologist Theodor Adorno — a member of the Marxist-influenced Frankfurt School — formidably wrote about what he considered popular music and jazz's negative effects on culture. (Adorno, 2002) McClary commends Middleton for his success in countering Adorno's contempt because "an Adornian suspicion of mediated music still permeates much pop music criticism." (McClary, 1991, 239) Studies of popular music represented by the work of Middleton and his contemporaries demonstrate an increasing interest in understanding music's functions, but they also expose a widening "chasm between [music's] medium and its social meanings." (McClary, 1991, 238)

Music Is Not (Just) an Object

In 1982 American sociologist Howard Becker proposed that "all artistic work, like human activity, involves the joint activity of a number, often a large number, of people" and used this premises to develop the notion of art worlds, "patterns of collective activity," that determine how "the work of art we eventually see or hear comes to be and continues to be." (Becker, 2008, 1) Becker argues that a sociological approach to investigating the arts which "produces … an understanding of the complexity of the cooperative networks through which art happens." To invoke this complexity, he asks readers to "think of all the activities that must be carried out *for any work of art to appear as it finally does.*" (Becker, 2008, 5 emphasis in original) Even a hypothetical list is extensive, possibly limitless, and "varies, naturally, from one medium to another": manufacturing instruments, canvases, costumes and camera film; forming and refining ideas; raising funds; fabricating tangible or choreographing intangible expressions of art; disseminating expressions; responding to and critiquing them; and a host of support activities such as cleaning, framing, operating machinery and bringing coffee. (Becker, 2008, 2-6) In Becker's art world, these activities do not cease nor are their significances diminished by a work's completion. Once finished, works often pass to art dealers for sale, to museums for exhibition, to concert halls for performance, to private collections for private appreciation. In *Musicking: The Meanings*

of Performing and Listening Christopher Small echoes Becker's event-based approach to music investigation when he claims that "music is not a thing at all but an activity, something that people do. The apparent thing "music" is a figment, an abstraction of the action." (Small, 1998, 2) To semantically demonstrate his ontological and epistemological shift from object to action, Small coins the term *musicking*. However, despite their mutual emphasis on activity, Becker and Small depart on two key points.

First, Small sets out to examine the meaning and function of musicking and uses a fictional performance of classical music to highlight how activities immediately preceding and during the performance "model, or stand as metaphor for, ideal relationships as the participants in the performance imagine them to be." (Small, 1998, 13) He firmly anchors his analysis in the performance event and treats it as the pinnacle of musicking. As a result, Small's approach is limited because he ignores activity that comes after the concert hall empties and the instruments are packed away. In comparison Becker's art worlds are busy places comprised of networks of individuals engaged in a wide range of activities performed before, during and after a work of art is created thereby accounting for the recursive lives of works of art. They are re-performed, re-exhibited and re-introduced years, sometimes centuries, after they were originally created. During these periods of re-emergence, works of art are exposed to new audiences, inspire a new set of artists and foster new activities, but Small ignores these activities in his approach.

Second, stating that "music is not a thing at all," Small rejects the role of objects in musicking. This stance is a reaction against the traditional musicological position that "the essence of music and of whatever meaning it contains is to be found in those things called musical works" and appreciation practices that "[value] … not the action of art, not the act of creating, and even less that of perceiving and responding, but the created art object itself." (Small, 1998, 4) Traditional musicology did favour the musical work. Consequently, Small's polemic does well to re-highlight event-based aspects of musicking. However, not only is his argument nearly twenty years behind the likes of Becker's, it is also severely weakened by his social deterministic stance.[44] For example, the invention and proliferation of audio recordings and playback hardware profoundly affected the ways in which music was created, performed and consumed. In turn changes in creation,

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[44] Small makes no reference to Jerome Becker in *Musicking*. Despite a couple points of departure, there is a considerable overlap in their ontological positions. It is unclear whether Small was unaware of Becker's work or whether he deliberately ignored it, but either way, its exclusion only further weakens Small's argument.

performance and listening conventions created demand for new or further specialised tools. The relationships between practices and products are not easily untangled, nor should they be. Small has "little to say about recording, broadcasting or what has become known as the music industry" — arguably the commercial side of musicking — and in doing so, he effectively sidesteps any acknowledgement of or engagement with practice/product relationships. (Small, 1998, 12) Becker chides some writers for "[treating] art as relatively autonomous, free from the kinds of organizational constraints that surround other forms of collective activity" and writing almost twenty years later, Small should be counted as one such writer. Becker strongly emphasises the place of activity in an art world, but his view is not socially deterministic. Objects — paint brushes, guitars, video cameras, ballet shoes or human vocal chords — are employed in activities but are not necessarily constrained in a subordinate role. Becker recognises the potential importance of objects and concedes that "some art worlds begin with the invention and diffusion of a technology which makes certain new art products possible." (Becker, 2008, 311) Objects affect how activities are performed. Activities, or more specifically their intended objectives, dictate which objects individuals employ. Accordingly, Becker's art worlds can account for the reflexive co-existence of objects and activities.

Becker's networks can be so extensive — imagine the credit list for any major film — that division of labour is important when creating a work of art, disseminating it and then fostering its continued existence within one or more art worlds. (Becker, 2008, 7) While it is possible, it is unlikely that this division is refined to the point that one person performs only one activity. Time and resources often do not allow for it. Instead, individuals are involved in bundles of tasks that are dictated by conventions of that art world. For example, a recording studio assistant engineer typically (although not exclusively) loads and unloads equipment, positions microphones, makes beverages and orders taxis. This division of labour is a reflection of that art world's conventions. Assistants' specific responsibilities vary from studio to studio, but it would be unusual, indeed unwise, for any assistant to offer aesthetic comments about the session's content; that is the producer's job. At a basic level, these two roles require different skills; the assistant's are mostly technical while the producer's are mostly aesthetic. As with the case of the assistant engineer and the producer, there are commonly understood, often implicit customs associated within an art world about its division of labour, the production and appreciation of its works of art and the preservation and re-presentation of those works. Considering the multitude of possible activities and individuals in any art world, Becker

suggests that "to analyze an art world we look for its characteristic kinds of workers and the bundle of tasks each one does." (Becker, 2008, 9) With such an open-ended scope for individuals and activities, how would anyone know when to stop searching for more workers and additional tasks? Where does the art world end? Becker maintains that "art worlds do not have boundaries around them," a point that only seems to compound the question, but he suggests that:

> we look for groups of people who cooperate to produce things that they, at least, call art; having found them, we look for other people who are also necessary to that production, gradually building up as complete a picture as we can of the entire cooperating network that radiates out from the work in question. (Becker, 2008, 35)

Under Becker's guidance, we are free to continue searching for more people and more activities due to the knock on effect that one bundle of activities has on another. However, he recognises that "many people's cooperation is so peripheral and relatively unimportant that we need not consider it," but also cautions against indefinitely ruling out these contributions because "what was unimportant today may be critical tomorrow." (Becker, 2008, 35) Additionally, "relatively unimportant" activities may seem unimportant due to the relative perspective of art world investigations. For one investigation, an activity may be peripheral, but to another it may fall closer to the nexus of that art world, and thus, be deemed important for another. Bundles of tasks are dynamic as are their perceived significances.

Even though objects and activities both have places within an art world, their relative significances and values will vary depending on the art world's conventions. (Becker, 2008, 305) Conventions not only demarcate the division of labour but also codify a system of aesthetic values because "every convention implies an aesthetic which makes what is conventional the standard of artistic beauty and effectiveness." (Becker, 2008, 305) Becker's art worlds "produce works of art and also give them aesthetic value," thus sustaining an internal metric by which art world participants evaluate their activities and relationships. Yet conventions and their perceived roles can and do create tension within an art world because "an attack on convention attacks the aesthetic related to it." (Becker, 2008, 305) Changes or disruptions to conventions may appear to undermine artistic worth, established by convention, because "people experience their aesthetic beliefs as natural, proper, and moral." Therefore, an attack on convention can be taken as an attack on morality. (Becker, 2008, 305) This violation of conventions and perceived morality is vividly illustrated in debates about what is art and what is not. Conventions become

conventions because critical masses of people either explicitly or implicitly agree that a set of rules or practices are the most appropriate for that point in time. They do not require absolute agreement from everyone. As a result, an attack on a convention necessarily entails at least one other convention to challenge it and its perceived status. If each art world has its own conventions, then when two or more art worlds collide, they will inevitably face challenges to their systems of valuation. Art worlds could be subject to the same challenges, but initiated from within. The most basic attack on an art world convention would question "whether particular objects or events are "really art" or whether they are craft or commercial work, or perhaps the expression of folk culture, or maybe just the embodied symptoms of a lunatic." (Becker, 2008, 36) Consequently, art worlds undergo processes of inclusion and exclusion. They expand. They contract. They overlap with other art worlds. Members, conventions, even works of art themselves enter and exist through shifting, porous, quasi-boundaries that exist only as long as the majority of art world participants deem them valid.

Music Curation

A comprehensive study of all an art world's bundles of activities would be a momentous undertaking because relationships and activities can be very far-reaching. It could conceivably take a life time, but it would never be complete. Conventions change and as a result, art worlds change. Yet Becker's model — conditional and dynamic — is an appropriate starting point when examining a portion of an art world, not as an autonomous group of people or isolated set of activities, but as bundles of people and activities that respond to other bundles of people and activities. Let us remember Becker's invitation to "think of all the activities that must be carried out *for any work of art to appear as it finally does.*" (Becker, 2008, 5, emphasis in original) His statement "as it finally does" does not imply that inquiry halts once an artist completes a work of art. The work has a life, perhaps even many lives, beyond the studio and the stage. Rather, Becker's theory suggests that there are many times it can appear and each appearance marks a temporal finality, a period of time during which it has a particular status, reception and impact on one or more art worlds. A painting finally appears each time it is viewed in a museum. A manuscript finally appears each time a reader turns its pages. A music recording finally appears each time a listener presses play. If a work is to have many lives, to finally appear over and over, then there must be mechanisms in place to support its rediscovery. Repeatedly playing an audio recording is one such method. However, what if

it were a lacquer disc and there was no hardware to play it? Eventually, it would cease to finally appear. Repeatedly performing a play would be another method. Yet what if the script were no longer in print? Like the recording, it would cease to finally appear.

Cultural institutions like museums, libraries and archives perform activities that could enable discovery and rediscovery of a broad range of materials that might be recognised as nexuses of art worlds: paintings, music, literature, performances, manuscripts or sculptures. While not the only sites of discovery, these institutions do have significant roles within art worlds regarding the preservation and re-presentation of works of art. Their staff collect them. They describe them. They create tools for discovery. They display them. They perform them. They provide access to them. They fix them when they are broken or in danger of decay. Rather than view these activities as separate processes, we should consider them a bundle of tasks because they are not carried out in isolation. Materials are selected for acquisition based on what is or is not already held in collections. They are described using standards and controlled vocabularies that should enable consistent, interoperable and reliable access. They provide access to materials based on the robustness of their physical conditions, and if they are not robust enough to handle, then they are reformatted or conserved. These are contingent relationships between activities and the people who perform them. When referring to music and its bundle of activities in cultural heritage institutions, I will use the expression "music curation." It is an umbrella term that expresses the network of not only activities but also people and the objects they use to perform them. I take inspiration from the term "digital curation," which "involves maintaining, preserving and adding value to digital … data throughout its lifecycle." (Digital Curation Centre, n.d.) The relative instability of digital formats and obsolescence of their associated hardware and software prompted a wholesale evaluation of how libraries, archives and museums captured, maintained, reformatted and re-presented digital data. This revision prompted information specialists to view digital curation as an on-going meta-process, which starts almost immediately after a digital object is created and conflates traditional conservation work and daily file management activities. (Lavoie and Dempsey, 2004, section I) One focus of this work is to investigate the art world associated with music curation, the bundle of tasks that should enable long-term access to music. Within this discussion, music curation can include but is not limited to activities such as selection, acquisition, cataloguing, programming, exhibition, data management, conservation and access as well as oversight of any of these activities. It does not preclude objects, tools or things employed in the processes related to music

curation. Therefore, music curation should be understood in this work as a triptych illustrating the people, activities and tools relevant to music's long-term care and continued access.

Narratives

Some institutions carry out music curation on a local scale, some on a national or international scale and their specific missions or remits will dictate not only what music is handled but also how it is handled, to borrow Small's phrase: how they music. But institutions do not music, people do. However, when music curation and, more specifically, the conventions that guide these activities are examined together through the lens of one of these cultural institutions, then a temporally and contextually bound narrative of that institution's art world unfolds. What might that narrative be? Stories have existed for as long as people could communicate. We tell stories. We act them out. We tell stories about stories. We use these lived and told stories to make sense of the world around us because "stories are one of the ways that we fill our world with meaning." (Clandinin and Rosiek, 2007, 35) Even though this work is concerned with bundles of human activities, I will not trace narrative's history to the beginning of human history, but will begin with its introduction to the social sciences first as an object of study and then as a means of inquiry.

A shift occurred in the late nineteenth century when social scientists applied "the methodology of the physical sciences to study human learning and interaction." (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007, 9) As was the case with most disciplines influenced by realism, the social sciences took the position that human behaviour and interaction were quantifiable phenomena that allowed them "to identify "facts" and use them to develop social laws that, like physical laws, would articulate invariant relationships among social objects." (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007, 9) The metric social scientists used shifted into an empirical arena and they studied humans and their behaviours "as if they were physical things," a stance that allegedly enabled researchers to conduct their research objectively and without bias. The researcher — seen to have no intrinsic meaning to the research situation — was distinctly separate from the researched. (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007, 9) The idea was that the researcher was bounded, static, a temporal, neutral and thus a reliable investigator:

> Through careful, systematic, and structured observations guided by uniform instrumentation that [had] high reliability and validity, coupled with skilled manipulation of potentially intervening variables, randomization, and

controlled treatment settings, researchers [could] insert sufficient distance between themselves and their subjects to make formal knowledge claims on the basis of the scientific method. (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007, 10)

Findings were considered generalisable and universally applicable because both researcher and researched were static, decontextualised entities. However, during the 1960s thoughts regarding researcher objectivity changed because "the generalizable findings from social science research appeared unhelpful, while the local knowledge of particular social scientists investigating and responding to the individual problems of humans seemed increasingly productive." (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007, 12) The objectivity social scientists had privileged began to break down with the recognition that neither the researcher nor the researched were static. Generalisations did not translate to the particulars because individual and collective existences were contextual. Understanding human thinking and cognition remained the focus of social science research, but language became their means of studying them. (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007, 12) Linguistic structure and words were objects of study that provided data that social scientists used to further research into human behaviour. Restricting research to human behaviour, they "began to treat speech as action," a vocalised behavioural expression of human cognition, and developed new methods of collecting and analysing speech. (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007, 12)

During the second half of the twentieth century, linguists such as William Labov (b.1927) developed new methodologies for studying language. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Labov and his contemporaries studied the structure and form of vernacular language to understand "the *function* of a clause in the overall narrative." (Riessman, 2004, 708, emphasis in original) Labov was concerned with the way languages changed over time and "introduced a batch of new techniques of interviewing, quantitative techniques for measuring change, and field experiments to pin down just which sounds triggered the linguistic self-hatred of New Yorkers." (Labov, 1997) Accordingly, he helped develop new research methodologies "that [relied] upon the basic techniques of linguistic analysis" and like linguistic analysis, his methodology privileged words with the hope of disclosing "the relation of formal properties to narrative function." (Labov and Waletzky, 1966, 12) Despite his focus on words and their functions, Labov was still influenced by empiricism because the variant and sometimes seemingly chaotic data he collected "[began] to take on a systematic shape that could be described with mathematics." (Labov, 1997) He translated them into numbers, which at the very least reveals his concern with qualitative objectives such as validity and reliability. In 1966 Labov and his colleague Joshua

Waletzky published a narrative analysis framework that treated narrative as "one verbal technique for recapitulating experience" and defined elements of narrative structures that echoed some traditional literary elements: the abstract, the orientation, the complicating action, the evaluation, the resolution and the coda. (Labov and Waletzky, 1966, 13, 32-41) When examined according to Labov and Waletzky's model, narratives are divided up into clauses and sections that, when reassembled, take the form of a coherent sequence of *events* with a beginning, middle and an end, an "order [that] cannot be changed without changing the inferred sequence of events in the original semantic interpretation." (Labov and Waletzky, 1966, 21) Labov and Waletzky's highly prescribed, myopic approach places great demands on narratives because, fundamentally, their method assumes that there are formal narrative elements waiting to be disclosed and that those elements are paramount to an understanding of narrative functions. Put another way, the way narratives are structured can explain how narratives work in social contexts.

This analytical model illustrates not only the shift from behaviour to language in some social science research but also a shift in its focus from the general, meta-narrative to the particular, personal narrative. Like validity and reliability, generalisation is a desirable feature of quantitative research. The aim of generalisation is to draw conclusions from one or more examples that can then be treated as universals and applied to other research contexts. Therefore, generalisation might seem at odds with Labov and Waletzky's micro-level method. Yet they focused their analysis on clauses, phrases and words as uttered by an individual, but they still "hoped that the methods developed [in their work permitted] a more reliable and objective approach." (Labov and Waletzky, 1966, 13) Reliability and objectivity combined with an inherent system of narrative elements meant that they thought they could present the "relative effectiveness and completeness of narrative structures among various sub-groups." (Labov and Waletzky, 1966, 41) They did not aim to produce grand, universal narratives, but their method was designed to produce general theories of sub-groups. Working under the assumptions that narratives had inherent elements and structures and that they were found in every narrative, Labov and Waletzky thought they could offer insight into how humans behaved.

However in 1973 American anthropologist Clifford Geertz published *The Interpretation of Cultures* and this work again altered the course of social science research. The novelty of realism and positivism in social sciences, particularly in anthropology, had worn off because "[they] no longer [had] the grandiose, all-promising scope, the infinite

versatility of apparent application, [they] once had." (Geertz, c1973, 4) The theory of thermodynamics explains some things, Geertz says, but not everything. Accordingly, he advocates a turn to particular elements of culture, to scale it down to size, and in doing so catch the smaller but still relevant parts missed by grand narratives. (Geertz, c1973, 4)

Geertz's approach is important for two reasons. First, his emphasis on the particular rather than the general marks the end of empiricism's dominance within some social sciences. Adopting the position that "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance that he has spun," Geertz identifies culture as those webs, the deceptively strong and sometimes sticky links between humans and their surroundings, and as such, their analyses are "not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning." (Geertz, c1973, 5) In this perspective, meaning for the researched is revealed, not created by the researcher. Rather than promote quantitative methods, Geertz proposes the use of thick description, not just a report of events, but a detailed inquiry of how and why events happened, their settings and their outcomes. Gathering this type of data became one aim of social anthropology and thick descriptions resembled a dense narrative, detailed stories of events and the people and things involved:

> In finished anthropological writing … this fact — what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to — is observed because most of what we need to comprehend a particular event, ritual, custom, idea, or whatever is insinuated as background information before the thing itself is directly examined. (Geertz, c1973, 9)

This approach to understanding human behaviour and the meanings it may have is deeply contextual, temporal and particular and relies on rich descriptions for data. Second, Geertz's thick descriptions not only accommodate the individual, the minority and the unusual but also potentially celebrate them. These hitherto excluded narratives need not be condoned by researchers under Geertz's theories, but the act of inclusion is, at the very least, an act of recognition, and recognition in this context can be considered an opportunity to understand the meanings these narratives have *for the researched*. This point marks the beginning of narrative as a means of investigation. Researcher and researched narratives became one of the mechanisms by which meaning was revealed and these lived and told "experiences influenced the methodologies of the [social science] disciplines" and thus the researchers who used narratives in their work "embrace[d] the power of the particular for understanding experience and [used] findings from research to inform themselves in specific places at specific times." (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007, 24) The period in which Geertz was writing *The Interpretation of Cultures* was a particularly

turbulent time in American social history. Black and Asian-Americans, Native Indians, women and gays were all struggling to add their voices to a national identity discourse, to tell their individual and collective narratives to a nation that had perhaps not lived up to its promise of equality for all. Cultures were contested. Identities were contested. The idea of an ideal American citizen and the essence of Americanness were contested. Geertz's approach opened the door to the Tower of Babel and in doing so, suggested that its inhabitants never spoke the same language to begin with.

What is a Narrative?

The ways that researchers have viewed narrative as an object of study and as a form of inquiry have undergone a great deal of change since the latter part of the twentieth century. From their roots in realism to their rise in fields such as anthropology and sociology, narratives have proven slippery to define. Labov and Waletzky imposed very strict boundaries on narratives and defined them according to these rigid criteria. As narratives burst the confines of empiricism and literary analysis, they underwent "a semantic broadening that liberated narrative not only from literary forms, but also from any kind of textual support." (Ryan, 2005, 344) Researchers examined narratives in opera, in television shows, in history books and in health care practices. Inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary use of narratives and narrative inquiry helped broaden their appeal and usefulness, but it also placed competing claims on their boundaries. Considering how many fields of research have embraced narrative as a way to make sense of the world, how then, for the purposes of this discussion, shall we view narratives?

Marie-Laurie Ryan is quick to dismiss definitions of narrative that are completely dependent upon syntax. She argues that narrative units like those described by Labov and Waletzky can only apply "to semiotic systems with clearly definable units that combine into larger linear sequences according to precise rules." (Ryan, 2007, 24) These strict conditions have led to conflicting claims for 'inherent' narrative units and Ryan warns that if no consensus can be reached in regards to the most basic narrative unit, then "there is no hope of defining the rules of their combination and of distinguishing well-formed and ill-formed sequences." (Ryan, 2007, 24) There are no correctly or incorrectly formed narratives. A great many definitions of narrative have included — in some way, shape or form — representation of an event or a sequence of events. (Ryan, 2007, 23) (Redrum, 2005, 195-6) David Redrum tentatively agrees with this feature of narratives because "at

least at an intuitive level, representing events is simply what narrative does." (Redrum, 2005, 196) Yet he does not let the matter of definition lie there. In his article "From Narrative Representation to Narrative Use: Towards the Limits of Definition," he compares a comic strip with an illustrated assembly manual to show that "a series or sequence of events is not, in and of itself, enough to provide a full definition of narrative" because instinctively people understand that a comic is narrative and an assembly manual is not. (Redrum, 2005, 198) Representation of events could be considered a necessary but not a sufficient aspect of narratives. What is missing? Redrum suggests use is the key to a workable definition of narratives:

> What guides us in making these differentiations is rather a matter of use: how texts or graphics such as these are normally used (consumed, read, acted upon, laughed at, etc) by the members of our linguistic or cultural community. The question of use is therefore intimately bound up with the question of social practices and conventions … It can therefore be argued that any definition of narrative that ignores the importance of use is giving an incomplete picture. (Redrum, 2005, 199-200)

This approach to defining and identifying narratives does not *exclude* formal or linguistic concepts such as the ones Labov and Waletzky employed. Rather it *includes* situational and functional possibilities that render "such classifications as "narrative" and "non-narrative" … provisional, inconsistent, and not mutually exclusive." (Redrum, 2005, 200) Redrum's use-based approach suggests that "there is, perhaps, a fundamental problem with the very idea of a definition of a narrative, or a hard and fast line between narrative texts and non-narrative texts" because in ascribing criteria to narratives, researchers "[foist] upon [them] an illusory self-identity and ontological fixity that narratives, as dramatic acts, do not have." (Redrum, 2005, 201) Ryan echoes Redrum's position and argues against "a definition that acts like a semantic police." (Ryan, 2005, 345) Acknowledging that there are some texts such as fairy tales that are commonly understood as narratives (Weber, 1981) while others such as computer games are contested (Aarseth, 2001), she proposes "a compromise between [narrative and non-narrative that regards] narrative as a fuzzy set defined at the centre by a solid core of properties, but accepting various degrees of membership." (Ryan, 2005, 345) Solid boundaries become fuzzy, even porous, and as a result, reflect narrative's use in a specific context to specific people. Therefore, this discussion will adopt a fuzzy, functional approach to identifying and critically analysing narrative uses rather than defining narrative's boundaries because it is best suited to an examination of Becker's dynamic, expansive art worlds.

Music Curation Narratives and Notions of Identity

If narratives provide windows into social practices, human experiences and meaning making, then what particular aspects of these processes are relevant here? As previously mentioned, cultural heritage institutions are engaged in preserving and re-representing cultural assets. As Becker explained, these assets are the nexus of one or more art worlds that foster a collection of conventions for a period of time. In this discussion, I will place music, one of many cultural assets, at the heart of an art world. As Becker recommends, I identified a group of people who engage in a bundle of music related activities — music curators — as the focus of an investigation into a part of that art world. In this context, narratives about music curation can not only provide thick descriptions of how and why these activities are performed in a given situation at a particular time but also help disclose the meanings art world participants ascribe to these activities. Put another way, music curation narratives, as told by music curators, "[create] and [transmit] cultural traditions, and [build] the values and beliefs that define cultural identities." (Ryan, 2005, 345) Expressions of cultural identities are based on implicit or explicit value systems and may be affected by issues ranging from resource allocation to aesthetic preference. In an organisational context such as the LC, these narratives "are not only told in professional and training contexts as exemplars for novices but also to entertain, to express rapport and solidarity, to ratify group membership, to convey collective values and a sense of history and progress." (Cortazzi, 2001, 387) However, these narrative uses have dual roles in this context. They can illuminate organisational membership and collective values, but as some music curators are charged with preserving and re-presenting cultural assets on behalf of a nation, music curation narratives can also be viewed as expressions of national identity.

The LC's link with Congress, one that has existed since its very inception, makes it a politicised institution and, as its history demonstrates, its staff, its collections and its projects have been subject to political influence, persuasion and, at times, bullying. The LC's version of American history, as represented by its collections and expressed through its public and professional services, bears the marks of countless politicians, Librarians, staff and interested parties that have employed the nation's cultural assets "in forming the conception of national community" and national identity. (Poole, 2003, 272) The LC may aim to collect and preserve the nation's cultural heritage — indeed, it may even succeed — but the nation's cultural heritage is not necessarily what it re-presents back to the nation.

Put another way, what enters through the goods entrance is not automatically what exits onto First Ave SE. History and its associated cultural heritage assets invoke a sense of national identity that "provides us with a land in which we are home, a history which is ours, and a privileged access to a vast heritage of culture and creativity." (Poole, 2003, 272) However, Henry Giroux warns that in the case of the United States "questions of national identity … take on a mythic quality" and are shaped by "a discourse that too neatly links nation, culture, and citizenship in a seamless and unproblematic unity." (Giroux, 1995, 45-6) Yet in reality, American history has demonstrated that national constructions of identity are neither seamless nor unproblematic and considering this, Giroux ventures further in his criticism:

> behind the social imaginary that informs this notion of national identity is a narrowly defined notion of history that provides a defence of the narratives of imperial power and dominant culture and legitimates an intensely narrow and bigoted notion of what it means to be American. (Giroux, 1995, 46)

Specifically, Giroux is reacting against the concept of the American melting pot, a homogenous cultural space "where national identity is structured through a notion of citizenship and patriotism that subordinates ethnic, racial, and cultural difference to the assimilating logic of common culture." (Giroux, 1995, 46) The melting pot of Americanness is not a stew of cultures, but rather a cauldron where difference and plurality are smelted and reformed into one, universal national identity. If Giroux's criticisms are legitimate, which this work assumes they are, then "the social imaginary that informs this notion of national identity" endangers the LC's ability to present anything other than a politicised national identity. (Giroux, 1995, 46) Given America's ambiguous and often conflicting notions of national identity, it is critical to investigate what the LC contributes to these ideas and how, in particular, its music curation narratives shape those contributions. Music curators tell stories about the activities they perform and these stories say as much about their understandings of their institutional identities as they do about their understandings of the national identity they project. Linking these two uses is the need to "reproduce the institution … by the creation and maintenance of an institutional memory" because "just as individuals maintain life stories, institutions also have stories which represent who 'We' are." (Linde, 2005, 243) In this case, 'We' are music curators as well as the nation.

Data Collection

Situating the Research

As the largest library in the world with one of the biggest music collections, the LC is well situated to provide insight into large-scale music curation. Despite the fact that the LC has never been recognised as the official national library of the United States, it operates at a national and an international level, has the scope and mission of a national library and as such, claims to act on behalf of the nation:

> The Library's mission is to support the Congress in fulfilling its constitutional duties and to further the progress of knowledge and creativity for the benefit of the American people. (Library of Congress, 2013a)

Housing one of the largest music collections, the LC should offer a broad range of music formats and genres. Compared to when America broke away from Great Britain, the LC is almost as old as the nation. Compared to some European libraries, the LC is a relatively new institution. Whether it is considered new or old, its music curation began in earnest at the turn of the twentieth century, a starting point that renders these particular activities comparatively new. The MD Chiefs, such as Sonneck and Engel, acquired materials at such a frenetic pace that the LC's music collections grew and grew and grew, but not evenly and not in all areas. Therefore, its current music curation bears examination in relation to its status as a cultural heritage institution "for the benefit of the American people" and one that purportedly represents them.

In addition, the LC is enmeshed in the greater library and information management community. When Spofford called ten expert witnesses to the 1898 Congressional hearing, he opened the LC's creaking door to other librarians and since then, the LC, and more specifically, its practices, have affected libraries and librarians across the nation and the world. *Library of Congress Subject Headings* (*LCSH*) are used, sometimes with much difficulty, by academic and federal agencies. The *MARC* bibliographic format, created and maintained by the LC since the 1960s, revolutionised interoperable cataloguing and remains the bibliographic standard to this day. Even *The Plan* demonstrates how the LC has been integrated into the very fabric of information management and preservation. As a result, its activities, its projects, its profile, its staff and its collections can be considered examples to other libraries. Simply put, the LC is influential and, as such, it will impact not only what materials other libraries care for but also how and why they care for them. Music curation at the LC is the case study at the heart of this work and the results will contribute to a broader understanding of the relationships between music curation and national representation.

In order to undertake this work, I have called upon LC policies, catalogues, finding aids, brochures, annual reports, congressional records, LC-related legislation and government publications to build a picture of what its music curation looks like on paper. This strand of the research explored the administrative and political history of music at the LC and produced an image of how social and political factors shaped its music curation over the last two hundred years. However, these sources do not provide any insight into *why* music curation happens *the way it actually happens*. This is achieved by exploring the environment of music curation, its bundle of activities and the people who perform them. Obtaining this data necessarily entailed visiting the LC, spending time with some of its staff and gaining insight into their operations. Accordingly, I undertook a three-month Kluge Center Fellowship at the LC. Rather than consult the LC's voluminous collections, I made people and their activities the object of my study. Data collection methods suitable for human subjects and their network of customs, conventions and artefacts — their culture — were borrowed from anthropology and other social sciences: generating field notes, having informal conversations and conducting formal interviews. As a result, this strand of the research produced results akin to Becker's thick descriptions.
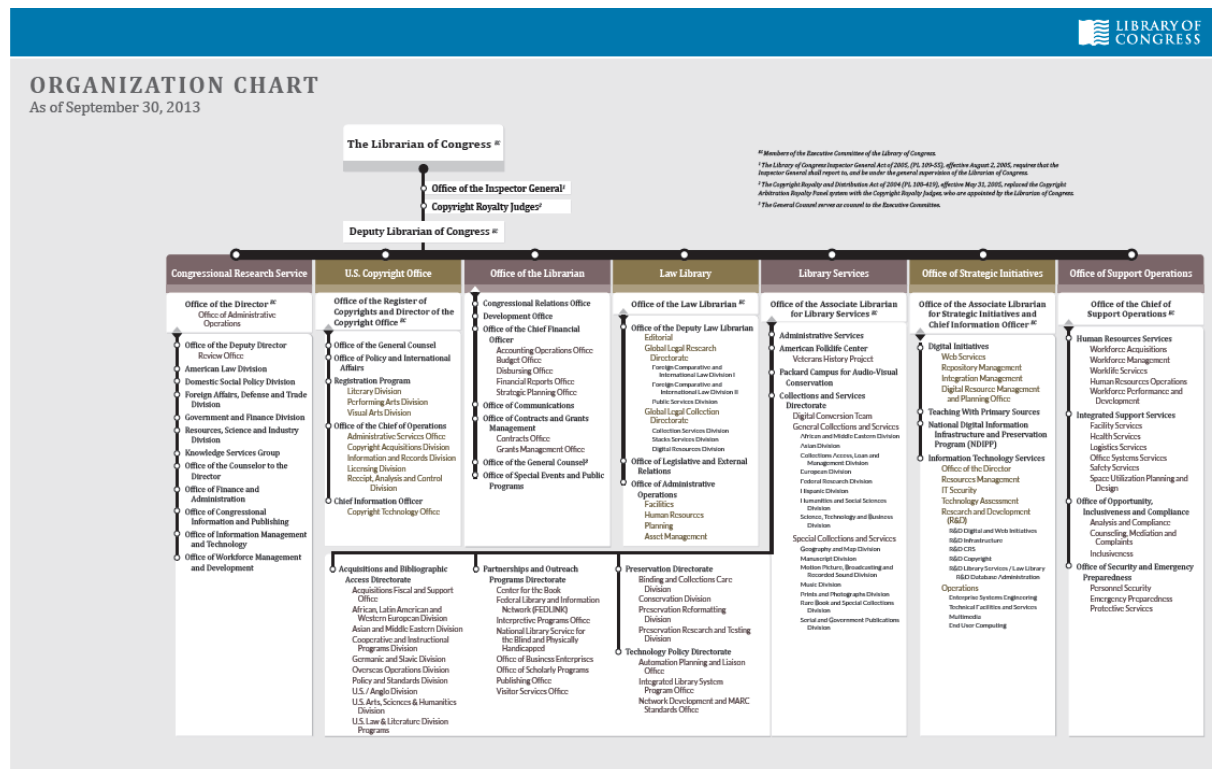
Recruitment

I began my first day at the LC with one staff name. Before I could even meet with my contact, I was already overwhelmed by the magnitude of the LC's scope and size. I explored the warren of corridors, underground tunnels and reading rooms. I learned how to avoid the queues of visitors waiting to enter the public areas of the Library. I found out the hard way that some of the armed U.S. Capitol police who guard the entrances are friendlier than others. I sampled coffee from every kiosk, café and canteen in the three-building complex. I was getting a sense of the arguably more mundane aspects of life within the LC's walls that would help me identify relevant staff and persuade them to participate in my research. Armed with a brief introductory email and the staff directory, I plugged my research and asked for opportunities to meet in person and further explain. Once I became more familiar with the MD, the AFC and RS's personnel structures, I first approached division Chiefs and then their staff with the hope of linking their activities — within a division and across divisions — and building up an image of their art world. As expected, the directory provided names, job titles and division affiliations, but it did not explain what activities they undertook nor did it explain how or why those activities were carried out. It gave me a means to contact individuals, but that was all. Consequently, this

approach was only the first of many stepping stones to an understanding of how and why contemporary music curation happens at the LC.

I undertook a four-stage data collection process of increasing formality. In the first stage, I arranged informal meetings with each individual who replied to my initial emails and expressed an interest. These meetings took place over many cups of coffee consumed in offices, the Madison building cafeteria or in local cafes. As they were completely off the record, the decision to talk in casual or familiar settings reflected the most informal stage of the research. Precursors to securing full participation, these meetings were designed to help me understand what people did as part of their jobs. For example, almost everyone had 'specialist' as part of their titles — Music Specialist, Folklife Specialist, Technical Specialist, Reference Specialist — but that qualifier only made their duties more enigmatic. Generous with their time at such an early stage, staff spent roughly an hour with me to demystify their titles, clarify division organisational structures, explain some of the tasks they performed, identify which individuals, divisions or organisations they worked with and introduce some of the projects they were involved in. My status as a Kluge Fellow may have affected my response rate because Fellows are granted privileges beyond what the average researcher enjoys. We had dedicated offices. We could order most materials and have them delivered to our work spaces. They always seemed to arrive very quickly. In fact, Kluge Center staff encouraged us to tell reference staff we were Fellows. It appeared to have a favourable impact when I did. As a result, a sense of obligation may have been part of the reason why some staff responded, but after these initial meetings, I had a good idea who replied out of duty and who replied out of interest. This point illustrates a selection bias within this work. As staff were not coerced or mandated to give me an interview or indeed even to reply to my emails, those who did agree to meet were the ones who had the time to accommodate my research, who were interested in sharing their experiences or who felt comfortable doing so. From this stage onwards, I would mostly engage with staff inclined towards my research. I initiated the selection process and provided opportunities to participate, but ultimately they picked me.

The impact of these initial meetings on my research was significant. Without staff clarifications, stories, concerns, hopes and in one exceptional case, hostilities, I would have

spent three months literally and metaphorically lost in the network of the LC's colour coded hallways, stairwells and tunnels. The LC website offers visitors and researchers an

(Library of Congress, 2014a)

organisational chart of divisions and directorates, but it only superficially suggests how the boxes and lines on the chart interact and it offers no information about who might be encountered along the way. Also the staff directory is only accessible on-site and even then access is limited to staff and, luckily for me, Fellows. Therefore, public interaction with the LC staff is confined to physically visiting a reading room or virtually through its *Ask A Librarian* service, a remote reference inquiry system available by email, telephone or post. Finally, out of the three music-related divisions, the AFC is the only one that supplies a staff directory on their website. (Library of Congress, 2014t) These three points conjure a virtually faceless image of music curation staff. Without staff help, which began with a single name, it would have been very difficult to 'find' anyone. However, when I did locate them, their reactions were a mix of surprise, curiosity and intrigue. They were surprised because the vast majority of questions they get asked are about the materials they look after, not the jobs they undertake. They were then curious to know why I was asking and finally they were intrigued by the potential results of my work. Staff were there and, for the most part, willing, but they were obscured behind a marble clad, gilded monolith.

Proposals and Interviews

During these initial meetings, I took mental note of their activities and gauged their willingness to be interviewed. If they appeared receptive — a quality I determined by their body language, the quality of the questions they asked about me or the research project and finally their overall responsiveness to the research topic — then I asked their permission to send them an interview proposal. Interview proposals were the second stage of the data collection process. Inspired by initial meetings, they were bespoke sets of questions that were formed around an activity raised by the member of staff. As such they focused on one task and the various steps that could be taken throughout. When I arrived at the LC, my research objective was to assess the impact technologies had on music curation. I had adopted a Heideggerian notion of technology that included both tools and the conventions for using them and I attempted to use this notion to explore how tools, conventions and objectives related in the context of the LC. Therefore, proposals were designed to explore potential relationships between the different facets of music curation. For example, every proposal was divided into three sections: what, why and how. The first section established what an activity was, the second section explored why the activity was undertaken and the final section discussed how and with whom these activities were executed. Fundamentally, they addressed process or event-based aspects of music curation and were constructed using open ended questions presented in a semi-structured format. In order to ensure interviews covered topics relevant to my research, I had to guide the scope of proposals. Therefore, an entirely unstructured or entirely structured interview format would have been inappropriate for this research. However, I did not want to unnecessarily constrain the line of inquiry and exclude tangential but potentially relevant responses. I prepared proposals not only to solidify interview topics but also to provide potential participants with questions that they could either approve or reject because I required participant consent at every stage of the data collection process. If, for any reason, they were not comfortable with the questions, then the proposal would provide an opportunity to suggest alternatives or reject the interview entirely. While I was writing some proposals, I was still having informal meetings. Often one outcome of these initial meetings was a suggested list of other staff that I should speak to. Over the course of my first two months, my network quickly grew in a tree branch fashion. One name led to three names. Those three led to ten others. Therefore, this overlap meant that conducting initial meetings and writing proposals influenced each other. Conversations with one person would spark ideas for another's proposal. Writing concise, well-formed proposals clarified what I asked in initial meetings. I gladly drank coffee, ate cake and spoke with about twenty-five members of staff from the MD, the AFC, RS, the Policy and Standards Division and the Office for

Strategic Initiatives. Not every meeting ended with a proposal, but they all helped inform and guide the course of the research.

Only once a member of staff approved the proposal could the data collection process move to its third stage: interviews. Participants were allowed to choose where and when interviews took place, but the bulk was conducted in a spare office in the Kluge Center simply because it had a door and thus a quiet space to speak without interruption. There were a couple of exceptions. These other interviews were partially or entirely conducted in the participant's office so that we had access to resources that illustrated what tools might be used to undertake an activity. My decision to let participants chose the location was influenced by one factor: a participant's confidence in openly speaking about LC operations. I was aware that my desire to discuss not only how by also why activities were done the way they were done could potentially put participants into awkward or difficult positions. Although my participants were legal adults and none were classed as vulnerable, I still had to be mindful of the fact that their participation in my research could affect their work environments and that they would remain at the LC after I left. There were risks involved with my work and in order to mitigate them, I allowed participants to choose.

This caution was taken for good reason. Early in 1992 library police detective Deborah Maceda began reporting what she considered missing or mutilated materials she encountered on her rounds of the LC corridors and stacks. Memos to her supervisors included concerns regarding the LC's procedures for addressing crime scenes and suggestions for security improvement. (Gleick and August, 1995, 52) According to Maceda, she was instructed to desist, but rather than stop, she increased her efforts and "sought help up the line, writing a letter to Senator Connie Mack." (Gleick and August, 1995, 52) After Mack received the letter, the course of events is not entirely clear, but they suggest the need for caution when critically examining or criticising LC protocol. Maceda was removed from her post and parked at a desk in the Law Library at the LC. Mack reprimanded Billington for not alerting the FBI and the U.S. Attorney's Office because in the early 1990s there had been several security issues that included the theft of two maps by book dealer Fitzhugh Lee Opie. (Associated Press, 1992) Internal investigations were conducted into potential security lapses. (Library of Congress, 1995) On behalf of the General Accounting Office at the LC, consulting firm Booz-Allen & Hamilton conducted an extensive management review and included a collections security case study. (Booz-

Allen & Hamilton, 1996) Published in 1996 the review suggested that findings from a 1989 Arthur Young study that highlighted "inconsistent performance of duties, poor morale, and lack of confidence in management as symptoms of problems in the Library police force" had not been implemented quickly enough and may have contributed to the rash of thefts. (Booz-Allen & Hamilton, 1996, Collections Security Case Study, 2, 4) Around the same time Maceda circulated her first round of memos, Billington closed public access to the LC stacks due to the increasing reports of theft and mutilation. (Crowley, 1992) Her concerns seemingly undermined Billington's efforts to control the problem and the ensuing investigations may have raised doubts about his effectiveness. However, the management review noted that the Assistant Inspector General of Investigation "concluded that "our investigation determined that Ms Maceda's complaints about significant ongoing theft and mutilation of Library collection material were exaggerated and generally unsubstantiated." (Booz-Allen & Hamilton, 1996, Collections Security Case Study, 3, footnote 1) Regardless of whether Maceda's claims were true or not, there were some security concerns about the LC materials and "further security breaches might have been considered too embarrassing for the library." (Gleick and August, 1995, 52)

The lesson to be learned from Maceda's case is that the LC management do not harbour perceived whistle blowers and do not react kindly when internal criticisms are aired externally. While my interview questions did not directly ask staff if there were times they had bent or broken protocol or when guidance was not specific enough to inform their decisions, I did offer them an opportunity to speak frankly. Questions were open-ended because I did not wish to unnecessarily lead participants' responses, but in answering questions, particularly those about why an activity might happen, participants were free to respond however they saw fit. In cases where sensitive matters were raised during interviews, I wanted to give participants the option to meet somewhere they would feel comfortable and safe talking to me.

Each interview was audio recorded, which meant that I was able to spend more time listening and engaging with responses than furiously writing down replies. This format meant that interviews were formal in the sense that they were recorded and accompanied by consent and terms of use agreements, but they took a conversational style. Over the course of a one hour, one-on-one interview, we addressed questions from the proposal, but as conversations are wont to drift, we sometimes touched on topics or told

stories that fell outwith the original guide. This tangential material was supplied by me and participants and often manifested itself as examples, anecdotes or personal stories. So long as they were relevant, I let them happen because I was interested in hearing their narratives as they told them on that day and in that way.

Transcription and Representation of Participants

In the final stage of the data collection process, I transcribed each interview. I left run-on sentences, incomplete sentences and any conflicting information, but removed stutters such as "you know," "um," and "er" for ease of reading. My aim was to represent as accurately as possible what was said during each interview because I required the participant to approve the transcript. Editing at this stage would not have allowed them full access to the original interview material. In most cases, about a month passed between an interview and when I delivered the transcript. Upon reflection, participants may have decided that, for whatever reason, a comment or an entire response was inappropriate. When I sent transcripts, I advised participants to edit if they felt it necessary and to do it as they saw fit. Again, due to potential sensitivity concerns, I gave participants one final opportunity to approve their contributions and if they made changes, then I did not require explanations as to why they made them. These were their narratives and I left it up to them to decide how they wanted to be represented in the transcripts. Some participants made no changes. Some made minor corrections that addressed incorrect call numbers or expanded acronyms for projects or working groups. One transcript underwent substantial editing, but these edits typically clarified and expanded answers rather than deleted them. Once they sent transcripts back to me, I was free to incorporate their responses into my work. Finally, it is a breach of data terms of use to include un-anonymised, raw transcripts with this work and redacting each transcript rendered the data almost unintelligible. Nonetheless, one anonymised transcript is included in the appendix.

The final outcome of the data collection process was a shift in research objective. Due to the reflexive and recursive nature of my methodology, I was constantly exchanging information with staff, learning from and responding to my environment and as a result, continually reassessing my research objective. It was not until the transcription phase that I began to hear underlying narratives about identity. It was at this point that the scope not of the research trip (that was already finished) but that of the entire work expanded. Understanding the contemporary intricacies of the LC's music curation would be

enlightening, but as an outsider whose stay was relatively short, I would never fully understand every particular of every part of music curation and therefore, it was never one of my goals. Rather, I aimed to conduct as many interviews as possible with staff working in all three music-related divisions. In the end, I collected data from eight participants and considered that a success. Once I had a chance to listen to their responses — over and over and with increasing amounts of focus — I started to connect their contributions to broader, institutional level missions and objectives. Technology, tools and conventions were still part of the research, but participant responses pointed towards a more urgent question: in what way do music curation narratives influence the presentation of national identity?

Narrative and 'Reality'

One final consideration for using narratives to explore human meaning making is whether they can depict the 'reality' or 'truth' of an event. Put another way, what is the relationship between narrative and history and can the former represent the latter? This question has occupied authors such as Louis O. Mink, Hayden White, David Carr and Jerome Bruner. First published in 1978, Mink's "Narrative Form as a Cognitive Instrument" explores the relationship between history and fiction and observes that "narrative form in history, as in fiction, is an artifice, the product of individual imagination." (Mink, 2001, 218) Mink employs an understanding of narrative unity that requires narratives to have a beginning, middle, and an end — a feature of narrative form or structure — but life rarely, if ever, has such clear markers:[45]

> Yet at the same time it is accepted as claiming truth — that is, as representing a real ensemble of interrelationships in past actuality. Nor can we say that narrative form is like a hypothesis in science, which is the product of individual imagination but once suggested leads to research that can confirm or disconfirm it … so we have a second dilemma about historical narrative: as historical it claims to represent, through its form, part of the real complexity of the past, but as narrative it is a product of imagination construction, which cannot defend its claim to truth by any accepted procedure of argument or authentication. (Mink, 2001, 218-9)

Narratives are an acceptable way of expressing history, according to Mink, but they are constructed with imagination and, therefore, not a substitute for or an 'accurate' representation of 'real' events because they cannot be subjected to verification procedures. In "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," Hayden White argues a

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[45] Life does have a beginning (birth), a middle (everything between birth and death) and an end (death), but Mink's concern is with smaller, sub-narratives or complex narratives found in the 'middle' section. Here, narratives are less likely to demonstrate precise start and end points.

similar point when he observes that "narrative becomes a *problem* only when we wish to give *real* events the *form* of story. It is because real events do not offer themselves as stories that their narrativization is so difficult." (White, 1980, 8, emphasis in original) He too finds fault with the practice of supposedly imposing narrative form on historiographies because "real events should not speak, should not tell themselves. Real events should simply be." (White, 1980, 8) Mink and White's take on the relationship between history and fiction relies upon the assumption that history, and more specifically its 'evidence,' is somehow detached from human construction. History books are always written from someone's perspective as is demonstrated in controversy over what Japanese history lessons and text books leave out. (Oi, 2013) In war, one side tends to win, while the other tends to lose. As a result, accounts of how and why related events happened will differ depending on which side tells it. This also applies to so-called primary sources such as traditionally conceived archival materials, which are often used as 'evidence' of an event. History books and records do not somehow magically absorb events after they happened. *Someone* wrote them down, which means these materials were subject to contextual factors and recorded according to formats not all that different from the ones they attribute to narratives. Consequently, Mink and White's positions demonstrate a naivety that is perhaps counter-productive for their field, but certainly for this work.

David Carr offers a different approach in his argument against a "radical discontinuity between narrative and reality." (Carr, 1986, 117) Refuting both Mink and White's claims, Carr adopts a phenomenological approach and takes issue with their assertions that "narrative is a cultural, literary artefact at odds with the real." (Carr, 1986, 120) Arguing for continuity, he attacks what he calls discontinuity theory, as presented by the likes of Mink and White, for misunderstanding human reality, a state that Carr does not view as separate from narrative reality, because "the self is itself an interplay of roles … clearly the individual is constituted in interpersonal transaction as well as intrapersonal reflection." (Carr, 1986, 126) Finally, Jerome Bruner offers some insight on the matter. In his article "The Narrative Construction of Reality," he too combats empiricist and rationalist Enlightenment traditions that "centered principally on how man achieves a "true" knowledge of the world." (Bruner, 1991, 1) This approach supposedly generates concepts "by logical and scientific procedures that can be weeded out by falsification," but he argues that narratives should not be evaluated using the same criteria. (Bruner, 1991, 4) He maintains that narratives should not be assessed as either true or false because they are not autonomous entities. They are contextual and subjective and, as such, narratives are

positioned along a continuum of verisimilitude that renders them "a version of reality whose acceptability is governed by convention and "narrative necessity" rather than by empirical and logical requiredness." (Bruner, 1991, 4) This work takes the position that narratives are expressions of meaning making, but they are relational and contingent. Therefore, "each of us has direct access to only one realm of meaning: our own." (Polkinghorne, 1988, 7) All narratives, regardless of their content, are constructed by humans and, as a result, there is no absolute narrative 'truth,' only what is believed by the individual interpreting the narrative.

Chapter 5: Findings and Analysis

<u>Introduction</u>

This chapter presents the findings from and analysis of eight semi-structured interviews. Following the example of Coralie McCormick, who also uses narrative theory to analyse interview data, each transcript was distilled into an interpretive story. On the one hand, writing the stories was an act of analysis that exposed sub-narratives about identity and image. On the other, the stories are a presentation format, designed to anonymise participants' identities as well as validate and integrate both interviewee and interviewer voices. Then each story is followed by further critical analysis of identity sub-narratives that raise questions about bias, who staff perceive as the LC's audience, the role of the library and librarian in an increasingly digital information environment, the place of propriety in public programming decisions, and how to determine when a task or product is 'good enough.'

<u>Interpretive Stories</u>

The remainder of this chapter introduces interview data collected from the LC staff engaged in music curation. Analysed data is presented in the form of interpretive stories. Faced with lengthy transcripts and employing narrative theory to underpin my work, I adopted the approach Coralie McCormack uses to transform reams of interview data into meaningful stories. (McCormack, 2000a) (McCormack, 2000b) The process has two phases: analysis and composition. First, she begins by "looking at transcripts through multiple lenses" that are not only appropriate for her research objectives but also reflect "the dimensions people use to construct and reconstruct their identity and to give meaning to their lives." (McCormack, 2000a, 282) She employs several lenses because in her work "no one lens … reveal[s] both the individuality and the complexity of a life." (McCormack, 2000a, 295) In the second phase, McCormack considers the results of these multiple readings and uses them to construct interpretive stories around her central theme: leisure. (McCormack, 2000b, 298) Presenting findings with interpretive stories, McCormack argues, is "an alternative mode of representation of interview data" because it avoids potential pitfalls associated with some social research methods that "[break the text] into segments (codes) that can be recombined into themes." (McCormack, 2000b, 312) Echoing McCormack's thoughts, Catherine Kohler Riessman describes several approaches

to narrative analysis that "fracture these texts in the service of interpretation and generalization by taking bits and pieces, snippets of a response edited out of context." (Riessman, 2002, 219) One of the challenges of these methods is that they "eliminate the sequential and structural features that characterize narrative accounts." (Riessman, 2002, 219) Coding — a process of selecting and marking data according to designated categories — risks imposing a researcher's desired themes too early in the analysis process and thus predetermining results. Additionally, when codes or "themes are traced across stories, across people, and across contexts, either to allow larger patterns to emerge (as in grounded theory) or to test a predetermined hypothesis (as in content analysis)," they risk stripping all the narratives of these features. (McCormack, 2000b, 312) Aiming to preserve as much temporal, contextual and interactional content as possible, this work did not use coding as an analytical method. Nor were any narratives compared to each other during analysis because interview questions were role dependent. Every interview addressed a different role and, therefore, was a bespoke experience that produced a unique narrative. Consequently, each transcript was afforded its own series of recursive readings and composition considerations described by McCormack.

Interpretive stories have the advantage of conveying both content and context, which are critical for this work's use of interview data. Due to their semi-structured framework, the interviews were occasions for negotiation and dialogue. Consequently, all three were vital to the interpretive stories' constructions. In addition, interpretive stories were chosen due to their abilities to place the researcher — me — clearly within the text. McCormack warns "that when we as researchers write stories, we do not write our selves out of the story by including only our voice as disembodied reporter of another's experience." (McCormack, 2000b, 312) A measure of objectivity is an expected part of research, but none of its outputs or publications are completely free from the presence of the author. Carl Rhodes recognises this tension when he addresses his role in producing what read as first-person texts from interview data and describes his dilemma in the following way:

> I am too deeply implicated in [the text]. My implication is not as a character in the story nor as someone who lived through it, but rather, the production of the text resulted from an interview interaction arranged by me. It was generated as a result of my research interests in people's experiences with organizational change, it was produced (as a written text) by me, and it is included here for you to read because I included it. I am, therefore, in the text, but rather than being explicit, I am hidden. I am like a ghost. (Rhodes, 2000, 511)

Rhodes makes his case for "ghostwriting" — a process comparable to McCormack's interpretive stories composition — "from the position that research is a form of textual practice and that researchers are themselves textual practitioners" because he names reflexivity as an integral part of "accepting the constructive role of the researcher in writing about others." (Rhodes, 2000, 513-4) Narratives, in the case of Rhodes' and this work, are co-constructed in "a dialogic process that produces an output informed by the mixed voices of the interviewer and the participant." (Rhodes, 2000, 516) Through the use of appropriate literary forms, Rhodes draws attention to the narrative co-construction, but he does not write himself into the body of the text. This approach, Rhodes argues, differs from other methods of use in that it does not present a full transcript or address block excerpts within an analytical reading. Neither does this work, but our reasons for choosing interpretive stories (or ghostwriting) differ. His aim is to escape the sanitising effect of transcription and its misleading tendency "to show a reflection of actual events" that hides "the power of the researcher to shape and construct meaning out of interviews." (Rhodes, 2000, 519) In the case of this work, interviews were 'actual' events. Transcriptions were 'actual' events, but the interpretive stories are not 'actual' in the positivistic sense. They were composed with several sources of data that were captured or composed at different times and are meant to "reflect a story and a way of telling a story based on the unique network of experiences and contexts of both the researcher and the researched." (Rhodes, 2000, 521) Suited to the narrative theoretical framework this work adopts, interpretive stories simultaneously reinvest interviews with context and gives voice to all participants.

There were four considerations when writing the interpretive stories. First, interview transcripts had to be condensed for dissemination. Each interview lasted roughly an hour and transcripts ranged from fifteen to twenty-five pages long. Consequently, each transcript underwent a recursive series of readings. Each reading highlighted implicit, sub-narratives that addressed notions of identity, community and image. The result of this process was that the often scattered fragments of these sub-narratives were gathered together, but they were not easily read in this raw state. They were decontextualised snippets of conversations in need of support. This need led to the second consideration. These fragments were given a framework constructed from a summary of relevant transcript sections or from post-interview field notes. For example, if a story needed a process quickly explained, then this process was summarised. If my questions or reactions during an interview needed further clarification, then they were supplemented by field

notes. The third consideration was the need to respect participants' anonymity. When constructing these stories, I gave each participant gender-neutral pseudonyms and carefully avoided gender-specific pronouns. I also excluded specific references to division names, projects, colleagues, job titles, previous work and any other information that could reveal participants' identities. Finally, I needed to create a space for my voice and my place in the interview.

The following interpretive stories should be read according to a few guidelines. For clear visual separation, each story is distinguished from the main body of text by decreased margins. Within each story, italicised portions are direct quotations taken from the participants' transcripts. The remaining text is either summarised portions of the transcript or excerpts from my field notes. As different aspects of music curation sometimes overlap or repeat, a strict chronological ordering of activities is not possible. Therefore, the order reflects one possible route.

Chris

> *I think the overriding reason, in my view, to assess collections is to measure the utility of the collection for research.* There are no formal collections analysis procedures for this division and Chris is charged with developing some. The first step is merging and integrating several existing databases with the aim to produce a meta-view of the division's materials. *I would really like to take a kind of holistic approach to looking at what we have and understanding where our strengths are and where our weaknesses are.* The idea, Chris explains, is that information gleaned through regular analysis should reveal gaps in collections. The second step is to gather qualitative and quantitative feedback from staff, managers, researchers and other archives about contemporary research trends and the materials they're engaging. Information collected during analysis should prompt discussions about potential avenues for developing this division's collections. That's a lot of input, I observe, how would you negotiate all those interests? *I'm a fan of evidence-based decision making so ... if you're going with evidence-based decisions, you're going with what people tell you in*

interviews. There's also this idea that you want to be forward thinking, anticipate what's next, right? That's not easy. I don't image it would be, but by gathering feedback, Chris doesn't have to be precognitive. Asking interested parties what they want and understanding the shape of the field could take some of the guesswork out of collections development. However, impending analysis processes, particularly this last aspect, raise more elemental questions about the scope of the division's materials and, as a result, its identity. *Part of what we want to do is perpetuate the archive, to grow and reflect modern society and in doing so we have to think about some of those fundamental questions.* Attempting to answer them, Chris wants to ask for help. *I want us to go after things that we are not comfortable with, that we're not deep into in terms of having local experts on the topic.* This strikes me as a particularly humble approach to the task at hand. They might need to survey and collect materials they know very little about and Chris looks towards collectors in the field to fill some gaps. These contributors would gather, catalogue and submit materials to the division. *We're able to sort of broaden our reach, partner with people who are in the communities, on the ground you know, and we're becoming less of the authoritative entity who selects and working more collaboratively with the community.*

At the time of the interview, the collection analysis procedures were still being evaluated and explored, but Chris' reference to "evidence-based decision making" suggested that those individuals involved were considering an evidence-based approach to library management. Amos Lakos describes this concept as "a simple idea … [that] means finding the best evidence you can, facing those facts, and acting on those facts — rather than doing what everyone else does, what you have always done, or what you thought was true." (Lakos, 2007, 433) Collection analysis, as explained by Chris, will inform collection development decisions, namely, what materials are selected and acquired, but before those decisions can be made, there must be a clear understanding of what materials the division is or is not responsible for. During formal and informal conversations, the LC staff confirmed that questions can and do arise about where to place items from collections that straddle two or more divisional remits. For example, photographs of concerts could be

placed with the Prints & Photographs Division or any of the three music-related divisions. The split of first the AFC and then the MBRSD from the MD have left a legacy of divisional identity mostly based on format, but this practice of separating collections by carrier type — not without its challenges — has fairly successfully guided a division's custodial, rather than curatorial, capabilities. Put another way, if materials fall within a division's remit, but more specifically, if it has the resources to store and provide access to them, then it takes on both curatorial and custodial responsibility. The format-based divisional identities have had a particularly large impact on music curation at the LC because music is captured in almost every format, expressed through countless genres and can cover a range of topics as often as it has no subject matter at all. The existence of three separate music-related divisions is testament to music's permeability, but at the LC music is spread across multiple locations and has three curatorial entities. Determining which division takes curatorial responsibility is not always clear. Is it folklore or ethnographic material? Is it widely available or unique material? This distinction between curatorial and custodial responsibility is important for understanding Chris' concern for the division's identity because if a division's scope for its materials is in question, then development could be unfocused and inconsistent.

Chris highlights one possible advantage to an evidence-based approach. By soliciting input from a wider variety of sources, particularly this division's active user base, they would be set up to target and integrate materials of immediate concern to their core group of users. This ability, Lakos argues, is directly linked to collection analysis: "collecting and analysing data are understood as crucial aspects of delivering the right services, at the right time, to a well-understood customer base." (Lakos, 2007, 432) According to this argument, accomplishing this trinity — producing the right materials at the right time for the right people — will close the gap between what Chris and the division might want to acquire and what researchers want to use. The benefit of this approach may be that this division's materials reflect a wider range of research interests and potentially cover a wider range of music materials. If evidence-based management is selected for this division's collection analysis, then, at least in theory, input from individuals not employed by the LC will be included in discussions about how the collections are shaped and expanded. However, the concept of evidence-based library management and its impact on collection analysis might be easy to explain, but their simplicities hide potentially damaging side effects.

Widening the current scope of the feedback this division seeks for collection development and integrating it into development decisions could provide a formal channel of communication for researchers to make their wishes known and bring researcher and institutional needs more in line with each other. Nonetheless, the scope might be too small. This division's active researchers, the LC staff and management and other interested parties are exactly that: interested. They are a ready-made pool of supporters who are already involved and already buy into the division's services and materials. This form of analysis is firmly focused on meeting user needs which means that the division will only gather and supply materials for their relatively small, already active group of people. Staff could be meeting their existing users' needs, but in the long-term, is that enough? How will Chris and the division ascertain what new or potential users want if they only speak with current users and professionals? Although Chris mentions a desire to anticipate future research materials, there is no clarification as to whom those materials should be relevant. As a result, there is a danger that these analyses could only reflect contemporary research-related needs or the future needs of future active users and not much else. Describing the Center for Research Libraries' experience with cooperative collections, Bernard Reilly Jr. highlights this concern as one critical to the survival of cooperative collections because "nothing is more certain to destroy critical historical, cultural and scientific evidence than measuring its value in terms of immediate usefulness." (Reilly Jr., 2013, 351) At the start of our interview, Chris explained that establishing the collections' relevance to contemporary research would drive analysis so there is no apparent tension between the division's objective and this proposed method, but solely focusing on contemporary research and researchers may exclude a large population who do not already undertake research or collect — in other words, the rest of the nation's population. This point raises questions about the target audience of libraries and more specifically, a national library. Throughout its history, the LC has marketed itself as a premiere place for research, one filled with the finest and most extensive collections and the brightest minds. Even today, The John W. Kluge Center and all its associated fellowships are testament to the LC's commitment to high-level scholarship.[46] Indeed, the LC patrons are referred to as 'researchers,' which connotes some level of seriousness in regards to their purposes at the LC. Are libraries only for researchers? Are national libraries places for the most serious researchers? If so, then target audiences will only include individuals and groups that

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[46] The LC fellowship that enabled data collection for this work was hosted by the Kluge Center. This point is not made to emphasis the high-level (or otherwise) calibre of this work, but rather to highlight LC's investment in some scholarship through provision of work space and research support as well as formal and informal avenues for disseminating research.

gather, analyse and disseminate information. The difficulty with identifying a national library's audience as 'the nation's people' and then promoting research as an institutional selling point is that a large portion of that population will not identify with the stereotypical researcher.[47] The test of a national library's appetite for a truly national audience is in how it attracts not just researchers but also the average American Joe and Jane.

Finally, out of the three music-related divisions, Chris' was the sole proponent of soliciting professionals outwith the LC (not the general public) to assist with capturing and cataloguing materials. Like gathering feedback during collection analysis, this potential source of new materials highlights Chris' willingness to foster a collaborative operation and ethos. Collaborative collection building is one way to tap expertise from the field and to allow people outwith the division and the LC to directly shape the collections. Integrating this practice would no doubt entail a high level of communication between professionals and the LC staff because it would involve a greater number of people in the collecting and cataloguing aspects of music curation, but this effort could be outweighed by savings made from passing some of the more labour-intense work to collectors and professionals. The general public are not suitable contributors because they are, generally speaking, untrained in preservation-quality capturing and documenting techniques. Since the LC is in the business of perpetuity, it would be important for the division to ingest materials that meet these expectations as closely as possible. If contributors can meet them, then collaborative collection building has the potential to relieve some of the financial costs associated with these activities while not sacrificing the division's ability to bring in new materials.

Lou

> Lou and I are discussing standards and controlled vocabularies. They're the backbone of much music curation so I'm keen to understand more about how they're developed and reviewed. We agree that the main benefit of using standards is interoperability. Libraries can share records and potentially cut down on the amount of time spent cataloguing materials. Are there any drawbacks to

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[47] The most easily conjured image of the 'typical' LC researcher is the solitary academic pouring over a stack of books in the ornately decorated Main Reading Room.

using standards, I ask? *As a principle of operation it's absolutely essential. I can't see a downside unless you are satisfied in being completely isolated.* With the increase of national and international library communication, standards are ways for them, in essence, to speak the same language. *If you view yourself as part of the larger community of libraries … then you have to buy into standardization, and we have. I have.* The LC is involved in issuing and revising *MARC21* (Machine Readable Cataloguing) and *LCSH*. Both are internationally used standards but they don't magically appear ready for use. Lou seems to read my mind. *But remember, humans write the standards. They can't totally run you. You have to run them.* To illustrate this point, Lou describes who 'runs' *LCSH*. Cataloguers can propose changes or additions and I ask if this arrangement allows *LCSH* to be responsive to the communities that use them. *There's nothing inherently responsive about a vocabulary. It's about who controls it. That determines how responsive it is.* Lou emphasises the point that vocabularies such as *LCSH* do not express the organisation of knowledge but of things and, more specifically, the LC's things. The LC has a lot of things, I think, but not everything. What happens when cataloguers need subject headings for materials they hold, but the LC doesn't? It would seem that these institutions are restricted to using terms that describe the LC's materials, but Lou explains that institutions can depart from the standard. *If they need really specialized stuff, be it for classification or for vocabulary, that we think is too detailed for our comprehensive general vocabulary, we say "I'm sorry, but we're not going to introduce this level of detail. You are welcome to use our system as your point of departure, but it's too detailed for us."* Lou's describes *LCSH* revision as a collaborative process that's open to hundreds of institutions participating in the LC's Program for Cooperative Cataloging. *It's about who controls it.* I took Lou's earlier comment to mean that the people who use *LCSH* are in control of it. They have the power change it to suit their needs. Now it makes me wonder who makes the final decision about proposals. So folks who are reviewing or considering … I

>start asking out loud. *That's us*, Lou confirms. That's just Library
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>staff, I finish. *Yes*. The LC gets the final say.

Lou's comments about control invoke a long-standing debate between the LC and a self-proclaimed activist librarian called Sanford Berman. First published in 1971, Berman's *Prejudices and Antipathies: a tract on the LC subject heads concerning people* was the first in-depth, public critique of *LCSH*. In the introduction, Berman describes the impetus for his publication:

>Knowledge and scholarship are, after all, universal. And a subject-scheme should, ideally, manage to encompass all the facets of what has been printed and subsequently collected in libraries to the satisfaction of the worldwide reading community. Should, that is. But in the realm of headings that deal with people and cultures — in short, with humanity — the LC list can only "satisfy" parochial, jingoistic Europeans and North Americans, white-hued, at least nominally Christian (and preferably Protestant) in faith, comfortably situated in the middle- and higher-income brackets, largely domicile in suburbia, fundamentally loyal to the Established Order, and heavily imbued with the transcendent, incomparable glory of Western civilization. Furthermore, it reflects a host of untenable — indeed, obsolete and arrogant — assumptions with respect to young people and women. And exudes something less than sympathy or even fairness toward organized labor and the sexually unorthodox or "avant-guard." (Berman, 1993, 15)

According to Ann Sparanese, activist or socially responsible librarianship is a form of librarianship "that is part of — not dissociated from — society and its needs, problems and concerns." (Sparanese, 2003, 45) Influenced by the many social movements of the 1960s, Berman wrote *Prejudices and Antipathies* to engage with a society that was questioning, re-assessing and re-establishing its social values. At that time, a large population of Americans were turning away from perceived hegemony and Berman, in his capacity as an American, a librarian and an informed citizen, argued that *LCSH* should reflect this change. Accordingly, Berman, a prolific correspondent, sent memo after memo to the LC, the guardian of *LCSH*, presenting what he considered problematic subject headings along with suggestions for their changes (or deletions). Overall, the LC's reaction to Berman's requests was muted because "over the decades Library of Congress came to regard Berman as something of a crank and a pest" and one anonymous LC staff member was quoted calling Berman ""a major pain in the ass … [who] thinks he can tell us how to do our jobs … [but] knows nothing about the real world of grind-it-out bibliographic data.""

(Gilyard, 1999, 29th paragraph) Yet Berman continued because the justice he desired for everyone listed in *LCSH* was either slow in coming or non-existent.[48]

Surveying three decades worth of *LCSH* revisions, Steven Knowlton compares Berman's original list, the 2003 version of *LCSH* as well as the dates of any changes listed in *Cataloging Service Bulletin*, the publication announcing most, but not all, of *LCSH* updates. Knowlton's aim is to assess whether claims of bias were addressed and whether any amendments followed Berman's suggestions. His conclusion is hopeful. After tracking potential changes for Berman's 225 proposed heading changes, Knowlton finds that 142 "have been changed almost exactly as he suggested … [or] have been changed in ways that partially reflect Berman's suggestions." (Knowlton, 2005, 128) As a result, he concludes "that bias in subject headings, while a continuing source of concern, has been addressed in a serious manner by the compilers of *LCSH*." (Knowlton, 2005, 128) On the one hand, Knowlton is optimistic that "concentrated attention to the issue of bias in *LCSH* has borne fruit" because he considers the number of corrections and the quality of their updates not simply adequate but noteworthy. (Knowlton, 2005, 128) On the other, he remains cautious. Of the 80 unchanged headings, Knowlton observes that they reflect religious or geographic bias. (Knowlton, 2005, 128) While Berman's campaign may have been a thorn in the side of many, it seems to have made those who control *LCSH* take more notice of the feedback offered by those who use them. In 2006 Barbara Tillett, Chief of the Cataloging Policy and Support Office at the LC, gave an interview that addressed some of the issues surrounding subject heading reform, a process by which the LC staff monitor and "keep the controlled vocabulary current with today's topics and terminology without changing headings too quickly to terminology that is ephemeral." (Litwin, 2006, 7th paragraph) Tillett recognises that "in the past, it was especially noticeable that changes were not made quickly" and credits automation as a factor in improving on the LC's response rate, but she also argues that even with automation, adding, updating or deleting *LCSH* from bibliographic records is resource-consuming. (Litwin, 2006, 8th paragraph)

Despite these reforms, the place of *LCSH* in contemporary librarianship is deeply contested. In 2006 the LC announced that it would no longer support series authority records and this provoked outrage from some members of the library community. (American Library Association, 2006) In turn, this reaction prompted the LC to form the

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[48] Berman keeps and disseminates scorecards of *LCSH* updates that demonstrate just how much time passes before revision requests are addressed. (Berman, 2009)

Working Group on the Future of Bibliographic Control "to address changes in how libraries must do their work in the digital information era." (Library of Congress, 2008, 9) In 2008 the Working Group released *On the Record* composed from recommendations based on public meetings, testimonies and publically amended draft reports. Recommendation 4.3 specifically addresses the optimisation of *LCSH* for use and reuse. (Library of Congress, 2008, 34-36) The report targets its cumbersome structure, its quasi-thesaurus function, its sometimes opaque revision process, its specialist or out dated terminology and its complicated heading strings as stumbling blocks for its application and use in a digital environment. Indeed, the report makes a rather frank conclusion about the effect of maintaining *LSCH* as it has been for its entire existence:

> The complexity of LCSH, in combination with its seemingly arbitrary updates and the complex limitations on its application, have negative consequences for both catalogers and catalog users, and mitigate against its use by stakeholders outside the library community. (Library of Congress, 2008, 35)

The Working Group does not recommend dismissing *LCSH*, but it does recommend making it more widely available to non-library communities, de-coupling complicated heading strings when possible, exploring opportunities to link it with and to other controlled vocabularies and investigating automated subject analysis for some materials. (Library of Congress, 2008, 35-6) In her response to the report, Deanna Marcum, Associate Librarian for Library Services at the LC, supported all of the Working Group's *LCSH*-related recommendations and endorsed Thomas Mann's position that *LCSH* in particular and library methods of cataloguing in general are still vital for research; but, she also recognised that librarians should take their experience and tools to the users and not the other way around. (Marcum, 2008, 58-67) (Oder, 2006, 15) (Mann, 2003) *LCSH* survived the cull, but what will it look like after the Working Group's recommendations have been applied? More importantly, will it facilitate better user searches with less human mediation?

Until recently, *LCSH* was the *de facto* controlled vocabulary for music-related bibliographic records. Harriette Hemmasi and J. Braford Young trace the history of *LSCH* for music and mark its beginning in the early 1930s with a collaborative effort between the LC staff and members of the MLA to first describe literature about music and then works of music. (Hemmasi and Young, 2000, 135) Indeed, after his time at the LC, Oscar Sonneck helped pen the first provisional subject heading lists for music. (Strunk, et al., 1933) At this time Western art music dominated the MD so music-related *LCSH* focused

on subject matter, medium of performance and musical form or genre.[49] (Hemmasi and Young, 2000, 137) While not without its challenges, *LCSH* was seen as an adequate system until the early 1970s when calls were made to "[extend] existing LC headings or the rules for their application into the uncharted waters beyond Western classical music." (Hemmasi and Young, 2000, 144) However, there was a noticeable lack of *LCSH* for non-Western and non-classical music. (Hemmasi and Young, 2000, 144-7) During the late 1970s and the early 1980s, there were substantial changes to *LCSH* regarding the development of new terms and guidelines for their applications to folk, ethnic and popular music. (Hemmasi and Young, 2000, 146-7) On the one hand, these changes provided music cataloguers with far more potentially relevant terms for far more music. Yet on the other, *LCSH* had come to encompass not only subject-related headings, but also terminology for forms, genres, instrumentation, locations and ethnicities. It had grown unwieldy and as a result, music cataloguers began to grumble "that headings for musical works [didn't] really belong in LCSH because they really [weren't] subjects." (Ostrove, 2001, 94) The issue was that *LCSH* fundamentally recognised "only one category of subject access," but over the years it attempted to express both what materials are *about* and what materials *are*.

The first step in detangling topical headings from all the others was the development of the *Library of Congress Genre/Form Terms for Library and Archival Materials* (*LCGFT*). In 2010 the LC announced that work had begun on a list of "terms for what musical works are: forms, genres, types, styles, etc." (Library of Congress, 2010, 07/02/10 entry) The announcement also clarified that the project was not merely concerned with relocating terms from one *MARC* field to another, but a complete overhaul of headings was in order because of "the complexity of the existing heading structure and the fact that the present structure conflates genre/form terms with medium of performance." (Library of Congress, 2010, 07/02/10 entry) By 2011 the LC and the MLA produced the first list of terms, but at the present time the project remains unfinished. (Huismann, 2014, BCC Town Hall: Cataloging Hot Topics) The second step was the creation of the *Library of Congress Medium of Performance Thesaurus for Music* (*LCMPT*). Also developed by the LC and the MLA, the *LCMPT* was launched in January 2014 as "a stand-alone vocabulary that provides terminology to describe the instruments, voices, etc., used in the performance of musical works." (Library of Congress, 2014j) Both *LCGFT* and *LCMPT*

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[49] Medium of performance relates to instruments or vocal parts. Form and genre are used interchangeably to denote compositional structure.

are significant improvements upon music-related *LCSH*. Medium of performance and genre/form terms have featured in *LCSH* almost from its creation, but they have been forced to conform to a single subject access framework designed for literature. At last, music has an appropriate set of vocabularies to meaningfully describe and thus potentially provide more efficient access to its multitude of forms, sounds, transmissions and carriers. *LCSH* will still remain pertinent to music that has topical aspects, but once both projects are fully operational, music cataloguers will finally have three distinct ways to provide access — subject, form and medium — that address three key ways in which users search for music. *LCSH* revision currently falls under the purview of the Subject Authority Cooperative Program section of the LC's Program for Cooperative Cataloging (PCC), a collaborative network started in 1995 to share out the backlog of subject authority revisions. (Barr, 2002) (Library of Congress, 2014o) Yet as Lou confirmed, the final decision ultimately falls to the LC staff. *LCSH* have always been designed to describe the LC's materials and LC's control makes it a proprietary standard. If participating institutions do not have any input into the outcome of these proposals, then the only option left is to depart from the standard. That decision leaves institutions and their collections outside the communicative sphere Lou sees as essential to contemporary library work. In short, the more often an institution is unable or unwilling to absorb *LCSH*, the more it potentially isolates itself. Accordingly, Berman was right to raise an alarm about biased (and even offensive) terminology, but his repeatedly deflected attempts to enact change and the LC's slow response rate offer insight into just how proprietary *LCSH* was and how much control its guardian exercised. It was twenty years between Berman's *Prejudices and Antipathies* and the beginning of the PCC, which could be read as the length of time the LC took to loosen its grip on *LCSH*. Another twenty years have passed. The process of subject authority revision appears to have progressed from control to collaboration. As the sole domain of the LC, *LCSH* reflected the LC. Now those who 'control' *LCSH* do so in a way that increasingly reflects more and more of its users concerns. In addition, long-standing input from MLA members suggests that *LCGFT* and *LCMPT* may be less prone to the bias Berman fought against because from the outset they were developed by several stakeholders. Controlled vocabularies for music have always suffered from bias because they were developed according to ill-fitting, ad hoc moulds. As more and more cataloguers adopt and use *LCGFT* and *LCMPT*, a better assessment can be made about their abilities to provide more relevant access points for researchers.

Pat

After a few questions about Pat's experience cataloguing published and unpublished music materials, we start talking about the nitty gritty of describing music. Pat explains that there are instructions available on how to interpret and apply descriptive standards and the majority of them are included in an LC-created online subscription resource called *Cataloger's Desktop*. There's guidance, but there's also room for interpretation. *So I know that there are provisions made in some of the documentation, you'll see a phrase like "whatever your institution decides."* It appears that some descriptive standards may not be as prescriptive as they seem, that they don't produce cookie cutter records. *For example, the LC policy statements are for LC cataloging, but the tendency is for outsiders to follow that also because you end up with a more standardized, more consistent product. The more our bib records are like each other, the easier it is for everybody.* Sure, I think, this is a long-standing argument in favour of using standards, but if everyone's following the LC's guidance, then records aren't necessarily like each other. They're like LC's. Why do you think other institutions look to some of these policies, these standards, and use them, I ask. *I think, in the past, LC had the experience and the resources to be a leader in the music cataloging community and to make these decisions.* The LC has one of the largest music collections in the world and it's held this title for some time. As a result, its cataloguing practices have become a natural focal point for others, but I sense a potential danger in this relationship. What happens if other institutions stop making their own decisions and simply follow the LC's example, I think. Without my having to ask, Pat alludes to one reason why they might be inclined to do so. *I guess other institutions felt like if LC will do it, great, then we don't have to.* I'm unsure whether this is strictly a resource allocation issue. Even though recent budget cuts have affected all aspects of music curation, the LC has more staff, more materials and more money than other US libraries and these will always give the LC an

advantage. *There are people all over who are, who have as much or more expertise. Who are completely capable of writing this [documentation] and they do. They contribute.* Experts are located everywhere and Pat confirms that there are opportunities for them to contribute to these policies, but I still sense something's amiss. Coming back around to my original question, Pat recaps. *But I think it's, it mainly has to do with expertise that was and is still here. And time and resources.* But there's a post script. *And I think it's partly just having the critical mass of people.* That's it. The LC casts a long shadow.

As previously discussed, part of the PCC's remit is to oversee the development of *LCSH*, but it also issues policy statements that offer guidance on cataloguing practices. (Library of Congress, 2014c) Previously called "Library of Congress Policy Statements," the name was changed in 2012 to "Library of Congress – Program for Cooperative Cataloging Policy Statements" to "[reflect] the ongoing collaboration between LC and PCC in adopting a single set of policy statements." (Library of Congress, 2014c) These statements provided instructions relating to the application of the *Anglo-American Cataloging Rules, Second Edition* (*AACR2*), a descriptive cataloguing code first developed in 1967, to bibliographic records. In other words, *AACR2* dictates how to populate *MARC21* fields. However, plans were announced in 2005 that there would be no *AACR3*. (Joint Steering Committee, 2009, Change in Direction section) *AACR2* was introduced in 1978 and the Joint Steering Committee (JSC), the secretariat charged with gathering feedback about potential revisions, observed that "the current environment is very different from that in which *AACR2* was developed" because "digital resources pose new challenges, and the records produced by the rules are used in a digital environment." (Joint Steering Committee, 2009, Change in Direction section) *AACR2* was developed before the explosion of new media formats, whose guidelines for description had been tacked on to *AACR2* in special format chapters, and was long overdue for revision.[50] Instead of completely doing away with *AACR2*, the JSC decided to develop a new content-only descriptive standard called *Resource Description and Access* (*RDA*) that would build upon *AACR2*, but would align with the entity relationship models Functional Requirements for

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[50] *Rules for Archival Description*, developed and used by Libraries and Archives Canada, is an example of another descriptive standard comprised of general rules and special format chapters. See http://www.cdncouncilarchives.ca/archdesrules.html.

Bibliographic Records (FRBR) and Functional Requirements for Authority Data (FRAD).[51] (Joint Steering Committee, 2009, Change in Direction section)

From 1992-95 the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) developed the FRBR concept "as a generalized view of the bibliographic universe, intended to be independent of any cataloging code or implementation." (Tillett, 2004, 2) According to the IFLA, this generalised view "called for the development of a framework that identifies and clearly defines the entities of interest to users of bibliographic records, the attributes of each entity, and the type of relationships that operate between entities." (IFLA, 2009, 3) In order to express these relationships, FRBR differentiates between a work, an expression, a manifestation and an item, but in its description of a work, it recognises the difficulty in separating one from another:

> A *work* is an abstract entity; there is no single material object one can point to as the *work* … because the notion of *work* is abstract, it is difficult to define precise boundaries for the entity … the concept of what constitutes a *work* and where the line of demarcation lies between one *work* and another may be in fact be viewed differently from one culture to another. (IFLA, 2009, 17, emphasis in original)

Embracing the FRBR model, *RDA* development and testing took place over the next six years with input from the LC, other national institutions such as The British Library and the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek and professional bodies such as the American Library Association, the Australian Committee on Cataloguing, the Canadian Committee on Cataloguing and the Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals, based in the United Kingdom. (Joint Steering Committee, 2014) Published in its first instance in 2010, *RDA* and its online resource the RDA Toolkit are collaboratively maintained and updated by JSC member organisations.[52]

In 2012 the JSC formed the JSC Music Joint Working Group — comprised of delegates from the Canadian Association of Music Libraries, Archives and Documentation Centres; the LC; and the MLA — and in 2014 reconstituted itself as the JSC Music Working Group. This group was tasked with testing *RDA*'s application to music and recommending amendments. While *RDA* is designed to be format-inclusive, meaning it does not separate out special format materials from general materials, it does provide some

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[51] *RAD* is a content-only standard because it is strictly concerned with the descriptive content of bibliographic records and not the way that content is displayed. *AACR2* is also concerned with content, but also contains instructions about punctuation and syntax.

[52] RDA Toolkit is a subscription service that contains *RDA* and accompanying resources such as the Library of Congress – Program for Cooperative Cataloging Policy Statements. See http://www.rdatoolkit.org/.

specific guidance about music. For example, sections 6.14 - 6.18 discuss matters related to identifying titles of musical works, medium of performance, numeric designation, key signature and other distinguishing features. (American Library Association, et. al., n.d., 6.14-6.18) To supplement *RDA*'s guidance, the MLA published in 2014 its *Best Practice for Music Cataloging Using RDA and MARC21*. Even though *RDA* aims to be format inclusive, its parameters do need explanation so that cataloguers such as Pat can apply the rules to their materials. Music is no exception. Therefore, *Best Practice* illustrates each *RDA* section with sample parts of music bibliographic records and currently serves as the most recent and most comprehensive resource available to music cataloguers. However, sections 6.14-6.18 of *RDA* and *Best Practice* are dominated by examples of Western art music. To be sure, there are many examples to be made from this genre of music, but does the lack of other musical styles mean that there are no concerns or questions about how *RDA* applies to them? It does not. Illustrating the difficulty delineating one work and another, Raymond Schmidt queries the way jazz improvisations are assigned entities within FRBR. (Schmidt, 2012) In April 2014 the American Library Association sponsored a webinar called "*RDA* for music: popular music, jazz and world music audio recordings" but its content is not freely available.[53] Consequently, there are no current publications available to the public about how *RDA* application is faring in practice with other music.

Pat speculated that in the past the LC cataloguing practices were adopted by other music libraries because the LC had the resources and critical mass of cataloguers to develop and disseminate them. However, the move towards more collaboratively developed cataloguing standards and practices has shifted the LC out of the limelight. Certainly a player in *RDA*'s development and its application to music, the LC contributed but it is no longer the only source nor does it control its revisions.

Hunter

> *There's no denying that if you're part of the Library of Congress, you're out in front, you're expected to be a leader in the field,* Hunter explains. We've been discussing the LC's place in the world beyond its walls. Listening to this, however, I sense a "but …" and it quickly follows. *The reality of the situation is that*

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[53] At the time of writing (June 2014), a digital download of the webinar cost $90.

we can't be all in all. Since its inception, the LC has adopted several roles — congressional library, copyright repository, a model for library protocol and a cultural heritage institution — and during that time, Hunter believes some staff have become protective of these roles. *There's a Library of Congress-centric nature to this institution and while it's important to sustain and recognize what you're expected to do, we can't do it all.* There's tension in Hunter's comments, friction between an ideal LC and the actual LC. Hunter likens the LC's millions and millions of items to a vast ocean, flowing in and out from all directions, but in order to promote this huge and potentially intimidating body of material, Dr Billington advises his staff to have a sense of selectivity. *He wants us to promote what we see as important ... we have a role also, I don't want to say arbiters but champions of things ... that we think are important, that are significant.* This statement sends up a few red flags in my mind. How is significance assessed? What makes something important? To whom should it matter? The questions tumble out of my mouth, but Hunter directly addresses what I'm only dancing around: bias. The LC's contemporary role as a cultural heritage institution and its music curation could be influenced by personal opinions and tastes. They have in the past. *I think we try to avoid cultural bias, as much as you can, on decisions like that.* Before I can ask how, Hunter elaborates and I'm hanging on the reply. A very broad perspective of musical, American and world history plus input from relevant creative and professional communities build a foundation from which this division's staff can promote music collections. I'm excited, but I'm also cautious because we've ventured into the space between the lines of written policy statements. I must look skeptical because Hunter continues to explain. *You can't just say [that material's] of no interest to my cultural background. You have to be a curator. You have to have this broad sense of human creativity and culture otherwise you're not qualified to be in that conversation.* The elephant in the room has been observed, but is it gone?

The ocean metaphor that Hunter used to describe the size and movement of information is reminiscent of the imagery and rhetoric Billington employed in a rash of publications and lectures during the late 90s and early 00s. (Billington, 1996, 37, 39) (Billington, 1998, 12) (Billington, 2000) (Billington, 2001b, 579) (Billington, 2001c, 304) According to Billington, American democracy — founded on ideals of knowledge and informed citizenship — "is threatened, in a peculiar fashion, by the flood of information generated by new technologies, including the advances of the audiovisual, multimedia world." (Billington, 1996, 37) One part of the threat he describes is due to the sheer volume of information created and circulated in analogue and digital formats. He is "haunted by the thought of all that miscellaneous, unsorted, unverified, constantly changing information" because left unchecked, he fears Americans will slip away from rather than rise up towards "wisdom and creativity, those twin peaks that are the highest attainment of civilization." (Billington, 1996, 38) The second part of the threat comes from the so-called isolating effect the home computer and an unmediated Internet have on people. Instead of convening in communal spaces such as libraries, Americans, Billington suggests, are beguiled by the prospect of exploring the world with a click of the mouse, but are becoming "lonely nerd[s] sitting before the computer screen, slowly mutating from a normal human being into a kind of extension of the screen and the keyboard." (Billington, 1996, 38) The current Librarian of Congress is not simply unconvinced by some contemporary information habits. He is scared. He is scared for literacy levels. He is scared for the role of librarians and libraries now and in the future. He is scared that Americans, embracing fast, ephemeral and bite size information, will lose their culture and history, which he argues are transmitted through books because they "are and will remain [Americans'] principle guardians of memory." (Billington, 2001a, 224)

Charged with maintaining and developing the world's largest library, Billington should be concerned with these issues. However, his approach, presented as a campaign to educate and entice so-called computer mutants, is actually dismissive and alienating. First, Billington is very unflattering in his description of modern information, which includes two references to popular music: MTV — a group of music and entertainment television channels — and rap lyrics:

> Undisciplined chatter, like untreated sewage, flows through a system in which there is no filter — often not even any basic sentence structure. Advertising spots, political sound bytes, MTV, and rap lyrics are producing a style of communication that is increasingly incantational, at times even animalistic — designed for Pavlovian responses rather than rational discourse. (Billington, 2001, 220)

His disdain is clear when he likens chatter to noxious faeces and rap lyrics to primitive, even savage grunting. Billington takes care to argue the virtue of books with examples from Shakespeare and Northrop Frye, but paints these other images with the widest brush possible and in doing so, he dismisses any possible value and lumps everything into one condemned group. Second, the implications of Billington's commentary are profound because any people, particularly 'born digital' generations, who create, share and value these streams of information are regarded as degenerates or, if his argument about the link between knowledge and democracy is adopted, bad Americans. His language and tone are demeaning, potentially alienating and could offend the very audience he seeks to entice.

The streams of information that Billington discounts are arguably cultural materials, but they do not appear to belong to his culture or the one he envisions for America. He is an academic man, a historian who is not only invested in but also tied to the written word and values the book above all other sources of knowledge:

> Alone with a book, one finds imagination is the only limit. Boundaries are not set by someone else's pictures on a television screen; thoughts are not drowned out by someone else's sounds on a boom box. (Billington, 2001a, 224)

Hunter recognised the dangers of staff acting as arbiters instead of champions and as a result, sought a range of input to mitigate undue amounts of bias in this division's selection and programming practices. Invoking the aesthetic bias that drove the decisions of early the MD Chiefs such as Sonneck and Engel, Hunter offered some alternative methods for assessing value that could, at the very least, accommodate a wide range of materials for the development and promotion of the LC's music collections. The danger of approaching these activities with unabashed bias is such that the LC's researchers, the American public, members of Congress and the rest of the world are presented with a narrow slice of American cultural output that does not accurately represent the LC's largest constituency, the American people.

If the LC is seen as a leader, then Billington, in his capacity as Librarian, is arguably the foremost spokesperson for the library, its services and its materials and his status could give his views extra weight. This is an important point when considering the moral slant to Billington's rhetoric. He argues that there is 'good' information — the kind that prompts contemplation and engagement and leads to knowledge — and 'bad' information — the kind that assaults, numbs, isolates and, one could assume, strips people of their ability to communicate and live in a community. Coming from this perspective, Billington offers only strict dichotomies — good/bad, knowledge/information,
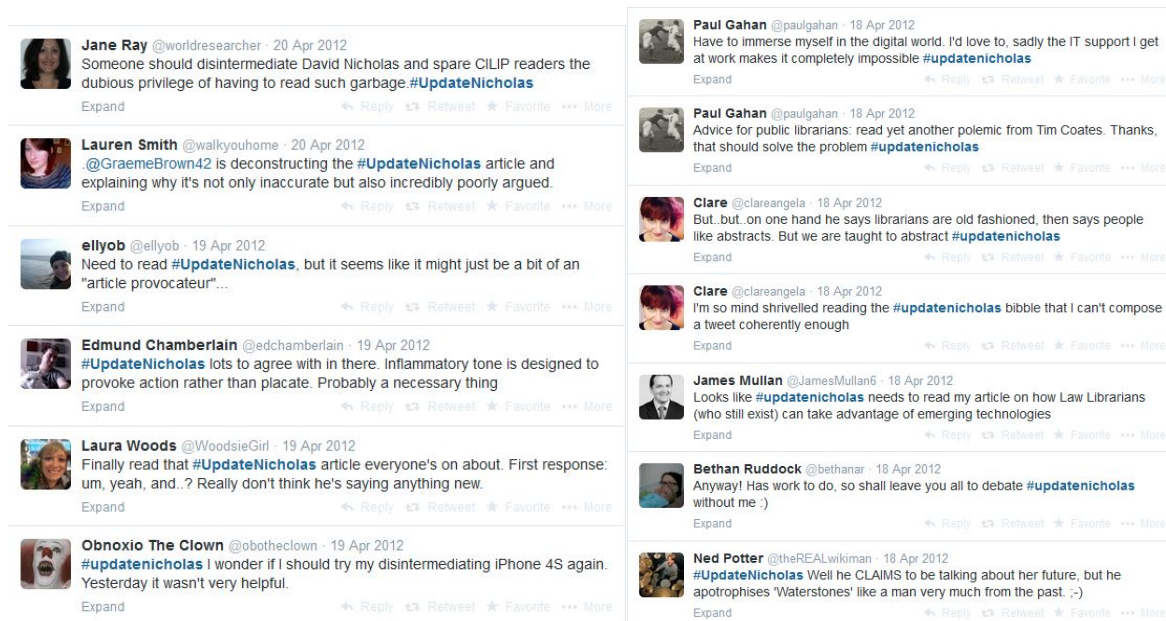
inclusion/isolation and American/un-American — to illustrate what he sees as degenerating national character. From the nation's beginning politicians, preachers and other public figures used similar language to express what they believed were on the one hand, American ideals and on the other, the forces that could undermine or destroy those ideals. These beliefs helped form moral benchmarks — the American Dream — which in turn permeated decisions made by members of Congress and the LC staff. Accordingly, the LC music curation presented the music Americans and the world *should* be engaging with rather than presenting materials that they *could* explore. Billington's arguments against fast and fleeting information in general and some of its audiovisual expressions in particular suggest that the highest level of LC bureaucracy still considers moral shepherding part of the LC's mission. While this role has never been recognised within music-related policy statements and the LC's mission, there are precedents of music staff and management acting with this intention on behalf of the nation and world, which may make 'mediator' the LC's fifth role.

Furthermore, Billington's sentiments suggest that this role is still part of the LC's purpose, part of what he believes the LC is for. If it is, then some music is at risk of never making it into the LC's collections, never being included in the nation's official cultural memory and, as a result, never moving collections closer to a well-rounded representation of the nation's musical heritage. For example, contemporary popular music — in all its digital, remixed, mashed up, streamed and often momentary expressions — is in danger of being neglected according to Billington's rationale. What will happen when younger generations of Americans, particularly those raised in an almost completely digital world, grow up and seek their musical pedigree in what is supposed to be their library? They will not see themselves in the LC's re-presented image of American musical culture and history, which will have a profound impact on the way they construct their national identities and the way others perceive them. Of course, Billington is one man who offers only one perspective on the matter and his views are over ten years old. However, after 2001 there are no subsequent journal articles, lectures, newspaper articles or LC press releases that clarify Billington's more recent thoughts on the topic. They may have become more nuanced or changed significantly — there is no way to be sure — but in the absence of new materials, these can be considered Billington's last words on the matter. As Librarian, he speaks with authority for the LC as a whole. Therefore, his privileged status and divisive views are two major challenges for the development of music collections that resonate with and continue to have relevance for all Americans.

However, there are more recent contributions to the debate surrounding the impact of digital information on libraries and the role of the librarian. One such voice belongs to David Nicholas, former Head of University College London's Department of Information Studies and current Director of CIBER Research Ltd. In a short editorial published in the April 2012 issue of *CILIP Update*, Nicholas blasts librarians for their continued failure to adapt their professional practices to contemporary digital consumer practices. The digital transition, argues Nicholas, "took out the information middleman — librarians," and allowed information consumers to browse, find and use information without assistance, a process Nicholas calls disintermediation. (Nicholas, 2012, 30) Disintermediation removes librarians from the information food chain and raises fundamental questions about the role of librarians in a disintermediated world. For Nicholas, this process is the elephant in the room and he thinks "librarians would rather believe that economics is the cause" for their diminishing profession instead of admit that maybe their services are no longer required in the same way. (Nicholas, 2012, 30) It is no surprise that some members of the library community feel threatened by Nicholas' solutions because they have built their profession and reputations on their abilities to negotiate collections and to connect readers with materials. If they are not needed for those tasks anymore, then what are they needed for? Nicholas' solutions, he argues, "eschew the polemics" and are "based purely upon the evidence, not sentiments," which seem to be the thrust behind Billington's plea. (Nicholas, 2012, 30, 31) Drawn from data collected from CIBER studies that investigated digital footprints, his remedies cover six points: total immersion in the digital world; heavy investment in digitisation; diversification into publishing; education for users about how to get the most out of their smartphones and tablets; more emphasis on libraries as memory institutions; and finally, recognition that "the public library sector [in particular] appears to have won the prize for being the most divorced from reality." (Nicholas, 2012, 31) Unlike Billington's plea, there is no room for sentimentality in Nicholas' solutions, no appeal to a golden age or to libraries as sacred spaces. But, despite his claims otherwise, Nicholas is guilty of presenting his argument with a significant amount of passion. His depictions of the state of the library profession and what he views as librarians' tendencies to bury their heads are just as divisive as Billington's, except Nicholas targets librarians rather than users. *Update*'s readers were encouraged to reply to Nicholas' editorial through Twitter and to use the hash tag #UpdateNicholas.[54] Considering Nicholas' tone —dismissive,

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[54] These two screen shots represent only a portion of the editorial's Twitter responses. For all the responses, see https://twitter.com/hashtag/updatenicholas?src=hash.

berating and abrasive — it is no surprise that their replies were as polarised as the positions taken by Billington and Nicholas.

(Various, 2012)

There appears to be only two sides to this debate: adjust to contemporary user practices or force users to revert to the old mediated ways of seeking information. Roughly eleven years after Billington began to publish on the subject, the debates still read like a turf war. The fierce words and defensive replies indicate that implications of the so-called digital revolution are far from resolved because no one is any closer to answering basic questions about the role of librarians — particularly the value of their 'knowledge navigating' skills — and libraries — challenged by the increasing number of digital publishers and distributers. Indeed, these are important questions for the profession to grapple with because the answers will impact every librarian and every aspect of librarianship. But while the debates continue, materials — music included — are being either shunned or neglected. That means until these debates are resolved music's place within libraries will become increasingly tenuous.

Jamie

> Once we settle into the interview, I ask Jamie why reader services
> are offered at the LC. *Why doth the heathen rage? Because this is*
> *who we are. This is what we do. This is why we do it. We want*
> *this to be a living archive, a living research library and the only*

way you can do that is to provide access. And that's what it's about. However, actually providing access isn't straightforward and Jamie explains why. Researchers can post, phone or email their inquiries or ask in person. Sometimes they already know the materials they want. Sometimes they don't. Catalogues, databases and finding aids are helpful in the research process, but *there may be other less obvious ways to search and that's why you need specialists to gauge what is the [research] need and to provide sort of a solution or ideas to solve that problem. It's kind of detective work.* According to this logic, access is achieved when collections and researchers are connected and Jamie's role is to enable that. The LC has millions of items. That amount of material is difficult to track and challenges of re-discovery are only intensified by the sheer volume. Emphasising this point, Jamie explains *there may be many things in the collections that are not necessarily catalogued or not obvious even to generic librarians. And so it does help to have human beings in these positions ... because if everything were paint by numbers, you know, just follow these steps, then you can have robots do this work.* Robots, Jamie implies, couldn't probe researchers about their interests — a process necessary for refining a search — but humans can. And that probing goes far beyond the LC's walls. *Well, I assume, naïvely or not, I assume if we are called specialists, we really are specialists in research and often with subject speciality, which means you have a real grasp not just of what is in your collection, in your institution, but the field.* Jamie's understanding of "the field" is immense. It covers relevant work undertaken by research groups, teachers, publishers and institutions. It includes published materials as well as publically or privately held unpublished materials. Discussing the breadth and depth of possible resources, Jamie describes a process of discovery — discursive and human mediated — that culminates in access, whether it finally happens at the LC or not. Then the penny drops. I've misunderstood how Jamie described the link between a living research library and access. It's not like one between an institution and its materials. It's like one between an institution and its staff.

Jamie's description of the role reader services plays in enabling access to materials is yet again reminiscent of Billington's polemics, but instead of illustrating the so-called problem, it addresses the solution. As well as explaining the affects this information had and continues to have on Americans, Billington argues for the primacy of libraries and librarians in re-establishing the status quo. On the one hand, libraries would help re-connect what have become disparate communities and individuals. Billington laments the upsurge in people who have become computer mutants, isolated individuals convinced that "you can get everything you want in your own home, that you do not have to go anywhere to get anything," and the subsequent decay of "the whole American ideal of a gathering place" and "the very concept of a library as a *place*." (Billington, 1998, 13, emphasis in original) Emphasising the physical space of a library and the opportunities it could have for societal cohesion, he promotes "libraries [as] temples of pluralism" because "books that disagree with each other sit peacefully together on the shelves just as quarrelling opponents sit peacefully next to each other in reading rooms." (Billington, 1998, 224) Arguably, libraries do not keep people from disagreeing, but Billington's suggestion would enable those who are inclined to quarrel (or not) a reflective space to develop their arguments thus constructing more nuanced platforms and potentially those from which multiple perspectives could be considered. Conceptually, his suggestion has merit even if it does conflate pluralism with harmony. The LC remained closed to the general public until the late nineteenth century, but it is now open to anyone over the age of sixteen who registers for a reader's card. (Billington, 1998, 14) Should they choose to, potential researchers can use the LC reading rooms and in doing so, they may meet others. Some may share their ideas. Some may not. In this respect, physically visiting libraries could increase what may be constricting social circles. Practically, however, in-person visits to the LC are logistically the most difficult to achieve. Even though there are a couple campuses and there are some digitised materials available on its website, the LC remains a geographically bound library and the majority of its materials remain tied to its location. As such, so-called serious researchers with no other recourse to specific materials must travel great distances to access them at the LC, but this is likely to be a last resort due to the time and financial investments required. Furthermore, unless they are able to make such a commitment for little or no specific reason, the 'merely curious' are left to wonder. Libraries are no longer entirely physical entities so by placing an emphasis on in-person visits, Billington seems to over-instrumentalise the user in his quest to re-instil a sense of library as sacred space because, according to his argument, he would fill the LC reading

rooms with users who can afford to be there rather concede his view is waning and open all of the LC's physical and digital doors to all potential users.

On the other hand, Billington advocates a new role for librarians. Society — awash with unverified, unsorted electronic information — can be spared the most damaging effects of the tsunami "if librarians can transform themselves from information dispensers into knowledge navigators." (Billington, 1996, 39) Savvy with academic jargon and trained in organisational and retrieval practices, librarians, Billington argues, are well-suited to guide researchers through the debris. The proliferation of born digital or digitised information has transformed books, photographs, newspapers and music into a sea of ones and zeros and he is fearful that "these materials will, in a sense, be dehumanized even more unless they are rehumanized at the end of the terminal by the knowledge navigator." (Billington, 1996, 39) The human touch "will add the value of judgement and the warmth of human mediation to all this unintelligible material." (Billington, 1996, 39) According to Billington's scenario, librarians will become more, not less, important in rescuing researchers from the flood.

Jamie seems to mirror Billington's knowledge navigator in two ways. First, good fault-finding and problem solving skills, Jamie argues, are key to the detective work of assisting researchers. In order to follow the research trail of bread crumbs, librarians should have an extensive scope in regards to their knowledge of the field or subject area and command this knowledge to recommend possible sources, not haphazardly, but with intuition and constructive questioning. Each research question, each researcher and each interaction may require bespoke attention, which makes human assistance an invaluable part of satisfying unique and varied requests. This interaction becomes particularly beneficial if research questions or needs are not clearly defined before a researcher engages a librarian. The interaction may have a greater impact if he or she can act as a sounding board and help focus a researcher's search. This recursive process, however, did not arise out of the supposed digital mess. Research libraries engage with unfocused researchers, difficult questions or obscure materials every day and in the case of the LC, its congressional research service dates back to its earliest years. Probing researchers and honing in on potential materials — in short, navigating knowledge — have almost always been part of its services, which points towards the LC staff's experience with and aptitude for the process. Second, the LC's arrears — the uncatalogued materials not listed in catalogues, finding aids or other resources — will always remain inaccessible to

researchers without librarian assistance. Jamie describes some librarians as specialists and in order to make even the savviest and self-sufficient researchers aware of uncatalogued sources, this speciality must encompass materials on shelves as well as materials on pallets. Arrears have been a concern at the LC since it began taking on copyright materials. For example, the rate of incoming music copyright deposits has always outpaced the rate at which staff could process and make them available to researchers. Until the arrears are cleared, a task that may take a long time due to time, money, staff availability and conservation efforts, human assistance is the only way to connect researchers with those materials.

Neither of the benefits of human assistance discussed above are the results of Billington's digital flood and their contributions to its solution are questionable. Librarians' skills have, on the whole, developed to provide one-on-one support in reading rooms, by post, over the telephone and in the recent past, through the internet. Due to libraries adopting cataloguing standards and the desire to electronically share bibliographic records, librarians have expanded their scopes beyond their own libraries' collections. Not only is there a greater understanding of the total possible sources but also a willingness to draw on them and refer researchers to other institutions. Jamie's approach to assisting readers and understanding of what makes a librarian a specialist is inherently outward looking, which reflects the trend over the last century towards collaborative librarianship. As a result, librarians already have knowledge navigator skills and have already been using them to assist researchers in the analogue and digital realms. Contrary to Billington's proposal for the future of libraries and librarians, knowledge navigators are not new. However, there is one way in which Jamie's knowledge navigator perspective could have a more significant impact on the way researchers and the general public engage librarians for music materials. Music is captured and expressed through almost every format and its means for distribution are constantly evolving. Therefore, locating and providing access to them will necessitate a comprehensive approach that takes all these expressions into consideration. Music collections at the LC have suffered at times for being split between three divisions, but Jamie's approach, the collaborative and holistic approach of the knowledge navigator, is potentially a better means of connecting researchers with music and could improve music related reader services.

Yet the reliance on human mediation for searching and retrieving materials is quickly becoming economically impractical not only for users but also for libraries. If that

mediation is removed or significantly diminished, then does the research library die? Are calls for disintermediation a death knell? Jamie's notion of the living research library is dependent upon the detective skills of the knowledge navigator and the link he or she creates between researchers and materials. Librarians are integral to mediated libraries. Yet an argument can be made that librarians have contributed to the predicament they now face. Bibliographic records, access points, subject heading strings, catalogues, finding aids and all the other tools of the trade have evolved in ways that make them bewildering to most people. As a result, librarians are vital for their navigation. Now there are other ways of finding information — internet searches, for example — that seem to make more sense to the general public and librarians do not appear to be completely necessary in this context. Disintermediation may be the death of Jamie's living research library, but it may mean the birth of another type of research library. How librarians might find a new purpose in this scenario remains to be seen.

Jessie

What are digital projects, I ask Jessie as I ease us into the interview. *Digital projects mainly have concerned providing access to the collections of the Library in a digital format via the world wide web or some sort of computer interface.* Often these projects only represent a much larger collection. They're highlights, meant to entice the public and provide off site access to some materials. Yet as Jessie continues, it becomes clear that there's more to digital projects than access. *Politically, it allows us to tell Congress that we're reaching their constituencies and we're reaching all Americans by making these things available.* Jessie knows that many people can't physically make it to the LC and therefore recognises the potential for digital projects to create a wider audience by bringing materials to them. But there's one more reason why the LC does digital projects. *I don't mean this in a cynical way, but it's also publicity for the Library. It heightens our profile.* Digital projects are one part of the LC's public face, which makes them as much about image as they are about access. Considering Jessie's observation, I am keen to understand the process by which these projects are proposed and selected because I

suspect some projects will fare better than others. Jessie explains that a panel of reviewers— nicknamed The Tubman Group (yes, as in Harriet) — assess and rank proposals from all LC divisions according to the amount of cataloguing or conservation work required. The less prep work, the quicker the project moves ahead. Copyright also is a significant factor. *It's very time consuming to get permission. So that's a huge, huge issue. We might look at something and say "that's going to be such a bear to do. It's not worth pursuing."* I can feel my lips pressing together. I appreciate all the energy and skill necessary to run the permissions gauntlet, but I didn't expect materials to be outright rejected because of difficult copyright issues. However, Jessie attempts to balance the last statement. *Sometimes we don't have a choice. We have to go ahead and try anyway.* I'm told an anecdote about a project where staff fought hard to secure permission from an estate, but it was such a hassle that *most of the Powers That Be said we really shouldn't do something like that again.* I don't sense a balance yet and my hope for one is dashed as soon as Jessie brings up the matter of sensitive materials. *Sometimes they haven't put up things where they felt, people were naked in the pictures, that kind of thing. Or they felt something was derogatory.* There's a sense of propriety at work in digital projects, a filtering informed by concern over how the public — and presumably Congress — might react to some materials. My hopes perk up again when Jessie explains that there have been attempts to let people decide for themselves what might be offensive. *We did start moving towards going ahead and putting collections up, but putting disclaimers saying that some people might find ... but honestly, there's still ... we never really definitively solved that.* I get the impression that didn't go very well. Jessie takes a practical and optimistic stance on the LC's track record with digital projects. *I think the Library's done a pretty good job of trying to be, trying to share what it can and be responsible.* There's a lot of potential materials to share and the LC has been making digital projects available since 1994, but it's done so with a sense of duty to? Protect? From what? *But let's face it,*

when you've got as many materials as we have, it's a whole lot easier to put up that nice public domain collection that doesn't offend anybody. It sounds like those questions are passed over by the sheer number of 'safe' options. *Get that digitized, rather than make a ridiculous effort to put up something you know is going to upset lots and lots of people.*

The LC's most recent music-related digital project was launched in February 2014. Library of Congress Celebrates Songs of America (LCCSA) is a significantly expanded version of the LC's 2009 digital project called Song of America (SA). The digital project associated with SA, hosted by the MD on its website the Performing Arts Encyclopedia, "commemorates the history of the American song," but the project's scope is not as broad as its remit suggests. (Library of Congress, 2012b) Composed of digitised manuscripts, sheet music, sound recordings and videos, its materials were sourced from several divisions, but SA solely focuses on the American art song, described as a product of an age when American "composers became more ambitious, branching out from what became known as "popular song" and turning their creative energies to the more serious "art song."" (Library of Congress, 2007) LCCSA, however, is a much more robust presentation that draws on over 80,000 digitised music-related items from several LC divisions. (Library of Congress, 2014b) Introducing these materials, the website's collection overview encourages visitors "to explore American history as documented in the work of some of [the] country's greatest composers, poets, scholars, and performers." (Library of Congress, 2014b) Providing users multiple ways to engage with the materials, the project offers articles about genres, historical topics and specific songs; curated talks; a timeline and map; biographies; as well as videos, which collectively demonstrate a broader and potentially more representative scope than LCCSA's predecessor.

After digitised items, articles make up the bulk of LCCSA's content and are grouped into four sections: historical topics, musical styles, articles about songs and biographies. (Library of Congress, 2014d) Discussing topics such as war, sport, industry, politics, social movements, immigration, genres and composers, these articles offer contextual information that trace the development of a genre, the influence of a particular individual or the impact of social conditions and movements on decades' worth of American music. This information is then peppered with hyperlinks that lead users to digitised examples from the LC's collections, other articles within LCCSA or short

playlists of audio files. Through the use of hyperlinking, a web-based, non-linear method of conveying information, the LC presents LCCSA with a high-level perspective of American music as a discursive, multi-faceted social and creative phenomenon. The effect of this linking is profound, not because the LC is using new technology, but because, at least from an outsider's perspective, it manages to break down the appearance of divisional barriers. Each contributing division — the MD, the AFC, the MBRSD and Rare Books and Special Collections — and their websites are hyperlinked on the collection overview and collection item pages. This layout could give users a sense of which division an item came from, but these hyperlinks, and thus any indication that music has been carved up and distributed amongst three divisions, are not the focus of these pages. (Library of Congress, 2014b) (Library of Congress, 2014p) Overall, the LC presents LCSSA, its largest music-related digital project to date, without reinforcing divisional territory.

However, the length of articles greatly varies and the distribution of hyperlinks is uneven. For example, the historical topic article "Songs of Politics and Political Change" is almost 2,000 words long. (Library of Congress, 2014i) Not simply padding out the article, the anonymous author takes care to illustrate the link between music and political activity in America because "campaign songs and songs of political parties can help to spread particular points of view and build solidarity around candidates and platforms." (Library of Congress, 2014i) Nearly every other sentence contains at least one hyperlink, predominately to audio files hosted by RS's digital project the National Jukebox. The richness of this article's contextual information conveys a sense of how from roughly 1840 to 1920 music was used to shape political identities and disseminate information about political campaigns. Yet the musical styles article for Hip Hop/Rap is noticeably shorter — just under 650 words long — and its brevity is the first clue to its relatively poor treatment. This article's anonymous author does highlight some specific hip hop and rap artists and does observe that this genre is "a distinctive art form grounded in social protest which use[s] spoken word poetry, sampling, scratching and drumming as the main agents of change," but the author only hints at the social issues these artists address. (Library of Congress, 2014k) In addition, the few hyperlinks provided only illustrate the genre's historical influences. (Library of Congress, 2014k) There are no links to any media relevant to the genre's development and growth since the 1970s, which is when the article suggests it became a regular feature of New York, Detroit, Los Angeles and Chicago dance scenes.

LCCSA also includes a timeline spanning from 1759 to the present. This span is divided into five sections covering approximately fifty years each and is presented in two forms. First, the interactive version distributes a small selection of the 80,000+ digitised items along a moveable chronological interface. Along the timeline, each item is represented by a small text box that, once clicked, offers a slightly longer item description.

interactive timeline overview, 1803   interactive timeline item selection, 1803
(Library of Congress, 2014v)   (Library of Congress, 2014v)

printable timeline, 1803
(Library of Congress, 2014v)

interactive timeline overview of 1950 – present section (Library of Congress, 2014v)

Graphically situated below the interactive version, the second, printable version includes the same item entries as the interactive version as well as textual information about cultural, social and political events for each year. Comparing the two timelines, it becomes immediately clear that the interactive version contains no contextual information. Consequently, the only content displayed by the interactive version is items digitised and made available through LCCSA. Due to the density of digitised items highlighted in the first four sections of the interactive version (1759-1799, 1800-1849, 1850-1899, 1900-1949), this deficit does not become noticeable until the final section (1950-present) when the timeline stops in 1983 with its final entry for a Native American sound recording.

The interactive timeline's abrupt ending could suggest that from 1983 onwards music simply did not happen, but that is obviously not the case. As a result, this point, along with the discrepancies in article lengths and the disproportionate hyperlinks within those articles, raise questions about the under-representation of some American music in LCCSA. Why does the interactive timeline simply stop? Why are some articles contextually richer than others? Jessie's concern regarding permissions for use cuts directly to the heart of both questions. After 1972 sound recordings were covered by copyright legislation and, therefore, their owners must give permission for a protected recording's use, which, in the case of LCSSA, would include providing access to a portion of or full-length audio file for listening. Over forty years of music recordings, predominantly created in a commercial context and protected by copyright, are entirely absent from both timelines. Indeed the 1972 entries do not mention the legislation, which is arguably one of contemporary recorded music's most challenging, and perhaps defining, features. (Library of Congress, 2014v) The difficulty associated with securing permission is evident in Jessie's interview and has a significant bearing on what materials are included

in the LC digital projects. Consequently, it is likely that their absences are due to the monumental task of approaching each owner, gaining permission and, typical for commercial recordings, paying for their use. This potential yet probable consideration could very well have been thought too cumbersome to pursue, but instead of raise the issue of copyright and therefore account for the stark cut off, LCCSA is silent. Furthermore, there is no attempt to at least textually represent these recordings in either timeline. For example, there are ample entries in each section without linked media, meaning there is text without embellishing hypermedia. Why is this practice not uniformly applied? The answer is unclear, but the result is an inconsistent and incomplete re-presentation of contemporary American music.

Jessie provides a second explanation as to why some materials do not make it into a digital project: propriety. Protected materials considered indecent or upsetting are deemed not worth the time, energy or money required to secure their use. Indeed, Jessie explains that when given the choice between using copyright-free, so-called benign materials or copyright-protected, supposedly offensive materials, the preference is for the former. These choices seem to be made by the LC staff who act on personal ideas of what materials the LC should be seen to promote or make available as well as ideas about what they think the public may find offensive. How do the LC staff know what the public finds offensive? Adding disclaimers to digital projects would have been one way to forgo second guessing social sensibilities and alerting users about any potentially upsetting subject matter, but as Jessie explains, it seems that the practice of putting up materials and letting the public decide did not last. Are the general public seen to be incapable of making those decisions for themselves? Do The Tubman Group and the other digital project staff think the under-represented materials do not reflect the musical history of the nation? Again, the answer is unclear, but Jessie's recognition of contemporary material selection considerations and the history of popular music's neglect and disdain at the LC make it difficult not to question whether copyright issues have become a cover for moral or aesthetic objections. Since the LC became the nation's sole copyright repository, copyright has been hailed as a significant collection builder. (Cole, 1995, 128) But more recently, it has become a significant collection killer. Copyright activities certainly brought and continue to bring a vast range of materials to the LC, but there is a long precedent of some music's neglect due a widely-held view that popular copyright-protected music was sub-standard or even dangerous. It did not belong in the LC and, through music curation, staff had taken on the role of mediators. They drew a line between

so-called high and low music and, in doing so, flirted with censorship. Now, instead of being relegated to boxes and storage rooms before they reach the stacks, they are excluded from one of the LC's most public outputs, its digital projects.

Kerry

After chatting about how the concert series got started, Kerry explains the Library *has a tremendously important world image now as a presenter*. Kerry's already used some fairly privileging language — world-class, famous, master — to describe both the quality of the music and the status of its performers, but neither one comes cheaply. *It's hard to keep that up in a time when there're financial crunches*. The latest round of government budget cuts were announced recently and everyone in the LC is affected. *There has been traditionally a lot of focus on what the Library has done, will do and it goes up and down, what we're able to do from time to time*. Resources certainly play a role in programming decisions. Kerry illustrates the difficulty scant resources have on concert programming: *how do you legally and morally and in the framework of the bureaucrat responsible for the administration of existing fund, how do you bring money to bear of works and concepts of programming that do not have existing funding*? I agree with that point. It's such a tricky question that it's almost rhetorical, but resources are a consideration even in times of plenty. I suspect there are other influences and hesitantly ask if the LC's high-profile neighbours — supreme court judges on one side, members of Congress on the other — ever interfere with the concert programming. Would they weigh in on a potential N.W.A. concert at the LC? *To be honest, we do avoid things that are heavily politicized. You have to be realistic and cautious about whatever you do*. I immediately recall the LC's 2007 Seeger Family Concert and so does Kerry. Pete Seeger is not a man known for holding his tongue, I offer, and in this concert he did take the opportunity to share some political opinions. Kerry tries to explain that Pete is a nice guy, a gentleman, and that's why he could be forgiven for it.

I'm confused by this answer so I push for clarification. N.W.A. and Pete Seeger are both unapologetic political artists, I explain, what makes one different from the other? *There really isn't much difference.* Ah, but there is and it seems to be as much about money as it's about image. *I'm talking about bringing in him, some of the really well known rappers ... you and I know both know there are many rappers' language, style, stance, political opinions would be more than inflammatory.* Kerry's concern about the LC's image as a presenter is influenced by internal and external pressures. On the one hand, some LC staff think some music is a sub-standard sub-set of musical expression and the Library shouldn't be spending money to support it. On the other, there is a very real sense that Congress would interfere if the LC concerts were seen to be attracting the wrong sort of attention. *In my personal opinion ... I feel that what you gain by making such a politicized gesture is far outweighed by the potential risks to have members of Congress then monitor and oversee every expression of the concert series ad infinitum.* Kerry is hyper aware of both of these perspectives and recognises that these are difficult questions and challenging situations to resolve. *Sometimes I feel that I step back from them in a way that I shouldn't do, but then I say to myself I'm protecting the concerts for another day.*

In 1924 Coolidge and her substantial gifts to the LC fundamentally changed the scope of the LC music curation for two key reasons. First, the Coolidge Auditorium provided a dedicated, acoustically suitable space in which the LC staff could host live performances. This is a fundamentally important point because up until Coolidge's intervention, music — a partially aural experience — was silent at the LC. The pianola was removed from the reading room and the upright piano was relegated to the basement, far out of reach for researchers. Music was read and studied via scores and manuscripts, but it was hardly played out loud let alone performed. Coolidge's motivations were fuelled by her "unswerving belief that libraries should not be merely custodians of manuscripts condemned … as mute artifacts of an earlier time" and her desire to expose her beloved chamber music without charge to a wider audience. (Barr, 1997, 21, 32) Payment would never be accepted because "she had made it clear that the concerts she supported were

always to be free and open to the general public." (Barr, 1997, 31) Combined, these considerations had a profound impact on the way that music was experienced at the LC. Indeed, she embraced emerging broadcast technology and insisted that the auditorium be equipped for radio transmissions thus extending her mission to create as wide an audience as possible beyond the LC and even the District. (Barr, 1997, 33) Second, there were no dedicated or reliable funds for the MD before her Foundation was established. The division's budget came entirely from congressional coiffures and, as a result, was potentially subject to aesthetic, cultural and social congressional preferences. However, once the Foundation was instituted at the LC the MD had a fairly reliable, non-congressional source of money to fund concerts as well as commissions.[55] Consequently, the MD was no longer simply a guardian of music, but a presenter and patron of the musical arts.

The first concert in the Coolidge Auditorium took place on 28 October 1925 and was one of 25 held during the first concert season, but in 1938 Alan Lomax used the auditorium to record several hours' worth of music and oral history with Jelly Roll Morton and he continued to record folk artists visiting the LC. Following Coolidge's example, other philanthropists established endowments for the MD or bequeathed musical instruments. (Library of Congress, 1993, Foundations for Music chapter) During the 1940s the MD also began to host folk concerts in the auditorium, until, in 1976, the newly established AFC took over presenting them. Not long after its creation, in 1977, the AFC received the first of eight endowments for various activities, which include remits for public programming and "activities of the Center." (Library of Congress, 2014h) Gradually, the LC's profile as a music programmer grew and accordingly, so did the ways in which it presented and promoted its music collections. Radio broadcasts of chamber music — dubbed Concerts from the Library of Congress — began in 1933 and regularly continued through partnerships with first the National Broadcasting Company and then CBS, the former Columbia Broadcasting System. (Library of Congress, 1993, Public Events and Publications chapter, Broadcasting section) In addition, commercially-released recordings of the LC's chamber music concerts and folk sessions were issued, and these recordings represent the only profit generating facet of the LC's concert activities. (Library of Congress, 2014g) (Library of Congress, 1993, Public Events and Publications chapter, recordings section) Presently, concerts are often supplemented with lectures or

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[55] The funds were fairly reliable because they were invested and thus subject to market fluctuations.

panel discussions and these events are filmed and uploaded to either a division's website or to the LC YouTube channel. (Library of Congress, 2014m) (Library of Congress, 2014l)

To date, the LC is unrivalled in music programming because it is the only national cultural institution in the world that has a dedicated, regular concert series or goes to such lengths to disseminate its music programming. This legacy has not only endured but also grown due to Coolidge's initial generosity, but endowments are never given without conditions. They have very strict criteria under which the funds can be used and these restrictions reflect the interests of the individuals who made gifts and the staff who negotiated their terms. Endowments are advantageous because they allow a division to programme events that their budgets might not otherwise allow, but they also restrict the range of programming options. Most are for chamber music or compositions featuring a specific instrument such as clarinet or harpsichord. There are none for jazz, country or any other form of popular music. Unlike the MD and the AFC, RS is bereft of any private endowments, which means any budget for potential programming would entirely come from Congress. As Kerry attests, concerts and their related publications are considered a substantial part of the MD and the AFC's public images and have helped create one of the LC's unique features. Due to their perceived status, these events attract the attention of members of Congress and programming decisions are partly based on Kerry's understanding of Congress' expectations for their library's reputation and a fear of congressional interference. Kerry is not concerned about the endowed concerts because they cover types of music already 'sanctioned' through decades of collecting and programming activities. Consequently, chamber music and, despite its early resistance, folk music are 'safe' bets.

Kerry's concern is for adverse congressional attention regarding potential concerts that fall outwith the programming safety zone. Politicised music is approached cautiously, but after some probing, Kerry is unable to articulate any difference between the political folk music of Pete Seeger and that of the rap group N.W.A. beyond the assumptions that Pete was a nice guy and N.W.A. are not.[56] There are clearly some artists that are simply not the sort that the LC should be seen to promote or support, which means that Kerry must choose artists according to an unarticulated set of guidelines. This point is backed up by the absence of publicly available policy statements regarding the concert series programming decisions. Who are these concerts for? Coolidge and Engel began the

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[56] N.W.A. stands for Niggers With Attitude, but the group's name is often conveyed using the acronym.

concert series with the intention of bringing chamber music to as wide an audience as possible. Their desired outcome was to expose and educate the uninitiated (and presumably uncouth) masses, but there have been limited attempts to do the same with music beyond classical, folk, jazz and gospel.[57] Coolidge's zeal and vision no doubt propelled the LC into unchartered waters of concert programming, which seems to have greatly raised the profile of some of the LC's music collections, but few people since have applied a similar level of conviction and funds to other music. As a result, chamber and folk music remain the only regular concert options. Copyright will certainly challenge what Kerry can programme and some artist fees could finance a house, but these are not necessarily impediments for programming popular music. For example, lectures, panel discussion or exhibitions could address issues of violence, misogyny or homophobia that are often pointed towards as inflammatory or degrading aspect of popular music. Rather than let shadowy congressional figures or risk-adverse management dictate what might be considered unsuitable, these forums could open a much more inclusive dialogue about the impact of music on society and, in the process, provide more avenues for public programming that circumvent issues of copyright restrictions or large artist fees. If there are concerns about derogatory, inflammatory or otherwise offensive materials in a national library, then is it the institution's duty to start discussions about why they might be considered inappropriate and their potential value to the institution, community and nation? Yes. Public programming decisions that exclude certain music for these reasons arguably make it so because national institutions are partly charged with preserving and making available a representative body of cultural output. Therefore, they should provide a forum open to all stakeholders — especially the general public — that explores not only what materials *are* available and why they might be significant or noteworthy, as the LC already does with its concerts and related lectures, but also what materials *are not* available and why they might be inappropriate. Otherwise, they risk further accusations of bias or moral shepherding.

Taylor

> We've spent a while talking about file formats, transfer work and the different types of consultations Taylor offers to the LC staff as well as individuals and organisations working with sound

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[57] For an overview of the 2012-13 concert season, please see http://www.loc.gov/rr/perform/concert/1213-schedule.html (accessed 8 July 2014).

recordings. These consultations typically address two needs, Taylor explains. The first is education about what materials they have and how to transfer between formats. The second is advice about what to consider when starting a project that includes sound recordings. Taylor's eye is firmly fixed on sound recordings' long-term preservation needs and these consultations are opportunities to share knowledge within and outwith the LC. Taylor's understanding of preservation is deep and nuanced and as such, it's in high demand. *I happen to have a lot of experience with these questions and work with these purse string folk on a lot of preservation projects*. Yet it has its limits. Why do you think people come to the LC to ask these sorts of questions, I enquire. *Our national status and an assumption that we have some answers, which we may not have, but at least we can help think about what the answers may be*. The LC staff are in the limelight so consultations could appear one-sided — the LC as teacher, everyone else as students — but Taylor stresses their potential reflexivity. *I don't want to assume or always say that consultation is me the knowledgeable one constantly interacting with someone who's asking for information*. Whichever way the information flows, there is one challenge that few other institutions face. *[Transfer] is easy when you think about your home collections, but when you start thinking about millions of items, it's hard. Every one of them different, every one of them requiring some different care*. Taylor has already expressed confidence in preservation practices developed over the last three decades, but we both know that the task is far from over. What's your biggest concern moving forward? *For me my concern is organization, it's control*. Organisation, in this case, is not simply a means of locating items, but about a means of tracking the preservation needs of millions of items over time so they don't fall victim to decay or obsolescence. *We can make some smart decisions at aggregate levels about what to do and that we know where to draw the line about what we can do ourselves and say we've done a good enough job, that it's good enough because there is no perfect*. There is no perfect because

> nothing stays put for long enough. Formats change. Standards change. Practices change. Priorities change. Things have always been changing, but now perhaps it's more noticeable because it's happening in mass. *I've been doing this long enough that I know you have to make decisions. There is a line that's called good enough and you have to move on.*

As previously discussed, the *State of Recorded Preservation in the United States* illustrates the vast and complicated array of technical, legal and financial concerns related to recorded sound preservation and the *National Recording Preservation Plan* proposes solutions to these challenges. Confirmed by Taylor, the physical needs of recordings present significant challenges that do not always have clear resolutions. Does a digital item have enough metadata for rediscovery? Will bit rates, sample rates and file formats remain preservation standard in five years? Ten years? Additionally, sound recordings at greatest risk, and thus at the top of the preservation priority list, are some of the oldest — lacquer and acetate discs, wax cylinders, magnetic tapes — but these carriers were created before standard practices were established. As a result, each of these carriers requires individual attention in order to reproduce and transfer their contents with the highest fidelity possible. Batch or automated transfer, especially from analogue to digital formats, are not options for these recordings and thus render reformatting an exceptionally labour intensive process. As mechanically reproduced materials, they are wholly dependent upon the playback hardware for which they were designed. Collecting and maintaining this hardware is becoming more difficult due to a dwindling supply of replacement parts and fading expertise in their uses. When all totted up, the cost of researching and developing new preservation techniques that keep pace with the rate of technological change, often applying them on an item-by-item basis, maintaining old hardware, educating people in their use and then repeating this process before carriers become obsolete is more than substantial. In short, there are many, many variables inherent in audio preservation. There are no certainties, but there are certainly options, a sentiment expressed in Taylor's comments about preservation as a process of "good enough" rather than absolutes.

The result of these combined considerations is that "it is relatively easy to recognize the importance of recorded sound from decades ago," but these older recordings "have better prospects to survive another 150 years than recordings made last week using digital technologies." (Ramberger, et al., 2010, 2) While still subject to a myriad of

challenges, audio preservation practices are relatively sophisticated compared to those undertaken by the Recording Laboratory when it began its work roughly seventy years ago. But until recently, that work has mostly focused on analogue materials. Now, amidst the renewed push for saving what could be described as historic sound recordings, today's recordings — predominantly digital, streamed and ubiquitous — are in danger of being overlooked. Current U.S. copyright legislation and contemporary means of creating and disseminating audio, particularly music, makes preservation almost impossible for recordings protected from 1972 onwards. Recommendation 4.4 of *The Plan* recognises that "many of the most recently created recordings are at the greatest risk of loss because of changes in the publication and distribution of sound recordings." (Nelson-Strauss et al., 2012, 70) Digital copies are increasingly replacing physical copies. Instead of being sold in high street shops and independent record stores, recordings are hosted and streamed by online providers such as Spotify, Amazon, Pandora and iTunes and subject to terms of licensing that firmly place content in the hands of the providers, not users. (Nelson-Strauss et al., 2012, 70) As a result, "these licensing agreements effectively make it impossible for research libraries and archives to legally purchase copies of file-based recordings." (Nelson-Strauss et al., 2012, 70) The knock-on effect is devastating and absolute — no materials, no preservation, no access — and *The Plan* warns that if the situation does not change soon, then "the bulk of the nation's culturally significant recordings from the twenty-first century will be held privately by companies and individual artists who may lack incentives or resources for long-term preservation." (Nelson-Strauss, et al., 2012, 70)

The reason contemporary music recordings are at risk is because digitally published recordings are not covered by mandatory copyright deposit legislation. On 24 February 2010 the Copyright Office, which is based in the LC, announced that it amended the regulations governing deposit of online-only materials that are exclusively published in a digital format via the internet and have no physical counterpart. Until 1989, all online-only materials were exempt from mandatory copyright deposit unless they had a physical counterpart, yet it was the physical item that was subject to copyright deposit. The digital file was not. However, as more publishers adopted this form of dissemination, in 2009 the Copyright Office proposed a rule change for the legislation. (Library of Congress and Copyright Office, 2009) Online-only materials would remain "exempt from mandatory deposit until a demand for deposit of copies or phonorecords of such works is issued by the Copyright Office." (Library of Congress and Copyright Office, 2009, 34286) To date, the Copyright Office has made no such demand for digital music and the reason why is found

in Recommendation 4.3 of *The Plan*: the LC has no eDeposit infrastructure. (Nelson-Strauss, et al., 2012, 66) Even if the LC were able to legally acquire digital music files, there are currently no means of ingesting and integrating them.

The combined effect of labour-intensive preservation practices, restrictive licencing agreements and copyright legislation is best illustrated by RS's only digital project, the National Jukebox. Launched in 2001 this project is composed of 10,000+ recordings mostly provided by Sony Music Entertainment. (Library of Congress, 2011) Not only did Sony allow the transfer of thousands of master recordings from its pre-1925 catalogue, it also granted the LC unprecedented free usage rights for those recordings. These two factors mean that RS stream digital copies of these recordings free of charge and do this without infringing copyright. Yet all this was only possible because Sony bought into the project, not because this was common practice. In fact, Sony's contributions remain the only commercially produced content currently available in the National Jukebox.[58] There are, however, plans to increase the Jukebox's content, but it may be 2015 before it becomes available. (Price, 2014) While there is a significant amount of content available, its limited scope is the direct result of licencing, copyright and financial constraints and, until these impediments are removed, the Jukebox's content is tied to what can only be called the generosity of record companies and artists. Taylor's practical and educational experience has come about through substantial collaborative work and, while not specific to audio preservation, reciprocity has been vital to the field's progress. The roll call of *The Plan*'s private and public sector contributors is testament to the monumental coordinating effort that has been and will remain critical for improving the acquisition, management and access of twentieth and twenty-first century music recordings. (Nelson-Strauss, et al., 2012, v-vii)

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[58] The National Jukebox's contents were last checked on 9 July 2014.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

<u>Introduction</u>

In this final chapter, we retrace the changes the LC has undergone from its beginning in 1800 to the present day and reflect on how those changes have affected its music curation. First, we observe how its collections have grown from a small legislative resource to the world's largest library. In that transition, the LC staff expanded the music collections to reflect and thus represent a greater portion of America's diverse cultural output and the communities that created them. Second, we mark the LC's evolution from an isolated to a collaborative organisation. In the past, only the LC staff created and revised internationally adopted resources such as *AACR2* and *LCSH*, but now contemporary, and more musically relevant, resources such as *LCMPT* and *LCGFT* are collaboratively developed with the communities that intend to use them. Third, we note how the LC moved away from being an analogue-only space to an analogue/digital hybrid environment, but appreciate that there are still many unresolved concerns about how — if at all — the role of the library and the librarian may change in a digitally-dominant world. Given these three changes, we then consider the LC's role as a cultural heritage institution and its pledge to be a library for a democracy, but suggest that, when viewed through the lens of music curation, there is considerable tension between its iconic image and its actual image. Consequently, the LC does not adequately fulfil its promise. The LC's core institutional value — research — lies at the heart of this tension because it precludes other non-scholarly forms of learning and alienates the majority of the population who are not interested in or are unable to conduct traditionally conceived research. This chapter, and this work, conclude by considering three areas that hinder the LC's music curation and highlighting opportunities for their improvement.

<u>From Legislative Materials to Cultural Collections</u>

Since 1800 the LC has undergone substantial changes in almost every aspect. In the beginning, the LC's materials were heavily moderated and very limited. Its shelves were carefully filled with materials that touched upon so-called useful, legislatively relevant topics, but 'usefulness' was a contested term. There were some music related items in early collections, but they were neither purposefully collected nor highly regarded. Even though Thomas Jefferson advocated for a universal library, music was not considered 'useful' at that point in time. When it took on the role of national copyright repository, the

LC acquired a comparatively larger range of materials, but in the case of music, this influx did not function as a collections building stream. Although the LC accepted custodial responsibility for copyright deposits, a substantial amount of popular music was denied a place in the collections because influential members of the LC's management — particularly Sonneck, Engel and Putnam — did not believe it induced serious research befitting a national institution. Responding to aesthetic and scholarly trends of the time, these men shunned the majority of music copyright deposits as frivolous and, instead, built the MD on a foundation of Western art music and scientific investigation. However, during the twentieth century, the LC made significant strides towards preserving more representative collections of the nation's cultural output. For example, folk music collecting projects targeted so-called technologically unadulterated, isolated communities including rural whites and Southern blacks — considered by the likes of Alan and John Lomax to be guardians of a more pure, more essential American musical heritage — and these projects not only diversified the collections but also recognised and legitimised a broader range of America's divergent cultural narratives. Although initially contentious and problematic, the AFC's creation affirmed the value and importance of folk music to national identity. Likewise, popular music, once relegated to the basement, found a home first in the MD and then in the MBRSD. After a century's worth of discrimination, popular music was finally recognised as another musical contributor to national identity, but its integration — especially sound recordings — split custodial and curatorial responsibilities between the LC divisions. Instead of healing fissures between popular music and the rest of the LC's music collections, this split — entirely informed by physical storage, access and preservation considerations for sound recordings — emphasised and reinforced internal, curatorial barriers. While these barriers are still being broken down, the development of the LC's music collections demonstrates just how much its collecting practices have matured. While in the past its preference for Western art music dominated collecting decisions, it is now clear that music, whatever its origin or genre, is more likely to be collected than not.

From Isolation to Collaboration

From the very outset, the LC was under the strict control of Congress. It was wholly tied to the legislature for its budget, its users, its space, its content, its name and its mission. Considering it started as a private library for members of Congress, these constraints are understandable. Over the decades, some of these ties to the LC's oldest and

most substantial patron were loosened but none were completely cut. Early in its history, the LC surpassed its European and American counterparts — in size and scope — which necessitated its Librarians to develop it without precedent. Furthermore, with perhaps the exception of the BnF, no other library was ever so profoundly linked with a nation's foundational political ideologies and used as an instrument in attempts to maintain them. It may have never officially been a political institution, but it was and still is politicised. These two factors influenced Librarians of Congress when they made their decisions, who collectively built the LC into a centralised institution. It was centralised in the sense that it often acted on behalf of other librarians and the general public without necessarily soliciting or accepting their input. It was also centralised because it did not rely upon any other library for its operation or development. However, it should be emphasised that there were collaborative moments, but from the beginning of the nineteenth century until well into the twentieth century the Librarians of Congress and the LC's governing committees did a thorough job of bolstering the LC's reputation with passionate appeals to democracy and knowledge. The LC's staff became the nation's experts because their management promoted this view and others accepted it. It is no surprise then that the LC developed into a leader rather than a collaborator.

Beginning in the twentieth century, the scales began to slowly tip in favour of a more internally collaborative approach to its music curation. First the Archive of American Folk Song, then the American Folklife Center and finally the Recorded Sound component of the MBRSD marked milestones in the depth but more significantly in the breadth of the LC's music collections and programming. Nonetheless, this expansion should not be mistaken for collaboration. Each division had a specific remit and by and large, its staff did not necessarily need to work with the other divisions in order to fulfil it. Of course, there were periods of time when the Archive of American Folk Song, the Recording Laboratory and the Recorded Sound Section were part of the MD and these periods occasioned collaboration, but it seems that after divisions split and formed their own identities, internal collaboration fell away. Occasionally, divisions co-sponsored public programming such as concerts but, overall, this separation created physical and curatorial divides that complicated divisions' abilities to work together. It was not until the LC's digital projects took off in the latter part of the 1990s that the MD, the AFC and RS (as part of the MBRSD) rekindled collaborative efforts. However, in the beginning, the distribution of project input was not even. Curatorial staff from each music-related division (or other divisions) often supplied materials for projects, but did not prepare,

catalogue or digitise them. In essence, they handed over materials and that was all. In another section of the interview, Jessie described the distribution of labour in these early projects — *my team would end up doing a lot of the work* — but LCCSA changed this lopsided relationship. Now other divisions are taking more responsibility for their materials and, as a result, contributing more to projects. *My team is still doing a lot of the digital work on a project,* Jessie confirmed, *but for Songs of America, we've had much more input than in the past.* Multiple interview participants expressed the view that divisional identities are not important or not helpful to researchers because they want access to *music* and do not necessarily care or understand that it has been split up. Consequently, LCCSA illustrates each division's initial efforts to work more collaboratively and break down internal barriers, at least from an outsider's perspective.

However, once the LC reluctantly took on the role as hub for an increasingly professionalised library community, it had to turn its gaze outward, peer beyond its own walls and for the first time, engage with outsiders. Vital to this amplification, a growing network of folklorists recorded music and then deposited it with the LC. This was a critical first step towards a more collaborative approach to collection building, yet it is important to note that these folklorists were professionals — predominantly academics — and thus not members of the general population. Their contributions were valued and ultimately accepted by the LC because folklorists were trained in and hailed from the scholarly world. Since then, the LC's work with other organisations has steadily increased. Although *LCSH* decisions are still made by the LC, PCC programmes marked the beginning of more inclusive and arguably more constructive professional relationships between the LC and other institutions. Furthermore, *RDA*, *LCGFT* and *LCMPT* have all been collaboratively developed by the communities that intend to use them. Although they are still very much in their infancy, music curation potentially has a great deal to gain from these collective cataloguing resources because they finally address concerns raised by other institutions as well as music cataloguing issues not addressed by previous resources. However, highlighted in several interviews, and reinforced by Billington, complete disintermediation is, at the moment, one step too far for the LC. Regardless of whether that step takes ten years to happen or it never does, over the last few decades the LC has moved from telling others how to use its resources, to inviting others to conversations about them and finally to coordinating those conversations.

This shift from isolation to collaboration has been absolutely fundamental to resolving some of Sanford Berman's concerns about bias. When he objected to some of the terms in *LCSH*, he also objected to the LC's control of it. In this case, there was no collaboration, which was what made the LC such an easy and apt target for charges of bias and cultural elitism. Thankfully, it appears that the LC found a solution: the more people and organisations involved in development, the fewer chances there are for debilitating effects of bias. However, bias will never be completely absent from *any* resource because they are created and used by people and people are unavoidably biased. The only productive — and achievable — objective then is to reduce its effects and be receptive to discussions about it because protectiveness, defensiveness and aloofness have not proven successful strategies for the LC. Opening and fostering avenues for collaborative work, the LC has reduced potential charges of bias against its staff and at the same time, given other organisations ownership of these resources. This approach takes longer to coordinate, but it incorporates many experiences, interests and expectations and, in doing so, lessens the influence of any single institution.

From Paper to 1s and 0s

For its first 100 years, the LC was almost exclusively a paper-based institution. The first major step in the LC's progression beyond the paper world was its entrance into the realms of sound recording and broadcasting. Folklorists' experiments with and adoption of portable recording equipment left the LC with no choice but to accept the varied, rapidly evolving audio media and to pioneer reformatting techniques before obsolescence claimed them. The LC fostered these activities despite some objections to technology's so-called negative effects on music and the people who listened to it. Value judgements aside, domestic listening equipment — record players and radios — reached a substantially broader audience. Rather than shun these technologies, the LC embraced them to record and broadcast music from its collections and from the Coolidge Auditorium. These efforts mark an important period in the LC's music curation history because these activities mirrored mainstream music consumption habits of the time — listening to recorded music and radio broadcasts — and the result was the LC reached its widest, and perhaps most unknown, audience. The LC's early inter-library loan programmes certainly brought books to local libraries, but the LC broadcasts and recordings brought music directly into people's homes. Anyone — residents of Washington, D.C., Sacramento, Mobile or Bismarck — could tune into a LC concert even if he or she never stepped foot in

their local library. By adopting recording and broadcasting technologies and integrating sound recordings into collections, the LC made the first critical step towards matching its materials with those valued and used by the general public.

Brewing in the 1990s and boiling over in the early 2000s, debates over the so-called digital revolution and its impact on the library community would challenge practically every aspect of librarianship, but as evidenced in Billington's polemics, there was a particular concern for the intimidating volume of digital materials. Digital technologies rendered previously laborious tasks such as editing, searching and disseminating practically effortless. Digital materials could be altered or copied, simultaneously sent to tens or hundreds of people and deleted within the space of a few seconds. As a result, they were ephemeral and exceptionally difficult to track let alone integrate into paper-based libraries. In addition, digital materials require some form of hardware and software for use. Unlike a book, a digital file cannot be grasped with the hands, opened and explored. Digital materials, therefore, are useless without the hardware and software that render them intelligible. Considering these points, Billington's concern about the integration of that amount of digital materials (and their requisite gadgets) into libraries was well-founded. However, employing his flood metaphor, raging at waves does not stop them. Instead, they crest on your head, fill your mouth with water and then pull you out to ocean. Thankfully, the LC built a boat and learned how to sail the digital seas. There are still many unresolved issues surrounding digital materials in libraries, but the important point to make is that the LC survived its most radical transformation, from a palace of paper to a matrix of 1s and 0s, which means it is in a much better position to remain relevant to contemporary and future generations of digital seafarers.

A Library for a Democracy

The ALA members, roused by the 1896 congressional hearings about the LC's structure and mission, were the first outsiders to claim a stake in the LC. Hitherto, no one had made such a claim nor had anyone passed through its doors without first being invited. Confounded by the polyphony of voices issuing from a nation's worth of librarians and the disparate regional and cultural interests each one represented, the LC's iconic image as a temple of research, built and reserved for the worthy few, was under threat. Amid calls to officially recognise the LC as America's national library, advocates underscored the LC's utility to the entire nation, its importance to the democratic process and its duty to preserve

their intellectual and creative endeavours. From Putnam onwards, Librarians of Congress administered the LC as if it were America's officially recognised national library and a national cultural heritage institution. It might have retained Congress' moniker, but the LC was destined to serve more than the nation's politicians. As a result, this expansion of function changed the user base it courted. Once the LC committed to the role, its users could neither be limited to researchers and politicians nor could its collections be restricted to so-called high-brow materials. The LC would have to serve the entire country; it would have to negotiate its diverse communities, preserve their jumble of cultural expressions and bridge its vast geographic expanse. The LC had to become the people's library, a library for a democracy.

The LC's early, absolute link with Congress and its mission to support members' political affairs could have pushed the LC towards an explicitly political existence. In this scenario, we could imagine a contemporary, parallel version of the LC offering access not to a universal collection of materials, but to those that exemplify or endorse dominate political ideas, which as we have witnessed, are the products of social, cultural, ethical or moral agendas. Or we could envision a LC that offers access not to the nation's diverse population but only to individuals who vote. It could have become the ultimate political mouthpiece. Instead, Jefferson's advocacy for universal collections, Putnam's push for universal access and countless smaller acts committed by its staff and supporters all led the LC down a different path. And yet, evident throughout its history, politicians and Librarians have appropriated it for political purposes: they used it to brag to European counterparts; censure and disseminate war time information; and transmit or challenge notions of Americanness. Despite these incidents, the LC remained committed to the idea of democratic access for a democratic society. Put another way, it has pledged to collect, protect and provide access to the products of a people governed by the principle of equal rights and privileges. In order to achieve this promise — to shift from the realm of promises and ideals into the realm of results and actuals — the LC has to provide *all* people with equal access to *all* materials. Has the LC made this shift?

From Ideal to Actual

At the turn of the twentieth century, neither the LC's music collections nor its user base represented the entire range of America's musical creativity or the cultural and social complexity of its population. Neither did it provide equal access to the materials it held. It

did, however, develop into what it considered to be a first-class national institution. Accordingly, it bestowed upon itself superlatives — the world's largest and best collections for the world's brightest minds — and in doing so, firmly situated itself in the realm of the ideal. Thus the LC is an icon, something to be admired, maybe even revered, and its modern day portrayals in brochures, on its website, in annual reports and in the media all conform to this image of a model democratic institution. At the turn of the twenty-first century, however, there was a growing sense that this image no longer matches the LC as well as it seemed to in the past:

> The Library of Congress (LC) is a living and vital library and at the same time an icon. It is easier to be a library than to be an icon, but it is no easy thing to be a library amid the turmoil of the digital revolution. (National Research Council, 2000, ix)

The above quotation consititute the first 47 words of a 1998 study commissioned by the LC and undertaken by the National Research Council and the Computer Science and Telecommunications Board. As the so-called digital revolution escalated, the LC engaged these two organisations out of a "sense of its own vulnerability and uncertainty" and with the hope that they would "provide strategic advice concerning the information technology path that LC should traverse over the coming decade." (National Research Council, 2000, ix, x) Digital materials — their abundance, their scope for access, their ephemeral nature, their legal challenges — obviously shook the LC to its core. Demonstrated through its commission of such a lengthy and no doubt expensive report, the LC suspected digital materials would radically alter if not completely change how libraries operate, who they serve and ultimately, what they are for.

In a simple and clear manner, the National Research Council sums up the LC's predicament in a way that the LC would most likely never have attempted itself. It describes the LC as a "living and vital library," one that is beholden to life's unpredictable, conflicting and messy forces. In this national library, no doubt in every national library, there are needs that must be met and promises that must be kept, and they are often delivered without the luxury of a perfect set of circumstances. Therefore, daily operations are a constant negotiation between these forces and, as a result, there are few who could not appreciate, at least on a practical level, the choices, decisions and predicaments faced by those charged with completing a task. By admitting this, the LC would have to also admit that it does not always get things right and its iconic image, one that it had built up based on pre-digital materials and operations, might no longer be relevant. Each participant in this work has attested to the variability inherent in their roles, mostly due to

these factors, and as a result, they confirm the multitude of influences that help or hinder them along the way. As the National Research Council points out, this symbolism is difficult to maintain possibly due to an ever changing swirl of social, political and aesthetic values that seem to undermine the static image of an icon. How can an institution, particularly a cultural institution, which prides itself on upholding values instilled at its founding, remain relevant in the modern age?

Although the National Research Council's opening statement resonates with Taylor's concerns with and for digital transfers in particular and digital preservation in general, the purpose of including it here is not simply to underscore the effect the LC's digital transformation has had and continues to have on its operations. That much has already been made clear. Rather, it echoes a point Taylor made just at the end of the interview: *there is a line that's called good enough.* Digital preservation is, perhaps more than any other aspect of music curation, an excellent example of the tension between the LC's ideals and actualities. On the one hand, Taylor is charged with providing long-term access to digital materials, and with that role comes expectations that all aspects of all digital materials meet technical benchmarks and user needs. On the other, the body of digital material is so large, its formats are so varied and its obsolescence is hastened by technological developments that it is impossible to marry those expectations with what Taylor, or indeed a whole team of staff, is capable of accomplishing at any point in time. The goal is an ideal but the result almost always falls short. As a result, digital preservation is a balancing act that is largely influenced by changes in technology and technical standards, finances, expertise and time. While it clearly illustrates this tension, digital preservation is by no means the only aspect of music curation subject to those variables, which, when combined, make it impossible to achieve perfection. Hence Taylor's resolve to produce products and foster processes that are, at the very least, acceptable: "good enough" for all stakeholders. The existence of such a line, regardless of where on it falls on a perceived continuum between 'best' and 'worst,' suggests that the two LCs — the ideal and the actual — are never in harmony. Nonetheless, the LC has had some success addressing and resolving the tensions between its multiple identities. Its gradual transformation from an isolated to a collaborative institution has allowed the library, academic and other professional communities to take more ownership of their national library. Practically speaking, this approach has spread the costs of undertaking activities and providing services, but its benefits go beyond reducing budgets. This decentralised approach recognised others' skills, incorporated them into its *modus*

operandi and, in turn, affirmed their professional and academic contributions as valuable to the LC and the nation. But what about people who fall outwith these select communities?

The Impact of Music Curation Narratives on National Identity

This work proceeded on the assumption that music informs personal and national identities. It also regarded music curation as a triptych of people, activities and tools, but it avoided claims about how those three elements interact to shape identities. Those relationships are determined by the values established within a given art world. In this case, we placed music at the heart of one of the LC's art worlds and through analysis of music curation narratives, we gained insight into how its people, activities and tools interact and the forces that influence the relationships between them. The most prominent force to arise out of this analysis was the LC's commitment to research and to this day, it permeates every aspect of music curation. Accordingly, the LC promotes and offers access to its music collections and programming — to the nation's musical heritage — under the banner of research and positions its services to attract and serve researchers. Yet herein lies the dilemma. While music was examined here in a scholarly context, music is not limited to this interpretation of research. Music provides a potentially limitless stream of cognitive, emotional and physical stimuli that can and do contribute to a more general notion of learning and thus someone's understanding of themselves and how they fit into the greater community. It bursts the confines of traditionally conceived research.

Music is multi-sensory. It is read with the eyes. It is heard with the ears. It is felt in the skin, the muscles and the viscera. Sometimes it is seen and even smelt.[59] It is experiential. Alone in a bed room or together in a club, people dance to it and use their bodies to rhythmically explore its beats and melodies. It also expresses human emotion and transmits messages of hope, fear, sadness and joy. These messages are affective and can stir similar emotions in listeners. They hum or sing along, sometimes without even knowing the lyrics, because something resonates within. A huge range of emotional, physical and cognitive stimuli makes every musical context a learning context. Some people study music by reading it or about it and even fewer people critically study music — whether it is termed musicology or not — but the vast majority of people engage with music for pleasure and learn from it in the ways described above. The difficulty with these so-called non-scholarly activities is they are labelled as entertainment rather than education.

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[59] This condition is called 'synaesthesia,' meaning 'together sensations.'

Entertainment is a dirty word in libraries, particularly at the LC, because it has been pitted against research and portrayed as passive, uncritical and frivolous. Entertainment detracts from the serious business of research, but this work does not recognise a hierarchy of learning potentials occasioned by entertainment and research. They *all* contribute to a sense of self, others and the world around them.

Again, the LC's core value is research — by no means questionable or suspect — but the LC's ability to offer access to its nation's musical heritage is severely limited, but not because its staff exhibit varying degrees of bias towards some musical related materials. In the past, non-classical music greatly suffered due to prejudices, but those times are, by and large, over. Now shelves are stuffed full of materials waiting for researchers to ask for them, which demonstrates that the LC's research-focused music curation is most certainly good enough for researchers. There are still hurdles to overcome such as cataloguing arrears and copyright restrictions, but in an institution as large as the LC no task or collection is ever likely to be finished. This work has explored many facets of the LC's contemporary music curation and there is evidence of some uneven treatment of some materials in these activities. It is most prevalent in the LC's public-facing activities such as digital projects and concerts and tends to manifest in decisions regarding some contemporary popular music, but this discrepancy points more towards risk aversion than favouritism. Concerts and digital projects reach the greatest audiences — more than would ever step foot through its security checks and into its reading rooms — and are thus significant potential opportunities to attract new users. While arguably so in the past, the LC's narrative is no longer about bias in regards to its collections. However, there is still reason for concern because, overall, the LC does not provide opportunities for non-scholarly engagement that are most pertinent to music and the general public. This point may seem contrary to commonly held assumptions about what national cultural institutions, particularly libraries, are for and what they should do to offer good enough access to music, not simply to scholars and other research-inclined individuals, but to all of its constituents. National institutions with research agendas have long histories of deciding which topics warrant 'serious' study, who can study them and how they can interact with related materials. Today, the LC's doors are open to everyone, but its commitment to research is in danger of alienating anyone who is not interested in or unable to conduct research. With each generation, research topics and priorities change as do the materials thought to exemplify them, but in the case of the LC what has not changed is its privileging of research over entertainment and the divide it creates between researchers and everyone else.

Until this gap is bridged, non-researchers will never fully experience and learn from their musical heritages, will have great difficulty forming notions of national identity and in the end, feel little or no sense of belonging to their national community.

<u>From Researcher to ?</u>

This work does not seek to examine the LC's or any other cultural institution's activities according to strict dichotomies such as 'best or 'worst.' While the iconic image of the LC is the one broadcast to the nation and the world, it does not accurately reflect the the LC experienced by some of its staff. After listening to dozens of staff speak about their roles, their successes and their challenges, it is clear that the ways they perceive their work at the LC are much more complex and nuanced. They are driven by many value systems of 'good enough' with genuine wills to improve and do better next time. This sliding scale is evidence that music curation is difficult because there are no clear cut answers about how to approach it and striking a balance between its constituent parts is a fleeting achievement. To not recognise and affirm this difficulty would be a great disservice to the efforts, experiences and emanations of hundreds, if not thousands, of people who curate music. Yet this difficulty also suggests that, beyond the rhetoric and publicity, there is no iconic LC. As such, the following concluding remarks will follow participants' leads and explore three points that suggest that the LC's music curation, despite its varied materials, knowledgeable staff, collaboratively-developed resources and public programming, is not quite good enough.

First, LC music curation currently lacks adequate public recognition of just how much copyright legislation impedes its activities. Currently, discussions about copyright are limited to the professional sphere. They happen between members of staff, between staff and politicians, staff and other library staff, but there appears to be no communication about it with the general public. If copyright has as negative an impact on music curation as the LC staff say it does, then their concerns and hopes for its role in music curation should be made known to the LC users. For example, LCCSA completely missed opportunities not only to introduce an understanding of copyright in the broader context of America's musical history, which is arguably its most transformative force after the invention of recording hardware, but also to raise awareness about how the legislation cripples its music curation and its ability to reach the millions of people who do not currently use the LC. As it stands, LCCSA ignores the issues and, as a result, the project

gives the impression that the LC staff have no regard for commercial music published after 1972. This work encountered no reason to believe that such a blatant disregard for contemporary published music exists amongst the LC staff or that there is a secret agenda to keep it out of public programming, yet this is the message LCCSA sends. Consequently, the LC's public silence regarding copyright challenges undermines its staff's work to rectify the debilitating effects these challenges have had and continue to have on music curation.

More debilitating, though, is the effect that silence has on the population's ability to locate their music and themselves in what is advertised as their national library. As one of the most far reaching and thus accessible aspects of music curation, digital projects are likely to be the first, if not the only, engagement people have with any LC collection. Therefore, digital projects — whether they are comprised of collection highlights or an entire collection — will inform someone's impression of what his or her national institutions value as part of the nation's heritage. If no reasons are given as to why LCCSA — or any other digital project that claims to narrate a nation's musical history — seems to ignore contemporary published music, then members of the public who value this music — who create, listen to, sell and study this music — are effectively written out of that narrative. If we consider a generation to be approximately the amount of time between one person's birth and the hypothetical births of their children, then *two* generations are currently missing from music curation because of copyright restrictions. As the pool of published music grows, that gap widens and it will not be long until a third generation is also excluded. Until these concerns are regularly shared with the public, any music curation, especially when it encompasses published music, is not good enough. Copyright's effects are too extensive and debilitating for both cultural institutions and individuals *not* to raise the matter. Digital projects are already established entities and could provide occasions to raise copyright challenges and highlight how current restrictions hinder the LC's ability to curate music in ways that most people would consider relevant to their lives. Ideally, copyright legislation would allow cultural heritage institutions to stream music because listening is the most common way people engage with it. Providing digital streaming services is a stated goal in recommendation 4.4 of *The Plan*, but accomplishing this objective will require intense negotiations and they will most likely take a long time to resolve, but the LC does not appear to recognise the situation or widely publicise this objective. Why not tell every American about the LC's commitment to and

struggles with achieving copyright reform? It may just garner the public support *The Plan's* authors seek for audio preservation work.

Second, some music curation decisions are made based on staff's vaguely articulated notions of appropriateness or fear of reprimand if they appear to transgress. These decisions concern the content of public programming outputs — concerts and digital projects — but not the content of collections in general. Put another way, staff were not worried about having so-called inappropriate materials in the collections *per se*, but they were apprehensive about what outsiders might think if the LC were seen to announce their existence let alone though to promote them. If copyright legislation allowed unfettered use of materials, then one might conclude that all materials in the physical collections are eligible for digital collections, but that is not the case with the LC music curation. The main difference between these two situations is the relative ease of access. Physical collections are much harder to access because they are physically bound to one space whereas digital collections are easily accessed from anywhere via personal computers or other internet enabled devices. Materials that touch upon age-restricted topics or activities — consuming alcohol, for example — could present access challenges. Would under-21s be denied online access to the LCCSA article about the Temperance Movement in America or other materials about alcohol? How might that access be regulated? There are no such restrictions on these materials in the LC's digital collections because, presumably, anyone can talk about alcohol, but one could imagine how such materials, and more specifically providing online access to them, might appear inappropriate to some people. These people might think the LC irresponsible for not controlling them. Furthermore, designing, implementing and monitoring control systems would be a logistical nightmare and well beyond the resources of even well-funded national institutions.

Even if the LC were able to sustain such controls, should its staff be the ones to decide who gets access and who does not? Obviously, there are materials that cannot be legally disseminated in the United States — child pornography, for example — but for argument's sake, we will assume that the LC staff do not infringe or contravene those particular laws. Staff's aversions to potentially contentious materials were difficult to explore in interviews. While recognising there were pressures to observe unarticulated proprieties, staff never pinned down *what* materials were considered off limits for public programming. The reason for their vagueness, perhaps, is that appropriateness is contextual and subjective. It would be quite difficult to pen a definitive list of

inappropriate materials or draft a policy that governed materials' selection for digital projects.

Considering the difficulty of maintaining a control system and the futility of universal policy statements, staff occupy very conservative, risk-averse positions about the public programming content. If something is suspected of being contentious, then it is simply left out of digital projects. Moreover, staff are unlikely to venture too far from so-called safe topics and materials because they feel there are serious repercussions for deviating from them. Congress, for example, seemed to cast the longest shadow on programming decisions because staff viewed its support, particularly its financial support, as critical to the continued existence of their projects. If members of Congress disapproved of the LC's public programming one year, then there is a very real fear that next year's budget allocations might not stretch to cover those programmes again. Staff's fears may also stem from concerns that their programming some materials over others might be construed as their endorsing the topics that they address. Again, adding a disclaimer would relieve staff of those worries.

A vague sense of appropriateness and the fear of reproach are serious concerns for any cultural heritage institution's public programming. While they continue to influence staff's decisions, music curation is not good enough because the former strays dangerously close to unsolicited bowdlerisation and the latter impedes the staff's abilities to programme anything outwith a restricted pool of so-called safe topics. Judgements of appropriateness are subjective and staff will never appease everyone's sense of propriety. Therefore, rather than second guess shifting and conflicting public opinions about appropriateness or use their personal senses of propriety to make programming decisions, music curators should consider taking the opposite approach. Unless there is a law prohibiting it, programme it. If it is in the collections, then programme it. If staff cannot shake their concern that someone might take offence to something, then add a disclaimer and programme it. If copyright legislation prevents staff from providing digital access to it — put another way, if staff cannot programme the music — then programme around it. It is not illegal to talk about music. This may appear more risky because it could invite loud criticism or even a financial backlash from individuals or groups who disapprove, but someone, somewhere will *always* disapprove. That cannot be helped. It is vitally important to shed this risk-aversion because it is even more dangerous to digitally obfuscate the full spectrum of the LC's materials. If they are not already, then digital projects have the potential to be the

LC's most productive means of attracting new users as well as providing them with off-site access to collections.

Finally, the LC's interaction with the general public is one-way. In the case of digital projects, staff made allusions to public disapproval, but how do they know what the public — the automotive worker in Detroit, the shop assistant in Brooklyn, the retired engineer in Montgomery, the unemployed mother in rural South Dakota and the lobbyist in Washington, D.C. — think? They do not know because they do not ask them. Instead, they ask researchers, a comparatively small number of people who already have some investment in the LC. It must be possible for the LC to justify its services and its materials — in short, argue for its relevance — to the people with whom it should be concerned. Otherwise there is no reason for these people to care about an institution that does not appear to represent their lives, tastes and histories. The LC can present its relevance through meaningful dialogues — two-way, constructive discussions — with as many non-researchers as possible. Once the 'uninitiated' are given a voice in these conversations, they are more likely to engage its services and materials and take ownership of their national library.

So how can the LC staff seek out, listen to and integrate these voices? There are a few possible forums already in place. Social media such as Facebook and Twitter have played a big part in opening up communication between otherwise disparate people and communities. The LC has a presence on both, but its activity on these platforms can best be described as one-way announcements and not two-way conversations. (Library of Congress, 2014f) The LC talks *at* its digital followers, not *with* them. Indeed, the following tweets illustrate the LC's arm chair approach to social media:

(Pitsenberger, 2014)

Whilst not without their challenges, social media such as Facebook and Twitter are well-understood by most of the general public and they already use them to converse with each other, access news and explore. More specifically, these outlets can successfully act as forums where people from all over the globe can contribute to online discussions, but the LC has decided not to use its social media profiles for this purpose. There is precedent for national institutions using social media to create dialogue with its users. For example, the National Archives in the United Kingdom hosts live online chats four days a week to assist users with research-related queries. Evidenced in its publically available social media account policies, it moves beyond a research-only context and also fosters two-way communication through its Facebook and Twitter accounts. (The National Archives, n.d.) Currently, the LC physically hosts public lectures and panel discussions that address a wide range of topics including music. (Library of Congress, 2014n) There is a clear precedent of the LC successfully moderating discussions, but unlike the National Archives, its hospitality does not extend to the digital world. Nor does it extend to digital users. Adopting a more reciprocal approach to its social media profiles could be an extremely effective way for the LC to engage with its non-research community. For example, the National Recording Registry is meant to highlight some of the nation's recorded audio heritage and rally support for their preservation, but after the LC issued announcements about its annual entries, the Registry's presence disappears. At the moment, it is a list and nothing more. Instead of waiting until the next round of entries reinvigorates the Registry, the LC could provide online forums and moderate discussions about each recording, which would not only increase the number of music public programming opportunities but also increase the number of people who participate in them. In a globalised world whose citizens increasingly use social media to interact, the LC's one-way approach to their users considerably impedes its ability to engage with non-researchers and, as a result, only widens the gulf between the unemployed mother in South Dakota and the researcher in the Main Reading Room.

These three points highlight the areas in which music curation at the LC falls short in its responsibilities as a cultural heritage institution and they all speak to the LC's reluctance to directly engage with non-researchers. But, in making these points, this work has aimed to support its role as a cultural heritage institution, affirm the progress its music curation has made over the last century and given ground for the reinvigoration of the LC's efforts to adapt to dynamic demands of modern music curation. It is also hoped that this work will provide elements for consideration by other cultural heritage institutions that

encounter similar challenges with music curation. Accordingly, the suggestions offered in this work target ways in which all cultural heritage institutions could increase their presence in and relevance to the lives of their nation's populations, for ultimately this will have an impact on the population's sense of national identity.

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