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“The air seems to infatuate the ear”: Confederate Anthems, Union Battle Cries, and their Respective Contrafacta

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Claremont McKenna College

“The air seems to infatuate the ear”:
Confederate Anthems, Union Battle Cries, and their
Respective Contrafacta

submitted to
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by
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for
Senior Thesis
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Abstract

During the Civil War, musical fluidity led to an outpouring of songs written about the conflict. With every popular song came at least one set of alternate lyrics known as contrafacta. In this thesis, I analyze Northern anthem “The Battle Cry of Freedom,” and Southern anthems “The Bonnie Blue Flag” and “Dixie” and their contrafacta. Through the lens of contrafacta, I analyze how the North and the South understood the terms “liberty” and “freedom.”

Keywords: Civil War songs; liberty; freedom; contrafacta; alternate lyrics

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In the spring of 1859, former circus musician turned composer Daniel Decatur Emmett (1815—1904) was on deadline. He had a mere two days to write a piece for the lauded group he belonged to, Bryant’s Minstrels, based in New York.¹ He plodded around his home, remaining indoors to escape the rain, and attempted to overcome his musical writer’s block. “I couldn't get anything. But a line. ‘I Wish I Was in Dixie’ kept repeating itself in my mind, and I finally took it for my start. The rest wasn’t long in coming.”² Later, he claimed the melody came to him from his childhood memories, when his grandmother sang him to sleep with a song that began, “Come Philander, let’s be marchin’/Every one his true love sarchin.”³ When he performed it for his wife, she purportedly told him that if Bryant’s Minstrels did not like it, they would not like anything.⁴

After only a few weeks, Emmett’s song dominated the musical landscape in the North, and the composer himself gleefully celebrated the reception of what he called his “hit” of a song. He boasted that only a week after its premiere, everyone in New York was whistling “Dixie.” Soon, the song was part of America’s popular music of the day: President James Buchanan played it at his final party at the White House, and Abraham Lincoln used it during his 1860 presidential campaign, albeit with Republican words.⁵ But the song could not last as a singularly Northern tune forever: as the South began to

¹ Christian McWhirter, *Battle Hymns: The Power and Popularity of Music in the Civil War* (University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 65.

² McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 65.

³ Kent A. Bowman, *Voices of Combat: A Century of Liberty and War Songs, 1765-1865* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 93.

⁴ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 65.

⁵ Henry Frederic Reddall and Dudley Buck, *Songs That Never Die: Being a Collection of the Most Famous Words and Melodies Enriched with Valuable Historical and Biographical Sketches of Renowned Authors and Composers* (New York, NY: W.J. Holland, 1894), 105.

reject both Northern ideals and musical anthems such as “Yankee Doodle” and “Hail Columbia,” Southern bandleaders picked up and favored “Dixie” as a pleasing alternative. Eventually, “Dixie” morphed into the definitive Confederate anthem during the war years.

The fact that “Dixie” was written by a Northerner and Union man did not deter Southerners from adopting the tune. By 1860, producers of the Southern drama “Pocahontas” popularized the song by using it in the show, and soon after, it became popular with Southern masses.⁶ But it was during the performance at Jefferson Davis’s inauguration on February 18th, 1861, that the tune became a true de-facto anthem for the Confederacy.⁷ After the ceremony, the bandleader who had chosen the song—Herman F. Arnold—remembered that Davis told him “he wanted to make Dixie the national air of the South.”⁸ Arnold took the minstrel song and adapted it so that military bands could play it as Confederate soldiers marched.

Despite previous employment as a printer, Emmett waited more than a year to obtain copyright on his smash hit.⁹ After legal challenges, the publishers Firth, Pond, & Company awarded Emmett a mere \$300 for the rights to his song (a little over \$9,000 in 2018 dollars). At this point, the song was famous, and often performed in both the North and South. Northerners would continue to perform the song until 1863, at which point it was so decisively co-opted by the South that performing it left a bitter taste in their mouths.

⁶ Bowman, *Voices of Combat*, 94.

⁷ McWhirter, 66.

⁸ McWhirter, 66.

⁹ Bowman, *Voices of Combat*, 94.

Emmett continued to perform minstrel shows, but his success with composing seems to have ended with his one-hit-wonder. Shortly before his death at the age of 80, he relived his glory days by performing the song on tour with Al Field's minstrels.¹⁰ Emmett was neither trained as an anthem composer nor did he seek to write such a stirring piece. What spurred the creation of "Dixie" was simply a deadline for a minstrel group in the North. Emmett, upon learning that the Confederacy had appropriated and adapted his piece as their de-facto national anthem, reflected, "If I had known to what use they were going to put my song, I will be damned if I'd have written it."¹¹

* * *

During the span of the Civil War, music served an elemental purpose in the daily lives of the average soldier or civilian. Bugle calls helped the army communicate everything from the signal for breakfast to the orders to retreat on the battlefield. The importance that music played in the lives of civilians and soldiers can be tracked through the uptick in sheet music sales, participation in community bands and choirs, and frequent mention of music in journals, letters, and other personal writings of the time. At home, amateur pianists fell upon their parlor instruments with gusto. Composers attempted to portray marching tunes, trumpet calls, and even cannon shots and stray bullets through virtuosic arpeggios in episodic works.¹²

For soldiers, music was inseparable from the daily experience of fighting, but it also depicted the glories of the soldier's profession. General Robert E. Lee reportedly

¹⁰ Bowman, 95.

¹¹ Bowman, 94.

¹² Elizabeth Morgan, "War on the Home Front: Battle Pieces for the Piano from the American Civil War," *Journal of the Society for American Music*, vol. 9, no. 4 (2015): 385-386.

said, “I don’t believe we can have an army without music.”¹³ Soldiers noted how making music together quickly established a bond around a campfire. Military bands might play a soulful ballad and lull soldiers into a comfortable state, but the next moment might bring the arrival of a field musician designated with enforcing time or marching patterns.¹⁴ Union and Confederate bands even played “truce concerts,” where one would serenade the other after hours.¹⁵ These serenades might even turn jokingly competitive, where one band would try to best the other.¹⁶ Music pervaded the Civil War at every level: from fundraising efforts, to marching through swampland to the beat of a drum, to recounting the battle through song, to commemorating a fallen brother on the field of battle, new songs and old jigs alike were performed, consumed, and enjoyed.

With the widespread distribution of the printing press, music became readily available to the public, with somewhere between nine and ten thousand songs published as sheet music during the Civil War.¹⁷ Publishing houses such as Root & Cady in

¹³ This quote has a dubious background, as Bell Wiley quotes it without documentation in his noted book, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1943), 157.

¹⁴ James A. Davis, *Music Along the Rapidan: Civil War Soldiers, Music, and Community during Winter Quarters*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 25.

¹⁵ Maureen Manjerovic and Michael J. Budds. "More Than a Drummer Boy's War: A Historical View of Musicians in the American Civil War," *College Music Symposium* 42 (2002): 125.

¹⁶ In a description of one of these truce concerts, Manjerovic writes: “On 30 December 1862, the night before the battle at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, the Federal band played Union favorites, such as ‘Yankee Doodle’ and ‘Hail Columbia,’ within ear shot of the rebel forces. The Confederate band responded by playing ‘Dixie’ and ‘The Bonnie Blue Flag.’ Because neither band wanted the other to prevail with the last song, the exchange continued until both bands played a poignant but neutral selection, ‘Home Sweet Home.’ At the battle of Fredericksburg, Virginia, the Federal band was camped so close to their enemy that one Confederate soldier was able to request verbally the Northern band to play some of ‘our tunes.’ The Northern band obliged. A rendition of ‘Dixie’s Land’ by Gilmore’s ensemble brought cheers from both Union and Confederate soldiers camped closely together in Virginia in 1862. Often these concerts were accompanied by exchanges of small gifts between rival bands, such as tobacco, apples, and coffee.”

¹⁷ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 16.

Chicago made small fortunes printing hundreds of thousands of pages of music. George Frederick Root (1820-1895) was the first composer to react when war broke out, writing “The First Gun is Fired!” only three days after the Confederate Army started bombarding Fort Sumter.¹⁸ Root was a prolific composer during the war years, writing over thirty songs including hits such as “The Vacant Chair,” “Just before the Battle, Mother,” “Tramp! Tramp! Tramp! Of the Prisoner’s Hope” and the Union anthem “The Battle Cry of Freedom.”¹⁹

At the onset of the Civil War, music publishing in the United States was scattered throughout the nation rather than concentrated in a few cosmopolitan areas. Any decently sized city contained a shop where its citizens could buy sheet music, sometimes published by that very store. Publishing could be a lucrative business if the store owner had a good sense of what sheet music would sell. People would buy sheet music to play in their homes for their friends and family; parlor music was a pastime and pleasure.

During the first months of the conflict, when there was very little activity, armies set up large camps near cities that allowed music to travel from soldier to civilian.²⁰ Maureen Manjerovic claims that the early months of the war were possibly the most musical, especially for the army bands. As the war continued, fervor around supporting troops grew, and war songs flooded off the presses. Historians estimate that around two

¹⁸ McWhirter, 16.

¹⁹ Mark A. Snell, and Bruce C. Kelley, *Bugle Resounding: Music and Musicians of the Civil War Era*, Shades of Blue and Gray Series (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), 5.

²⁰ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 22.

thousand songs were published in the first year of the war for civilian and military consumption.²¹

Musicians served a critical role during the war itself. Although well-recognized bandleaders like Patrick Gilmore and C.S. Grafulla were able to enlist with their entire ensemble in the same company, it was rare for musicians to receive special privileges. Initially, the rank of “musician” in the armies of the North was comparable to a private, and seen in a poor light by others serving.²² Over time, however, soldiers came to value musicians over any other type of colleague-in-arms. The U.S. government authorized the assignment of up to 24 musicians to each Union band, although the true numbers vary widely.²³ Manjerovic estimates that for approximately one in every forty soldiers was a musician, an astonishing number employed.²⁴

²¹ Dena J. Epstein, “The Battle Cry of Freedom,” *Civil War History* 4, no. 3 (1958): 307–18, <https://doi.org/10.1353/cwh.1958.0048>.

²² Manjerovic, “Drummer Boy’s War,” 120.

²³ Manjerovic, 120.

²⁴ Manjerovic, 120.



Figure 1: Bealeton, Virginia. 93rd New York Infantry Drum Corp (Library of Congress)

There were three types of musical groupings: field musicians, drum corps, and brass bands. Every company would likely host a minimum of two musicians, a drummer, and a bugle player.²⁵ Brass bands began with seven musicians, but never exceeded more than ten brass players and two drummers.²⁶ Within a brigade, a drummer boy – often under the age of 18 – would communicate various messages to the troops: calling units to formation, announcing meals, and more.²⁷ A New York officer recounted to his

²⁵ Manjerovic, 122.

²⁶ Phillipa Burgess, “Popular Opera and Bands in the American Civil War,” in *Opera and the Golden West: The Past, Present, and Future of Opera in the U.S.A.*, ed. John Louis DiGaetani and Josef P. Sirefman (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1994).

²⁷ Manjerovic, 122.

father, "We have music for everything, music telling us when to get up, music telling us when to go to bed, when to get breakfast, when to eat dinner, when to clean the streets, when to drill, when to stop drilling, when to go to church on the Sabbath, and when to come back. All is told to us by drum and fife."²⁸ Band musicians served a multitude of functions: besides serenading officers, entertaining marching troops, and performing at functions like funerals and celebrations, they were even asked to serve as stretcher-bearers and wartime physicians. "The boys think of the brass band as the important element of the army," Charles W. Bardeen said of the group in 1863.²⁹ These musical groups served an instrumental role in the day-to-day lives of soldiers.

Civil War soldiers were highly musical and distributed music as voraciously as they consumed it. As some of the largest consumers of new songs, soldiers had significant control over the music they heard. The tunes that enchanted soldiers would inevitably catch the attention of a wider audience. At times, they were even issued "songsters" by the army: small, pocket-sized songbooks, usually containing only lyrics. McWhirter suggests that sheet music sales could not fully measure a song's popularity, as soldiers rarely bought copies of music. Instead, song traveled through word of mouth, and in impromptu performances with civilians present.³⁰

As the war waged, pieces took on even greater meaning than their composers had originally intended. The songs carried soldiers through the thrill of victory, as well the horrors of a seeing comrades die on the battlefield. Soldiers found new symbolism in already popular songs, interpreting them in a way that was never intended by the

²⁸ As quoted by McWhirter in *Battle Hymns*, 112.

²⁹ As quoted by Manjerovic in "Drummer Boy's War," 125.

³⁰ Manjerovic, "Drummer Boy's War," 122.

composer. “Dixie” and other songs live on in the collective American memory, in part because of the meaning and importance soldiers imparted upon them during the war years.

Minstrel songs monopolized the Northern music scene, where their popularity remained steadfast even compared with patriotic and sentimental music. Stephen Foster built his career on minstrel songs, and other songwriters adapted their work so that it would appeal to Southern audiences (as was the case with “Dixie”). Religious music was also popular before, during, and after the war. Soldiers on both sides carried miniature hymnals with tunes like “Old Hundred” and “Nearer my God to Thee.”³¹

While “Dixie” ballooned in popularity in the South, Northerners examined their own music. They were concerned that America’s most popular anthems—“The Star Spangled Banner,” “Hail Columbia,” and “My Country ‘Tis of Thee”— simply would not suffice for the drudgery of war.³² Northerners wanted an anthem that could represent their ideological stances, just as “Marseillaise” or “God Save the King” had for France and Britain, respectively. In New York in 1861, the thirteen angered members of the Committee for a New National Hymn explained to the *New York Times* that “a National Hymn seems almost as indispensable as an appendage of nationality, as a national flag.”³³ None of the previously composed pieces would do. They offered five hundred dollars to anyone who could compose a new national anthem, and received entries from over twelve-hundred composers, many of them not even American.³⁴ Newspapers such

³¹ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 27.

³² McWhirter, 36.

³³ McWhirter, 36.

³⁴ E. Lawrence Abel, *Singing the New Nation: How Music Shaped the Confederacy, 1861-1865* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2000).

as *The Musical Review and Musical World* mocked the competition's artificial nature, claiming that true musical inspiration could not stem from a contest. The Committee for a New National Hymn was disbanded before they could achieve their original goal. Eventually, the Union's call for an anthem would result in the composition and rise to prominence of "John Brown's Body" and George Frederick Root's "The Battle Cry of Freedom."

Civil War songs are often separated into musical categories, such as Union anthems, Confederate airs, sentimental ballads, minstrel songs, marching tunes, and bugle cries. McWhirter divides the genres of Civil War music into four major categories: patriotic, sentimental, minstrel, and religious songs.³⁵ Patriotic music blossomed during the first year of the war, when the initial surge of optimism led to songs about victory, love of one's country, and militaristic pride. Patriotic songs were the most successful, and many were adapted by armies and introduced to civilians. Stemming from Romantic, Victorian leanings, sentimental songs focused on the theme of family. "When This Cruel War is Over," "The Girl I Left behind Me," and "Rock Me to Sleep, Mother," were three of the most popular sentimental songs.

But McWhirter's separate categories for musical genre leave little room for nuance. Songs easily straddled the boundaries between sentimental and religious, between patriotic and minstrel, and every variation in between. While classification and delineation can be useful, this system does not allow for the loose and fluid culture around musical genre. Indeed, the lines separating one genre from another not only blurred during this time period: sometimes they simply never existed. The distinction

³⁵ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 22.

between band music and orchestral music, between popular music and classical music, and even between popular music and opera was hazy. Civilians did not think of these musics as separate. Opera singers would perform *Norma* one night, and dress in blackface to do minstrel shows the following night. Only a few decades before the war, opera companies inserted popular tunes like “Yankee Doodle” and “Home Sweet Home” if the management felt that the opera needed some sprucing up.³⁶ Italian and German opera overtures proved excellent material for brass bands, too. Rossini, Verdi, and Wagner were some of the most popular, and formal concerts even included popular arias of the day.³⁷

There is no doubt that music during the Civil War was much more flexible and malleable than songs written and produced today. The ideas of intellectual property, artistic license, or even artistic integrity of a song were weak if even remotely present. As there was no single recording of a certain piece, many Americans reinterpreted songs they heard.³⁸ Someone might mishear a lyric, publish it in a newspaper or journal the next day, and suddenly that new text was the commonly accepted and performed version. Many band musicians could not read music and, by necessity, had to play

³⁶ In *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, Lawrence Levine notes that flexibility seems to be one of the few laws governing opera for most of the 19th century. In addition to removing or supplementing arias with popular songs of the day, the producers of opera would often use a sort of “cut-and-paste” model of choosing select acts from different works. In 1834, when the owners of Richmond Hill Theatre wanted to premiere the overture to Mercadante’s *La Donna Caritea*, they simply stuck it in between the first and second acts of *Bellini’s Il Pirata*. This “cut-and-paste” method of presenting opera is nearly inconceivable in today’s climate. Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, Reprint edition (Harvard University Press, 1990).

³⁷ Manjerovic, “Drummer Boy’s War,” 124.

³⁸ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 2.

popular songs by ear. Patrick Gilmore, a well-known bandleader from Boston, told his musicians to listen to tunes that they heard men singing in camps.³⁹ Bandmasters like Gilmore, looking for new pieces and recalling a tune from a trip to the opera or a concert, would arrange band music from half-remembered snippets of melody. C.S. Grafulla, the second most famous bandleader after Gilmore, arranged one such piece for the Port Royal Band, entitled “Prisoner’s Song from *Il trovatore*.” While the arrangement does feature some of Verdi’s musical ideas – like the triple time and psuedo-guitar accompaniment – the melody is almost wholly changed, enough that an unsuspecting listener would mistake it for an original composition.⁴⁰

In addition, copyright laws were lax, especially during the war years. A work published by a firm in the North might then be published anywhere in the South without any real legal consequence. Composers during the war often adopted the melodies of Scottish and Irish jigs, and were therefore only responsible for the text of their songs, which they would frequently change after publication. Songwriters often borrowed melodies, altered text, and changed chord progressions.

The division between Union and Confederate music making was fluid at the boundaries. Music industries of the North and the South were closely tied together from both a social and economic standpoint. The Southern capital of Richmond looked to New York to dictate the music styles of the day. Despite Confederates’ attempts to disassociate themselves from Northern music culture, the musical elements of composing and publishing inherently connected. Many political scientists and historians point to the South’s lack of resources and industrialization as their reason for defeat; the

³⁹ Manjerovic, “Drummer Boy’s War,” 123.

⁴⁰ Burgess, “Popular Opera and Bands in the American Civil War.”

same was true of the South's musical culture. The Confederacy simply could not match the printing or composing resources of the North, although both governments sought to hire the finest military musicians.⁴¹ Overall, Confederate bands were limited in size due to their smaller number of people and instruments.⁴² This did not stop Confederates from getting their hands on music printed in the North, however. Manjerovic writes: "There was no 'Union' or 'Confederacy' to the music publishers; Northern publishers even supplied music to the Confederates through the blockade."⁴³

Southern music editors and the Southern civilian population clashed over the derivative nature of their musical legacy. In *Confederate Minds: The Struggle for Intellectual Independence in the Civil War South*, Michael T. Bernath claims that Confederate editors had "critical oversight" over the distribution of songs and sheet music. They "ferreted out any whose Southern origins were questionable" in their criticism, and rejected popular songs like "Dixie," "The Bonnie Blue Flag" and "When this Cruel War is Over" as "confounded, stupid horribly sounding doggerel trash."⁴⁴ In *Southern Punch*, one such critic condemned the popular "God Save the South" for imitating "God Save the Queen" too closely.⁴⁵ "We have no desire to see these Yankee effusions palmed off upon the people as Southern productions. If we cannot compose our own music, for Heaven's sake, let us not steal that of the Yankees," wrote one critic in the *Magnolia Weekly*.⁴⁶ But while newspaper and journal critics took issue with the

⁴¹ Manjerovic, "Drummer Boy's War," 129.

⁴² Manjerovic, 120.

⁴³ Manjerovic, 124.

⁴⁴ Michael T. Bernath, *Confederate Minds: The Struggle for Intellectual Independence in the Civil War South*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 231.

⁴⁵ Bernath, *Confederate Minds*, 231.

⁴⁶ Bernath, 231.

lack of Confederate originality and “borrowing” of songs from Northern pens, it seemed that the Southern public did not. They saw no problem in borrowing and adapting Union anthems and did it almost habitually. The opposite was true, too: Northerners often adopted Southern tunes and simply changed a few key lyrics.

Both Northern and Southern songwriters transformed the other side’s music and text. Political adversaries “borrowed” melodies from one another, and created alternate lyrics. The revisions varied from lighthearted farces of the original, to truly malicious interpretations that disparaged the original text’s meaning. Nearly every popular tune, from the Union’s “The Battle Cry of Freedom” to the Confederacy’s “The Bonnie Blue Flag” went through several contrafacta, or the substitution of one text for another without significant change to the music. Some songs like “Dixie” even had multiple sets of alternate lyrics from the other side. These revisions attempted to satirize (as with one anonymous Union version that mentions traitors, rattlesnakes and alligators) or to refine and improve (as with Frances J. Crosby’s “Dixie for the Union”). While historians are limited to the contrafacta composers and civilians wrote down, there are undoubtedly more sets of these alternative lyrics that were never formally published or otherwise disseminated.

In their anthems, both the North and the South claimed to fight for “liberty” and “freedom.” There is strong disconnect when one considers that both sides used the terms with relative frequency in their rhetoric and song texts. To understand that disconnect, a musicologist must also analyze the reasons why the North and South claimed to have fought during the Civil War, at both an individual and overarching level. Historians have

spent the subsequent decades following the war asking what drove America to war in the first place. James M. McPherson, the foremost scholar of Civil War history, goes into great detail about this question in his book *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War*. He examines individual letters written from soldiers to mothers, sweethearts, and comrades to identify personal motives for fighting. In *Irrepressible Conflict: Differences between Northern and Southern Songs of the Civil War*, Caroline Moseley writes on the broader differences for fighting:

The South declares itself to be fighting for its rights, although specific rights are not mentioned. The North declares itself to be fighting to preserve the national union. The patriotic anthems associated with each side, the South's "The Bonnie Blue Flag (New Orleans, 1861) and the North's "The Battle Cry of Freedom (Chicago, 1862) are typical; one shouts "Hurrah! Hurrah! For Southern Rights Hurrah," the other "the Union forever, hurrah, boys hurrah."

The South is fighting for its rights, and the North is fighting for the Union. Nowhere in popular song is slavery mentioned as a factor in the war--or mentioned at all, except in so far as Southerners refuse to "bend to slavish yoke or "to be a Yankee's slave."⁴⁷

Moseley may not be entirely correct, however, in regard to the idea that the South failed to mention specific rights. In sheet music and songs from the day, Southern lyrics often suggest a slew of rights: namely, the right to be free from Northern tyranny and aggression. Indeed, recent political scholarship shows that the Confederacy and Union were fighting for very different reasons. The North wanted to preserve the union between states, while the South yearned for independence from the North. How, then, could both claim to be fighting for "liberty" and "freedom"—especially in song?

⁴⁷ Caroline Moseley, "Irrepressible Conflict: Differences Between Northern and Southern Songs of the Civil War," *Journal of Popular Culture* 25, no. 2 (1991): 53.

Southern and Northern interpretations of “liberty” and “freedom” were not at all similar, and both sides had different understandings of the terms. The South thought of “freedom” as applying to states set against a tyrannical government. Their version of “freedom” implied freedom to choose a way of life, and to not have that way of life infringed upon. In contrast, the North thought of “freedom” and “liberty” as applying to people, not states. Both sides sang about “liberty” and “freedom” at length, with almost every patriotic song mentioning at least one of the two terms. The term “freedom” has notable popularity in musical interpretation, possibly because of its relative ease to sing and rhyme.

Musicologists and scholars such as Lawrence Abel and Richard Harwell studied Southern anthems. In *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*, Dena Epstein wrote about black folk music during the Civil War. Kenneth Olson wrote *Music and Musket*, a book on the bands and bandsmen of the war. Academics, some at great length, have covered numerous topics at the intersection of music and the Civil War, with many highlighting the importance of music to the average soldier.

Nevertheless, little attention has been allotted to songs used by both the North and the South, with lyrics changed but melodies intact. These songs with alternate lyrics—or contrafacta—appear only briefly in the literature of the topic. McWhirter designates half a page of the introduction of his book *Battle Hymns: The Power and Popularity of Music in the Civil War* to the malleability and rewriting of songs. In *Voices of Combat: A Century of Liberty and War Songs, 1765-1865*, author Kent Bowman makes a study of the how the emergence of American liberty and war music coincided. He coins “liberty songs” as those “expressing the desire for freedom or condemning

oppression” and distinguishes them from war songs, which focus on battles, leadership, and problems that soldiers faced. In a chapter on Civil War songs, he references a number of contrafacta, but does not touch on their authors or differences in the music. But besides from a mention here and there, musicologists and political historians have largely left the subject untouched.

This thesis covers the Northern and Southern lyrical responses to their foe’s most patriotic anthems. The North and the South borrowed musical content from one another and simply changed the textual content to fit their ideologies. Some songs, like “Dixie,” have at least four alternate Union versions associated with them (although there are undoubtedly more that are lost to history or were not popular enough to be jotted down). I devote the second chapter of this thesis to the political theory and philosophy around the terms liberty and freedom. In the third chapter, I analyze three songs and their contrafacta: Southern stalwarts “Dixie” and “The Bonnie Blue Flag,” as well as Northern anthem “The Battle Cry of Freedom.” For each of these songs, I consider their historical origin and analyze the music of the original song, and then do the same for their contrafacta. I also demonstrate how they were similar culturally, as music that was popular in the North or the South was likely popular in the other as well. I aim to clarify how the Northern and Southern understandings of liberty and freedom differed during the Civil War, through the lens of music and contrafacta to anthems of both sides.

Chapter 2: Political Philosophy

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

- Declaration of Independence, 1776

As a nation, we began by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except negroes." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except negroes, and foreigners, and Catholics." When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty – to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy [sic].

- Abraham Lincoln, Letter to Joshua Speed, 1855

These great and dangerous errors have their origin in the prevalent opinion that all men are born free and equal — than which nothing can be more unfounded and false.

- John C. Calhoun, "Disquisition on Government," published posthumously in 1851

While the founders had hoped against the emergence of political parties in America, a party system soon emerged. First it was the Federalists against the Democratic Republicans, then Democrats against the Whigs. By 1854, the young country was already on its third party system: the Democrats versus Republicans. The Democratic coalition consisted of pro-business Southern Democrats, Catholic immigrants, and other interest groups. The Republican coalition included businesspeople, shop owners, skilled craftsmen, clerks, and other professionals.

In her book *Patriot Fires: Forging a New American Nationalism in the Civil War North*, Melinda Lawson highlights the importance of party identification and fidelity in this era. She quotes Democrat James Hughes, who argued Americans' loyalty was not given to their government, but rather to their parties and individual leaders. Partisan divide was a product of the time, just as it is today. Lawson writes, "Each party believed fervently in the virtue of its vision and insisted that its vision alone embodied the real America."¹ The idea of partisan loyalty also became an ideological weapon: those "loyal" to the party were applauded, while those deemed without true dedication to the party were quickly shunned. On Capitol Hill, the weapons were not just rhetorical: by the Civil War, Republican and Democratic lawmakers were literally bearing guns and knives.²

Throughout the course of the war, both the North and the South professed to be fighting for liberty and freedom. In *Battle Cry of Freedom: the Civil War Era*, James M. McPherson quotes Jefferson Davis, who claimed that the South had to take up arms to

¹ Melinda Lawson, *Patriot Fires: Forging a New American Nationalism in the Civil War North* (Lawrence KS : University Press of Kansas, 2002), 70.

² Joanne B. Freeman, *The Field of Blood: Violence in Congress and the Road to Civil War* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018).

“vindicate the political rights, the freedom, equality, and State sovereignty” which he deemed the “heritage purchased by the blood of our revolutionary sire.”³ According to Davis, the South was fighting for liberty and freedom. How, then, does this notion differ from what the Northerners proclaimed they were fighting for? With both sides believing in the virtue of their cause, and both drawing on documents from the Founding Fathers to prove that virtue, how could both truthfully claim the principles of liberty and freedom as their motive? The answer is that the North and South had very different understandings of “liberty” and “freedom.” The Northern understanding of liberty came to include liberty of slaves from Southern masters, and liberty for the Union as a whole unit. The Southern understanding was that of their own liberty and freedom from “oppressive Yankee rule.” They saw themselves as the victims of a governing power that did not respect them, similarly to views that American colonial revolutionaries held toward King George III’s Britain. This chapter explores the different understandings of those two concepts, as well as the understanding of how equality factored in to the fight.

LIBERTY AND FREEDOM

By 1861, every schoolchild knew that America had fought against Britain to forge a new republic conceived in liberty.⁴ Northerners and Southerners thought that their cause alone defended the principles of that 1776 revolution, and believed that their victory would preserve the legacy of those principles. The Liberty Bell bears an inscription from Leviticus 25:10: “Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants

³ James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), vii.

⁴ James McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 104.

thereof.” The North read this passage as referring to individual freedom. The bell’s inscription inspired abolitionists, who used it as a rallying cry for the end of slavery. The South read it in a wholly different light: they understood “liberty” as collective freedom from outside rule.

Both Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis compared the Civil War and its trials to those of the American revolution, referencing the struggle for liberty during tumultuous times.⁵ Davis told Confederates to “renew such sacrifices as our fathers made to the holy cause of constitutional liberty,” while Lincoln invoked liberty in the opening lines of his Gettysburg Address.⁶ The secession ordinances from multiple Southern states were clear that slavery drove secession. The Mississippi Ordinance of Secession, adopted January 9, 1861, reads, “Our position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery – the greatest material interest of the world.” Georgia’s Ordinance of Secession, adopted ten days later, reads:

For the last ten years we have had numerous and serious causes of complaint against our non-slaveholding confederate States with reference to the subject of African slavery. They have endeavored to weaken our security, to disturb our domestic peace and tranquility, and persistently refused to comply with their express constitutional obligations to us in reference to that property, and by the use of their power in the Federal Government have striven to deprive us of an equal enjoyment of the common Territories of the Republic.⁷

There is no question in these secession ordinances: the North’s infringement on slavery was a major cause of their discontent. Modern rhetoric has lost that clarity of

⁵ This explains, in part, why Lincoln began his Gettysburg Address with a reference to the revolution: “Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth... a new government, conceived in Liberty...”

⁶ Jefferson Davis, *Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers, and Speeches. 10 Vols.* (Jackson, Miss, 1923), V: 202.

⁷ Samuel R. Staley, “Slavery and Justifications for Southern Secession in Their Own Words,” *The Beacon* (blog), accessed April 13, 2019, <http://blog.independent.org/2017/08/18/southern-state-seceded-from-the-union-to-protect-slavery/>.

intent, with some scholars and civilians alike citing “states’ rights” as the main cause of secession. But Southerners were vocal in discussion of slavery in their letters, legislation, and secession acts.

Of course, while Lincoln and Davis (and their armies) fought for liberty, they had contrasting ideas of what liberty meant in practice. The Confederacy sought for liberty and independence from what they deemed a tyrannical Northern government, and for the freedom of states to expand a slave-based empire. The Union, meanwhile, wanted to preserve that nation conceived in liberty from breaking in two, and eventually fought for the individual liberty of slaves from their owners.

Southern soldiers wrote about their reasons for war – namely liberty – at length in personal letters. A youthful Kentucky physician told his slaveholding relatives that he wanted to join the Confederate forces because the “vandals of the North... are determined to destroy slavery... We must all fight and I choose to fight for southern rights and southern liberty.”⁸ While the idea of fighting for both liberty and slavery might seem paradoxical, many Southerners saw no conflict. In *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War*, McPherson writes that most of the Southern volunteers thought they were fighting for liberty as well as slavery. Lincoln once said that the “the perfect liberty [the South] sigh[s] for” is “the liberty of making slaves of other people.”⁹ A phrase often repeated verbatim by Southern soldiers was: “Our cause is the sacred one of Liberty, and God is on our side.”¹⁰

⁸ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 21.

⁹ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 22.

¹⁰ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 20.

This paradox of simultaneously defending liberty and slavery was introduced well before the Civil War. During the founding of the United States, English moralist and essayist Samuel Johnson pointed out this same fallacy: “How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?”¹¹ This sentiment struck a resentful chord with many of Jefferson’s cohort, who were rightly shamed by the contradiction of fighting for liberty while holding slaves. During the Civil War, many Southern soldiers simply denied the paradox even existed, insisting that there was no natural right common to all humanity, and that the idea itself was laughable.¹² Even Lincoln’s brother-in-law, the planter who married one of Mary Todd Lincoln’s sisters, asked his wife, “What would we be without our liberty? ... [We] would prefer Death a thousand times to recognizing once a Black Republican ruler... altho’ he is my brother in law.”¹³ The planter then became an officer with the 4th Alabama regiment to fight for “Liberty and Independence.”

The Southern rhetoric around liberty only grew stronger as the war went on. One Confederate soldier wrote to his Unionist father that the war was “a struggle between Liberty on one side, and Tyranny on the other” and that he had chosen to “espouse the holy cause of Southern freedom.”¹⁴ In their letters, Confederates wrote at length of the “subjugation” and even “slavery” they would face if they lost the war. “If we was [sic] to lose,” a private from Mississippi wrote to his wife, “we would be slaves to the Yanks and

¹¹ Samuel Johnson, “Taxation No Tyranny: An Answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress,” *Samuel Johnson’s Political Writings*, ed. Donald L. Green (New Haven, 1977), 454.

¹² McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 20.

¹³ Nathaniel H.R. Dawson, “Letter to Elodie Todd Dawson,” June 8, 1861, Dawson Papers, University of North Carolina.

¹⁴ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 106.

our children would have yoke of bondage thrown around there [*sic*] neck.”¹⁵ This private, along with other Confederates, used the term “slavery” in the same way that Americans during the founding spoke of their subjugation under British rule.¹⁶ Many Confederates did not see, or perhaps chose not to see, the paradox of defending both liberty and slavery that so embarrassed the members of Jefferson’s generation. Many white Southerners referred to slavery euphemistically as “servanthood” and “Southern institutions,” even in private letters. There were, however, many Southerners who were much more direct in their verbal denigration of slaves. McPherson points out that white supremacy and the slave masters’ rights at the “core of the ideology” for which Confederate soldiers fought.¹⁷ Soldiers from slaveholding families, especially, emphasized the right to own other people as the foundation of the liberty they fought for.¹⁸

Northerners, meanwhile, fought for a government that would secure life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Founding Fathers had fought to achieve a structured sort of liberty, ordered around the rule of law. Lincoln invoked the concept of liberty under the law on many occasions, and claimed that to let the South secede from the Union would be to “fly to anarchy or to despotism.”¹⁹

Thomas Jefferson, proponent of the doctrine of natural rights, helped define the republican understanding of liberty: that liberty was equal to independence, and that, by definition, included *independently* making your own living by relying on the efforts of no other man. No enslaved person, then, could have true liberty because of their dependence

¹⁵ W.H. Williams, “Letter to Susan Williams,” May 19, 1862, Civil War Collection, TSL.

¹⁶ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 106.

¹⁷ McPherson, 106.

¹⁸ McPherson, 108.

¹⁹ Abraham Lincoln, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. Volume 4*, ed. Roy P. Basler (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Digital Library Production Services, 2001), 268.

on masters to provide food, shelter, and clothing. In addition to slaves, Jefferson's logic applied to women and children of the era.²⁰ Conversely, no slave owner could be free, as their living depended on the efforts of other people.

John C. Calhoun had a different understanding of liberty, and wrote about it at length. Calhoun wrote the political treatise "A Disquisition on Government," in response to what he believed was the growing Northern dominance over Southern rights. In the hundred-page Disquisition, he advances the idea of a "concurrent majority" – a constitutional concept designed for minorities to block the action of tyrannical majorities. In that same political treatise, Calhoun's argument went as follows: it society's duty to perfect society through intellectual and moral means, so we must encourage individuals to better their condition. For this, we must have liberty and security. He writes:

Liberty leaves each free to pursue the course he may deem best to promote his interest and happiness, as far as it may be compatible with the primary end for which government is ordained — while security gives assurance to each, that he shall not be deprived of the fruits of his exertions to better his condition.²¹

In order to improve ourselves, we must be guaranteed the right to pursue our happiness and interest (liberty), and not be robbed of what we have made for ourselves (security). But Calhoun then said that *extending* this individual liberty beyond his definition would weaken the government, and prevent it from fulfilling its main role: securing the protection of society from internal and external dangers. On the other hand, extending the

²⁰ McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 23.

²¹ John C. Calhoun, "Disquisition on Government," accessed April 2, 2019, https://www.constitution.org/jcc/disq_gov.htm.

powers of government to encroach on personal liberty would have the same effect, and prevent individuals from bettering their conditions.

Calhoun argued that to solve the problem of the extension of liberty, communities must assign the dueling forces of power and liberty to their “proper spheres.” Similar to the Chinese concepts of yin and yang, power and liberty are complementary. Power in a government is necessary to secure the products of liberty, while liberty “repays power with interest” through increased population, wealth, and improvement in the community. If society simply assigns each to its appropriate sphere, there will cease to be conflicts and the government can fulfill its purpose.²²

The most interesting part of Calhoun’s argument arose when he acknowledged the circumstantial nature of balancing the power of government and liberty of people. He said that some communities require more protection from anarchy and external dangers. The degree of necessary protection may vary due to physical reasons such as open and exposed borders, or moral reasons such as “the different degrees of intelligence, patriotism, and virtue among the mass of the community, and their experience and proficiency in the art of self-government.”²³ In essence, those “varying degrees” of moral goodness in a society should dictate how much liberty those people receive. A community proficient in the art of self-government may use liberty to pursue happiness, whereas a community “sunk in ignorance and vice” does not deserve such liberty. Indeed, if one assigned liberty too large a sphere in a community that did not find itself deserving of it, Calhoun argued that disobedience would certainly arise. Liberty, when forced on people unfit for it, would be a curse instead of a blessing, leading directly to what he

²² Calhoun, “Disquisition.”

²³ Calhoun, “Disquisition.”

called the “greatest of all curses”: anarchy.²⁴ If there is ever a conflict between protection and liberty, then liberty must yield to protection because the existence of the community is more valuable than its improvement.

Next, Calhoun wrote that it is a “great and dangerous error” to assume that all people are equally entitled to liberty. He said that liberty is a “reward reserved for the intelligent, the patriotic, the virtuous and deserving — and not a boon to be bestowed on a people too ignorant, degraded and vicious.”²⁵ Calhoun would never have argued that slaves were deserving of the reward of liberty, as he believed they were ignorant and degraded by nature. For the deserving, no reward is greater than liberty; for the undeserving, no punishment more just than a lawless and despotic rule.

Like the concept of liberty, the idea of who deserved freedom – and even what the term meant in practice – differed between the North and the South. Jefferson Davis once said that the South fought to “vindicate the political rights, the freedom, equality, and State sovereignty” which he deemed the “heritage purchased by the blood of our revolutionary sire.”²⁶ Davis was known for his aggressive states’ rights agenda as a Democrat, as well his pro-expansion attitude toward slavery. His grouping of political rights, equality, State sovereignty and freedom together is quite telling; Davis meant political rights for Southern states to choose slavery, and equality for Southern states against their Northern counterparts. His talk of equality was not intended to refer to the equality of individuals. Likewise, when Davis wrote about freedom, he wrote of the Southern version of freedom: freedom of thought, freedom of a way of life, and freedom

²⁴ Calhoun, “Disquisition.”

²⁵ Calhoun, “Disquisition.”

²⁶ McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, vii.

of states. This Southern understanding of freedom, while paradoxical in the same way that their understanding of liberty was, did not seem incongruent to Southern leaders or soldiers.

In their letters, some Union soldiers from the Union wrote about their duty to secure freedom for slaves. Unionist James King wrote: “I performed but a simple duty – a duty to my country and myself... to give up life if need be... in this battle for freedom & right, opposed to slavery & wrong.”²⁷ One sergeant in the 107th U.S. Colored Infantry wrote in September 1864 that he fought to “break the chain and exclaim ‘Freedom for all!’”²⁸ This sentiment was shared by a private in the 54th Massachusetts, who tried to explain to his fiancée why he had not written for months: “We have been almost constantly on the move, marching and fighting for the good old cause – LIBERTY.”²⁹ For the North, and especially for black soldiers who fought for the Union, freedom and liberty were closely entwined. If not used interchangeably, they often went hand in hand, as the victory of freedom for black men would mean the securing of their liberty, and vice versa. But McPherson points out that by 1864, freedom alone was not enough for many black soldiers: they now asked for “proper enjoyment of the rights of citizenship,” or, in the words of a corporal from the 55th Massachusetts, “the same rights that a white man has.”³⁰ Many black soldiers, particularly those in the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Regiment, were not afforded the same support by the government as white soldiers. The inequality they fought to end occurred even while they served the Union. A

²⁷ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 22.

²⁸ Charles W. Singer, Sept. 18 1864, published in *Christian Recorder*, Oct. 8, 1864, reprinted in Edwin S. Redkey, ed., “A Grand Army of Black Men: Letters from African-American Soldiers in the Union Army, 1861-1865,” (New York, 1993), 214.

²⁹ Edgar Dinsmore, “Letter to Carrie Drayton,” May 29, 1865, Dinsmore Papers, PLDU.

³⁰ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 128.

literate slave who ran away from his master in North Carolina joined the Union navy in 1862, where he kept a diary during the Northern blockade. There, he wrote that he fought for “the holiest of all causes, Liberty and Union.” By the April of 1865, he added “the cause of Right and Equality.”³¹

EQUALITY

While the terms “liberty” and “freedom” arise much more often in Civil War music than “equal” or “equality,” the understanding of who deserved and qualified for equality is at the heart of the conflict between the North and the South. The idea of equality is also crucial to understanding the definitions of freedom and liberty as well, because equality serves as the foundation of who should receive freedom and liberty.

The philosophical differences in Northern and Southern understandings of liberty stemmed from the documents of the American founding, specifically the Declaration of Independence. The proposition that “all men are created equal” provides the meat of the argument behind both the Northern and Southern reasons for the war. On the Northern side, Lincoln deemed the Declaration’s proposition as “an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times.”³² Lincoln understood that the Creator had endowed people with certain unalienable rights, and that the Constitution gained its strength from those rights.³³ Rights – both natural and divine – entitled the people to alter or abolish any government that did not secure those rights adequately.

³¹ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*.128.

³² Harry Jaffa, *A New Birth of Freedom: Abraham Lincoln and the Coming of the Civil War* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), xiii.

³³ Jaffa, *A New Birth of Freedom*, 403.

On the Southern side, John C. Calhoun, the son of a Scottish-Irish immigrant family, maintained that secession was a constitutional right. In 1846, on the floor of the House, the Wilmot Proviso was introduced, and declared that in any territory acquired from Mexico, slavery would forever be prohibited.³⁴ Calhoun realized what Jefferson Davis and others would later discover: that without the introduction of more new slave states, the free states would eventually control the Senate veto on slavery legislation, and might even come to gain the necessary three-fourths majority necessary to amend the Constitution and abolish slavery entirely.³⁵

To Calhoun and his disciples, the principles expressed in the Declaration – especially that “all men are created equal” – held no constitutional standing.³⁶ The problem, then, is a problem of timeline. Calhoun never considered the legal or moral underpinnings of the Declaration, or even of the Union before the Constitution was ratified.³⁷ He thought that the Union began with ratification, and not a moment before. Lincoln considered the Declaration to have binding legal power, and marked America’s birth from the Declaration onward. Calhoun digressed from the topic of liberty in his one hundred-page treatise to write on the “great and dangerous” opinion that liberty cannot be perfect without perfect equality. He said that to make equality of condition essential to liberty would be to “destroy both liberty and progress,” as *inequality* of condition actually drives people to better their circumstances, and therefore is a driver of progress.

³⁴ Jaffa, 404.

³⁵ Jaffa, 404.

³⁶ Jaffa, xxi.

³⁷ Note that the language of the Constitution claims to make a “more perfect” Union, implying a previous version of the Union that was less perfect.

In his “Speech on the Oregon Bill” delivered on June 27th, 1848, Calhoun explored the issue of slavery in the states even more decidedly than in “Disquisition.” He dissects the very nature of the phrase “all men are created equal” as stated in the Massachusetts Bill of Rights (and echoed in the Declaration). He argued that when the reader takes the proposition literally, all men “are not created,” as only Adam and Eve were created, but others have come into the world through birth, when they are infants incapable of freedom. Infants, he said, are “born subject to their parents, and remain so among all people, savaged and civilized, until the development of their intellect and physical capacity enables them to care for themselves.” This inherent inequality, he argues, makes it certain that the liberty of individuals must “be very unequal among different people, according to their different conditions.”³⁸ Calhoun denied that all men were created equal. This belief served as the foundation of his reasoning around slavery. Alexander Stephens put it most clearly in the Cornerstone Speech in March of 1861:

The constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last, and hence no argument can be justly urged against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the government built upon it fell when the “storm came and the wind blew.

Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner- stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition.³⁹

Equality, to many Southerners, was never and could never be afforded to black Americans.

³⁸ John C. Calhoun, “Speech on the Oregon Bill,” June 27, 1848.

³⁹ Stephens Alexander, “‘Corner Stone’ Speech | Teaching American History,” accessed April 7, 2019, <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/cornerstone-speech/>.

Throughout the war, Confederate and Union soldiers alike sang songs of proclaiming their love of freedom and their desire for liberty. Both sides sang confidently about the pursuit of liberty and freedom because they had entirely separate definitions of the terms. It comes as no surprise that Lincoln wrote the terms “liberty” and “equal” into the first line of the Gettysburg Address, and “freedom” into the final line of that same speech. In a letter to Alexander Stephens in December 1860, Lincoln wrote, "You think slavery is right and ought to be extended; while we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted. That I suppose is the rub. It certainly is the only substantial difference between us."⁴⁰

The difference in what freedom, liberty, and equality meant for Northern leadership versus Southern leadership explains how both sides could claim to be fighting for those very ideals. “For Union and Confederate volunteers alike,” McPherson writes, “abstract symbols or concepts such as country, flag, Constitution, liberty, and legacy of the Revolution figured prominently in their explanations of why they enlisted.”⁴¹ But it did more than just drive them to enlist; these “abstract concepts” of freedom and liberty kept soldiers fighting in the war, too. The North eventually fought for the liberty and freedom of slaves in America. Unionists fought for individual liberty, natural rights, and equality of person. The South fought for liberty from Northern tyrants, freedom to continue the “Southern way of life,” and state sovereignty. Both sides believed in the righteousness and even holiness of their cause. While both the North and South claimed liberty and freedom as reasons for war, they had completely separate understandings of what those terms looked like in practice.

⁴⁰ Lincoln, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 160.

⁴¹ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 21.

Chapter 3: Musical Analysis

THE BATTLE CRY OF FREEDOM

In response to Abraham Lincoln's call for 300,000 volunteers on July 2nd, 1862, George Frederick Root composed a song that would soon join the ranks of Union anthems: "The Battle Cry of Freedom." The Lumbard brothers, a group of four siblings who performed choral works and promoted evangelical causes, took the song and ran with it. Root remembered "the ink was hardly dry" on the song when the Lumbards took the music away to sing at a war meeting.¹ The performance was a hit: by the fourth verse, Root recalled that "a thousand voices were joining in the chorus."² Root's brother ran a publishing house under their family name, and Root & Cady published over 109 titles connected to the war between April 15, 1861 and the first months of 1866 (not including the simplified arrangements or arrangements for other instruments like guitar).³ Of the 109 titles, Root wrote 28 and Henry Clay Work wrote 19. The Chicago public had a great appetite for songs published by Root & Cady. Frederick F. Cook, writing in "Bygone Days in Chicago: Recollections of the 'Garden City' of the Sixties," described the stirring impact that war songs had in the city:

The ceaseless roll of the drum not only rallied the patriot by day, but reminded him of his duty a good part of the night [...] And, whenever a great victory was celebrated, or the wail of disaster was heard in the land, and it became urgent once again to fire the hearts of the home guard to added enlistments, the doors of Bryan Hall fronting the square were flung open [...] their united voices, vibrant with the emotions of the hour, preceded or followed each speaker with the "Star-Spangled Banner," "Hail Columbia," "America," "The Battle Cry of Freedom," "John Brown's Body," or other stirring lyrics of the war.⁴

¹ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 50.

² McWhirter, 51.

³ Epstein, "The Battle Cry of Freedom," 308.

⁴ Frederick F. Cook, *Bygone Days in Chicago: Recollections of the "Garden City" of the Sixties* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910), 2, as quoted by Epstein in "The Battle Cry of Freedom."

One enlisted man informed Root that his “songs go away down into the soldier’s heart. They are his thoughts—only you publish them.”⁵ Another claimed that Root’s “songs became the ruling sentiment of the American people, they were eloquent appeals for enlistment, and their power made millions rally around the flag.”⁶ Root’s music lingered in the soldier’s memory, and in the public’s memory, too. He ended up writing multiple songs that remained popular for decades: “Tramp! Tramp! Tramp!” “The Vacant Chair,” and “Just Before the Battle, Mother,” to name a few. The most enduring songs from the Civil War were the marching songs that soldiers would pick up and sing in and out of the army.

Two years after George Frederick Root published “The Battle Cry of Freedom” in 1862, William H. Barnes published a Southern version with the firm J.C. Schreiner & Son in Georgia. Barnes managed the Atlanta Amateurs, a volunteer musical group that performed at soldiers’ relief funds. Schreiner, the composer of the Southern “The Battle Cry of Freedom,” made significant changes to the melody. It is impossible to know whether people singing the Confederate version altered their melodies to fit Schreiner’s vision, but it seems unlikely, as Root’s melody was by this point so heavily ingrained in the Southern imagination.

⁵ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 21.

⁶ McWhirter, 21.

1. Yes we'll ral - ly round the flag, boys, we'll
 2. We are spring - ing to the call of our
 3. We will wel - come to our num - bers the
 4. So we're spring - ing to the call from the

ral - ly once a - gain, Shout - ing the bat - tle - cry of Free - dom, We will
 Brothers gone be - fore, Shout - ing the bat - tle - cry of Free - dom, And we'll
 loy - al true and brave, Shout - ing the bat - tle - cry of Free - dom, And al -
 East and from the West, Shout - ing the bat - tle - cry of Free - dom, And we'll

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Figure 2: Root's original "The Battle Cry of Freedom"

Ver. 1. — Our

flag is proudly floating on the land and on the main, Shout, shout the battle cry of freedom; Be-

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Figure 3: Southern Contrafactum by Schreiner

The Southern version has some immediately noticeable differences from original: Schreiner set the piece in G major rather than B-flat major, simplified the beat by removing some of Root's dotted rhythms, and changed the melodic line at key points. Where the Root's original has the distance of a minor third between the notes sung on "flag" and "boys," Schreiner's rendition keeps the same pitch on the word "float-ing." The melodic difference is most apparent in the second full measure of the vocal part: in the original, Root has "ral-ly once a-gain" as three repeated B flats, followed by two descending half steps. In comparison, Schreiner has no repeated notes following the text "land and on the main," but a pattern of ascending half steps from "land and on" (with a peak at the word "on") and a similar descending pattern from "on the main." The removal of the repeated tones is a shame, as they were part of what made Root's melody so memorable. Musical similarities, however, are more than abundant: the texture of the piano accompaniment is strikingly similar with the entry of the vocal line, with the plunking of blocked chords in the right hand and octaves in the left.

At first glance, the melodic changes seem small, as if they do not alter the structure of the piece. It almost sounds like Schreiner jotted down the melody quickly, left a few things blank, and tried to fill them in by memory later, although the composer would certainly take umbrage with this assessment. Upon second look, however, it is clear that Schreiner's melody has some consequential differences from the original. At the end of the first phrase, Schreiner's melody on syllables "free-dom" lands on scale degrees 2-5, whereas the original settles on a much more predictable 3-2 and accompanying half cadence. Schreiner's Confederate version has poor voice leading, especially when noting the contrived melodic and textural emphasis on the second half of

“freedom” rather than the first half. But the changed melody--while contrived--sounds much more like a shout of defiance, rather than the hymn-like 3-2 melodic line and half cadence.

Another harmonic difference is the lack of chord progression in the Confederate version of “The Battle Cry of Freedom.” From the entry of the vocal line to the end of the phrase, the piano accompaniment remains on the same tonic pedal on G. The contrafactum’s chord progression is a simplified, harmonically uninteresting version of Root’s original tune: Schreiner changed the melody enough for an audience to tell that the change as purposeful, but not so changed for them to find it unrecognizable. It is hard to speculate whether the composer expected performers to use his new, somewhat altered melody, or whether he knew it was Barnes’ alternate lyrics - with no mention of freeing slaves - that led Confederates to purchase the music.

Barnes changed a significant portion of Root’s original text. While a few of the changes were minor (“Shout-ing the battle cry of freedom” in the original becomes “Shout, shout, the battle cry of freedom” in the Confederate version), most of the changes were significant. The chorus of Root’s original, of course, would have to be modified greatly. It mentioned the Union, along with the treachery of the Confederacy. Barnes dodged these potential pitfalls, substituting “The Union forever! Hurrah, boys, hurrah!” with “Our Dixie forever! She’s never at a loss!” By replacing even the innocent “Hurrah, boys, hurrah!” Barnes ensured that the two sets of lyrics were as separate as possible, in many ways ensuring the singular identity of the Confederate version of “The Battle Cry of Freedom.”

The more interesting substitution, however, comes a line later. Where Root had “Down with the traitor, up with the star,” Barnes writes “Down with the eagle and up with the cross.” Both the North and the South truly believed that God was on its side, and their respective leaders looked to God to divine how long the war would last, what sort of damage it would produce, and of course, who would be victorious.⁷ But Southerners claimed a special affinity with God, and used this “chosen” status as a foundation for their national identity. Harry Stout, Professor of American Christianity at Yale Divinity School, writes that the South even claimed to be a *uniquely* Christian nation. The Confederate Constitution (adopted February 8th, 1861) asks for “the favor and guidance of almighty God.”⁸ Southern leadership adopted a new motto, “Deo Vindice” or “God will avenge.”⁹ The South used religious rhetoric like Barnes’s lyrics to represent the “godless” government in the North, and raise up the true “chosen” status of the South through the raising of the cross.

In Root’s original text, the third verse reads:

*We will welcome to our numbers the loyal, true and brave,
Shouting the battle cry of freedom!
And although he may be poor, he shall never be a slave
Shouting the battle cry of freedom!*

The Battle Cry of Freedom is one of the rare Union songs that directly mentions slavery by name. There are, however, a number of Union songs which verbally dance around the issue, speaking to broader themes like “freedom” or “liberty” and even “equality,” but rarely “slavery.” I have yet to find an instance of a Confederate song overtly addressing

⁷ Harry Stout, “Religion in the Civil War: The Southern Perspective,” *Divining America*, TeacherServe, National Humanities Center, accessed April 7, 2019.

⁸ Stout, “Religion in the Civil War.”

⁹ Stout, “Religion in the Civil War.”

slavery.¹⁰ Instead, Confederate songs also speak to “freedom” and “liberty,” but with an entirely different lens: rather than the freedom and liberty of black people, they cry for the liberty of Southern states against Northern tyranny, and of freedom plantation owners to protect their “Southern way of life.”

For Barnes, the consummate Southern lyricist, it was unfathomable to leave the “never be a slave” line in his reworking of the song. In his contrafacta, the third verse reads:

*They have laid down their lives on the bloody battle field.
Shout, shout the battle cry of Freedom!
Their motto is resistance – “To tyrants we’ll not yield!”
Shout, shout the battle cry of Freedom!*

It is worth noting the exact switch Barnes makes: “And although he may be poor, he shall never be a slave,” becomes “Their motto is resistance – ‘To tyrants we’ll not yield!’” By choosing to replace the text of freed slaves with text about fighting against tyranny, Barnes was essentially setting the two causes as equal, claiming that the latter could realistically substitute for the former. This one substitution shows a great deal about the Southern mentality around the war, especially in the later years. The Confederacy fought to protect their way of life from Northern aggression, and to them, this was the noblest possible cause.

A few lines earlier, Barnes makes another revealing substitution. In the second verse, he refers to the “gallant boys” of the South.

*Our gallant boys have marched to the rolling of the drums.
Shout, shout the battle cry of Freedom!*

¹⁰ The closest anyone comes is Henry Macarthy in Southern anthem “The Bonnie Blue Flag.” I will write about this later in the chapter.

These lines about Southern soldiers replaces the Root's original text:

*We are springing to the call with a million freemen more,
Shouting the battle cry of freedom!*

While Barnes opted to continue Root's theme of soldiers, the soldiers Root mentions are black freemen, whereas Barnes's refers to Confederate soldiers marching to drummers. The contrast of the third lines of the each of these versions is especially striking. Root's imagery is stronger than Barnes's: "springing to the call" brings to mind decisive, bold action in the present tense, whereas Barnes's "have marched to the rolling of the drums" lacks punch in the past tense. Here, Barnes's replacement is innocuous and harmless compared to his earlier mention of Northern tyranny.

Another point of interest is Barnes's mention of the women of the South. In the fourth verse, Barnes writes: "Our noble women also have aided them at home."¹¹ The ideal of the Southern woman – one pure of heart, a sort of lily of the valley who needed protection from the Northern tyrants – comes up throughout Southern literature.¹² An indeed, this rhetoric was, at least partly, based in truth. Although they were kept from the battlefield, women faced immense trauma, some of which rendered them incapable of going about their lives.¹³ In "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," Drew Gilpin Faust writes that articulate Southerners, both male and female, crafted a narrative about the woman's place in the war: a "story designed to ensure her

¹¹ In this context, "them" refers to Southern soldiers.

¹² It is also notably present in some parlor songs in the North, and some ballads such as "This Cruel War is Raging."

¹³ Drew Gilpin Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," *The Journal of American History* 76, no. 4 (1990): 1200–1228, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2936595>.

loyalty and service.”¹⁴ But Southern rhetoric often left out the disillusionment that many women felt toward the battles. Some even threatened Confederate officials, claiming they would encourage their husbands and sons to desert if the army failed to meet their basic subsistence needs.¹⁵ Barnes’s reference to the “noble women” who aid soldiers at home, then, did not convey the whole story of women in the South.

¹⁴ Drew Gilpin Faust, “Altars of Sacrifice.”

¹⁵ Drew Gilpin Faust, “Altars of Sacrifice.”

THE BONNIE BLUE FLAG

It is difficult to say whether “The Bonnie Blue Flag” matched “Dixie” in popularity during the war in the South. E. Lawrence Abel believes that while “Dixie” was the most popular Southern anthem during the war, “The Bonnie Blue Flag” was a close second. Christian McWhirter, on the other hand, claimed that “The Bonnie Blue Flag” competed with “Dixie” as the consummate Southern anthem, because it better described the pillars of Confederate nationalism than Emmett’s “minstrel ditty.”¹⁶

Lyricist of the “The Bonnie Blue Flag,” Harry Macarthy wrote many of the Confederacy’s most-loved tunes, and was a popular entertainer in the South before and during the war, when he would perform for encamped soldiers. Born in England to Scottish and Irish parents, Macarthy moved to America in 1849 and worked as a minor actor on Broadway.¹⁷ He specialized in comic impersonations of various minority groups, especially blacks and the Irish, and called these performances his “Personation Concerts.”¹⁸ By 1860, he had a positive reputation in the South and received the nickname “The Arkansas Comedian.”¹⁹ The inspiration for the words to his most famous song, “The Bonnie Blue Flag,” came to him at the 1861 Mississippi State secession convention.²⁰ After Mississippi declared itself free from the Union, and someone gave

¹⁶ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 75.

¹⁷ E. Lawrence Abel, “Macarthy, Harry,” Oxford Music Online, September 3, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ccl.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-1002267098>.

¹⁸ Abel, “Macarthy, Harry.”

¹⁹ McWhirter, 73.

²⁰ Abel, “Macarthy, Harry.”

the convention's president a blue flag with a white star , and several audience members purportedly cheered, "Hurrah for the bonnie blue flag!"²¹

After the convention, Macarthy, no doubt inspired by his familial background, took the melody from the Irish folk ballad "The Irish Jaunting Car" to use for "The Bonnie Blue Flag."²² This practice was common; another Southern anthem "Maryland, My Maryland," was set to the popular tune "Lauriger Horatius," commonly known today as "Oh, Christmas Tree."²³ He performed it in Jackson, Mississippi, and its positive reception encouraged the Mississippi government to use it as a tool of propaganda. The state quickly printed a thousand copies for distribution.²⁴

Macarthy realized the potential of large armies to market and spread his music, and launched an aggressive campaign designed to showcase the song to Confederate troops. Throughout 1861, Macarthy toured the South and purposefully performed for troops, who then spread it to the rest of the Confederacy, including civilian populations.²⁵ During these performances, Macarthy was careful to emphasize each Southern state that had seceded in his verses, and as he sang the name of each state, members from the audience would cheer heartily. When the crowd had reached its peak, Macarthy's wife Lottie would come onstage and wave the bonnie blue flag.²⁶ The New Orleans Daily Picayune reported that the song "brings down the house in shouts of applause" and was "encored wherever sung."²⁷

²¹ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 73.

²² McWhirter, 16.

²³ McWhirter, 16.

²⁴ McWhirter, 74.

²⁵ McWhirter, 74.

²⁶ McWhirter, 74.

²⁷ McWhirter, 74.

His performances reportedly electrified soldiers throughout the South. One Alabama soldier claimed that his regiment “sprang to their feet, rushed forward frantically waving their caps and wildly gesticulating, some out of joy beating comrades with fists, others embracing and kissing, still others shouting and yelling like mad men.”²⁸ By the summer of 1861, Macarthy’s touring had paid off: women and local bands performed “The Bonnie Blue Flag” for soldiers, promoting his material for him effectively.

One afternoon in September, 1861, he took center stage at the New Orleans Academy of Music to perform his song, and the audience of Confederate soldiers from Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas, cheered as he went through the first verse.²⁹ With every “hurrah,” the Confederates jumped out of their seats, and as the audience was on the brink of mayhem, Macarthy waited until the crowd settled before he started the second verse. But even so, the audience cheered and cried out. One soldier, a member of Terry’s Texas Rangers, kept standing after everyone else had sat down. A policeman tapped him on the shoulder, the soldier punched the policeman, and all hell broke loose. Fortunately, generals were called to the scene to restore order. But the legend of Macarthy’s riotous song took root, and the songwriter capitalized on his momentum.

In 1862, Macarthy found another way to enhance the marketability of his act: instead of his wife simply waving the bonnie blue flag for cheering soldiers, she now tearfully embraced her husband - dressed in a full Confederate army uniform - while he

²⁸ McWhirter, 74.

²⁹ E. Lawrence Abel, “The Bob Hope of the Confederacy,” *Civil War Times Illustrated* 39, no. 6 (December 2000): 70.

played the role of a soldier leaving his family for war.³⁰ Macarthy had his act down pat, and by all accounts thoroughly enjoyed promoting his song so vigorously. Over the course of the war, Southern publishing house Blackmar distributed at least eleven editions of the song.³¹ In addition to “The Bonnie Blue Flag,” Macarthy also wrote “Missouri, Or a Voice from the South” on the topic of secession and “The Volunteer,” a song about recruitment.

McWhirter points out that “The Bonnie Blue Flag” was successful in part because it was a flag song. Confederates were in dire need of one after their disavowal of “The Star Spangled Banner.” But while this trait pushed the song to popularity, it had one fatal weakness: of the many widely known Confederate flags, none resembled the one described in Macarthy’s song. The lyricist could not change the description of the flag in the song, as it would mean changing the chorus and title completely. McWhirter writes that this problem “likely prevented ‘The Bonnie Blue Flag’ from usurping ‘Dixie’ as the Confederacy’s primary anthem.”³²

Macarthy’s original lyrics are fairly straightforward. The first two verses and chorus are as follows:

*We are a band of brothers and native to the soil
Fighting for our liberty, with treasure, blood and toil
And when our rights were threatened, the cry rose near and far
Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star!*

*Chorus:
Hurrah! Hurrah!
For Southern rights, hurrah!
Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.*

³⁰ Abel, “Bob Hope,” 75.

³¹ Abel, 75.

³² Abel, 76.

*As long as the Union was faithful to her trust
Like friends and like brethren, kind we were, and just
But now, when Northern treachery attempts our rights to mar
We hoist on high the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.*

In the first line, Macarthy references a “band of brothers,” a phrase originally coined by Shakespeare in *Henry V*.³³ But Macarthy’s group is not just a band of brothers, but a band “native to the soil”: a phrase that could be taken any number of ways. Perhaps Macarthy was distinguishing those who he thought were true Americans or Southerners, which would have excluded blacks. The irony of the line, of course, is that many Southerners were descendants of Scottish and Irish immigrants, and that Macarthy himself was not “native” to any soil but Britain’s. The second line, “Fighting for our liberty, with treasure, blood and toil” is perhaps the most interesting out of the entire song, for five out of the nine editions Blackmar printed have the song beginning with “fighting for our property” rather than “liberty.”³⁴ At its worst, the second line suggests a defense of slavery, and – at its most generous – a defense of Southern homes.³⁵ If Macarthy did intend for “property” to signal the slaves held by Southern masters, this is the closest any Southern anthem of this popularity comes to naming slavery as a reason to fight. While many politicians hinted at or outright explained why they fought for slavery, Southern songwriters tended to avoid or mask the issue. Although indirect, Macarthy’s admission is likely the most significant that any notable Confederate lyricist ever made. It is unknown when Macarthy

³³ The titular character, King Henry, delivers the line in the now famous St. Crispin’s Day Speech: “From this day to the ending of the World,/ But we in it shall be remembered –/We few, we happy few, we band of brothers.” While Henry V’s army was vastly outnumbered by the French army, the king asked his men to recall how the English had previously crushed the French. Later iterations - one by Laurence Olivier and another by Kenneth Branagh - made the phrase “band of brothers” famous and commonplace.

³⁴ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 75.

³⁵ McWhirter, 75.

changed the word “property” to the more general term “liberty,” but when he did, McWhirter notes that he “widened the ideological possibilities of the song even further.”³⁶

The third line, “And when our rights were threatened, the cry rose near and far,” harkens back to the central theme in Southern music of Northern tyrants trampling over Southerner’s rights and liberty. Southerners believed vehemently that they should dictate their own way of life, and wanted to protect the singular right of holding slaves. The chorus (“For Southern rights, hurrah!”) echoes the same sentiment. In the second verse, Macarthy brings forth the theme of Northern treachery.

The third through sixth verses are a sort of miniature history lesson on secession, mentioning that South Carolina “nobly made the stand,” against the North, and that Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and Florida followed quickly. Macarthy personifies the states, claiming that Alabama “took her [South Carolina] by the hand.” Soon after, he mentions Jefferson Davis and Alexander Stephens by name. But the verses following the first and second prove much ideologically weaker; one could remove the third through sixth verses and still maintain the meaning of the song and the Confederacy’s reasons for secession. It appears as though the third through sixth verses were inserted to give a “shoutout” to every state of the Confederacy.

Macarthy’s seventh verse ceases the laundry list of Confederate states that seceded from the Union, and reverts back to the purpose of the first and second verses: giving reasons to secede.

*Then here’s to our Confederacy, strong we are and brave,
patriots of old we’ll fight, our heritage to save;
And rather than submit to shame, to die we would prefer,
So cheer, cheer for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.*

³⁶ McWhirter, 75.

Confederate soldiers often thought of their cause as the second War for Independence. When Macarthy wrote “like patriots of old we’ll fight, our heritage to save,” the patriots of old he refers to are the founding fathers fighting against the tyrannical British monarchy. The mention of Southern “heritage” is also telling. Southerners truly believed that the way they lived their lives was endangered, and that they were fighting for their common heritage – a heritage that was based on the Scottish Clan system and almost feudal understanding of loyalty.

There are multiple Union contrafacta for the South’s original “The Bonnie Blue Flag.” One of them, entitled “The Bonnie Blue Flag with Stripes and Stars,” was written by one Colonel James L. Geddes (member of the Eighth Iowa Infantry) while he was a prisoner of war in Selma, Alabama. The original printing lists from Missouri in 1863 lists the title, and contains a small note under it that says that Geddes wrote the song “in answer to the ‘Bonnie Blue Flag.’” Geddes’s version is notable for its religious imagery and its creativity in changing the lyrics of the piece.

Geddes’s “The Bonnie Blue Flag with Stripes and Stars,”

*We're fighting for our Union, We're fighting for our trust,
We're fighting for that happy land where sleeps our father dust.
It cannot be dissevered, though it cost us bloody wars,
We never can give up the land where floats the stripes and stars.*

*Chorus:
Hurrah, Hurrah, for equal rights hurrah,
Hurrah for the good old flag that bears the stripes and stars.*

Geddes infuses his contrafactum with biblical references. The first appears in the second line, when he writes that the Union is “fighting for that happy land where sleeps our

father dust.” In the bible, many of the dead are claimed to be “sleeping in the dust of the earth.”³⁷ There they rest, until resurrection or other disturbance. “Dust of the earth” also carries strong connotations with the underworld or afterlife. In the second verse, Geddes writes that the “impious [Southern] hands at Sumter” cut the “silver cord.” The latter term draws its origins in the Old Testament (Ecclesiastes 12:6) and likely refers to the idea of a cord that gives life from mind to body, although there is no definitive consensus on its meaning. In many translations of the Old Testament, the silver cord is cut or severed, a golden bowl is broken, a pitcher broken at a fountain or spring, a wheel broken at the well or pit, the *dust returns to the ground it came from*, and the spirit returns to God. Later, in verse four, Geddes writes that the Union cause is “most holy” and that they know they are “in the right.” Both Northern and Southern songwriters claimed religious and moral righteousness as a tool or even weapon that their side alone possessed. Julia Ward Howe’s famous rewriting of “John Brown’s Body” uses almost exclusively righteous religious imagery. She writes that God has “loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword” and “sifting out the hearts of men before His judgement-seat,” along with many more intensely religious lines about the virtuous nature of their cause. But Geddes is subtler, only invoking religious imagery a few of times in his contrafactum.

Geddes also directly addresses slavery, whereas Macarthy’s original lyrics may have only hinted at slavery with the defense of “property.” The third verse of Geddes’s song opens with “We do not want your cotton, we do not want your slaves. But rather than divide the land, we’ll fill your Southern graves.”

³⁷ See, for example, Daniel 12.2 KJV, “And many [or the multitude] of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake,” and Job 7.21 KJV, “For now I shall sleep in the dust; and thou shall seek me in the morning, but I shall not be.”

Geddes's new words were set to music to arranger Henry Werner. Musically, the contrafactum is very similar to the original. There are some slight differences in Werner's piano accompaniment: the left hand of the piano enters with a dotted eighths arpeggio pattern, and right hand opens with the melody of the verse instead of an original diddy. The accompanying texture has more flowing arpeggios than the original music. But generally, Werner did not change much at all.

There were more. The words to the second contrafacta, "Reply to The Bonnie Blue Flag," were written by Mrs. C. Sterett, and the music by M.H. Frank.³⁸ Many themes that appeared in Geddes's contrafactum appear in Sterett's, and indeed, some phrases that Sterett uses are nearly identical. Sterett's version is brief at only four verses. She speaks to the unjust nature of Southerners who "forced the war upon" the "peaceful men" of the North. Both Geddes and Sterett write about how the North has shown kindness to her Southern brethren, but how the North must defend herself nobly under duress. While it is a rather one sided argument, it is one that Northern authors and songwriters used frequently, another narrative convenient to the song at hand. Instead of Geddes's "We deem our cause most holy, we know we're in the right," Sterett writes, "We're in the right and will prevail, the Stars and Stripes must fly." Where Geddes mentions Southern graves, Sterett writes that every traitor must die. The fourth verse goes as follows:

*We're in the right and will prevail,
The Stars and Stripes must fly,
The "bonnie blue flag" be hauled down,
And every traitor die;
Freedom and peace enjoyed by all
As ne'er was known before,*

³⁸ Only Frank's name is listed on the outside cover of the original printing.

*Our Spangled Banner wave on high,
With stars just thirty-four.*

Perhaps most interestingly, immediately following the line declaring the death of every traitor, Sterett writes that “Freedom and peace” will be “enjoyed by all, as ne’er known before.” The immediacy of this line, and the fact that it follows such a stark decree of bloodshed, implies that it is the very acts of the death of every traitor and the yanking down of the bonnie blue flag that would lead to the freedom and peace. This is a wholly new definition of “freedom” in the Northern sense, one claimed by killing off Southern traitors.

Frank deviated from the original very little in the musical arrangement. Once again, the contrafactum proves musically similar. All three pieces – Macarthy’s original, as well as Geddes and Sterett’s contrafacta – are set in the key of F major, and are in 6/8 time. Frank’s setting sees a slightly different piano accompaniment, with a varied introduction in the right hand, some blocked chords in the left hand, with a united eighths rhythm for the first verse. But once again, it is similar overall.

The great irony of the Confederate’s proud anthem is that, despite penning the popular hit, Macarthy was not truly devoted to the Confederate cause. In his song, he saw a way to make a small fortune. Macarthy dodged the Confederate draft by asking the British government to send him citizenship papers, and when the Confederacy’s situation looked dire in 1864, fled to Philadelphia.³⁹ John Hill Hewitt, composer of “All Quiet Along the Potomac Tonight,” was so miffed by his flight that he wrote a parody of “The Bonnie Blue Flag,” which mocked Macarthy using the titles of his very own songs:

³⁹ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 77.

*I've just come out from Dixie Land, where rebels flocked to hear
The humbug sound I used to sing about the "Volunteer,"
The "Bonnie Blue Flag" – "Missouri," too, "Our Flag" and "Pretty Jane";
But now - I think, I'll change my tune, and now go back again.
Huzza! Huzza! – I've dodged the shells of war,
And Harry McCarthy has come off without a single scar!⁴⁰*

Despite Macarthy's doubtful dedication to the very states he sang about, "The Bonnie Blue Flag" was a powerful flag anthem that nearly changed the course of history. After taking military control of New Orleans in April 1862, Union General Benjamin Butler outlawed singing "The Bonnie Blue Flag."⁴¹ At first, the penalty was a twenty-five dollar fine (a significant sum at that point). But when the fine did not deter people, Butler imprisoned singers, fined the publisher five hundred dollars, and told his men to raid every music shop in the city so they could gather and burn copies of "The Bonnie Blue Flag."⁴² John Wilkes Booth violated Butler's law in March of 1864 by singing the song defiantly down a crowded street, and was nearly sent to prison, but released when he claimed he did not know about Butler's command.⁴³ Had that law been enforced, and Booth been in a New Orleans jail on the night of April 14, 1865, instead of at Lincoln's box in Ford's Theater, history might have been significantly altered today.

Macarthy was no fool. He was a gifted, handsome actor, and one of the few descriptions of him says he was "a small, handsome man, and brimful of the humor and the pathos and impulsive generosity of the Celtic race."⁴⁴ Soon after the war ended, he returned home to Great Britain, but only stayed until the tensions from the war had eased

⁴⁰ McWhirter, 77.

⁴¹ E. Lawrence Abel, "Confederate Music," Oxford Music Online, October 4, 2012, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ccl.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-1002228151>.

⁴² Abel, *Singing the New Nation*, 55.

⁴³ Abel, 55.

⁴⁴ Abel, "Bob Hope," 70.

slightly. At the start of 1867, he returned to the U.S. to go on tour, and received excellent reviews wherever he performed. The New Orleans *Picayune* called his sold out, post-war debut at the Academy of Music, where he had once unintentionally incited a riot, as “one of the most enthusiastic demonstrations of welcome ever witnessed within the walls of the Academy.”⁴⁵ To many Southerners, Macarthy was not simply the best Confederate performer, but the best entertainer the States had ever seen.

⁴⁵ As quoted in Abel, “Bob Hope,” 70.

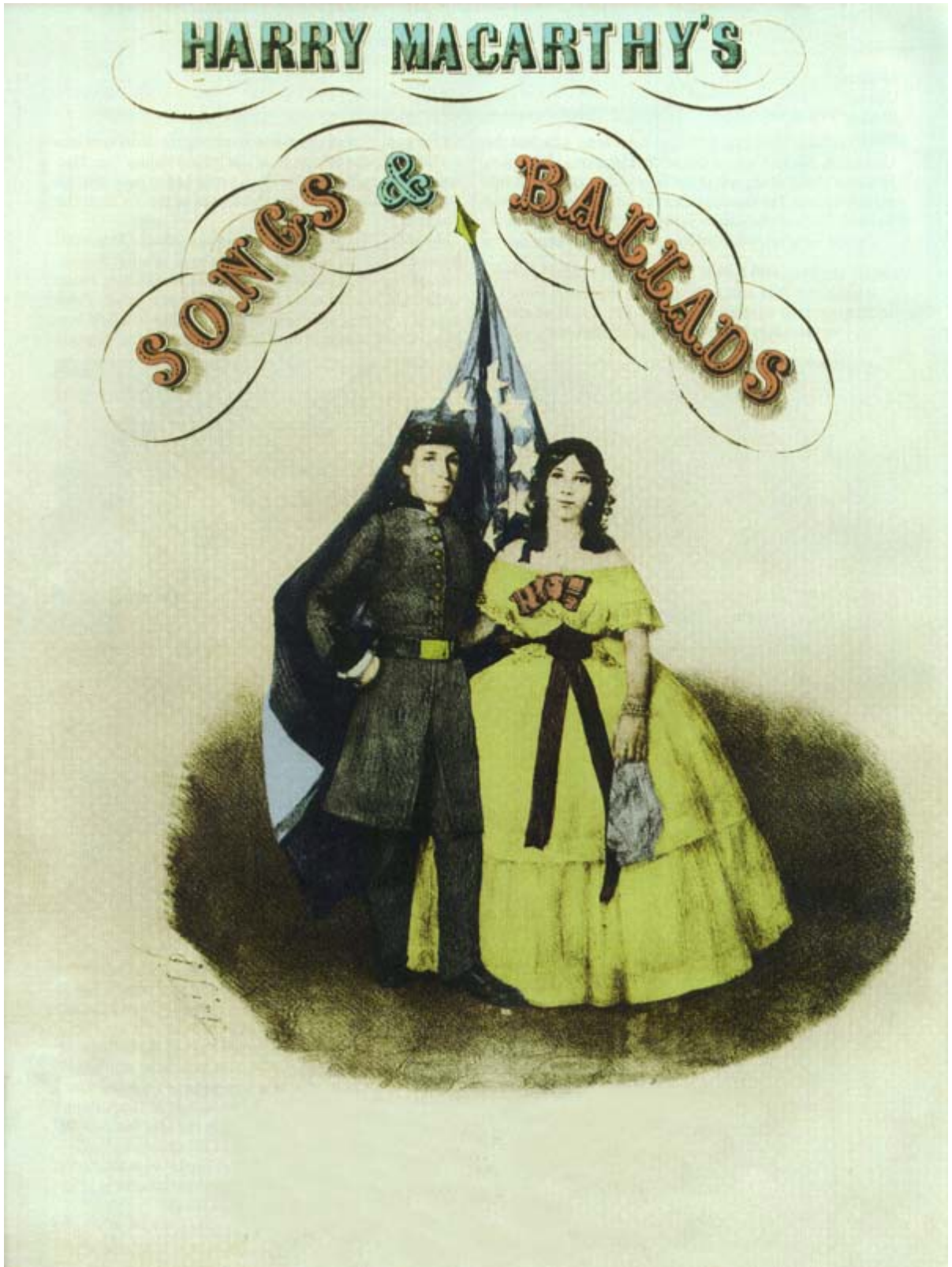


Figure 4: Macarthy and his wife Lottie Estelle on the cover of a small song book

DIXIE

Despite being a Union man, Daniel Decatur Emmett found himself the unwitting composer of a song that eventually became a definitive Southern anthem. A trained violinist-turned-printer, Emmett was born and raised in Ohio, and left the state for the first time in 1835 to attend an army training camp in Missouri.⁴⁶ When they discovered that he was not of military age, he became a traveling circus musician. In 1838 or 1839, he published his first song in dialect, and soon after became a blackface performer with a minstrel group. It was after joining Bryant's Minstrels – one of the most popular groups of the day – that Emmett wrote "Dixie."

The group premiered the song on stage on April 4th, 1859.⁴⁷ Emmett wrote it for a "walk-around," what was typically the finale of a minstrel musical act. But when "Dixie" premiered, Jerry Bryant listed it second to last on the program, possibly because he thought it was not good enough to close the show.⁴⁸ In Emmett's song, the black protagonist sings about how he longs for the plantations of the South, and how it is the only place where he truly feels comfortable. A few comedians acted out the first half of the song; the rest was performed by the entire company made up of twelve members, and potentially Dan Bryant himself.⁴⁹ The song itself consists of 32 measures, what Hans Nathan calls "a number still sacrosanct in tin-pan alley."⁵⁰ Nathan points out that Emmett divided the original song into two equal sections: a soloist and small group alternating,

⁴⁶ Bowman, *Voices of Combat*, 92.

⁴⁷ Hans Nathan, *Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 245

⁴⁸ Abel, *Singing the New Nation: How Music Shaped the Confederacy, 1861-1865*, 30.

⁴⁹ Abel, 245.

⁵⁰ Abel, 245.

then the entire company performing. The original tempo was much slower than the one now practiced by military bands.⁵¹

“Dixie” is undeniably catchy. The melody charmed Northerners and Southerners alike, and it has strong rhythmic drive that soldiers could march to. Unlike Macarthy and “The Bonnie Blue Flag,” Emmett wrote the majority of the anthem’s tune from scratch. But some historians like Hans Nathan argue that Emmett borrowed content from minstrel songs of the time. Before Emmett wrote “Dixie,” brief variations of its chorus appear in the songs “Jonny Roach” and “Billy Patterson.”⁵² It is hard to say whether Emmett borrowed from these songs, or whether they just sound slightly similar. Nevertheless, Emmett definitely wrote the majority the text and music of “Dixie” by himself. Nathan claims that many of Emmett’s contemporaries liked to imagine that he had stolen the song, and that for the South, it was “emotionally difficult” to acknowledge the song as “anything but a southern origin and the anonymity of a folk song.”⁵³

In modern memory, “Dixie” is the consummate Southern anthem. But that was not always the case. Minstrelsy was more popular in the North than in the South, and it was not until the song was included in a New Orleans burlesque show in 1860 that Southerners were introduced to it.⁵⁴ The show ran from April 2nd to May 5th, 1860, at the New Orleans Variety theater, and starred Mrs. John Wood, a relatively famous actress and singer at the time. On the first night of the performances, Mrs. Wood sang “Dixie,” and the audience made her sing it repeatedly. By the time their cheering subsided, she

⁵¹ Abel, 245.

⁵² Abel, 254.

⁵³ Abel, 256.

⁵⁴ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 66.

had sung the tune seven times.⁵⁵ By the summer of 1861, Robert E. Lee reportedly told his wife that there were no copies of the sheet music left for sale in all of Virginia.⁵⁶ A month before the state seceded, the *Richmond Dispatch* called it the “National Anthem of Secession.”⁵⁷ Nathan writes that, for the rebels, it was the musical symbol of a new nationality.⁵⁸ It was a song, but also a living and performable piece of Confederate pride, emblematic of Southern culture.

The Union, however, did not immediately give up hold of the piece that had originated in New York City. When Emmett introduced it to his city of residence, it became a hallmark of Bryant’s Minstrels’ repertoire and quickly spread throughout the North.⁵⁹ In a widely reprinted article of 1860, the *Delta* reported: “We take it for granted that everybody recognizes the existence of a peculiar song... known as ‘Dixie,’ since it is sung, whistled, and played by brass bands without limit, at all times and places...” The article continued, “The air seems to infatuate the ear, and is now practiced from one end of the Union to the other, with various variations, and always with enthusiastic effort.”⁶⁰ Northerners adopted the song even faster than Southerners did. It took a little while longer for Northerners to fully disavow the piece as Southern. Northern bands continued to play “Dixie” until halfway through the war in 1863, when it had become too distinctly

⁵⁵ Abel, *Singing the New Nation*, 32.

⁵⁶ Abel, 68.

⁵⁷ Abel, 68.

⁵⁸ Nathan, *Dan Emmett*, 269.

⁵⁹ Nathan, 65.

⁶⁰ “‘Dixie’ at the Theatre -- a Funny Scene,” article from the New Orleans *Delta*, reprinted in *Dwight’s Journal of Music*, December 8, 1860, as quoted by McWhirter, 65.

emblematic of the Confederacy for Northerners to tolerate any longer. But many felt that Northerners never fully relinquished the song.⁶¹

Southerners continuously overlooked “Dixie”’s Northern roots. Some did not care that the song was written by a Northerner. Others made up alternative narratives to better fit their Confederate ideal of the song’s beginnings. John Hill Hewitt wrote that “Dixie” “became spontaneously the *national* tune,” and was “of extremely doubtful origin, though pretty generally believed to have sprung from a *noble* stock of Southern stevedore melodies.”⁶² The song’s Southern supporters made a major effort to map Confederate nationalistic meaning onto the original text. The *Dispatch* argued that in the song, “Will de Weaber” was actually Lincoln, who seduced the American public, or the “misses,” into figuratively marrying him.⁶³ In this reading, the composer attempted to warn the South to “Look away!” from Lincoln’s deception. Needless to say, this interpretation was a stretch of imagination.

Southerners also chose to overlook “Dixie”’s nonsensical lyrics. Minstrel songs were not lauded for their literary prowess; audiences attended for the physical comedy and dance rather than the hidden meanings in the words. The song tells a cliched minstrel tale about a “misses” marrying “Will de Weaber” who planned to outlive her and benefit from the inheritance of her plantation:

*I wish I was in the land of cotton,
Old times there are not forgotten;
Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.
In Dixie’s Land where I was born in,
Early on one frosty mornin,
Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.*

⁶¹ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 72.

⁶² McWhirter, 66.

⁶³ McWhirter, 70.

*I wish I was in Dixie, Hooray! Hooray!
In Dixie's Land I'll take my stand
to live and die in Dixie.
Away, away, away down south in Dixie.
Away, away, away down south in Dixie.*

*Old Missus marry "Will the weaver,"
William was a gay deceiver;
Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.
And when he put his arm around 'er,
He smiled as fierce as a forty-pounder,
Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.*

The lines from the chorus "In Dixie's Land I'll take my stand to live and die in Dixie" found their way into the hearts of Confederate soldiers, as it echoed the a common sentiment: that they were protecting their homes and standing solidly against Northern tyranny. But if thought of in Emmett's original minstrel context, the line becomes almost unfathomable. Why would a slave take a stand to live on a plantation until he or she died?

Some Southerners found the contradictions too readily apparent and sought to write their own contrafacta. During the war, multiple revisions of Emmett's minstrel lyrics appealed to Southern sentiment, with titles like "North Carolina Dixie," "Awake! To arms in Dixie," and even the rather obvious "Dixie with Southern Words" which removed the minstrel dialect.⁶⁴ General Albert Pike, an Arkansas lawyer and poet, wrote "Dixie to Arms!" within five weeks of the start of the war.⁶⁵ The first verse began:

*Southrons, hear your Country call you
Up, lest worse than death befall you
To arms! To arms! To arms, in Dixie*

⁶⁴ McWhirter, 71.

⁶⁵ Abel, *Singing the New Nation*, 34.

Historically, Scots used the term “Southrons” to refer to Englishmen. Confederates often noted a romantic British past, but soon adopted the word so fully that it came to mean “Southerner” rather than “Englishman.”⁶⁶ Notably, while Emmett uses the phrase “to live and die in Dixie” as a fond remembrance of that region of the country, Pike’s contrafactum asks Southerners “to live *or die for* Dixie.” Pike’s contrafactum, however, was not readily adopted. A couple of the contrafacta were widely circulated and sporadically performed, yet few of them ever caught on, and the original remained as strong as ever in the South.⁶⁷

The North put forth many Unionized versions of “Dixie.” One of the first printed and distributed contrafacta was “Dixie for the Union,” published by Firth, Pond, and Co. in New York, likely either in 1860 or 1861. The lyricist is credited as Fanny Crosby (1820-1915), widely considered the most prolific hymnist of the age. Known as the “Blind Poetess,” Crosby wrote over 8,000 hymns and 1,000 secular poems in her life. Emmett is credited as the composer in this version, and S. Lasar is credited as the vocal quartet’s arranger. Other Northern interpretations included “It’s all up in Dixie,” “We’re marching down to Dixie’s Land,” “The Other Side of Dixie,” and the mocking “Union Dixie.”

Crosby’s “Dixie for the Union” changes the diction of the song in a clear attempt to clean up Emmett’s crude minstrel lyrics. Crosby uses archaic – yet poetic – language to raise the lyrics to heightened level of propriety, much in the way that Julia Ward Howe polished “John Brown’s Body” to turn it into “The Battle Hymn of the Republic.” The first verse and chorus follow:

⁶⁶ Bowman, *Voices of Combat*, 96.

⁶⁷ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 72.

*Oh! ye patriots to the battle,
Hear Fort Moultrie's cannon rattle;
Then away, then away, then away to the fight!
Go meet those Southern Traitors,
With iron will,
And should your courage falter, boy,
Remember Bunker Hill,*

*Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!
The Stars and Stripes forever!
Hurrah! Hurrah!
Our Union shall not sever!*

Crosby's lyrics are fairly measured in content, threatening Southerners with none of the doom or destruction that appear in other contrafacta. In the second verse, she mentions "dealing" with those who "breathe Secession," but this is the closest the poet comes to any sort of confrontation. She mentions "good old" volunteers, "sires" who fought before the Northerners (likely a reference to the War of Independence), and specific Confederate leaders by name. But there is little talk of retribution, violence, or even Northern victory until the last line of the piece. Crosby's contrafactum relies heavily on references to the War for Independence. She tells Northern soldiers that their cause actually began in 1775. Fort Moultrie was a strategic fort outside Charleston that served as a stronghold against British invaders during the revolution. Crosby tells her audience to "Hear Fort Moultrie's canons rattle" and to "Remember Bunker Hill": clear references to the War of Independence. As mentioned in Chapter 2, both sides claimed the American Revolution as a point of inspiration in their rhetoric.

Musically, there is no distinctive vocal pickup to the first measure that audiences would have come to expect from "Dixie." The melody remains almost completely unchanged, which is unsurprising, considering Emmett is listed as the composer. The

piano accompaniment is relatively simple, with two measures of 2/4 block chords in both the right and left hands, exactly as it appears in the original, even down to the the added accent on each of the chords and the *fortissimo* marking. More interestingly is the “Quartette or Chorus” that comes on the last page of the contrafactum. After giving a standard single melodic line and piano accompaniment, as consumers of sheet music would have expected, Crosby and arranger Lasar give a version written in four part harmony. It is difficult to speculate whether this version was performed by a quartette or chorus, and if so, how popular the new arrangement was. In “Stories of Great National Songs,” Nicholas Smith claims that while Crosby’s contrafactum is a good song, it was never adopted by the Union army, and was rarely played in Northern homes.⁶⁸

Many other lyricists attempted to reclaim “Dixie” for the Union by setting the tune to new words. Even before the war began, Unionists used the tune to comment against secession:

*As our fathers crushed oppression,
Deal with those who breathe secession,
Then away, then away,
Then away to the fight.*⁶⁹

Others mocked the so called “land of cotton”:

*Let others praise the land of cotton,
Nigger-slaves, and treason rotten*

One Union version in particular is oft-quoted, but difficult to trace. There is no lyricist listed, and the sheet music – if it was ever printed – remains elusive. In his book “Songs of the Civil War,” Irwin Silber reprinted the lyrics, listing their authorship as

⁶⁸ Nicholas Smith, *Stories of Great National Songs* (Milwaukee, Wis., Young Churchman Co, 1899), <http://archive.org/details/storiesgreatnat00smitgoog>, 189.

⁶⁹ Irwin Silber, *Songs of the Civil War* (New York: Dover Publications, 1995), 52.

“anonymous.” In “Union Dixie,” the uncited author mocks Southern institutions of King Cotton and treating “men as chattels.” Deane L. Root, Professor of American Music at the University of Pittsburgh, suspects the version comes from a broadside or “songster,” a printed booklet of lyrics that were handed out to soldiers. The lyricist also portrays Southern soldiers as “boys” who must “mind his Uncle Sam,” almost as a stubborn child should.

*Away down South in the land of traitors,
Rattlesnakes and alligators,
Right away, come away, right away, come away.
Where cotton's king and men are chattels,
Union boys will win the battles,
Right away, come away, right away, come away.*

*Then we'll all go down to Dixie,
Away, away,
Each Dixie boy must understand
That he must mind his Uncle Sam,
Away, away,
And we'll all go down to Dixie.
Away, away,
And we'll all go down to Dixie.*

*I wish I was in Baltimore,
I'd make Secession traitors roar,
Right away, come away, right away, come away.
We'll put the traitors all to rout.
I'll bet my boots we'll whip them out,
Right away, come away, right away, come away.*

*Oh, may our Stars and Stripes still wave
Forever o'er the free and brave,
Right away, come away, right away, come away.
And let our motto ever be –
"For Union and for Liberty!"
Right away, come away, right away, come away.*

The first verse is the most popular out of the contrafactum, perhaps because of its clearly scathing tone from the outset. Instead of “land of cotton,” the author substituted “land of traitors, rattlesnakes and alligators” which contains a pleasing if mocking rhyme. The second line (“Where cotton’s king and men are chattels, Union boys will win the battles”) possesses more of the policy points, however. The last verse of this unaccredited contrafactum mentions the stars and stripes of the flag, a common theme in Union song, waving over the “free and brave” – a reference to Francis Scott Key’s text to the “Star Spangled Banner.” The second part of that verse is important, for the author lays out the motto of the North: “For Union and for Liberty!” This liberty is, once again, the Northern understanding of the concept: liberty for slaves from Southern masters. In the Southern context, liberty translated to Southern freedom from Northern tyranny and aggression.

While the Democrats picked up “Dixie” again in their 1864 presidential campaign, McClellan was defeated soundly.⁷⁰ Emmett continued to perform in minstrel shows, but his songwriting talent seems to have dried up with after writing his one-hit wonder. While in his eighties, Emmett made a number of sentimental yet dubious claims about how the song came into being.⁷¹ He claimed that he composed the tune first and the words after. He also claimed that he composed the song in New York “on one rainy Sunday in Elm Street, between Broome and Spring Streets, No. 197, Room No.1.”⁷² After Emmett’s death, a number of songwriters came forward and tried to claim authorship of the anthem. But Nathan, Emmett’s biographer, conducted a thorough

⁷⁰ Bowman, *Voices of Combat*, 95.

⁷¹ Bowman, 95.

⁷² Bowman, 247.

investigation of these claims, cross-checking the handwriting style and type of paper used, and concluded that it was definitely Emmett's work.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

CONCLUSION

On April 10th, 1865, news of General Lee's surrender to General Grant reached Washington, D.C. Civilians flooded the streets to celebrate, and according to local paper *Daily National Intelligencer*, serenade the president. On that day, Abraham Lincoln addressed the gathered crowd from the White House balcony. It would prove to be his last public address, as he was shot at Ford's Theatre only four days later. The President only said a few words. He commended the energy of the crowd. He also noted the presence of a band, and proposed closing the ceremonies by asking them to play a particular tune, what he called "one of the best tunes I have ever heard."¹ That tune was "Dixie."²

Music historians have interpreted Lincoln's request in multiple different ways. Perhaps the most generous interpretation is that Lincoln, in calling for "Dixie," also called for a symbolic re-entry and forgiveness of Confederate states into the Union. What else could Lincoln mean by calling for the Southern anthem? Other historians, likely those who read the original transcript of Lincoln's speech - widely reported by other papers like Washington's *Daily Morning Chronicle*, New York's *Herald*, and more -

¹ Lincoln, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*.

² Some historians go so far as to claim that the song was Lincoln's favorite. Unless more definitive sourcing comes from future research, this is impossible to know. Lincoln was, however, a great lover of music. Elise K. Kirk, writing for the White House Historical Association, claims that Lincoln was "one of America's most unmusical presidents." He could not play an instrument or carry a tune, but still made regular appearances at the opera and theater, and made frequent requests of musicians to entertain him in the White House. Friends noted that his eyes certain songs would make his eyes mist over, and throw him into a fit of melancholy. Despite never having attended an opera before his inauguration, he went to see nearly thirty productions during his four years at the White House. When criticized for opera-going while soldiers fought at Bull Run and abolitionists raided at Harpers Ferry, he staked his life on his attendance, responding: "The truth is that I must have a change of some sort or die." For further reading, visit: <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/music-in-lincolns-white-house>

would have encountered what Lincoln said after requesting “Dixie.” “Our adversaries over the way attempted to appropriate it, but I insisted yesterday that we fairly captured it,” he said. “I presented the question to the Attorney General, and he gave it as his legal opinion that it is our lawful prize.”³ Applause and laughter followed Lincoln’s remarks. Lincoln’s own words show that it was not a symbolic forgiveness of Southern rebellion, but rather a reclaiming of the melodic spoils of war, his very own “lawful prize.” Of course, the North had never fully lost “Dixie” to the South; during the war, Union military bands even played “Dixie” next to traditional Northern anthems at celebrations of George Washington’s birthday and the anniversary of Bunker Hill.⁴ The North hated to relinquish what was once decisively their song.

During the Civil War, music was nearly always present. Popular rather than elite in nature, Civil War songs served an important social function: connecting different listeners and performers to the overall conflict. Music, especially war anthems, crossed class barriers. The haphazard nature of the music publishing industry, as well as musical genre fluidity, led to an outpouring of contrafacta for well known songs. It was in this culture of fluidity, musical overlapping, and outright theft that the North and South sang about liberty, freedom, and all of the other reasons they went to war. It just so happened that they were singing about entirely different things.

At the heart of the songs and contrafacta I explored – different iterations of “The Bonnie Blue Flag,” “The Battle Cry of Freedom,” and “Dixie” – was the conflict between the Northern and Southern understanding of liberty and freedom. Both sides professed to be fighting for the two ideals, and sang plenty of songs to that effect. But the issue

³ Lincoln, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*.

⁴ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 73.

revolves around the power of language. We can use the exact same words to describe our values, our most dearly-held beliefs, and the reasons why we go to war. Our phrases might sound similar. Our rhetoric might match. Yet what liberty, freedom, or any other term looks like in reality was not only separate in the minds of Northerners and Southerners. It was wholly different. To Southerners, liberty and freedom from Northern oppression drove them to secede from a government that they deemed tyrannical. Northerners fought first for the freedom to preserve the Union, and eventually, the freedom of slaves from Southern masters. It is a problem beyond “miscommunication” or something being “lost in translation.” We used the exact same words to mean very different things. It is a problem we still face today. What *exactly* do we mean when we bemoan the spread of fascism? What about intolerance? Or appropriation? We may label things with the same terminology, but what fascism means to one person might be utterly distinct from what it means to their neighbor.

“Dixie” started as a minstrel song, written by a Union man in New York City. The song took on a life and meaning independent of its creator, ballooned in popularity in the South, and eventually became so deeply associated with the Confederacy that Northerners assaulted anyone who sang it in Union territory. Despite the songwriter’s intentions, Emmett’s legacy is defined by the Confederate anthem he unintentionally penned. Years after his death, a wealthy Ohio citizen launched an eight-foot tall monument on his grave, which bears the inscription:

To the Memory of
Daniel Decatur Emmett
1815—1904
Whose Song 'Dixie Land' inspired the courage
and Devotion of the Southern People and now
Thrills the Hearts of a Reunited Nation.⁵

In the last public address he ever made, the president of the United States attempted to reclaim the song for the Union. The controversy, of course, did not end with Lincoln's assassination. A hundred years later, "Dixie" became the subject of debate once again, when African American students at Southern universities objected to its performance at school events by marching bands. They claimed that the song, as a product of minstrelsy in the North, was inherently racist and degrading. Similar protests erupted at the University of Virginia, the Georgia Institute of Technology, and Tulane University. In 1968, the president of the University of Miami banned the band from performing the song. And soon after, another meaning arose: after a song entitled "Whistling 'Dixie'" was released, the term came to mean that someone had a sort of studied, careless manner about them.⁶ At his annual sing-along during a judicial conference in 1999, Chief Justice William Rehnquist prompted a performance of the Southern anthem, alongside other American standards like "America the Beautiful," causing some African American lawyers to boycott the conference altogether. Reportedly, Justice Rehnquist typically ended the sing-along with "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "Dixie."⁷ Campaigns against the performance of "Dixie" have prompted the ire of white Southerners, who claim that the song is simply a representation of Southern pride, just as the Confederate

⁵ Abel, *Singing the New Nation*, 46.

⁶ Conversely, "You aint just whistling 'Dixie'!" means that someone is quite serious about something.

⁷ Craig Timberg, "Rehnquist's Inclusion of 'Dixie' Strikes a Sour Note," *The Washington Post*, July 22, 1999, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/local/daily/july99/dixie22.htm>.

flag is a representation of that same pride and heritage. The life, discussion, and performance of the song continued throughout the war, and – at this point – centuries beyond it. Even in its original form, “Dixie” was emblematic of a hundred things to a hundred different people. When factoring in its numerous contrafacta, the meanings multiply.

Another Confederate anthem, “Maryland, My Maryland,” is currently causing controversy on Maryland’s senate floor. Although Maryland never joined the Confederacy during the war, the border state held deeply mixed allegiances during the war. For many Maryland residents, the song is emblematic of an ugly, racist past. “Maryland, My Maryland” refers to President Lincoln as a despot, and the Union as “Northern scum.” In February, Democratic state Senator Cheryl Kagan introduced the bill in the hopes of repealing and replacing what she called an “outdated” and “offensive” state song.⁸ The current version of the bill represents a compromised version of what Senator Kagan originally intended, but is a step in the direction of replacing the song. On March 15, 2019, the state Senate passed SB790 by a 30-13 vote, which reclassified the song as the state’s “historical” song, rather than Maryland’s official song.⁹ Many Republican senators criticized the bill. “Where does it end? We did statues, now there are complaints about the flag,” said Senate Minority Leader J.B. Jennings.¹⁰ “The objection of the song is what the author, what his background was and what his personal beliefs

⁸ Timberg, “Rehnquist’s Inclusion.”

⁹ Amy Held, “Maryland Gets Closer To Retiring State Song That Calls Northerners ‘Scum,’” NPR.org, accessed April 20, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/03/16/594305719/maryland-gets-closer-to-retiring-state-song-that-calls-northerners-scum>.

¹⁰ David Collins, “Maryland Senate Passes Bill to Retire State Song,” WBAL, March 16, 2018, <https://www.wbaltv.com/article/maryland-senate-passes-bill-to-retire-state-song/19456819>.

were. That's no reason to reject the song," Sen. Joseph Cassilly stated.¹¹ The debate over these songs still rages strongly in the public eye.

The anthems I analyzed are united through their enduring popularity, and the fact that they inspired multiple sets of alternate lyrics. There were plenty of contrafacta that I could not cover due to scope. I mention what is, perhaps, the most famous Civil War contrafactum of all – Julia Ward Howe’s rewriting of “John Brown’s Body” as “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” – only briefly in this paper. During the war, the original song inspired by the abolitionist’s raid on Harpers Ferry and subsequent execution was much more popular than its modernly recognized contrafactum. The rewriting of the former into the latter could provide enough material to write a wholly separate thesis, and indeed, has already served as inspiration for numerous academic journal articles and books. Future researchers could look into other iterations of “John Brown’s Body,” and if those contrafacta were published, their musical and historical backgrounds. There are too many more alternate lyric sets to list here, and likely others that have not yet been uncovered, organized within archives, or digitized.

We are still grappling with the concepts of liberty and freedom today. The current partisan divide stems from a perceived cultural one, and from that divide we see a branching of artistic expression. It would be difficult to measure any modern war against the Civil War in terms of musical output. That creativity, however, lives on in different musical and artistic works. Americans are still dealing with the political ramifications of the “Southern way of life” that Confederate soldiers fought so hard to protect. Although

¹¹ Collins, “Maryland Senate Passes Bill.”

the object of debate is no longer Northern versus Southern ideologies, we still face a decisive moment of polarized political understanding. There are similarities in our rhetoric to that of the Civil War. Some believe God is undoubtedly on their side, that their cause alone is morally righteous. Some continue to believe others are born unequal from birth, and should be kept from better lands. Some believe large, economic wheelhouse states should have the right to secede from the Union. The stones from the Civil War era still cause ripples in the pool of our union.

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Appendices

Table 1: Features of “The Bonnie Blue Flag” and Contrafacta

| | Original “The Bonnie Blue Flag” | “The Bonnie Blue Flag with Stripes and Stars” | “Reply to The Bonnie Blue Flag” |
|----------------------|---|---|---|
| Songwriter | Harry Macarthy | Words: J.L. Geddes, Eighth Iowa Infantry, written while a prisoner of war Arranged by: Henry Werner | Words: Mrs. C. Sterett Music: M.H. Frank |
| Publishing details | Blackmar & Bro., New Orleans | Balmer & Weber, St. Louis, 1863-1864 | Marsh 1102 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia |
| Key + time signature | F Major, 6/8 | F Major, 6/8 | F Major, 6/8 |
| Piano accompaniment | Octaves or block chords in the LH, varying RH (arpeggiated or block chords) | LH enters with dotted eighths ostinato pattern and melody of the first verse rather than piano diddy, but soon retreats to octaves or single bass notes. Predictable RH, with block or arpeggiated chords. Overall, the texture is different from the original, more flowing arpeggios in the left hand (which switch over to the right) than anything. | Slightly varied introduction in RH, block chords in the LH, then original and united eighths rhythm for the first verse, but very similar overall. On “home and friend,” a classic (but more complex) secondary dominant harmony added. In the second half of that phrase (“Our noble constitution and banner to defend,”) a harmony that was originally interesting (“Fighting for our property”) is made simple: F major chords only. |
| Notable differences | | Musical: Very similar to the original. Piano accompaniment removes diddy in favor of foreshadowing the singer’s melody from the verse. | Musical: There was no reason why Frank could not have used the more complicated, interesting harmony from the original, and it adds to the arbitrary feel of the changes. |

Appendix A: Lyrics to “The Battle Cry of Freedom” and Contrafactum

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>Original “The Battle Cry of Freedom” Composed by George Frederick Root</p> <p>Yes we’ll rally round the flag, boys, we’ll rally once again, Shouting the battle cry of freedom, We will rally from the hillside, we’ll gather from the plain, Shouting the battle cry of freedom!</p> <p>The Union forever! Hurrah, boys, hurrah! Down with the traitor, up with the star; While we rally round the flag, boys, rally once again, Shouting the battle cry of freedom!</p> <p>We are springing to the call with a million freemen more, Shouting the battle cry of freedom! And we’ll fill our vacant ranks of our brothers gone before, Shouting the battle cry of freedom!</p> <p>We will welcome to our numbers the loyal, true and brave, Shouting the battle cry of freedom! And although he may be poor, he shall never be a slave, Shouting the battle cry of freedom!</p> <p>So we’re springing to the call from the East and from the West, Shouting the battle cry of freedom! And we’ll hurl the rebel crew from the land we love best, Shouting the battle cry of freedom!</p> | <p>Confederate “The Battle Cry of Freedom” Composed by William H. Barnes, 1864</p> <p>Our flag is proudly floating on the land and on the main, Shout, shout the battle cry of Freedom! Beneath it oft we’ve conquered, and we’ll conquer oft again! Shout, shout the battle cry of Freedom!</p> <p>Our Dixie forever! She’s never at a loss! Down with the eagle and up with the cross! We’ll rally ‘round the bonny flag, we’ll rally once again, Shout, shout the battle cry of Freedom!</p> <p>Our gallant boys have marched to the rolling of the drums. Shout, shout the battle cry of Freedom! And the leaders in charge cry out, “Come, boys, come!” Shout, shout the battle cry of Freedom!--</p> <p>They have laid down their lives on the bloody battle field. Shout, shout the battle cry of Freedom! Their motto is resistance – “To tyrants we’ll not yield!” Shout, shout the battle cry of Freedom!</p> <p>While our boys have responded and to the fields have gone. Shout, shout the battle cry of Freedom! Our noble women also have aided them at home. Shout, shout the battle cry of Freedom!</p> |
|--|---|

Appendix B: Lyrics to “The Bonnie Blue Flag” and Contrafacta

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| <p>Original “The Bonnie Blue Flag” Composed by Harry Macarthy, 1861</p> <p>We are a band of brothers and native to the soil Fighting for our liberty, with treasure, blood and toil And when our rights were threatened, the cry rose near and far Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star!</p> <p>Hurrah! Hurrah! For Southern rights, hurrah! Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.</p> <p>As long as the Union was faithful to her trust Like friends and like brethren, kind we were, and just</p> <p>But now, when Northern treachery attempts our rights to mar We hoist on high the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.</p> | <p>“The Bonnie Blue Flag with Stripes and Stars” Lyrics by J.L. Geddes, 1863-64</p> <p>We're fighting for our Union, We're fighting for our trust, We're fighting for that happy land Where sleeps our father dust. It cannot be dissevered, Though it cost us bloody wars, We never can give up the land Where floats the stripes and stars.</p> <p>Hurrah, Hurrah, For equal rights hurrah, Hurrah for the good old flag That bears the stripes and stars.</p> <p>We trusted you as brothers, Until you drew the sword, With impious hands at Sumter You cut the silver cord.</p> <p>So now you hear the bugles, We come the sons of Mars, To rally round the brave old flag That bears the stripes and stars.</p> | <p>“Reply to the Bonnie Blue Flag” Lyrics by M.H. Frank, 1862</p> <p>We are a band of patriots, Who each leave home and friend Our noble Constitution And banner to defend; Our Capitol was threatened, And the cry rose near and far To protect our country’s glorious flag That glitters with many a star.</p> <p>Hurrah, hurrah, for the Union, boys, hurrah! Hurrah for our forefathers’ good old flag That glitters with many a star.</p> <p>Much patience and forbearance The North has always shown Toward her Southern brethren, Who had each way their own;</p> <p>But when we made our President A man whom we desired Their wrath was roused, they mounted guns, And on Fort Sumter fired</p> |
|--|--|--|

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>First gallant South Carolina nobly made the stand Then came Alabama and took her by the hand Next, quickly Mississippi, Georgia, and Florida All raised on high the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.</p> <p>Ye men of valor gather round the banner of the right Texas and fair Louisiana join us in the fight Davis, our loved President, and Stephens statesmen rare Now rally round the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.</p> <p>Now here's to brave Virginia, the old Dominion State, With the young Confederacy at length has linked her fate, Impelled by her example, now other states prepare To hoist high the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.</p> | <p>We do not want your cotton, We do not want your slaves, But rather than divide the land, We'll fill your Southern graves. With Lincoln for our chieftain, We wear our country's stars, And rally round the brave old flag That bears the stripes and stars.</p> <p>We deem our cause most holy, We know we're in the right, And twenty million freemen Stand ready for the fight. Our pride is fair Columbia, No stain her beauty mars, On her we'll raise the brave old flag That bears the stripes and stars.</p> <p>And when this war is over, We'll each resume our home, And treat you still as brothers, Where ever you may roam. We'll pledge the hand of friendship, And think no more of war, But dwell in peace beneath the flag That bears the stripes and stars.</p> | <p>They forced the war upon us, For peaceful men are we; They steal our money, seize our forts, And then as cowards flee; False to their vows and to the flag That once protected them, They sought the Union to dissolve, Earth's noblest, brightest gem.</p> <p>We're in the right and will prevail, The Stars and Stripes must fly, The "bonnie blue flag" be hauled down, And every traitor die; Freedom and peace enjoyed by all As ne'er was known before, Our Spangled Banner wave on high, With stars just thirty-four.</p> |
|--|---|---|

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| <p>Then cheer, boys, cheer, and raise a joyous shout For Arkansas and North Carolina now have both gone out, And let another rousing cheer for Tennessee be given, The single star of the Bonnie Blue Flag has grown to be eleven.</p> <p>Then here's to our Confederacy, strong we are and brave, Like patriots of old we'll fight, our heritage to save; And rather than submit to shame, to die we would prefer, So cheer, cheer for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.</p> | | |
|--|--|--|

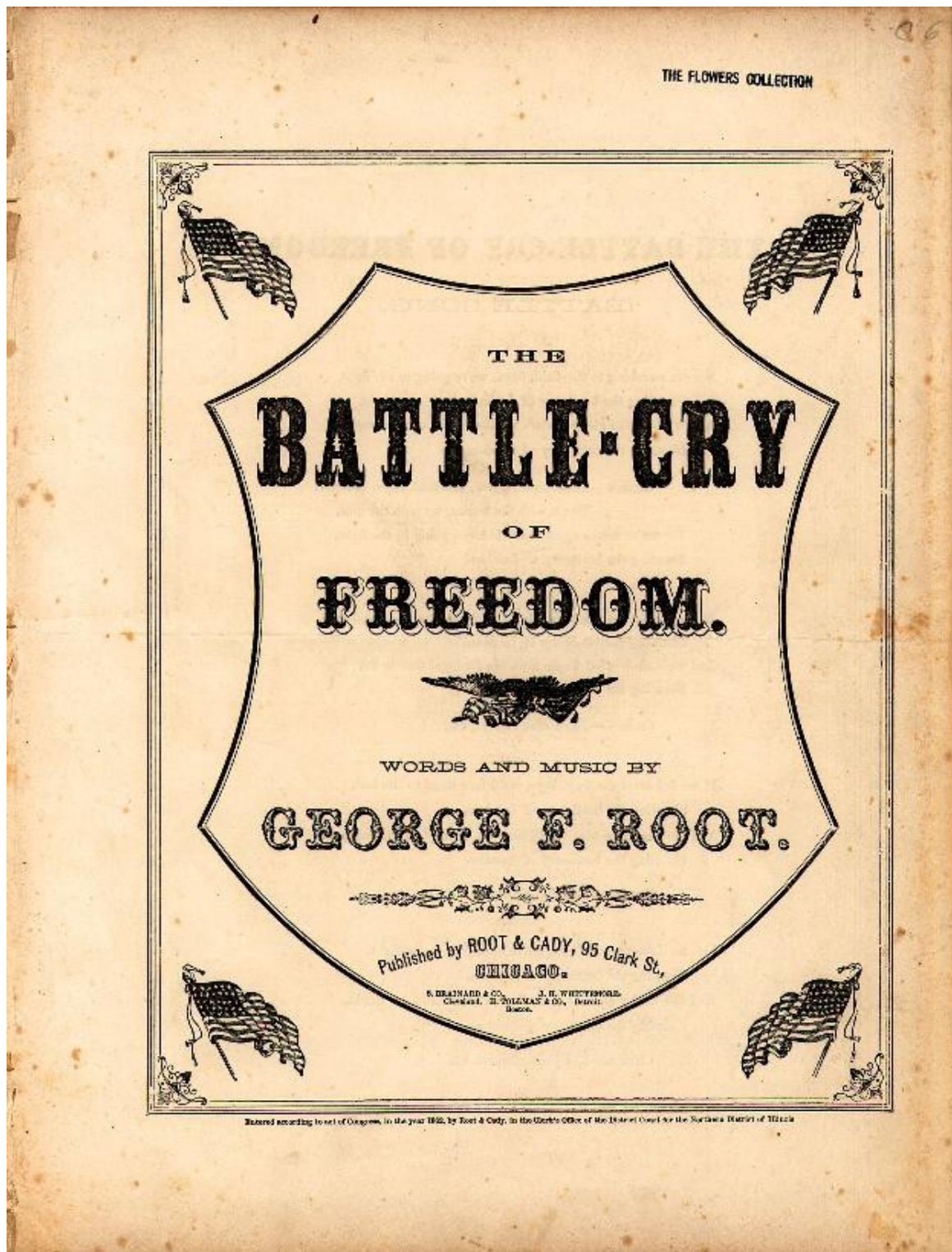
Appendix C: Lyrics to “Dixie” and Contrafacta

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| <p>Original “Dixie” Composed by Daniel Decatur Emmett, 1859</p> <p>I wish I was in the land of cotton, Old times there are not forgotten; Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land. In Dixie’s Land where I was born in, Early on one frosty mornin, Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.</p> <p>I wish I was in Dixie, Hooray! Hooray! In Dixie’s Land I’ll take my stand to live and die in Dixie. Away, away, away down south in Dixie. Away, away, away down south in Dixie.</p> <p>Old Missus marry “Will the weaver,” Willium was a gay deceiver; Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land. And when he put his arm around ‘er, He smiled as fierce as a forty-pounder, Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.</p> <p>His face was sharp as a butcher’s cleaver But that did not seem to grieve ‘er Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.</p> | <p>“Union Dixie” Anonymous; to the tune of “Dixie”</p> <p>Away down South in the land of traitors, Rattlesnakes and alligators, Right away, come away, right away, come away. Where cotton's king and men are chattels, Union boys will win the battles, Right away, come away, right away, come away.</p> <p>Then we'll all go down to Dixie, away, away, Each Dixie boy must understand That he must mind his Uncle Sam, Away, away, and we'll all go down to Dixie. Away, away, and we'll all go down to Dixie.</p> <p>I wish I was in Baltimore, I'd make Secession traitors roar, Right away, come away, right away, come away. We'll put the traitors all to rout. I'll bet my boots we'll whip them out, Right away, come away, right away, come away.</p> <p>Oh, may our Stars and Stripes still wave Forever o'er the free and brave, Right away, come away, right away, come away.</p> | <p>“Dixie for the Union” Lyrics by Frances Crosby, 1860-61</p> <p>Oh! ye patriots to the battle, Hear Fort Moultrie’s cannon rattle; Then away, then away, then away to the fight! Go meet those Southern Traitors, With iron will, And should your courage falter, boy, Remember Bunker Hill,</p> <p>Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! The Stars and Stripes forever! Hurrah! Hurrah! Our Union shall not sever!</p> <p>As our fathers crushed oppression, Deal with those who breathe Secession; Then away, then away, then away to the fight! Though Beauregard and Wigfall Their swords may whet, Just tell them Major Anderson Has not surrendered yet.</p> <p>Is Virginia, too, seceding? Washington’s remains unheeding? Then away! then away! then away to the fight!</p> |
|--|--|---|

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| <p>Ole Missus acted the foolish part She died for a man that broke her heart Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.</p> <p>Now here's to the health to the next ole Missus An' all the gals that want to kiss us; Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land And if you want to drive away sorrow Come and hear our song tomorrow Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.</p> <p>Dar's buckwheat cakes an Injun batter, Makes your fat a little fatter; Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land. Then hoe it down and scratch your gravel, To Dixie's Land I'm bound to travel. Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.</p> | <p>And let our motto ever be – "For Union and for Liberty!" Right away, come away, right away, come away.</p> | <p>Unfold our country's banner In triumph there, And let the rebels desecrate That banner if they dare.</p> <p>Volunteers, be up and doing, Still the good old path pursuing; Then away, then away, then away to the fight! Your sires, who fought before you; Had led the way. Then follow in their footsteps, And be as brave as they.</p> <p>On! ye patriots to the battle, Hear Fort Moultrie's cannon rattle; Then away, then away, then away to the fight. The star that lights our Union Shall never set! Though fierce may be the conflict, We'll gain the victory yet.</p> |
|--|--|---|

Appendix D:

Original "The Battle Cry of Freedom" Sheet Music



THE BATTLE-CRY OF FREEDOM.

(BATTLE SONG.)

I.

We are marching to the field, boys, we're going to the fight,
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom,
And we bear the glorious stars for the Union and the right,
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom.

CHORUS.—The Union forever, Hurrah! boys, Hurrah!
Down with the traitor, up with the star,
For we're marching to the field boys, going to the fight,
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom!

II.

We will meet the rebel host, boys, with fearless heart and true,
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom,
And we'll show what Uncle Sam has for loyal men to do,
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom.

CHORUS.—The Union forever, etc.

III.

If we fall amid the fray, boys, we'll face them to the last,
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom,
And our comrades brave shall hear us, as they go rushing past,
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom.

CHORUS.—The Union forever, etc.

IV.

Yes, for Liberty and Union we're springing to the fight,
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom,
And the victory shall be ours, for we're rising in our might,
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom.

CHORUS.—The Union forever, etc.

Music
8-988
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THE BATTLE CRY OF FREEDOM

(RALLYING SONG)

GEO. F. ROOT.

INTRODUCTION.

1. Yes we'll ral - ly round the flag, boys, we'll
2. We are spring - ing to the call of our
3. We will wel - come to our num - bers the
4. So we're spring - ing to the call from the

ral - ly once a - gain, Shout - ing the bat - tle - cry of Free - dom, We will
Brothers gone be - fore, Shout - ing the bat - tle - cry of Free - dom, And we'll
loy - al true and brave, Shout - ing the bat - tle - cry of Free - dom, And al -
East and from the West, Shout - ing the bat - tle - cry of Free - dom, And we'll

ral - ly from the hill-side, we'll gath-er from the plain, Shouting the bat-tle - cry of
 fill the va-cant ranks with a million Freemen more, Shouting the bat-tle - cry of
 tho' he may be poor he shall nev-er be a slave, Shouting the bat-tle - cry of
 hurl the reb-el crew from the land we love the best, Shouting the bat-tle - cry of

CHORUS.

Fortissimo.

AIR.
 Free - dom, The Un - ion for - ev - er, Hur - rah boys, hur - rah!

ALTO.
 The Un - ion for - ev - er, Hur - rah boys, hur - rah!

TENOR.
 The Un - ion for - ev - er, Hur - rah boys, hur - rah!

BASE.
 The Un - ion for - ev - er, Hur - rah boys, hur - rah!

PIANO.

Down with the Trai-tor, Up with the Star; While we ral-ly round the flag, boys,
Down with the Trai-tor, Up with the Star; While we ral-ly round the flag, boys,
Down with the Trai-tor, Up with the Star; While we ral-ly round the flag, boys,

Ral-ly once a - gain, Shout-ing the bat - tle - cry of Free - dom.
Ral-ly once a - gain, Shout-ing the bat - tle - cry of Free - dom.
Ral-ly once a - gain, Shout-ing the bat - tle - cry of Free - dom.

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 tect the right." Song and Chorus. *G. F. Root*.....25 cts.
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 OF THE FREE. Song and Chorus. *Freddie*.....25 cts.
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 Song and Chorus. *Geo. F. Root*.....25 cts.
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 Chorus. *W. B. Bradbury*.....25 cts.
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 Song. *Ad.*.....25 cts.
 In its spirit of "When the Swallow Landed by."
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 (English.)
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F. Root.....25 cts.
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 Answer to "Call to the New."
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 An adaptation of one of the most beautiful melodies in existence
 by the author of this.
 DREAM ON, LILLIE. Song and Quartette. *G.*
F. Root.....25 cts.
 MOTHER, OH SING TO ME OF HEAVEN
 Song and Quartette. *G. F. Root*.....25 cts.
 I NEVER KISS AND TELL. Song. *Hubbard*.....25 cts.
 THE SECRET. Song. *Saksberg*.....25 cts.
 For Tenor or Baritone. *Saksberg*.....25 cts.
 EVENING. Song. *Shapiro*.....25 cts.
 Song for Octet or Quartet. *Classical and Terrestrial.*
 O! ARE YR SLEEPING, MAGGIE. Scotch Song. 25 cts.
 FOREST REQUIEM. Song and Chorus. *G. S. W.*.....25 cts.
 MY HEART IS LIKE A SILENT LUTE. *Root*.....25 cts.
 DEATH OF THE ROBIN. *J. M. Hubbard*.....25 cts.
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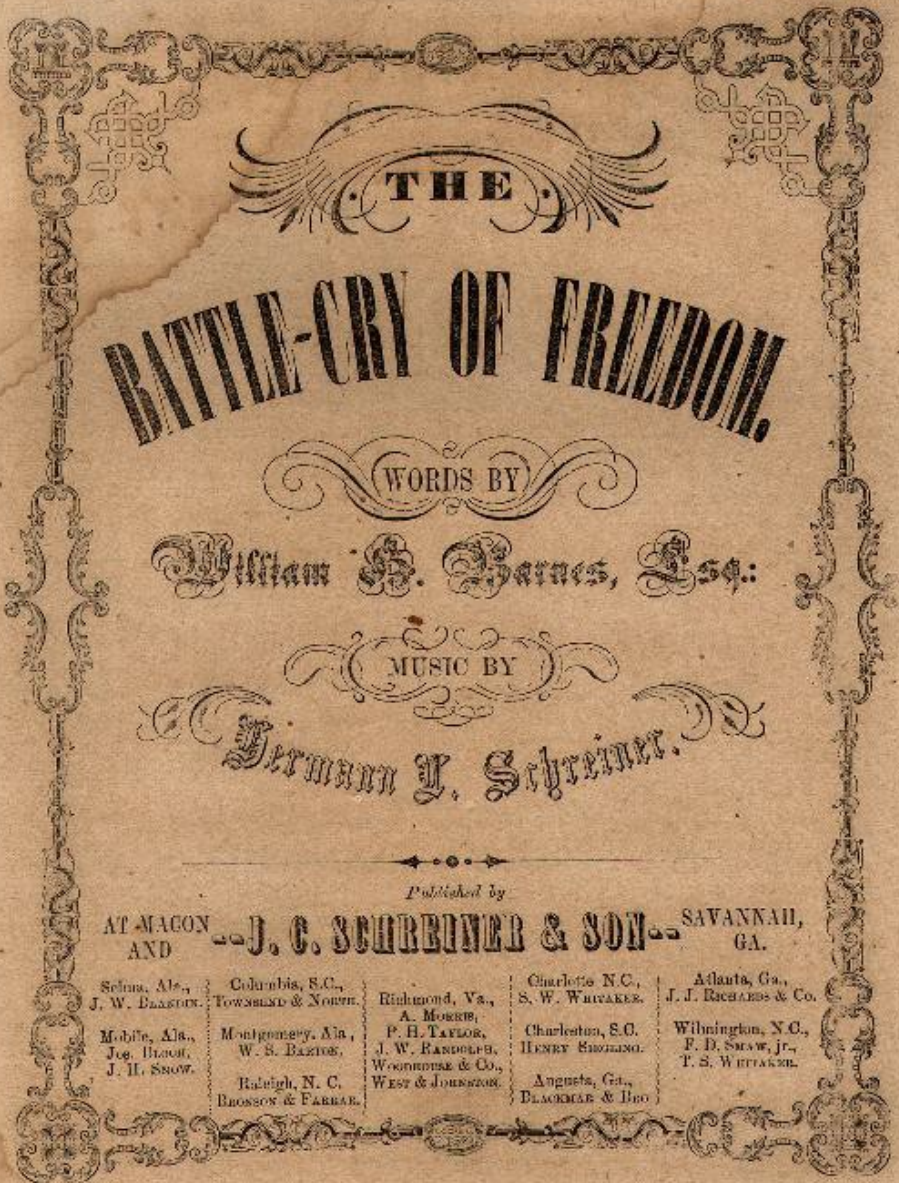
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 COQUETTE MAZURKA. *F. Staub*.....45 cts.

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Appendix E:

Contrafactum: "The Battle Cry of Freedom" Sheet Music

THE FLOWERS COLLECTION



THE

BATTLE-CRY OF FREEDOM.

WORDS BY

William S. Barnes, Esq.

MUSIC BY

Gerhard V. Schreiner.

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The Battle-Cry of Freedom.

Words by Wm. H. BARNES.

Music by H. L. SCHREINER.

With Spirit.

Piano.

Musical notation for the piano introduction, consisting of two staves (treble and bass clef) in G major and 2/4 time. The melody is in the treble clef, and the accompaniment is in the bass clef.

Musical notation for the first vocal line, consisting of a single treble clef staff. The lyrics "For 1.—Our" are written below the staff.

Musical notation for the second vocal line, consisting of a single treble clef staff. The lyrics "flame proudly floating on the land and on the main, Shout, shout the battle cry of freedom; De-" are written below the staff.

Musical notation for the third vocal line, consisting of a single treble clef staff. The lyrics "mouth it of, we've conquer'd and will conquer off again, Shout, shout the battle cry of free-dom." are written below the staff.

Entered according to Law, by J. C. SCHREINER & SON, in 1854, in the Office of the Clerk of the Court for the District of Georgia.

f CHORUS

Our Dixie forever, she's never at a loss — Down with the eagle and up with the cross; We'll

rally round the bonny flag, we'll rally once again — Shouting the battle cry of free — dom.

2
Our gallant boys have marched to the rolling of the drum
Shout, shout the battle cry of freedom;
And leaders in charge cry, "Some boys come,"
Shout, shout the battle cry of freedom.

Chorus:—

Our Dixie forever, she's never at a loss,
Down with the Eagle and up with the Cross,
We'll rally round the bonny flag, we'll rally once again,
Shouting the battle cry for Freedom.

3
They have laid down their lives on the bloody battle-field
Shout, &c.,
Their motto is resistance—"To tyrants we'll not yield."
Shout, &c.

Chorus:— Our Dixie forever, &c.

4
While our boys have responded and to the field have gone
Shout, &c.,
Our noble women also have aided them at home,
Shout, &c.

Chorus:—

Our women forever, God bless them, huzza!
With their smiles and favors, they aid us in the war;
In the tent and on the battle-field, the boys remember
And cheer for the daughters of freedom. [them,

5
Let the joyous sound re-echoe'er the land and o'er the sea
Shout, &c.,
Our Southern sky is brightening and soon we will be free
Shout, &c.

Chorus:— Our Dixie forever, &c.

R 212
 Cont.
 Music
 #105

CATALOGUE OF SHEET MUSIC

JUST PUBLISHED BY

J. C. SCHREINER & SON,

MACON AND SAVANNAH, GA.

| | | | |
|---|------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| S O N G S . | | Soldier's Grave | arranged by H. L. Schreiner |
| Al! I have Sighed to Rest me! "Trovatore." | Verdi | Strike for the South | Pierpont |
| Article of the Vale | Thomas | Switzer's Farewell | Mengia |
| Ask Me not Why, or Child of the Regiment | Donizetti | Take Me Home | H. L. Schreiner |
| Bitten on the Rhine | Hatchinson | The Battle Cry of Freedom | H. L. Schreiner |
| Brightest Eyes | Stigall | The Captain and his Whiskers | Cornet |
| Castles in the Air | Scotch | The Girl I Left Behind Me | Viereck |
| Come Dearest the Daylight is Gone | B. H. | The Unknown Dead | J. H. Hewitt |
| Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming | Foster | The Vacant Chair | Root |
| Dear Mother, I'd Come Home Again | Wilson | The Young Volunteer | J. H. Hewitt |
| Dixie, Land of King Cotton, (Opuzetta Vivandiere) | Hewitt | Then You'll Remember Me | Bulte |
| Do They Think of Me at Home | H. L. Schreiner | They said my Love would change with Time | Glover |
| Dreams | Hodges | Twinkling Stars are Laughing, Love, | Ordway |
| Ever of Thee | Hall | Wake, Lady, Wake, [a serenade, 1 or 2 voices] | Pierpont |
| Faded Flowers | Powers | We Conquer or Die | Pierpont |
| Gentle Nettle Moore | Pierpont | What are the Wild Waves Saying | Glover |
| Her Bright Bells Haunts Me Still | Wrighton | When the Swallows Homeward Fly | Abb |
| How can I Leave Thee? | Petri | When this Cruel War is Over | Tucker |
| I Dream that I Dwell in Marble Halls | Bulte | When I Saw Sweet Nellie Home | Fletcher |
| I See Her Still in My Dreams | Foster | Why Do I Weep for Thee | Wallace |
| I Will Meet Thee | Hewitt | Would I were with Thee | Hon. Mrs. Norton |
| It is Better to Laugh than to Sigh | Donizetti | Yellow Rose of Texas | J. K. |
| Justina - arranged as a Solo or Duett | Hon. Mrs. Norton | You Are Going to the Wars, Willie Boy, | Hewitt |
| Keep Me Awake, Mother | Crouch | M A R C H E S . | |
| Lonely | Koenigsberg | Avell Chorus | King |
| Let Me Kiss Him for His Mother | Webster | Battle-Flag Polka | H. L. Schreiner |
| Lull is Gone | Ordway | Beauregard's Charleston Quadrup | H. L. Schreiner |
| Milk me no Gandy Chuplet | Foster | Gen. Beauregard's Grand March | Hainsman |
| Napoliains, I am Dreaming of Thee, | Donizetti | Gen. Lee's Grand March | H. L. Schreiner |
| Not for Gold and Precious Stones | Lee | Gen. Mercer's Grand March | H. L. Schreiner |
| Oh, Come to me, Love, in a beautiful dream, | Hausser | Home, Sweet Home, [Brilliant Variations] | J. H. Slack |
| O Give me a Home by the Sea | Hewitt | Leonore Polka | Merz |
| Officer's Foversel | Hoetner | Lorena with Variations | H. L. Schreiner |
| Oh, Whisper What Thou Feelest | Mrs. Norton | Maiden's Prayer | Dadarzewski |
| Paul Vane, or Lorena's Reply | Binley | Return of Spring, Polka, | Moelling |
| Parchment to Ingomar | Webster | Rochester Schottisch | Rulson |
| Rock Me to Sleep, Mother, [with a chorus] | Foster | Stonewall Jackson's Grand March | H. L. Schreiner |
| Rock Me to Sleep, Mother, [surr. by author] | Leslie | Savannah Park Waltzes | H. L. Schreiner |
| Rosie the Prairie Flower | J. H. Hewitt | Shells of Ocean | Grobe |
| Seasons that are Brightest | Wurzel | Smith's (Gen. Persifer F.) March | Martin |
| Soldier's Farewell | Wallace | Stonewall Quickstep | J. H. Hewitt |
| | J. H. Hewitt | Wachings at Eve, Romance, | Richards |

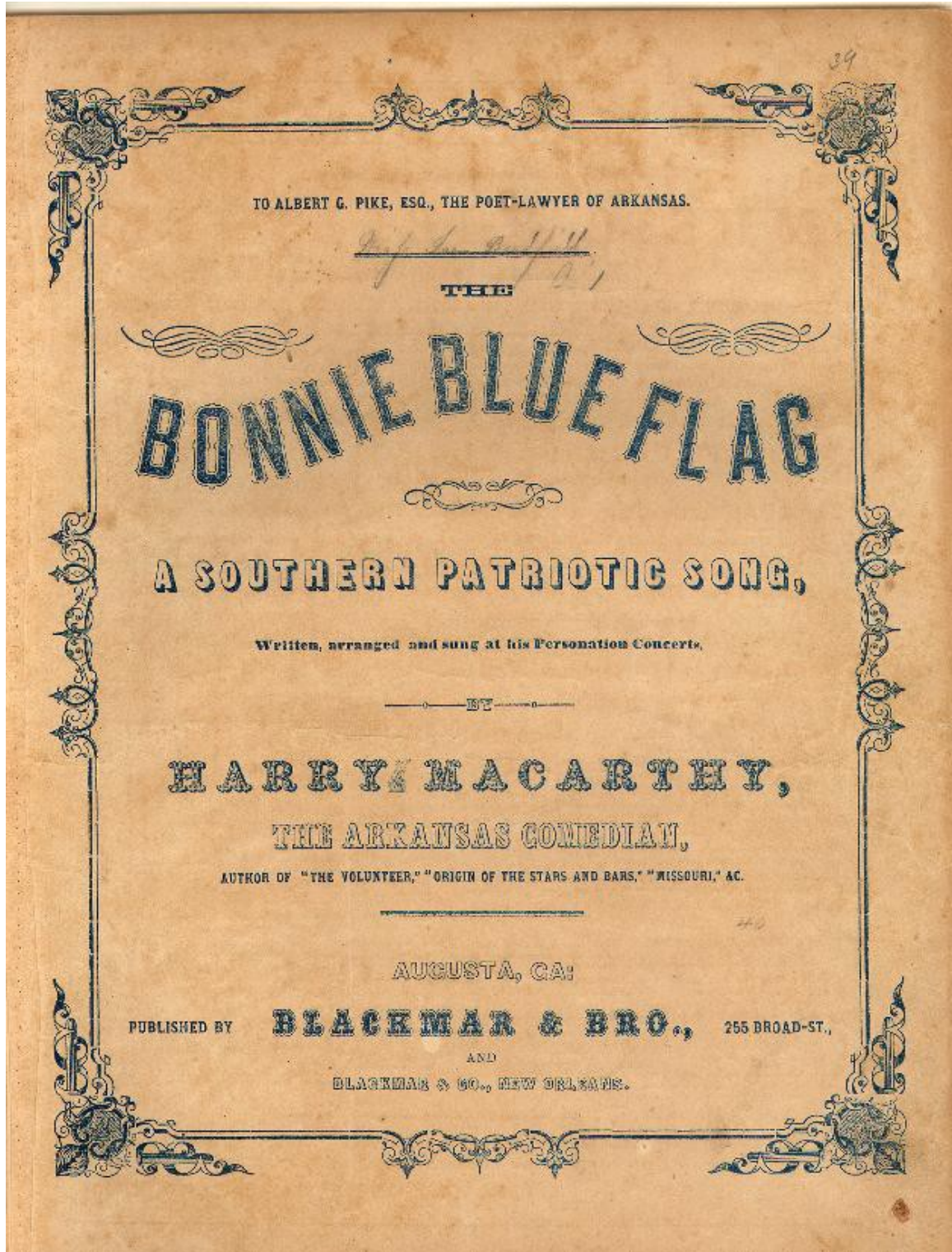


J. F. WICKS, PRINTER, MACON, GA.

CE 51-7-27

Appendix F:

Original "The Bonnie Blue Flag" Sheet Music



THE BONNIE BLUE FLAG.

HARRY MACARTHY.

Piano.

The piano introduction consists of two staves. The right hand plays a melody of eighth and sixteenth notes in a major key with one flat. The left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines.

We are a band of brothers, And

The vocal line begins with a whole rest followed by the lyrics. The piano accompaniment continues with a steady eighth-note rhythm.

na - tive to the soil, Fight - ing for the prop - er - ty We gain'd by hon - est

The vocal line continues with the lyrics. The piano accompaniment maintains the eighth-note accompaniment.

toil; And when our rights were threat - en'd, The cry rose near and far, Hur -

The vocal line concludes with the lyrics. The piano accompaniment continues until the end of the phrase.

Entered according to Act of Congress, A. D. 1863, by HARRY MACARTHY, in the Clerk's Office of the Confederate States District Court for the District of Louisiana.

THE BANNER OF THE SOUTH

rah for the Bon-nie Blue Flag, that bears a Sin-gle Star!

Hur-rah! Hur-rah! for Southern Rights Hur-rah! Hur-rah! for the

Bon-nie Blue Flag, that bears a Sin-gle Star!

2nd Verse

As long as the Union was faith - ful to her trust, Like friends and like
 look - ers, kind were we and just; But now, when Northern treach - e - ry at
 tempers our rights to mar, We hoist on high the Bonnie Blue Flag, that bears a Sin - gle Star.

Chorus: Hurrah! &c.

3rd Verse

First, gallant South Carolina nobly made the stand;
 Then came Alabama, who took her by the hand;
 Next, quickly Mississippi, Georgia and Florida,
 All rais'd on high the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a Single Star.
 Chorus: Hurrah!

4th Verse

Ye men of valor, gather round the Banner of the Right,
 Texas and fair Louisiana join us in the fight;
 Davis, our loved President, and Stephens, Statesman rare,
 Now rally round the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a Single Star.
 Chorus: Hurrah!

5th Verse

And here's to brave Virginia! the Old Dominion State
 With the young Confederacy at length has link'd her fate;
 Impell'd by her example, now other States prepare
 To hoist on high the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a Single Star.
 Chorus: Hurrah!

6th Verse

Then here's to our Confederacy, strong we are and brave,
 Like patriots of old, we'll fight our heritage to save;
 And rather than submit to shame, to die we would prefer,
 So cheer for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a Single Star.
 Chorus: Hurrah!

7th Verse

Then cheer, boys, cheer, raise the jereons shout,
 For Arkansas and North Carolina now have both gone out;
 And let another rousing cheer for Tennessee be given—
 The Single Star of the Bonnie Blue Flag has grown to be Eleven.

Chorus

Hurrah! Hurrah! for Southern Rights; hurrah!
 Hurrah! for the Bonnie Blue Flag has gain'd th' Eleventh Star!

1896
Copyright
March
#13

CATALOGUE OF
POPULAR MUSIC,
 LATELY PUBLISHED BY
BLACKMAR & BRO., Augusta, Ga.,
 AND
BLACKMAR & CO., NEW ORLEANS.

Songs.

Ave Maria, (French and English), Schubert.
 Bambi's Alpen, Glover.
 Bird of Beauty, Scott.
 Bonnie Blue Flag, Harry McCarthy.
 The popular song has become a national air of the South.
 Bonny Jean, Osborne.
 Bonnie Klone, Thomas.
 Brightest Eyes, Strigell.
 Corrie Bell, Theo. Von LaHoch.
 An exquisite ballad by Capt. W. C. Capen, U.S. A., sets to music a popular song.
 Castles in the Air, Scotch.
 Chant of the Regiment, Donzelli.
 Come into the Garden, Maud, Halle.
 Cottage by the Sea, Thomas.
 Darling Noddy Gray, Handy.
 Dearest Spot of Earth to Me is Home.
 W. Walton.
 Darling Little Blue Eyed Nell, F. Buckley.
 Deep in a Shady Dell, Nelson Kneass.
 A charming song by the author of "The Bird of Beauty."
 Dixie War Song, A. Noir.
 Do They Miss Me as Home, Gracis.
 Each Hour of Life, Madamowthe.
 Ever of This, Foley Hall.
 Fairy Belle, S. C. Foster.
 Gallant Girl that Smiles the Dearest Tony O!
 A song by "Kuba," name by "Doris Dismick."
 Gay and Boppy, Winters.
 Gentle Nettie Moore; or The Little White Cottage, Pierpont.
 God and our Rights, A. K. Blackmar.
 God Save the South, Ernest Halpin.
 God will Defend the Right.
 A good strong song, dedicated to the Deities of Southern Soil, by a young lady of Richmond, Va.
 Her Bright Smile Brings Me Still, W. Wright.
 I Cannot, cannot say Farewell, W. Nash.
 I Cannot Forget Thee, Albin Vicher.
 I'll be a Star, Getzen.
 I'll Chase to be a Daisy, Fred Buckley.
 I Know a Bunk (Duet), Horn.
 I See Her Still in My Dreams, S. C. Foster.
 Josetta, Hon. Mrs. Norton.
 Katy Darling.
 Let Me Kiss Him for His Mother, Ordway.
 Lillian Terrell, J. E. T.
 A pretty melody with an easy accompaniment.
 Lullaby, J. P. Webster.
 Make Me so Gandy Chaplet, (Louisa Brown), Doubett.
 Maryland! my Maryland!
 A song by a young boy of Bohemia.
 Missouri; or a Valse from the South, Harry McCarthy.
 Maiden's Prayer; Each Hour of Life, Badarzewski.

New Red, White and Blue.
 Words by Gen. J. Thompson music by LaHoch.
 O! Give Me a Home by the Sea, Koster.
 O! Whisper what I'm Feeling, B. Edwards.
 Officer's Fuster, Hon. Mrs. Norton.
 Origin of the "Stars and Bars."
 A song and music by Thos. Brown; name of "The Stars and Bars."
 Rock Braid the Sea, A. C. Coverts.
 Seems that are Brightest, (Marching), W. V. Wallace.
 Shells of Ocean, Cherry.
 Southern Marches, (English and French) Southern's Chant of Defiance, A. K. Blackmar.
 An original march, name, to be a march.
 Southern's Watchword: "The Grave of a Hero or Victory," M. F. Bigley, Rip.
 Music by Captain Glass.
 Swiss's Farewell, Jungis.
 There's Life in the Old Land Yet.
 A popular song by the author of "My Darling," set to music by E. O. Eaton.
 The Stars of our Land, M. F. Bigley, name by also name.
 The Confederate Flag, Sig. G. George.
 A popular march.
 Then You'll Remember Me, (Melancholy Girl), Halle.
 The Volunteer; or It is my Country's Call, Harry McCarthy.
 Victoria; or The Thinking of a Flower, E. O. Eaton.
 What is Home without a Mother, Albin Hawthorne.
 Yellow Rose of Texas, J. A.

Marches and Quick-Steps.

Bonaparte's Manassas Quick Step, A. Noir.
 Crescent City Guards' Quick-step, High Private.
 Confederate's Grand March, W. H. Hazwell.
 Confederate's Pulka March, LaHoch.
 Gen. Jas. E. Johnston's Manassas Quick March, Adolphus Brown.
 Gen. Beauregard's Grand March, Mrs. V. G. Cowdin.
 Gen. Bragg's Grand March, P. Livense.
 Nobody heart—Grand March, Herman L. Schreiner.
 Orleans Cadets' Quickstep, E. O. Eaton.
 Our First President's Quickstep, P. Rivins.
 Washington Artillery War Path.

Folkas and Schottisches.

Affection Schottische, Adolphus Brown.
 Beauregard Military Polka, Ascher.
 Bohemian Blue Flower's Polka, LaHoch.
 A capital polka, becoming very popular.

Delicious (or Luscious) Polka, Herz.
 La Maitresse, (Forest Leaf), Schreiner.
 A fine Polka.
 New Anson Polka, Strauss, Jr.
 New Pic-Nic Polka, LaHoch.
 Pearl River Polka, P. Rivins.
 Retour au Camp (Return of Spring) Polka, Mulling.
 Rader's Schottische, Rivins.
 Stars and Bars—Polka Brillante, by E. L. Schreiner.
 Vaillances Polka Militaire, Takay.
 Valse of the Guard; or 50 Polka Militaire.
 A capital march called Beauregard's Military Polka.
 Ascher.

Waltzes, Mazurkas, &c.

Andie Waltz, Lumbye.
 Brightest Eyes Gallop, Schwartz.
 Crescent City Waltz, E. O. Eaton.
 Evening Star Waltz, Everett.
 Happy Morning Waltz, Clara Rip.
 Li Tricolore Waltz, Strauss.
 Morning Star Waltz, Boyer.
 Mother's Dream Waltz, Rausger.
 Pennsylvania; Valse sentimentale, by W. L. Hasler.

Fantasies, Variations, &c.

Bonnie Blue Flag—Improvisation, LaHoch.
 Bonnie Blue Flag—Variations, Schreiner.
 Dixie Land Fantasy, Legend.
 Ever of This—Variations, Grub.
 Her Bright Smile Brings Me Still—Improvisation, by LaHoch.
 Brilliant, stately and moderately difficult.
 Gondolier, Oesten.
 La Maitresse, Boyer.
 Maiden's Prayer, (La Priere d'une Vierge), Badarzewski.
 My Maryland—Improvisation, LaHoch.
 A brilliant and pleasing arrangement of this very popular air.
 Monastery Bell, (Cloches du Monastere), L. Wely.
 Neutone, Doehler.
 Shells of Ocean—Variations, Grub.
 Silvery Shower, Baumback.
 The Monastery, Brinsky Richards.
 Tremolo, Rasselben.
 Tremolo on Harry McCarthy's Volunteer, R. O. Eaton.
 Dedicated to an great favorite in the song which some the theme.


In addition to the above, we have a choice selection of Standard Music, for sale at old Northern prices.

Appendix G:

Contrafactum: "The Bonnie Blue Flag with the Stripes and Stars"

50th Thousand Edition.
By GEN. B. M. PRENTISS.


THE
BONNIE FLAG
WITH THE
STRIPES AND STARS



WRITTEN BY
GEO. J. L. GEDDES,
(of the Eighth Iowa Infantry.)

ARRANGED
by
HENRY WERNER.

in answer to the
BONNIE BLUE FLAG

Piano.  Guitar.

SAINT LOUIS.
by BALMERS WEBER, 56 Fourth St.

Patent according to Act of Congress, S. D. 1832 by Balmer & Weber. — The title of the U. S. District Court, for the District of Missouri.

Music
8-1001

THE BONNIE FLAG WITH THE STRIPES AND STARS,

Written by Col. J.L. GEDDES of the Eight Iowa Infantry,
whilst a prisoner of War in Selma Ala. and song by the Regiment in answer to the
"BONNIE BLUE FLAG"

Music arranged by HENRY WERNER.

Allegretto
f con spirito

1. We're fight-ing for our Un-ion we're fight-ing for our just, We're
2. We treat-ed you as brothers un - till you drew the sword, With

fight - - ing for that hap - - py land where sleeps our Fath - ers dust, If
impious hands at Sump - - ter you cut the sil - - ver cord, So

1892 : 1

Entered according to act of Congress A.D. 1892 by Balmer and Weber in the Clerk's office of the U.S. Court for the East,
Dist. of Mo.

can - not be dis-sever'd tho' it cost us blood - y wars, We
 now you hear our bu-gles we come the sons of Mars, We

nev - er can give up the land where float the Stripes and Stars,
 ral - - ly round that brave old flag which bears the Stripes and Stars,

CHORUS.

BASS. Hur - rah, Hur - rah, for e - - qual rights hur - rah, Hur -
 TEN. Hur - rah, Hur - rah, for e - - qual rights hur - rah, Hur -
 ALTO. Hur - rah, Hur - rah, for e - - qual rights hur - rah, Hur -

PIANO

con 8^{va} ad lib.

2

rah for the brave old flag that bears the Stripes and Stars!.....

rah for the brave old flag that bears the Stripes and Stars!.....

3.

We do not want your Cotton, we care not for your slaves
 But rather than divide this land, we'll fill your southern graves
 With Lincoln for our Chieftain, we'll wear our countrys scars
 We rally round that brave old flag, that bears the Stripes and Stars!

4.

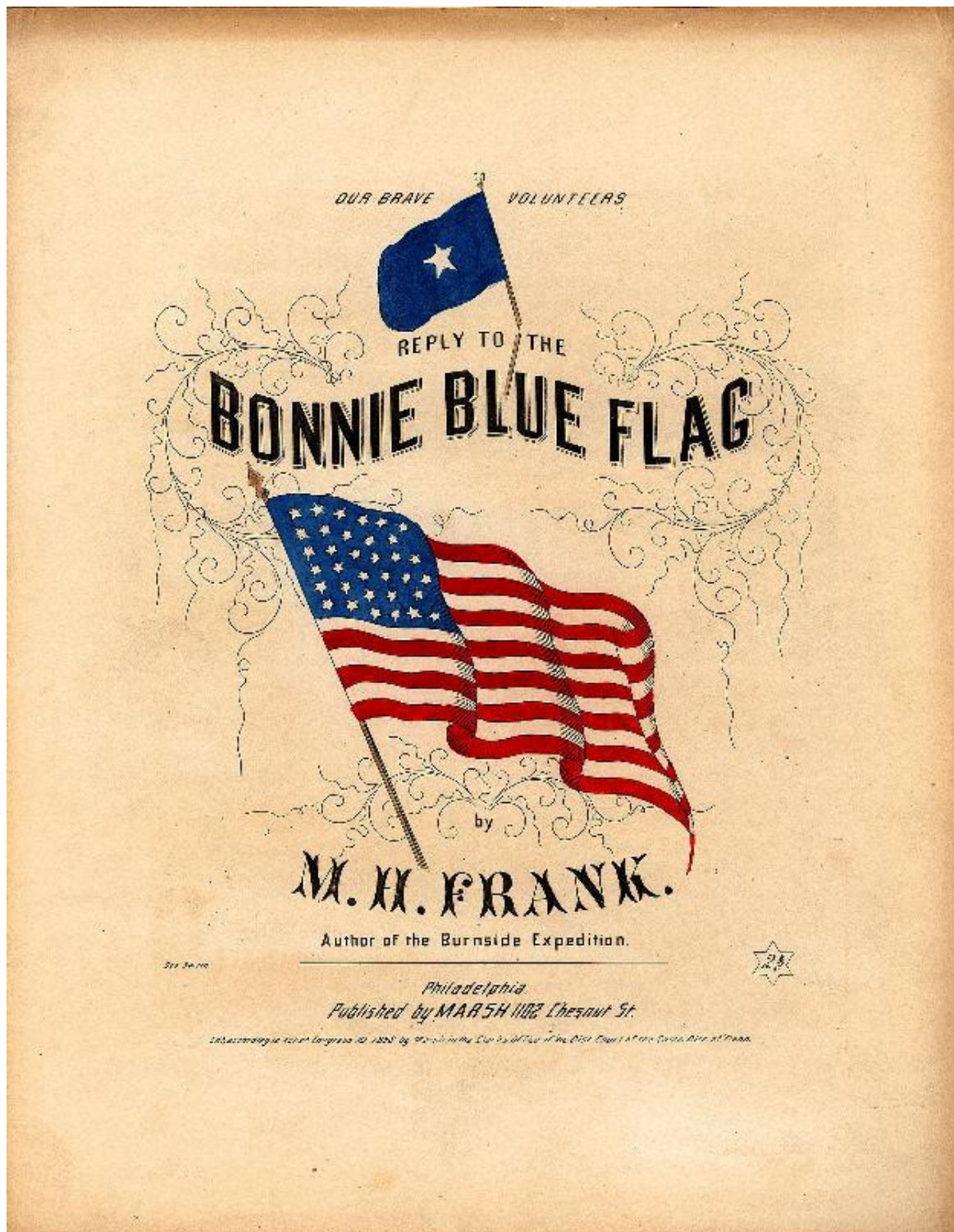
We deem our cause most holy, we know we're in the right
 And twenty Millions of freemen stand ready for the fight
 Our bride is fair Columbia, no stain her beauty mars
 O'er her we'll raise that brave old flag, which bears the Stripes and Stars!

5.

And when this war is over, we'll each resume our home
 And treat you still as brothers where ever you may roam
 We'll pledge the hand of friendship, and think no more of wars
 But dwell in peace beneath the flag, that bears the Stripes and Stars!

Appendix H:

Contrafactum: "Reply to the Bonnie Blue Flag" Sheet Music



Music
A-4811

Answer to the
BONNIE BLUE FLAG.

Word by **MRS. C. STERETT.**

Music by **M. H. FRANK.**

Moderato con espres.

Piano.



The first system of music is a piano introduction. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 6/8. The music begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The right hand plays a series of eighth notes, while the left hand plays a steady accompaniment of chords.



The second system of music is a piano accompaniment. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The music continues with a *dim* (diminuendo) marking. The right hand plays a series of eighth notes, while the left hand plays a steady accompaniment of chords.



The third system of music is a vocal line. It consists of a single treble clef staff. The lyrics are: "We are a band of Patriots who each leave home and friend, Our". The music is in 6/8 time and has a piano (*p*) dynamic.



The fourth system of music is a piano accompaniment. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The music continues with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The right hand plays a series of eighth notes, while the left hand plays a steady accompaniment of chords.



The fifth system of music is a vocal line. It consists of a single treble clef staff. The lyrics are: "no - ble Con - sti - tu - tion and Ban - ner to de - fend, Our". The music is in 6/8 time and has a piano (*p*) dynamic.



The sixth system of music is a piano accompaniment. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The music continues with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The right hand plays a series of eighth notes, while the left hand plays a steady accompaniment of chords.

Entered under Act of Congress A. D. 1882 by J. Marsh, in the Clk. Office of the Dist. Ct. of the East. D. of Pa.

Cap - i - tal was threatened, and the cry rose near and far, To pro-

- tect our Country's glo - rious Flag that glitters with many a star.

CHORUS.

AIR.
Hur - rah, Hur - rah, for the Un - ion, boys Hur - rah, Hur -

2nd Treble.
Hur - rah, Hur - rah, for the Un - ion, boys Hur - rah, Hur -

Tenor.
Hur - rah, Hur - rah, for the Un - ion, boys Hur - rah, Hur -

Bass.
Hur - rah, Hur - rah, for the Un - ion, boys Hur - rah, Hur -

Piano.

rah for our fore-father's good old Flag, that glitters with ma-ny a star.

Play 1st Sym:

2
 Much patience and forbearance, the North has always shown,
 Toward her Southern brethren, who had each way their own;
 But when we made our President, a man whom we desired,
 Their wrath was roused, they mounted guns, and on Fort Sumpter fired.
 Chorus.

3
 They forced the war upon us, for peaceful men are we,
 They steal our money, seize our forts, and then as cowards flee,
 False to their vows, and to the Flag, that once protected them,
 They sought the Union to dissolve, earth's noblest, brightest, gem.
 Chorus.

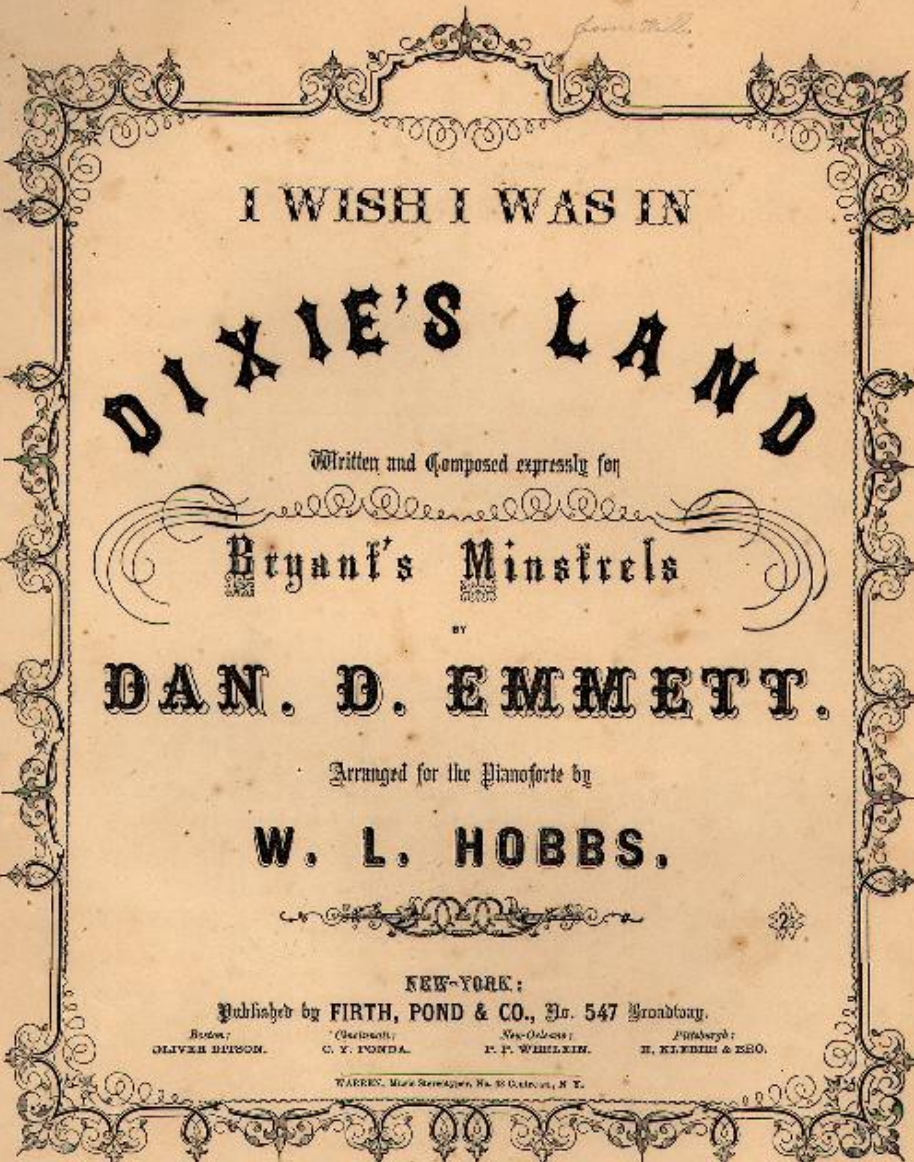
4
 We're in the right, and will prevail, the Stars and Stripes must fly;
 The "Bonnie Blue Flag" be hauled down and every traitor die,
 Freedom and Peace enjoyed by all, as ne'er was known before,
 Our Spangled Banner wave on high, with stars just Thirty Four.
 Chorus.

Appendix I:

Original "Dixie" Sheet Music

*In Mr. Colburn's
Office 1/27/41.*

Journal.



I WISH I WAS IN
DIXIE'S LAND

Written and Composed expressly for
Bryan's Minstrels

BY
DAN. D. EMMETT.


Arranged for the Piano-forte by
W. L. HOBBS.

NEW-YORK:
Published by **FIRTH, POND & CO.,** No. 547 Broadway.

| | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| <small>Boston:</small> OLIVER DISON. | <small>Charleston:</small> C. Y. FONDA. | <small>New-Orleans:</small> P. P. WHELEIN. | <small>Pittsburgh:</small> H. KLEIN & CO. |
|---|--|---|--|

WARREN, Music Storekeeper, No. 25 Duane-st., N. Y.

Entered according to act of Congress, A. D. 1850, by FIRTH, POND & Co. in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the District of N. Y.



982
Music
1871

DIXIE'S LAND.

COMPOSED BY DAN. EMMETT.

ARRANGED BY W. L. HOBBS.

ALLEGRO.

p I wish I was in de land ob oot-ton,

Old times dar ain't not for-got-ten, Look a-way, Look a-

way! Look a-way! Dix-ie Land, In Dix-ie Land whar

REPRODUCED BY THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE, COLLEGE PARK, MARYLAND, FROM THE ORIGINAL COPY IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE, COLLEGE PARK, MARYLAND.

I was born in, Ear - ly on one fra - - ty morn - in, Look a -

- way! Look a - way! Look a - way! Dix - ie Land.

CHORUS.

Den I wish I was in Dix - ie, Hoo - ray! Hoo - ray! In Dix - ie Land, I'll

tuck my stand, To lib an die in Dix - ie, A - way, A - way, A

way down south in Dix-ie, A-war, A-war, A-way down south in Dix-ie.

ff

Fine

2.
 Old Missus marry "Will-do-weaber,"
 William was a gay deceiver;
 Look away! &c.,
 But when he put his arm around 'er,
 He smiled as fierce as a forty pounder.
 Look away! &c.,
 Chorus.—Den I wish I was in Dixie, &c.

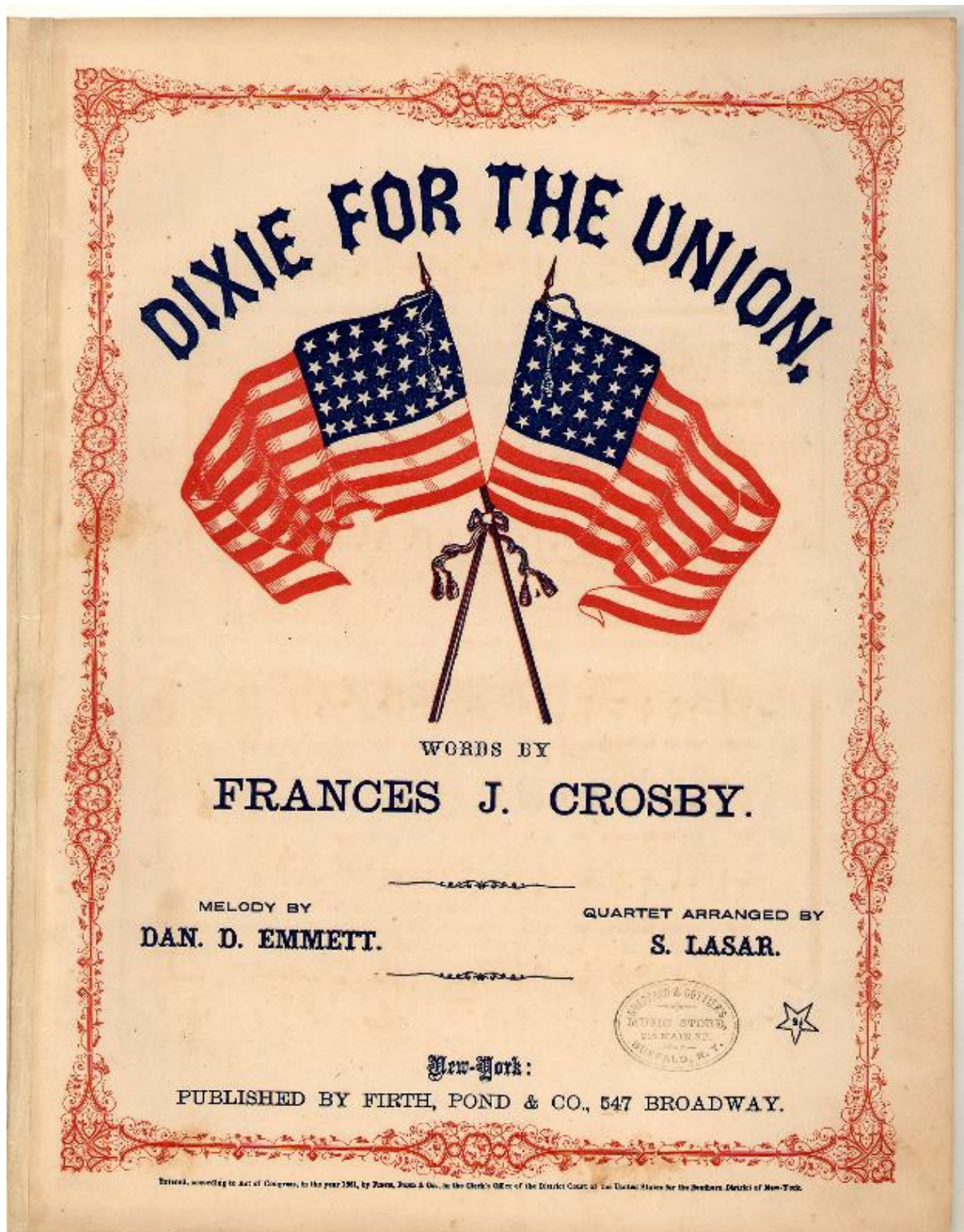
3.
 His face was sharp as a butcher's cleaver,
 But dat did not seem to greech 'er;
 Look away! &c.,
 Old Missus soted de foolish part,
 And died for a man dat brake her heart.
 Look away! &c.,
 Chorus.—Den I wish I was in Dixie, &c.

4.
 Now here's a health to de next old Missus,
 An all de gals dat want to kiss us;
 Look away! &c.,
 But if you want to drive 'way sorrow,
 Come and hear dis song to-morrow,
 Look away! &c.,
 Chorus.—Den I wish I was in Dixie, &c.

5.
 Dar's buck-wheat oakes an Ingen' batter,
 Makes you fat or a little fatter;
 Look away! &c.,
 Den hoe it down an scratch your grabble,
 To Dixie's land I'm bound to trabble,
 Look away! &c.,
 Chorus.—Den I wish I was in Dixie, &c.

Appendix J:

Contrafactum: "Dixie for the Union" Sheet Music



DIXIE FOR THE UNION!

WORDS BY
FRANCES J. CROSBY.

MELODY BY
DAN. D. EMMETT.

QUARTET ARRANGED BY
S. LASAR.

New-York:
PUBLISHED BY FIRTH, POND & CO., 547 BROADWAY.

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1861, by Firth, Pond & Co., in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of New-York.

DIXIE FOR THE UNION.

WORDS BY FRANCES J. CROSBY.

MELODY BY DAN D. EMMETT. THE QUARTETTE ARRANGED BY S. LASAR.

ALLEGRO.

On! ye, pa - triots to the bat - tle, Hear Fort Moul-trie's

can - non rat - tle; Then a - way, then a - way, then a - way to the fight!

Go meet those South-ern Trai-tors, With i - - - - - ron will. And should your cour - age

Reprinted according to act of Congress, A. D. 1863, by MVTW PUBL. CO. in the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, for the Assignee and In of New York

fal - ter, boys, Re - mem - ber Bun-ker Hill. Hur - rah! Hur - rah! Hur - rah! The

Stars and Stripes for - ev - er! Hur - rah! Hur - rah! Our Un - ion shall not sev - er!

2 As our fathers crushed oppression,
Deal with those who breathe Secession;
Then away, then away, then away to the fight!
Though Beauregard and Wigfall
Their swords may whet,
Just tell them Major Anderson
Has not surrendered yet. Hurrah! hurrah! etc.

3 In Virginia, too, succeeding!
Washington's remains unheeding!
Then away! then away! then away to the fight!
Unfold our country's banner
In triumph there,
And let the rebels desecrate
That banner if they dare. Hurrah! etc.

4 Volunteers, be up and doing,
Still the good old path pursuing;
Then away, then away, then away to the fight!
Your sires, who fought before you,
Have led the way.
Then follow in their footsteps,
And be as brave as they. Hurrah! etc.

5 On! ye patriots to the battle,
Hear Fort Moultrie's cannon rattle;
Then away, then away, then away to the fight!
The star that lights our Union
Shall never set!
Though fierce may be the conflict,
We'll gain the victory yet. Hurrah! etc.

QUARTETTE OR CHORUS.

On ye pa - riots to the bat - tle, Hear Fort Moul-trie's can-non rat-tle; Then a - way, then a
way, then a - way, to the fight! Go, meet those South-ern Trai-tors, With
i - ron will. And should your cour - age fal - ter, boys, Re - mem - ber Bun - ker
Hill. Hur - rah! Hur - rah! Hur - rah! The Stars and Stripes for - ev - er! Hur -
rah! Hur - rah! Our Un - ion shall not sev - er!