

DO WE REMEMBER DEWEY AT MANILA? TIN PAN ALLEY'S NEW PRODUCTS MIRROR AMERICAN PRIDE IN THE EXPANDING NAVY OF 1895-1919

Alfred C. Holden
Fordham University

Laurie Holden
New York University

ABSTRACT

New product development focuses today upon multi-step, multi-responsibility processes. But low success rates and intense competitive pressures are not risks unique to the 1990s. Analysis of a sample of new musical offerings from 1895-1919 demonstrates how Tin Pan Alley systematically introduced new products to satisfy American demand for patriotic items, yielding lessons about early utilization of marketing principles.

INTRODUCTION

New product development (NPD) theory and practice focus upon multi-step, multi-responsibility processes. In part because of the considerable time elapsing between idea generation and commercial introduction, new product introduction continues to be a marketing activity with a low success rate; one advertising agency claimed that perhaps 9 out of 10 such items may be commercial failures in the 1990s (Goerne 1992). Meanwhile, U.S. firms face intense pressures to compress the multi-step process and then to manage the product life cycle carefully in the face of successful new product launches by Japanese and other multinational competitors.

Interestingly, marketing history provides insights about American firms that excelled in timeliness and quantity of new product introduction. For example, publishers of popular music sprang up in the latter 1880s, with successful firms having to develop marketing techniques to survive within a competitive marketplace. And from emergence of a core of entrepreneurs in the Union Square section of Lower Manhattan by the early 1890s and their movement uptown to Broadway and 28th Street ("Tin Pan Alley" or TPA in this paper) by 1900, this industry was in the forefront in developing new products.

The focus of this paper is a quantitative assessment of one category of new products introduced by TPA during 1895-1919: patriotic sheet music depicting U.S. naval activity. This particular topic assumed special importance for TPA and America in the mid-1890s, as the country rushed to construct modern warships needed by a great power in an era of imperial rivalries. For marketing purposes, the crowning event occurred on May 1, 1898, when an overwhelming victory by Commodore George Dewey in Manila Bay assured America's place as a world power and made Dewey the U.S. hero of the age. While the Dewey mania of 1898-99 would put that officer's face on everything from toys to cigars, TPA converted this worship into a long-popular and profitable line of new products. Sheet music of the next two decades--as an important sub-category of the patriotic genre--would feature naval heroes, sailors, fighting ships, and related naval subjects. With such eye-catching items, TPA's entrepreneurs would satisfy demands for music depicting America's strong defense against any foreign threats.

The authors seek to document the intensity of this marketing orientation by analyzing a representative sample of such new TPA products of 1895-1919. Examination of this ephemera yields lessons about how TPA placed NPD and associated marketing of the output at the heart of an effort focused on a national audience.

NEW PRODUCTS IN THE RECENT LITERATURE

Research (e.g., Goerne 1992; Schlossberg 1990) confirms that NPD remains fraught with danger, with perhaps 90% of introductions in the 1990s destined for failure. Nonetheless, textbooks and the business press demonstrate that NPD must be managed skillfully to assure a firm's survival. Among diverse contributions to this basic literature are: Crawford (1977 and 1992); Haley (1968); Hegarty and Hoffman (1990); Kleinschmidt and Cooper (1991); Mabert, et.al. (1992); Mahajan and Wind (1992); McDonough and Baczak (1991); Millson, et.al. (1992); Rangan, et.al. (1992); Rinholm (1990); and Schlossberg (1989).

Specific aspects of NPD and commercial introduction have been assessed in recent decades, thereby providing researchers with a framework for evaluating TPA's success in satisfying America's entertainment needs. For example, Tauber (1972 and 1975) elaborated upon methods and procedures for generating product ideas, demonstrating that systematic techniques provide results. Quinn (1985) and Ettlie and Rubenstein (1987) contributed closely related analysis of favorable characteristics exhibited by entrepreneurs or small firms in terms of NPD. On a broader basis, Davidson (1976), Kerin, et.al. (1978), Cooper and Kleinschmidt (1987), and Lawless and Fisher (1990) further refined means to improve chances of new product success.

Thomas (1985) pointed out the importance of entry timing strategy, concluding that a situation-based approach should recognize the uniqueness of each new product and market, especially when external environments change. Lorenz (1991) also focused upon timing and the adverse consequences of delay.

In an important manner, Levitt (1981) noted how packaging (e.g., a sheet music cover) is commonly used to provide reassuring tangible (e.g., visual) surrogates for what marketers (e.g., TPA) promise...but cannot be directly experienced by consumers before a sale. Others who made contributions in that sphere include Berkowitz (1987) and Miller (1992). Redmond (1989) added insights about pricing in the new product's future marketing mix, while Klompmaker, et.al. (1976) and Stanton (1967) assessed test marketing. Meanwhile, Dhalla and Yuspeh (1976) and Levitt (1965) provided inputs for those managing the product life cycle. Reynolds (1968) and Sproles (1981) emphasized the unique life cycles of fashion/trends, including music.

Finally, a number of researchers (e.g., Barnett 1969; Blattberg, et.al. 1980; Day 1977; Gelb 1992; Kane 1987; Lindsay 1990; Selame and Kolligan 1991) focused on the impact of company brands upon consumers and for corporate managers. This topic also included warnings about pruning a product line (Kotler 1965).

AMERICA ENTERS A NEW ERA

There was good reason for an elevated American pride as the country entered the last decade of the 19th century (see, e.g., Barck and Blake 1965; Freidel and Brinkley 1982; Howe 1976; Schlereth 1991). Dedication of the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor in 1886, admission of four new states into the Union in 1889 (with two more in 1890), initiation of a new battleship building program in 1890, and final defeat of the Indian threat at Wounded Knee in that same year provided occasions to celebrate a national confidence.

Twenty-five years after the end of the Civil War, the nation was also beginning to observe a healing of that wound. Middle-aged veterans of North and South provided a large body of patriotic feeling, while the birth and maturation of a new generation, the domestication of the West, and a surge of immigration further encouraged development of a "national" identity.

The Columbian Exposition (World's Fair) of 1893 was a convenient landmark near the end of

this era of looking inward (Sullivan 1926-35). At that spectacular gathering in Chicago, record numbers gazed in amazement at the architectural, industrial, and social wonders of a new age: huge buildings, grand exhibits, and advanced technology. But large crowds would also watch a gyrating "Little Egypt," do the Hoochy Koochy dance, and sing popular new songs (Sanjek 1988). Thus, the TPA era--which began in the late 1880s with a handful of entrepreneurs creating new songs built upon contemporary events, fads, trends, or fantasies--emerged fully. Following the Chicago fair, buoyant public demand for popular entertainment would be accommodated by an industry that supplied a steady stream of new products for American households.

Nonetheless, the nation had not entered the modern era by 1890 (Wattenberg 1976). Population had not yet reached 63 million; it would top 100 million in 1914. Rural inhabitants--over 40 million--still outnumbered their urban countrymen by nearly 2 to 1. Only after World War I would urbanized Americans be the majority. In 1890, there were only four U.S. cities with over a half-million inhabitants; there would be 12 by 1920. There were barely 23 million in the labor force; by 1920 the number had grown to 42 million. Output per man-hour in 1890 was \$8870 (in 1987 dollars); by 1920, the figure would be 55% more or \$13,735. Average hourly earnings in manufacturing in 1890 were just 20 cents for a 60-hour week; by 1920, they would exceed 66 cents, while the average work week was reduced to 50 hours.

In the twenty-five years between 1895 and the end of World War I, the U.S. was thus to undergo a truly far-reaching transformation. A brash inward-looking society would evolve into an industrial giant and first-rank global power. And, from the moment of America's turning to an outward-orientation, TPA was there to mirror the patriotic upsurge.

TIN PAN ALLEY MARKETS POPULAR MUSIC

The music business was changing quickly, even before the Columbian Exposition. By 1890, a strong concentration of talent had gathered in New York, centered first in Union Square, but, by early in the new century, it followed the uptown trek of the theaters. For the next two decades, TPA--28th Street near Broadway--would be a key focal point, a development tracked by such researchers as: Ewen (1964 and 1977); Goldberg (1961); Hamm (1979); Jasen (1988); Kanter (1982); Kinkle (1974); Levy (1975); Marcuse (1959); Ryan (1985); Sanjek (1988); Scheurer (1989); Tawa (1990); and Witmark and Goldberg (1939).

With such pioneers as Charles K. Harris, Paul Dresser, Harry von Tilzer, and the Witmark brothers in the forefront of popular music commercialization, the industry became fiercely competitive. Success could come overnight and fortunes be made, but fame required being attuned to a variety of, what would later be seen as, modern marketing techniques.

Notably, brash young entrepreneurs concentrated exclusively on a profitable new activity--writing songs solely for popular taste and then "plugging" this output creatively in order to reach an eager audience quickly. Idea generation included taking a headline from front-page news, manufacturing lyrics to accommodate a popular event, borrowing a Civil War or foreign tune, or plagiarizing a competitor's creation. Fortunately for marketing historians, sheet music with multi-colored covers has survived in profusion, especially where the new product was patriotic.

In such an environment, the types of songs and the forum would also change, as success in one medium was copied immediately. The sentimental ballad dominated much of the 1890s, targeted to the American family singing around its piano, with a focus on home, virtue, and the wages of sin. However, humor and satire made an early appearance, in large measure to meet demands for songs from vaudeville and the musical theater. This trend toward cosmopolitanism was hastened by new social customs, notably men and women dining out in the evening and attending theaters and clubs. Such new technologies as the player piano and phonograph would accelerate the sophistication in the early decades

of the 20th century. Increasingly, the entertainment focus moved outside the traditional home setting, even as citizens developed concerns and interests outside the continental frontiers.

TPA fueled the national transformation by turning out several dozen major hits every year--literally millions of copies of sheet music--for a seemingly insatiable audience. TPA researchers (above) have shown how innovative entrepreneurs noted that the traditional (i.e., serious/religious or classical) musical publishers of the late 19th century were virtually indifferent to opportunities being created by America's rapidly changing social-cultural, economic, and competitive external environments. Interestingly, though, Stone (1956) documented that entrepreneurial development of popular music was not unique to Victorian America. The U.S. musical industry is historically one where creative businessmen have sought to exploit opportunities during various eras, as Jackson (1933) and Lawrence (1975) illustrated.

The marketing history researcher today possesses readily available information about those external conditions being observed by TPA pioneers. For example, newspapers of that era devoted considerable coverage to the Columbian Exposition and evident determination of Americans to travel, to see exotic entertainment, and to sing new songs. The immense popularity of the bicycle also highlighted this new liberalization and mobility among the young, especially women. Census data by 1900 confirmed that the "frontier" had closed and that a traditionally rural America was fast becoming an urban colossus. But for many engaged in new factory and service activities, a rise in disposable income was in store. Families could afford to go out in the evening for entertainment, and many wanted pianos to play the now-popular music heard outside. Music Trade Review in 1902 estimated that the total output of U.S. piano manufacturers in 1901 was a record 159,500, with 85 firms in New York, 31 in Chicago, 16 in Boston, 9 in Philadelphia, 6 in San Francisco, 5 in Cincinnati, and 82 elsewhere.

In terms of technology and the competitive environment, entrepreneurs of the 1890s were well aware that transportation and mail service facilitated national distribution of product. Advertising was also well advanced in popular magazines. Marketing historians today can see, too, how TPA found the existing Music Trade Review and Musical Courier to be useful, weekly trade-press vehicles for publishing promotional messages as well as for observing NPD of both traditional musical houses and popular competitors. Simultaneously, the technology was at hand to produce multi-colored sheet music covers designed to attract customer attention to a firm's new product. As several authors state, the early "moving pictures" were also ideal vehicles to call forth popular music into theaters.

In sum, this would be the era when TPA's marketing creativity was honored in the limelight--when John Philip Sousa would welcome back Admiral Dewey, when George M. Cohan would strut around the stage as George Washington while draped in an American flag, when ragtime was implanted in the public consciousness through the success of Irving Berlin and his band, when Vernon and Irene Castle would lead the U.S. passion for social dancing, and when the rival Ziegfelds and Schuberts would create an eager market for their annual revues of scantily clad women.

TPA AND AN EMERGING NAVAL FORCE: SOME PRELIMINARY HYPOTHESES

Within the product line that TPA offered to consumers, there emerged no less than eleven classifications or categories of popular music (Hubbard 1908), with each having its adherents. This paper focuses upon one of those categories, patriotic music, with special attention given to the naval sub-category.

Recent naval history scholarship (e.g., Beach 1986; Hagan 1991; Miller 1990) documents both the impressive recovery in U.S. naval power during the late 1890s and the rapid expansion that continued during the next two decades. The embarrassing impotence of an obsolete fleet in the early 1890s and the humiliating destruction of the Maine in 1898 were followed by massive naval victories at Manila Bay and Santiago. The authors hypothesized that TPA would soon show that it would take a mighty fleet to defend the new overseas possessions gained in 1898.

The return to New York of a now Admiral Dewey and his Olympia highlighted how fleet commanders and their ships were instant heroes. But the authors believed that TPA would find that the navy possessed long-term national interest. With Teddy Roosevelt soon at the helm, naval expansion accelerated, and the 1907 launch of the "Great White Fleet" generated worldwide attention. The navy's capacity to prevent European forays into the Western Hemisphere also enabled Washington to wield a big stick, culminating with dedication of the Panama Canal as World War I commenced. America now had a secure means to move the fleet between oceans and so to avoid any need to repeat the 1898 heroics of the Oregon.

Social movements within the country would be reflected in all institutions, including the navy. The authors judged that TPA, always alert to the latest trends, would comfortably manage to link ragtime, the advent of romanticism, concern about prohibition, and rising independence of women to a variety of naval subjects.

With the outbreak of hostilities within Europe in 1914, the navy was clearly the first line of defense in preventing disruption to neutral America. Unfortunately, the British surface fleet and German submarines threatened traditional U.S. foreign policy and interrupted trans-Atlantic commerce. No wonder that the Wilson Administration would begin construction of a navy that would exceed all others and promise isolation from foreign troubles, a program that the authors believed would undoubtedly attract TPA interest.

But with the German submarine gamble of 1917 forcing a declaration of war by Washington, the navy mobilized for its main task: protecting troopships from an enemy lurking below the waves. The authors hypothesized that TPA would thoroughly document that over 2,000,000 American boys would be landed safely in France to settle the dispute with the Kaiser.

November 11, 1918, brought an armistice and gave the navy its last great task of the era--bring the boys home to a jubilant America. TPA would certainly be riveted on that joyous phase. But as the era of patriotism and interest in the navy suddenly waned during 1919, it seemed to the authors that TPA, too, would change gears abruptly for the "roaring 20s."

Overall, while this cyclical nature of patriotism has been noted by historians, research by Han (1988) and Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) provides interesting marketing implications.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Initial observation by the authors of a large private collection of 1895-1919 sheet music covers--the "package" or visual surrogate of Levitt (1981) for the music inside--confirmed that TPA differentiated new products among the eleven categories described by Hubbard (1908). Nowhere was this packaging more striking than in the "patriotic" category.

For example, the authors' preliminary analysis of more than 1500 sheet music offerings from the patriotic category suggested that TPA carefully structured its colorful package for the audience. Typically, there was a combination of symbols designed to appeal to consumers being swept along in the upsurge of American pride.

The issue to be examined in this paper is TPA's management of the introduction of new products associated with the sharply increased interest in the navy which followed Dewey's victory. To guide analysis of this sheet music, the authors sought to answer the following questions. First, how did TPA make it clear to consumers that the new product was patriotic in nature? Second, how was the consumer to be assured that the music focused upon the navy or related activities? Third, were there distinctive characteristics that enabled customers to identify a publisher for repeat business? Fourth, were there product patterns unique to time segments within the 25-year period? And, fifth, were there

clues on the product about how introduction was coordinated with other elements of the marketing mix?

A total of 181 patriotic sheet music offerings with an obvious naval theme was selected for analysis out of the large 1895-1919 private collection. While there is no known listing of all TPA products in any year--much less a breakdown by categories--this sample is estimated by the authors to be representative and to equal approximately one-third of surviving sheet music depicting primarily a naval theme. In turn, the naval sub-category is estimated to be but a small portion, perhaps 10%, of new product output of patriotic music of the 1895-1919 era which is conveniently available today.

RESULTS

Analysis of the sample by date of publication--52 items were published up to 1903 and 129 were after 1903--permits documentation of New York City's growing preeminence for popular music creation. For new naval music products issued before TPA was named and institutionalized around 1902, 35.3% of the sample (to 1903) were published in New York, versus 56.3% of the sample after 1903. Meanwhile, Chicago and Detroit would increase their joint share from 5.9% to 13.5%. These gains were achieved in part at the expense of the two traditional musical centers, Boston and Philadelphia, whose respective shares fell from 15.7% to 4.8% and from 7.8% to 4.8%. And while publishers in the rest of the country also lost some share after 1903, their overall output of naval music remained significant: 35.3% before 1903 and 20.6% thereafter.

In terms of TPA having a primary naval topic on the sheet music cover, this pattern also shifted. The 1895-1903 sample illustrated huge popularity of two themes: (a) an individual or group of naval officer heroes, pictured on 44.2% of the sample (with Dewey depicted on 78% of these); and (b) an individual ship (typically, a heroic one), shown on 34.6%. Depiction of a fleet of ships followed with a share of 7.7%, with smaller figures for such topics as: a sweetheart with her sailor and/or his ship; an individual (or group of) sailor(s) or marine(s) on duty; and demonstration of control of the sea.

The major cover topic after 1903 is the sailor or group of sailors on duty (23.0%), followed by depiction of an individual ship (22.2%), a sweetheart with her sailor and/or his ship (14.3%), a fleet of warships (12.7%), and, interestingly, sailors singing or dancing (9.5%). Trailing well behind are: control of the sea; troop ships; navy and army cooperation; naval symbols; and naval heroes.

Analysis of the sample also documents the degree to which easy consumer identification of the overall patriotic category was regarded as important. During the 1895-1919 era, an average of 2.9 different patriotic motifs or themes were used on each of the 181 covers to alert the buyer to its patriotic content. But while publishers seemed to use the same number of themes, favored ones shifted position as time passed. In the sample items to 1903, the five top ranking themes were relatively closely bunched: the U.S. flag (18.8% of the total symbols); red, white, and blue colors (18.1%); warships (17.5%); a hero (15.6%); and an explicit dedication by the composer or publisher to a patriotic topic (12.5%). These were followed by an eagle (6.3%), defeating the enemy (4.4%), and drawings of guns or cannon (3.1%). Motifs receiving less than 3% included: sailors on duty; military parades; off to war/sea; soldiers/marines fighting; troops returning; Uncle Sam; Statue of Liberty; and sailor and soldier on guard.

After 1903, four top-ranking themes were also bunched: warships (23.8%); sailor(s) on duty (16.8%); red, white, and blue (16.5%); and the flag (15.4%). These were followed by patriotic dedications (5.2%), sailor and soldier on guard (4.1%), eagle (4.1%), and off to war/sea (3.5%). Others were depicted on less than 3% of the covers.

Application of a distinctive brand and/or trademark on the product characterized every one of the 128 publishers in the sample. TPA was clearly aware that legal considerations and customer ease in locating other new products were so served. Nonetheless, not all publishers carried their exact street

address on the sheet music, leaving open whether consumers could write directly about this new product. Within the sample, some two-thirds of the new products emanating from the four biggest cities had exact addresses to 1903, but only one in six from the smaller areas carried street addresses. After 1903, big city publishers with addresses rose to about 80%, and publishers from smaller sources improved to almost 25%.

Another "product" consideration on the sheet music cover was the creative means to depict the visual topic and the patriotic themes. In terms of the 1895-1919 sample, color drawings and/or photographs generally were used to attract attention. It is evident that publishers increasingly sought to assure that the final creative design work presented the best picture to the consumer.

A full-cover color drawing was the most popular option, often created by one of several artists who specialized in TPA illustrations (Dichter and Shapiro 1977). While a drawing appeared on 38.5% of the sample for 1895-1903, this usage climbed to 57.7% for music after 1903. The second most popular option to 1903 (34.6%) was a color drawing and a photograph of the song's focal topic (e.g., a ship or hero), with one example carrying photographs of seven heroes of the Spanish-American War. Other common options to 1903 included: a dominant photograph of the subject/topic (9.6%); a color drawing and a photograph of the performer/composer (9.6%); and a color drawing and photographs of the song's focus and the performer (3.8%). Only two of the sample had black and white drawings, one with a subject photograph.

After 1903, the second most popular cover design (21.7%) was a color drawing with photograph(s) of the performer--one example carrying three performer photographs. TPA increasingly calculated that such cover material was integral to promote a new product. In third place (10.1%) was the predominant photograph, with slightly more showing the song's focal subject than the performer; nonetheless, one example had three photographs of performers as the preeminent focus of its cover page. The analysis also brought a few other minor combinations to light, including black and white drawings with photographs and a color drawing with photographs of subject and two artists.

Other promotional activity was also part of TPA marketing when introducing new products. The majority of publishers used the back cover and/or inside front to illustrate and list other offerings. This was also an age when a diversified firm might publish music but also seek to advertise its non-musical products...including beer and patent medicines! While the 77.3% figure for post-1903 sheet music carrying some promotion probably should not surprise marketing historians, the 58.8% for the 1895-1903 sample is interesting. Moreover, during 1917-18, four new products carried both advertising and U.S. government messages of public interest, while another four carried only Washington propaganda inputs.

Price strategy is not easily assessed by analysis of TPA's new products. While major publishers generally were careful to list wholesale prices for new and existing products within trade publications and to note consumer prices for householders mailing to the publisher, they often failed to put suggested retail price on the cover. Of course, as the trade press documented, this situation became more ambiguous during the era, as sheet music prices fluctuated with supply conditions and marketing intent of individual firms. For example, while a retail price was printed on marginally more (55.8%) new products than not in the 1895-1903 sample, that figure was just 23.6% after 1903. Such prices in both periods ranged from \$0.10 to \$0.60, with a mean of \$0.50.

Distribution strategy can be inferred from information on the new product, as some publishers listed U.S. and/or foreign agents. Overall, 30.8% of new products to 1903 and 33.6% after 1903 do explicitly indicate a formal representation within more than one U.S. city and/or abroad (usually in Canada, UK, and Australia). While this evidence could be suspect for an industry that exaggerated its successes, it is worth noting that most of the products indicated that publishers sought to sell directly to households by mail or via retailers without benefit of wholesalers.

Finally, many of the examples in the sample had the imprint of a specific music retailer, often from a small town and with a remarkable nationwide diversification. While no attention was given to these clues about mass distribution in this research, it is significant that Music Trade Review in 1917 talked in terms of "thousands" of retailers in all parts of the country on the mailing lists of major TPA publishers.

CONCLUSIONS

Analysis of the 181 sheet music covers of the 1895-1919 era enabled the authors to answer five questions about TPA's NPD.

First, patriotic sheet music was readily identifiable for the consumer. The flag and patriotic colors were particular favorites, items easily spotted in the display cases of large department stores and specialty music shops.

Second, there was little difficulty pinpointing the navy within the patriotic sheet music category. In addition to patriotic symbols, these new products typically featured bold warships, portraits of naval heroes, or sailors in uniform.

Third, TPA publishers featured distinctive trademarks for consumers who might want to buy future offerings and frequently provided addresses of their facility along with the logo. For example, the most prominent firm in the sample was Leo Feist (9 items) who sent the clear message to purchasers--"You Can't Go Wrong with any Feist Song." Others in the forefront of publishing naval music included: Joe Morris Music (8 items); Jerome H. Remick (7); M. Witmark and Sons (6); Waterson Berlin & Snyder (6); F.J.A. Forster (4); Harry von Tilzer (4); and a traditional publisher, F. Trifet (3).

Fourth, the analysis lent support to the timeliness aspect of TPA's NPD. The authors detected and named the following chronological groupings of 1895-1919 developments that emerged.

1. "Launching the New Navy" (11 covers from the sample). TPA featured the formidable new battleships under construction, although occasional nostalgia was shown for the old sailing ships.
2. "Remember the Maine" (5). TPA's dramatic depictions of the Maine's savage destruction foreshadowed the vengeance awaiting an enemy that would strike a warship anchored peacefully in Havana.
3. "Dewey and the Victorious Aftermath" (34). TPA outdid itself in recreating Dewey's smashing victory in Manila and the Sampson/Schley annihilation of the Spanish fleet at Santiago, actions that provided America with an empire and produced a hero who epitomized U.S. naval spirit for the next two decades.
4. "The Great White Fleet" (11). TPA captured the national excitement that accompanied Teddy Roosevelt's bold decision to send 16 battleships around the world during 1907-09 and to "Americanize" bluejackets of the fleet.
5. "The Dreadnoughts Emerge" (13). TPA highlighted how, just a decade after the Spanish-American War, the navy had fully modern behemoths with heavy guns, thick armor, global steaming capacity, and seamen ready to confront any external challenge within a world of political tensions and rivalries.
6. "Social Movements and Women Affect the Navy" (24). TPA confirmed that even patriotic music would both reflect imaginative ragtime lyrics and dances sweeping America and depict those young women who waited loyally for their sailor sweethearts.
7. "Preparedness, 1914-16" (19). TPA shifted briskly to the theme of preparedness, with the navy as the first line of defense to protect commerce and to discourage any European belligerent from challenging U.S. neutrality and isolationism.
8. "The Navy at War, 1917-18" (34). As TPA showed, the navy's primary duty was to guard

troopships as the American Expeditionary Force was ferried to France across an ocean infested with submarines capable of sending U.S. boys to a watery grave.

9. "The Lighter Side of War" (22). TPA demonstrated that war involves a great deal of time spent waiting, training, reading letters, saying goodbye, and singing, and that seamen are no different from other servicemen in these activities.

10. "Victory and the Aftermath, 1918-19" (6). With the world suddenly made safe for democracy, TPA's last offerings of the era illustrated that the navy's final task was to bring the military victors home quickly from France to waiting mothers, girlfriends, and a grateful America.

Fifth, there are significant clues about the distribution, pricing, and promotional efforts of TPA from analysis of the sheet music. While more documentation is needed to draw firm conclusions about these marketing elements, it is apparent from the sheet music, histories of TPA, and Music Trade Review articles that TPA paid close and constant attention to their linkage at the time of introduction and during the song's life cycle.

Overall, while there are many avenues of additional research that remain to be travelled in investigating the marketing activities of TPA, this paper demonstrates that NPD was certainly no afterthought for successful musical publishers during 1895-1919. Instead, it was a primary activity for those who sought to prosper during an era of substantial opportunities coupled with intense competitive challenges.

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