"Permit Me Then Good Friends to Sing": Reflections, Reactions, and Manipulations in Civil War Songs

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"PERMIT ME THEN GOOD FRIENDS TO SING": REFLECTIONS, REACTIONS, AND MANIPULATIONS IN CIVIL WAR SONGS

by

JoAnne Thomas

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Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
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JoAnne Thomas
Musicologists, folklorists and historians agree that the music of the Civil War was a significant means of communication for Americans in all regions and classes. The popularity of music soared during the war, with songs about the war holding center stage. This study moves beyond the acknowledgment that these songs were an important means of communication to seeing what messages were being communicated by both professional and amateur songwriters. These lyricists criticized and praised behaviors, often pointing out the social acceptance or exclusion that could result from individual behaviors, made assumptions about and passed moral judgements on female, male, and kinship roles and defined stereotypical views of the North and the South. Songwriters, editors and publishers also openly stated the hope that these songs might reinforce or change the beliefs of those who heard or read them. Thus this study explores not only the underlying assumptions that songwriters held about America and Americans, but also what beliefs, values, and behaviors they hoped to instill.
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"Dip In, Or Rhymes For The Times": Civil War Songs

"Give Us Back Our Old Commander," a song written in 1862, landed its author, Septimus Winner, in jail. Winner, one of the most prolific song writers of the nineteenth century, wrote this tune in protest after General George B. MacClellen was relieved of command of the Army of the Potomac. Attesting to MacClellen's popularity, the song sold one hundred thousand copies in the first few days after it was published. The Union so feared the effect of this song that any Union soldier who sang it was threatened with court martial. Winner himself was charged with treason for penning the verses but charges were dropped when he agreed to cease publication of the new hit. Just as the success of this song threatened to draw public support away from Union leadership, other songs were used to unite the populace. On July 2, 1862, Lincoln called for three hundred volunteers to fight in the war. By July 16, a new song, "We are Coming Father Abraham" appeared in a New York paper. On August 4, Lincoln called for three hundred thousand more volunteer soldiers. Only three days after this second call the song "Three Hundred Thousand More," was available in sheet music form and also in the Washington Star newspaper.


Both songs were wild hits and went through multiple printings the first year. The success of these three songs illustrates the public's interest in song as a means of participating in the public dialogue about the war. The government's reaction to the Winner song illustrates that the power and influence of song as a popular means of public communication was clear.

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3 Kenneth Barnard, Lincoln and the Music of the Civil War, 1862, Lincoln Herald (LXIII 4 (Winter 1961), LXIV 1 (Spring 1962), 2 (Summer 1962), 3 (Fall 1962); repr., Boston: Department of History, Boston University, n.d.), 51-52. "Three hundred Thousand More" went through twenty printing between August and December in 1862. "We are coming Father Abraham" was titled "We are coming Father Abraam" in its sheet music form.

4 Sheet music sales serve as a limited, albeit quantifiable, indicator of the popularity of individual songs. Although the price of sheet music rose substantially during the war, especially in the South, the simultaneous release of these songs in newspapers, which were cheap and readily available, meant that the literate public of all classes had access to this music, and that the popularity of war music may have been even greater than sheet music sales would indicate. It is not possible to determine if people bought a newspaper in order to obtain a copy of a particular song, however, and so this popularity is more difficult to quantify. It is also impossible to quantify the number of people who learned individual songs through oral transmission, although it is apparent through first hand accounts that this was one means of learning songs. Russell Sanjek, American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 225-238.

5 When this study discusses individual songs or song genres in terms of "popularity" it refers to how widespread either the song or the song genre was in war-time America. Civil War songs, however, also fit into the category of "popular entertainment," which is a "narrative, performance, or other experience that can be sold to and enjoyed by large and heterogeneous groups of people." Entertainment also "has informational content that usually cultivates conventional themes, outlooks, and perspectives," which makes it "a powerful ideological force in any society." Despite innocuous assumptions about entertainment being a diversion or pleasure, popular entertainments play "a significant role in the cultivation of values and beliefs." Richard Bauman, ed., Folklore, Cultural Performances, and...
Thus Civil War songs provide a window to both popular sentiment and assumptions of the day as well as attempts to manipulate public opinion using those sentiments.

Popular music during the nineteenth century provided a universal means of expressing, exploring and experimenting with ideology and group identity in American society as it was an integral part of American culture in all regions, classes and cultural groups. The Civil War itself changed the composition of the urban audiences who saw and heard performances as displaced persons made their way into urban areas and patriotic entertainers performed for the troops. Entertainment became more democratic, and thus accessible to the masses. Various forms of performance such as speeches, patriotic demonstrations, and plays brought special, formalized significance to the messages presented, and widened the audience to include the non-literate in attendance; many of these performances, as well as those in the private or semi-private world of home and military camp, included music as an important component.

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6 Drew Gilpin Faust, The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1988) 65. Although these entertainments were urban, they drew in people from rural areas who were displaced by the war, as well as soldiers who were from rural areas. It is also clear through soldiers' letters and diaries that information about these entertainments, sometimes containing lyrics, made their way back into rural areas. See for example, Graham Charles Halpine, The Life and Adventures, Songs, Services, and Speeches of Private Miles O'Reilly (New York: Carleton, 1864).

7 Ibid.; Caroline Moseley, “When Will Dis Cruel War Be Ober?": Attitudes Toward Blacks in Popular Song of the Civil War,” American Music 2 (Fall 1984): 1-26. In her discussion of songs about African-
Songs reflect narratives found in prose and other public communications, while those forms reflect ideas and trends found in songs. And while music was only one of many ways that the populace communicated ideas, the intensity and upheaval surrounding the South's secession and the subsequent Civil War strengthened the already significant role of song in communicating important symbols and ideas. Thus music during the Civil War formed perhaps the most common and effective means of communicating values and opinions about not only the war, but also about the various factions and subgroups that made up American society. Since the war magnified the significance of music in reporting and shaping ideology in the nineteenth century, the surviving war music provides a tool for discovering how various groups used both criticism and the promise of acceptance as a means of shaping behavior. In addition, this music provides greater insight into cultural assumptions about hierarchy and gender, and clarifies Northern and Southern regional identities, both self-defined and as defined by others.

Americans that were written by and for white Americans, Caroline Moseley stresses the importance of music in the home and community in both the North and the South, as well as stressing that regional variations of songs were well known nation-wide.


9 As noted in Drew Gilpin Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," Journal of American History 76 (March 1990): 1200-1228, ideology is not always reflected in behavior. Looking at ideology, however, lends insight to cultural assumptions and values, and therefore can help illuminate areas of conflict in complex situations that do not lend themselves to simple analysis.
At the beginning of the nineteenth century, most songs popular in America came from England, or were written in styles that mimicked the English ideal. By mid-century, however, American popular songs reflected a decidedly American language and attitude, although many songs still relied on familiar, borrowed tunes. Reflected in this new musical trend was a sense of American identity and culture as well as a remarkably current record of contemporary events and ideologies.\(^{10}\) The development of American popular music surged forward with the beginning of the war, and songs about patriotism and the war became some of the most popular songs of the day, creating a dialogue about the war that both reflected public opinion and helped create it.\(^{11}\) Popular songs sparked rebuttals as songwriters followed the American folk song tradition of reworking song lyrics in order to give them radically different meanings.\(^{12}\) Songwriters inserted familiar phrases or titles from popular songs into the lyrics of new songs, alluding to the topics and opinions expressed in the original, and either reinforcing the messages in the original song or using the material to provide the listener with a framework in which to place a rebuttal.


\(^{11}\)Kent A. Bowman traces the history of American war songs and details the type and popularity of Civil War songs in *Voices of Combat: A Century of Liberty and War Songs, 1765-1865* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987).

were published in sheet music form and in small bound books called "songsters" that could be carried in a pocket; songsters proved immensely popular with the troops on both sides of the war. Prefaces to songsters, introductions to various songs, and the individual songs themselves showed a self-consciousness of how prevalent cultural messages were in popular music. One such song, "Dip In, or Rhymes For The Times," began with an acknowledgment of the public's fascination with song as a way to comment on topical issues. "As local rhymes are all the rage,/ with hits upon 'most everything/ my song will suit the present age/ permit me then good friends to sing."  

Songsters during the war were heavily weighted with songs about the conflict and war society, sometimes carrying songs or versions of songs from both sides of the conflict. One such example was Personal and Political Ballads, edited by Frank Moore, with an inside cover comment:

This volume contains a selection from the best Political and Personal Ballads that have appeared since the commencement of the present Rebellion. They have been gathered from various sources, Rebel as well as National, and are presented to the reader without note or comment.  

More typical were songsters such as Yankee Volunteer's Songster: A Collection Of Songs For The Times, a fiercely partisan work, which passed judgment on people and war events, often by continuing the dialogue formed

13 "Dip In, or Rhymes for the Times," in The Continental Songster, 17.

by already popular songs. The songs in these songsters, which discussed current events, were written by professional songwriters, amateur songwriters and those who normally would not be tempted to publish songs but were moved to join the musical dialogue about the war and regional differences. Indeed, the often displayed but seldom stated fact that artistic excellence was not necessary for participation was confessed in the subtitle of the songster Original Songs of the Atlanta Amateurs: Containing More Truth than Poetry. Not limited by talent, therefore, songs about the war gave voice to a wide cross-section of public opinion.

15 Yankee Volunteer's Songster: A Collection of Songs for the Times (Philadelphia: A. Winch, Publisher, 1862).

16 One problem in this type of study is determining whose voices are heard through the music. While some information is available about large sheet music publishers and better-known editors or song writers, the vast number of anonymous songs, or songs written by people of whom little is known, as well as the trend to publish songs in a very wide range of print sources, makes it difficult to determine the class, ideology, and personal or political agendas of those responsible for the majority of songs. While much is known about a few, major composers, their talent clouds the issue of why their songs enjoyed great success. For example, the songs of Stephen Foster were enjoyable to contemporary ears but also had a lasting musical impact that is seen in the work such varied musicians as Antonín Dvořák, Charles Ives and Ray Charles. See William W. Austin, "Susanna," "Jeanie," and "The Old Folks at Home": The Songs of Stephen C. Foster from His Time to Ours (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1975),xi. Since songs are enjoyed for their artistic and musical merit in addition to their lyrics, songs by talented song writers such as Foster may have enjoyed success due to the music rather than the lyrics. The vast amount of musically insignificant songs about the war, which found an audience solely because of their subject, may actually tell more about the contemporary state of mind than the songs of the century's best composers.

17 Original Songs of the Atlanta Amateurs: Containing More Truth than Poetry (Atlanta, GA: "Intelligencer" Print, 1861).
Scholarship on Civil War songs intersects at many diverse areas of study. There is a vast amount of literature on the Civil War itself, from general texts to biographies to narrow studies of battles or other topical and regional aspects of the war. This literature is invaluable for placing the songs of the war within the context of events and culture; historical literature on the music itself, however, is less plentiful. The oldest literature, starting just a few years after the war, compiled songs, giving them some context but without much sophisticated analysis. In some instances, such as in the discussion of African-American music, the compilers lacked the anthropological skills to analyze the music and place it within Southern, slave, contraband, or free African-American culture. Most of this problematic literature came from white, usually Northern authors who were trying to describe African-American Southern oral culture, particularly that of newly freed slaves.\textsuperscript{18} Since little of this music was published by the musicians themselves, the worst of these compilations transcribed lyrics with phonetic spellings in thick dialect and were sprinkled with racist or patronizing conclusions about the songs and the singers. Even when they intended to be sympathetic, the authors did not make insightful conclusions about songs within a culture that was unfamiliar to them. Some of these accounts are still useful, however, in that they

\textsuperscript{18} Typical of these books is William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware and Lucy McKim Garrison, \textit{Slave Songs of the United States} (1867). While unfamiliar with Southern song traditions, the songs of camp meetings, or folk songs in the white population, the compilers described the types of song they were unfamiliar with and attempted to copy the words as accurately as possible. D. K. Wilgus, \textit{Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship since 1898} (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1959) 347.
describe the settings in which songs were sung, the popularity of particular songs, and the words to some songs.

While most attempted to copy the exact words accurately, a lack of knowledge of Creole languages simplified the meanings of the songs. Particularly in South Carolina, where the Creole language Gullah was commonly spoken, some African words that sounded very much like English words were used in order to add hidden or multiple meanings to slave communications. Contextual meaning and lyrics formed around African grammar structure, lending additional shadings to seemingly simple English words or phrases. The richness of Gullah was lost on those unfamiliar with the vocabulary or the subtleties of this Creole language's syntax and grammar.19

Early twentieth-century scholars discussed the same tunes and the same lyrics but showed little distinction between art music and popular music, and mingled European songs with American songs, often favoring the Europeans. These studies were more interested in musicology or music theory than placing music within a historical and cultural context.20 Much attention was given to the most well-known composers; little awareness

19 For more detail on the Creole Gullah language of South Carolina see Charles Joyner, Down By the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

20 Typical of this type of study is George Upton, The Song: Its Birth, Evolution and Functions (Chicago: A. D. McClurg & Co., 1915). Upton states that he intends to put the songs within an historic framework, but distances himself from American songs in favor of European song and culture.
was shown of the importance of American popular songs to American identity.

As the century progressed and world wars brought emphasis on the United States as a world power, and greater public focus on American democracy, scholars shifted away from praising European culture and took a fresh look at American nineteenth-century songs, this time discovering national pride and democracy reflected in popular songs. While aware of the political significance of the music, however, they did not analyze the music as serious historical documents, or place it within the larger picture of cultural history.21

By mid-century, scholars continued this trend, while a new trend began of collecting songs into songbooks, much as nineteenth-century antiquarians had collected artifacts. They linked the songs together with bits of context and analysis.22 The emphasis remained on the music itself,

21 Sigmund Spaeth, *A History of Popular Music in America* (New York: Random House, 1948), typifies the studies done at this time. Spaeth criticized earlier works for being snobbish and insisted that American folk music was more important as a means of nationalistic expression than it was as artistic expression. Spaeth argued that American popular song contributed to a sense of American identity, but continued to place emphasis on well known composers rather than on music trends and topics. Spaeth stood half-way between those who did not yet understand that an important movement had taken place, and those who would analyze that movement in a meaningful and historically integrated way.

22 Typical of this genre is Paul Glass and Louis C. Singer, *Singing Soldiers: A History of the Civil War in Song* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1975). Glass shifted away from an emphasis on great composers to looking at songs topically. He recognized Civil War songs as being much more important and influential than did his predecessors, but did not move toward analysis of those songs, suggesting complexity but not exploring it. Another often cited source from this era is Richard B. Harwell, *Confederate Music* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950). Harwell gives the origins of many top-selling and popular songs from the Civil War.
rather than an integrated study of the music within culture. Music theory, rather than music culture, remained the most common type of study until the 1980s.

The 1980s served as a turning point in the study of nineteenth-century popular music, with the music serving as an important indicator of nineteenth-century American mass culture.\(^\text{23}\) Scholarship in the last ten years has left its emphasis on music theory and composers, and moved past a general acknowledgment of the importance of this music to nineteenth-century people, to a discussion of the symbolism and meaning of the lyrics and how those underlying factors affected the lives of nineteenth-century Americans.\(^\text{24}\) While some of the studies of nineteenth-century American popular music remain rooted in music theory, the newest trend is to look at music as part of a whole rather than a separate phenomena.\(^\text{25}\)

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\(^\text{23}\) Nicholas E. Tawa, Sweet Songs for Gentle Americans: The Parlor Song in America, 1790-1860 (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1980). Although Sweet Songs talked in familiar terms about well-known antebellum composers, it also placed this music into an American cultural context.

\(^\text{24}\) Nicholas Tawa, A Music for the Millions: Antebellum Democratic Attitudes and the Birth of American Popular Music (New York: Pendragon Press, 1984). Tawa discussed nearly the same songs and time-frame as he did in Sweet Songs, but this time moved into a close analysis of songs, particularly of the symbolism found in lyrics. Tawa recognized American popular music not only as an indicator of culture and identity but a shaper of the same. As a work in the antebellum era, however, it did not discuss the songs of the war.

\(^\text{25}\) Additional key works include Kent A Bowman, Voices of Combat: A Century of Liberty and War Songs, 1865-1865 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987). Bowman traces the history of American war songs and details the type and popularity of Civil War songs. Also see the first part of
Scholars within the fields of folklore and socio-linguistics discovered the importance of integrating music into cultural analysis much earlier than did those in musicology or music history, although there remained a tension between the perceived importance of text and context. Recent emphasis has been on finding the middle ground between these two and carefully analyzing text as well as looking at the context in which the text is


Past scholarship has established the importance of song as a means of communication during the Civil War, but has paid scant attention to what was being said with these songs. This study looks at Civil War lyrics in order to discover what messages were being communicated, especially when it is evident that the author hoped to affect change through the song. Thus this study looks at text. The next crucial step would be to look at the context of Civil War songs to see whose voice is heard in the lyrics, whether the songs reflected actual experiences, and whether people accepted the ideas and political positions proposed. Context will be difficult to ascertain. For instance, soldiers' reminiscences of songs tend to be reflective of their lives and interests rather than reflective of the interests and needs of historians of context. Thus one soldier's journal lent scant attention to music except when he focused on things such as the need for marching bands in order for the troops to develop good marching skills, rather than what songs were played and how the troops felt about them. Nevertheless context is essential as a way to measure the larger historical meanings of songs. Philip N. Racine, ed., *Unspoiled Heart*: The Journal of Charles Mattocks (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1994),125.
presented. Music, as a means of oral expression, almost always becomes some sort of performance. The context of that performance shifts with the performers and the audiences and under what circumstances the performances take place. Current scholars place various means of oral


communication and expression within a historical perspective of performance, region, culture, and situational context.\textsuperscript{29}

The historical field of gender is also relevant to the study of Civil War songs. Assumptions about gender, which are reflected in the lyrics, aid in understanding the sometimes subtle ideology promoted within these songs. Cultural ideas about how men and women should behave were used to promote specific behaviors in persons and political entities during the war.\textsuperscript{30} This is particularly noticeable in the many songs that employ

\textsuperscript{29} Typical of this type of work is Bauman, \textit{Story, Performance and Event}. Bauman blends folklore, sociolinguistics and anthropology in his look at the interactive nature of performance. While music is not the main thrust of the book, his discussion of narratives and performance context are equally applicable to music.

personifications, or talk specifically about women or men. Personifications often use gender and kinship relationships to form a narrative about contemporary political events and entities.31

Songs' content during the war was increasingly about the conflict and the perceived ideological differences between the North and the South. The South was in the process of self-consciously creating a national identity, an attempt apparent in all aspects of communication, including various forms of performance, and especially in song.32 Due to lower literacy rates than the North, the South relied heavily on oral communications, and music provided an important means of orally transmitting ideas.33 More music was published in the South during the war than any other printed item—five times the number of novel, plays and other books, but problems with


33 Ibid., 18.
printing supplies greatly limited Southern capability to publish as the war dragged on.³⁴ As the war limited printing supplies and cut transportation routes for the materials that did get printed, ideological growth through printed works became limited due to the reduced public dialogue.³⁵ The South, already an oral society, became increasingly dependent on oral means of communication, and music formed the basis of a continual dialogue concerning nationalism and Southern identity. Songs that did get published could be learned by those with access to sheet music or songsters and taught to others.

The North, on the other hand, used songs as a means of oral expression and communication, but also used printed songs as a means to communicate with a literate audience; indeed, very little difference was made in printed sources between poetry and music lyrics. Song lyrics printed in poetry form, often without any indication of the tune they were sung to, were liberally sprinkled through popular publications, especially newspapers and magazines. In addition, songsters sported some lyrics more suited to reading than singing, due to their complex sentence structures. These songs would not lend themselves to quick and easy memorization.³⁶ Thus Northern songs employed traditional oral means of expression, using the same methods as folk songs, and also became an

³⁴ Richard B. Harwell, Confederate Music, 4.


³⁶ Many abolition songs fit into this category. These songs had less appeal for self-singing but were heard in public performances. Moseley, "When Will Dis Cruel War Be Ober?", 4-5.
additional means of communicating with and affecting the literate population, whether the songs themselves were performed or just read.

While specific genres of nineteenth-century music, such as spirituals, work songs, and marching songs, have drawn the attention of historians, musicologists and folklorists, songs of the war that addressed issues of politics and power remain relatively untouched by analysis that looks at their cultural messages and assumptions and places them contextually within war events. Since these songs proliferated as a means of expressing and affecting public opinion, however, they provide a unique medium for looking at American culture. They also provide a fuller understanding of the war and its meaning to those who lived through America's greatest trial.
CHAPTER I

"BE IT AVYER SO VULGAW [SIC] THERE'S NO PLACE LIKE HOME"¹: EXPRESSING AND DIFFUSING CRITICISM THROUGH SONG

From charges of unmanliness to allegations of breaking wind in others' direction, criticism ran amuck throughout the songs of the Civil War. In a time when popular expression felt no obligation to be fair, accurate, or subtle, opinions and name-calling paraded shamelessly through song lyrics. Methods of applying criticism including painting it on with humor or etching it in with scorn. Lyrics such as "Oh, Yankee Doodle now good bye/ We spurn a thing so rotten, Proud Independence is the cry/ Of Sugar Rice and Cotton," and "From Treason's rent, from murder's stain,/ Guard Thou its folds till peace shall reign," expressed criticism of the official opponents in the war.² Although criticisms such as these, leveled from North to South and back again, discussed actual events and issues, as well as emotional regional loyalties, a great many songs of the war neglected to argue the relative merits of the Confederacy or the Union in favor of criticizing perceived differences between sub-groups found in American


culture. At the same time, some songs moved toward reconciliation or inclusion of groups or persons who were more typically open to criticism.

Criticism was most often leveled at any group perceived as being outside the norm. The "other" were not considered part of the norm, including but not limited to, recent immigrants, those perceived as unpatriotic, and those who adhered to unpopular political opinions. The definition of the "norm" itself varied according to who was doing the criticizing. While the criticism of Northern or Southern positions overshadowed these internal debates, songs about the war not only included embedded nuggets of criticism directed at subgroups or sub-cultures, but sometimes focused solely on these internal debates. Indeed, the definition of who was outside the accepted norm became amorphous during the war. Those who would typically be on the outside, such as recent immigrants, could themselves become mainstream through soldiering, and then decry those usually considered their superior by admonishing them for buying their way out of soldier status. The war thus acted in some ways to moderate class and ethnic differences, especially within the military, while highlighting the differences between newly defined categories.

One area of difference, noted by the South as a Northern problem, and by the North as an internal conflict, was immigration. War songs both parodied and uplifted the immigrant, in particular the Irish immigrant. The Irish immigrant, lampooned throughout nineteenth-century American popular culture, was a target for satire, and Irish characters were the butt
of many songs described as "comic" in songsters or broadsheets. While emphasizing the difference between Irish immigrants and native-born Americans was a nineteenth-century norm that continued during the war, the war provided a venue for both leveling this difference and for offering positive images of the Irish as a distinct group. A number of songs uplifted the Irish immigrant image because of the participation of Irish soldiers during the war; these songs may have been popular with Irish soldiers but they also seem intended to inspire the Irish to join in the battle as a way of becoming identified as American.

Songs about the Irish during the war fell primarily into two categories. The first category was a continuation of a pre-war trend; typically these songs were promoted as comic songs. The thrust of these songs was that the Irish were backward, stupid, or both. When exceptions were made from these themes, the subjects of the songs were still portrayed in derogatory ways; included in these exceptions were songs that portrayed Irish characters craftily plying dishonest schemes. A popular song of the war, "Grafted into the Army," whose topic was the draft, was

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3 Dale Knobel, in *Paddy and the Republic*, offers a detailed look at antebellum stereotypes of Irish Americans, especially those found in print medias, including political cartoons, advertisements, written and visual representations in magazines and newspapers, employment listings, broadsides, professional journals, novels and short stories, and Nativist publications. In addition to presenting satirical visual images, Knobel provides a careful text analysis of various print sources drawn from a wide range of regional and political perspectives in order to quantify and qualify adjectives used to describe Irish-Americans. While Knobel does not concentrate on music, the trends he describes are readily apparent in contemporary songs. Dale Knobel, *Paddy and the Republic: Ethnicity and Nationality in Antebellum America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988).
typical of the songs that portrayed the Irish as stupid or unsophisticated.4 The malapropisms that the main character continually employed provided the song's humor. In "Grafted" a mother laments her son Jimmy's conscription into the army. Among the words she confuses is "graft" for "draft," although the word is somewhat appropriate in that Jimmy has been "grafted" onto a larger body of fighting men. Despite her pleas that he is too young to fight, Jimmy was ordered to the Captain's "fore-quarters" for training, where they dressed him up in a "unicorn." The song, touted as comic, ignored the pain and sorrow of the soldier's Mother, although a mother's grief and fear was considered hallowed ground in songs about native-born Americans. Amid the jaunty lines we learn that she is a widow and has already lost her other sons in the war. "I thought they would spare a lone widder's heir." Jimmy, her youngest, is afraid he might die too. "He looks kinder sickish--begins to cry--/ A big volunteer standing right in his eye!"5 Thus the Irish remained fair game for laughter, no matter how grave the topic.

While "Grafted," a popular song, appeared in many publications during the war, its placement in the songster, Songs and Ballads of Freedom, emphasized the American indifference to Irish as people. While the pain and fears of the mother in "Grafted" were foils for humor, a second song, presented a few pages later, took the identical fears of an "American" mother very seriously. In "When This Cruel Draft Is Over," the mother's

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4 "Grafted into the Army," in Songs and Ballads of Freedom (New York: J. F. Feeks, Publisher, 1864), 35.

5 Ibid.
voice rang out in unaccented English and her son was "Dearest William," but she lived with fears identical to those in "Grafted." "I'm sure I'd die broken hearted./ If your face I ne'er should see./ I hope they will not draft you./ And leave me alone to mourn./ When this cruel draft is over,/ and you should ne'er more return." In this song the mother's fears are assumed to be those of the general populace, while the Irish mother of "Grafted" fell outside public empathy.

Southern songs about the Irish tended to stay in this "comic" category, or removed the Irish from an immigrant context through the use of traditional Irish themes and settings. Typical of these songs was "Kate Kearney," which praised the loveliness of a bonny Irish lass. Much less common were Southern songs such as "Song for the Irish Brigade" that boasted of loyal Irish troops battling Union foes. Songs about Irish soldiers more often found their way into Northern songsters. The North, with its larger immigrant population, including recent Irish immigrant laboring classes, and many more Irish soldiers in its ranks, began to recognize in song the Irish immigrant's contribution to the war effort, and the need to encourage immigrants to continue this contribution. While

6 Ibid.
7 "Kate Kearney," The Stonewall Song Book (Richmond: West & Johnston: 1865), 8.
9 Note that while Irish contributions to the war effort were solicited, intimate contact in camp between various units or ethnic groups did not always result in soldiers' increased appreciation of diversity. Knobel, Paddy and the Republic, 172.
comic Irish songs remained popular in the North, serious discussion of the Irish war effort formed a new category in the Union musical dialogue. The emphasis in these songs was twofold: looking at the Irish as a patriotic group, and looking at individual Irish people as Americans. The Irish continued to be lampooned in song, but war songs promised an avenue for assimilation into mainstream American identity.

Typical of the songs that stress the nobility of Irish participation in the war, but continued to place them outside the definition of "American" was "The Harp of Old Erin and Banner of Stars, sung to the tune of "St. Patrick's Day."\(^{10}\) "I swear by the love that we bear our old Sire-land,/ And the vows we have pledged to the home of the free,/ As we'd sheath our swords in the foes of dear Ireland,/ We will use them as freely 'gainst traitors to thee."\(^{11}\) Filled with stirring images of war and speaking of sacred ties and glory in battle, the song was a far cry from the pre-war national norm of caricaturing the Irish in comic song. The Irish, while drawing attention to the "vows" given to America, however, still remained identified as the "other" in that they retained the identity of being foreign nationals. The lyrics reminded that there were other loyalties that existed for Irish soldiers. "Oh, long may our flags wave in union together,/ And the harp of green Erin still kiss the same breeze,/ And brave every storm that beclouds the fair weather,/ Til our Harp, like the Stars, floats o'er rivers and

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\(^{11}\) Ibid., 29.
seas."12 Thus while Irish immigrants fighting in the war were awarded more dignity than was typically granted to them in American popular song, this new category of Irish song still identified Irish immigrants as being something other than American.

Additional songs, however, pointed out how participation in the war could bring the Irish into social acceptance as Americans.13 In "Off for a Soldier," an Irish recruit, Mickey, explains to his wife why he must go off to war despite her fears that he might be wounded or killed.14 "'But Peggy,' said he, 'sure I'll come back a hero/ To be pointed at as America's pride."15 When she warns him that glory, or perhaps acceptance, is not enough reason to die he tells her that it is more than personal gain he is fighting for, "'Shtay at home! is it, Peggy? ah, niver, till traitors/ Have fired their last gun

12 Ibid., 30.

13 Note that the promise of acceptance did not mean that acceptance would be forthcoming, that the person offering acceptance was sincere, or that Irish-Americans would believe the promise. Irish-American publications, or the personal papers from those who fought in Irish brigades, may add insight to the Irish acceptance, or non-acceptance, of the messages found in these songs. While it may be difficult or impossible to determine the motivations of individual song writers, editors or publishers, music was not the only area in which nineteenth-century Irish Americans were promised acceptance in exchange for various favors. In the presidential election of 1852, for example, Whig candidate Winfield Scott, in an attempt to gain immigrant votes, reminisced about the brave Irish-American soldiers who fought with him in the Mexican War, remarking to Irish audiences about his love of the Irish brogue. Irish voter reaction to his courting was mixed at best. In addition, this tactic enraged Nativists who subsequently lent their support elsewhere. William E. Gienapp, The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 22-27.


15 Ibid., 32.
at the flag of the free." Mickey, who at the end of the song leaves her to go to war, has established both his patriotism and his awareness that soldiering might bring him an identity as an Irish-American, rather than an Irishman on American soil.

Songs that praised the valor of Irish troops validated Mickey's hopes. In "Pat Murphy of Meagher's Brigade," a song that decried both Jefferson Davis and abolitionists, Murphy, an Irish immigrant, died a gallant death for the Union. The lyrics promised that this death would be noted and valued. "Then surely Columbia can never forget,/ While valor and fame hold communion,/ How nobly the brave Irish volunteers fought/ In defense of the flag of our Union." Significant in that it validated and elevated Irish immigrant soldiers even as it decried otherwise respected citizens for supporting controversial causes such as secession or abolition, it is clear that this validation came only from patriotic participation in the war.

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16 Ibid.

17 Scientific studies during the war aided in changing the antebellum stereotype of the Irish as a distinctly different, and inferior race. Researchers studied Irish recruits in order to quantify racial differences but despite their prior expectations did not find substantive differences between Irish-Americans and either English-Americans or German-Americans. Knobel, Paddy and the Republic, 174.

18 "Pat Murphy of Meagher's Brigade," in Tony Pastor's Union and Comic Song No. 3 (New York: Tony Pastor, 1863), 7-8.

19 Pre-war stereotypes of Irish men as prone to violence, including brawling and rioting, may have added to their acceptance as soldiers. Negative references to Irish violence were ubiquitous in nineteenth century sources. Famous Irish boxers, however, such as "Yankee" Sullivan, had, prior to the war, tied fighting to acceptable ways of displaying or proving manliness, especially within the working class. While a propensity to violence would normally be discouraged, violence channeled into socially
Just as persons who were previously respected could lose status through the public's negative assessment of their actions during the war, groups that lacked respect, such as the Irish, could become accepted through a positive assessment of their participation. A departure from the callous dismissal of Irish death in "Grafted into the Army," these songs promised that the nation would remember that Mickeys and Murphys were American patriots during the war.20

While the group identity of Irish immigrants both remained readily identifiable and held the promise of assimilation into mainstream American culture, other group identities gained new emphasis during the war. The military, always a visible sub-culture, now expanded to include a much larger proportion of the male population. By granting opportunities for status based on ability and bravery instead of cultural or economic background, the military offered new venues for acceptance but also held new threats of criticism for not fulfilling the expected duties or norms of military society.21 By fighting a man could claim an elevated and acceptable forms, such as boxing and with the advent of the war, soldiering, could be seen as a positive way of incorporating the Irish "race" into American culture and society. Indeed, as boxers became soldiers, both Union and Confederate soldiers used boxing as entertainment and to settle disputes. Knobel, Paddy and the Republic, 84-85; 94-95; 103, 141-143. Also see Elliott J. Gorn, The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 69-97; 160-164.


21 Ibid., 12.
honorable status based on patriotism and manliness. Indeed, a man's social standing was redefined as some songs based a man's worth on his acceptance of the varying degrees of sacrifice imposed on soldiers. "The Song of the Home Guards," in *The Continental Songster*, for example, dismissed those men remaining at home in the Home Guard, as unmanly and self-serving.

Following the trend of disparaging those who avoided military service, or even those who were drafted instead of volunteering, "The Song of the Home Guards" looked critically at those who were able to avoid more dangerous military duty by being part of state militias that remained in their home states for local protection of the citizens. The entire song was

22 While varying definitions of manhood existed in the mid-nineteenth century, both the South and the North included physicality as a way of proving manhood. In the South this physicality was tied to a long tradition of valor and honor; being physically capable of maintaining honor was key to proving manhood. In the North, just prior to the war, physicality was often tied to a newly burgeoning interest in sports and health. This ideal of strong men ranged through the classes in various forms from boxing to health reformers. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 25-28; Gorn, *The Manly Art*, 130. In addition, Peter Levine links sports, from the Jackson era to the Civil War, to the development of "proper citizens." Sport was seen, particularly by middle class reformers, as a way of controlling and channeling physicality, and leisure time, in a socially positive way. While these reformers abhorred working class recreational sport, such as boxing, they connected physical fitness to male leadership capabilities. Peter Levine, "The Promise of Sport in Antebellum America" *Journal of American Culture* 2 (Winter 1980): 623-629


24 Criticism of men who stayed at home in the militia is not limited to songs. Town newspapers were known to print sketches of men in the militia paired with a white feather, designating cowardice. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 87.
written to be sung with a lisp, further calling into doubt the manliness, or adulthood, of the men in the Home Guard. The safety of home was derided as being shameful, making the home itself vulgar by its sheltering of cowardly men. The men of the Home Guard, however, failed to dismiss the tarnished charms of safety at home and sang its praises, "Be it avyer so vulgaw/ There's no place like home." The chorus echoed the value of staying home from the war, "Home, home, safe, safe home/ Aw verwy wemarkable safe place is home!"  

Two kinds of class were under fire in this song. First, the Home Guard had violated the classless norm of soldiering during time of national conflict. Second, the song emphasized which social class made up the home guard, for, "we, the pwaticians/ wemain where we air/ Pwoetecting the women/ And dwessing our hair."  

Only women seemed more foolish than the home guard. If the home guard failed to fool real soldiers they succeeded in fooling the women left at home. "The poor timid women/ Wejoice when they heah/ The twamp-twamp that tells them/ Pwoection is neah;/ They crowd to our arms,/ Till the cwisis is past,/ And Pwomise carwesses/ To crown us at last."  

This was not a comforting thought to men who were enduring hardship, and one that would not have been offered by those who wanted volunteers to join the ranks of fighting soldiers. In addition, it argued against other official and unofficial messages that stressed women would only award their attention to men who were willing to go to battle. The women who lavished attention

25 Ibid., 62.
26 Ibid., 63.
27 Ibid., 63.
on the Home Guard, then, were not the noble, sacrificing women promoted in patriotic literature.

One of many songs that provided an example of how ideal American women behaved during war times was, "The Absentee Officers: A Hint to Skedaddlers," which not only insisted that men volunteer for active duty, but warned that women would reject those men who enlisted and then spent too much time away from battle. Additional songs, such as "Our Southern Boys," pledged female loyalty and veneration to fighting men. "And while the dear ones absent be,/ In patriot ranks of glory,/ We'll wear their image in our heads/ And wed their names to story!" In the South both women and men wrote songs that stressed women's support of the war, although ideology about self-sacrifice developed so quickly at the beginning of the war that it lent itself more to prescription than description. One clear component in these songs, however, was that women saved their various favors for soldiers. This trend is also evidenced by Northern songs. Even though "The Song of the Home Guards" ignored this tradition of promising feminine approval only for men involved in military action, perhaps intentionally illustrating behavior patriotic women should avoid, it did illustrate dissatisfaction with the inequity of military life, a disdain for


29 "Our Southern Boys," in the Punch Songster (Richmond: Punch Office, 1864), 72.

those who were able to buy their way out, and the opportunity that the war brought for voicing dissent or leveling criticism at the privileged classes.  

The issue of avoiding dangerous military duty was not limited to Northern complaint. "John Brick," published in Virginia, voiced many of the same complaints. The song outlined the career that John Brick made out of avoiding active military duty:

When first this cruel war broke out,/ John Brick was one of many/, Who vowed that for the cause they'd die,/ Or give up their last penny./ But when the call/ For volunteers/ Was spread throughout the nation,/ He was not found/ 'Mong the renowned/ Who fought for her salvation.

Brick first hired a substitute and when "that way of keeping out expired," he joined the home command rather than go to active duty. The home command referred to state militia officers protected from the Confederate draft due to the strong objections voiced by state governors, in particular Governor Brown of Georgia. Contemporary newspaper accounts complained that the only duty of the militia officers was to occasionally drill or muster the few troops under them. As part of this home command Brick urged others to active duty, arrogantly thinking that "... he a judge should be/ Of other people's matters." Worst of all, Brick was not alone in his avoiding risk by paying his way out, or by joining the home command.

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31 Tensions over the draft, including class tensions, found public expression in ways that ranged from riots to newspaper editorials. James W. Geary, *We Need Men: The Union Draft in the Civil War*. (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1991), 149-50.


"John Brick is not the only one;/ Who in this way has acted;/ He represents a numerous class." The song continued on a bawdy strain, noting that the hot air, or gas, that puffed up these men got "passed" to the other people forced to take their place on the front lines. To the creators and singers of this song, Brick and his ilk were a malodorous crew indeed.

While those with money or influence might avoid the front lines legally, songs, both sympathetic and unsympathetic about those who tried to avoid duty in other ways, were published in songster collections that included patriotic songs. "A Conscript's Troubles" told the tale of a young misfortunate who failed to avoid duty. Written from his point of view this lightly humorous song shows neither remorse nor shame in his attempt to keep out of the army. "My age is twenty-five or more,/ And I never liked to fight;/ So when this cruel war began/ I just kept out of sight."

Songs about avoiding the draft or taking leave without permission frequently included passages where the skedaddlers (as they were usually called) were stopped or chased down by guards who then hauled them back to camp or to jail. "A Conscript's Troubles" follows this pattern. "The conscript guard they dodged about, and I tried to do the same;/ They wanted to put me in the front, Do you think I was to blame?"

Perhaps this fellow, who attempted to opt out of military service, escaped the condemnation that Brick suffered because he did not use class and position to make others take his place, and because he was unsuccessful. Once caught and forced into the military he

34 "A Conscript's Troubles," in the Punch Songster, 44-46.

35 Ibid., 44.

36 Ibid.
took his fate cheerfully and used his experience to direct others to avoid his mistake. The opening lines addressed his tale to the "jolly volunteers," and ended with a warning to those who had not yet volunteered. "But now I have got a furlough,/ And am just come down to tell/ All you who have not volunteered/ You had better be in ____."37

While those who tried to avoid military duty, but did not use social rank and influence to do so, might avoid the condemnation reserved for Brick, the class-spanning membership of the military did contain its own value system based on the amount of military responsibility and risk a soldier was willing to take on. The first measure, apparent by the number of songs that stress voluntary status rather than military participation, was whether a man volunteered or was drafted; this classification could, with time, be overcome. Until that time came, however, the draftee was an object of doubt for both fellow soldiers and the community he hailed from. Civilians as well as soldiers looked down on conscripts as unpatriotic; thus they had to prove both their worth as brave fighting men, and also their merit as patriotic citizens.38 In "The Valiant Conscript," sung to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," a young man much like the last conscript tossed out his original misgivings about military service and declared himself ready to fight the Yankees. His story unfolded slowly. "I was a plough-boy in the field./ A gawky, lazy dodger,/ When came the Conscript officer,/ And took me

37 Ibid., 43-44.

38 Geary, We Need Men, 38.
for a sojer." 39 After getting used to poor food, "digging, guarding, drilling" and putting up with all kinds of weather, the conscript was eager and ready for battle. 40 Part of his reason for eagerness was his opportunity to advance through military service.

I'll get a corp'ral's stripe some day... A sergeant's stripes I soon will sport... And then a Captain-- good for me!" Finally he declares, "I'll begin to wear the stars/ and then the wreaths of glory/ Until an army I command/ and poets sing my story. 41

After the war he planned to enjoy the continued social standing that his wartime military duty would bring, "Our Congress will pass votes of thanks/ To him who rose from zero/ The people in a mass will shout/ Hurrah! behold the hero!" 42 As each verse ended, leading him up through the ranks and onto glory, the chorus shouted "Hold up your head! up, Shanghai, Shanks!/ Don't shake your knees and blink so;/ It is not time now to dodge the act;/ Brave comrades, don't you think so." 43

Although this jaunty song was full of hope and enthusiasm for the social opportunities that could result from military bravery, it returned to doubts that a conscript, as opposed to a volunteer, could rise to the call. The conscript, while regaling his audience with tales of future success,


40 Ibid., 92-3.

41 Ibid., 93.

42 Ibid., 93-94.

43 Ibid., 92.
accidentally fired his own gun. Thinking it was the Yankees, he reverted back to his pre-draft sentiments about participating in the fight. "On gallant soldiers, beat them back!/ I'd join you in the frolic/ But I've a chill from head to foot,/ And symptoms of the colic!"  

This pseudo soldier did not gain his country's gratitude and respect, but not because of his yeoman beginnings; rather, it was because of his inability to successfully join ranks with an association of brave fighting men.

For those who voluntarily joined the brethren of warriors, however, the promise of social rewards still beckoned. In "The Post of Danger" the connection between membership in the fighting forces and post-war social success was clear. "When victory brings the warrior rest,/ Rich the rewards of martial duty,--/ The thanks of a land with freedom blest,/ And the smiles of its high-born beauty!"

While glory might be claimed by the brave during and after the war, songs also promised glory to those who would not see the war end. Those who died in battle could join a classless band of war heroes who would achieve a kind of elevated equality as the country held them in the highest esteem. "The Call to Battle," promised glory in death.

Though the young and the brave/ May fill many a grave/ ere the flag of the traitors come down,/ Yet an undying fame/ Shall encircle each name,/ and history shall give it renown./ then enlist soldiers true;/ There is glory for you.

44 Ibid., 94.


46 "The Call to Battle," in Yankee Volunteer's Songster (Philadelphia: A. Winch, Publisher, 1862), 46.
The Yankee Volunteer's Songster, in which the "The Call to Battle" was published, seemed as intent on luring men into voluntary service as it did in comforting them through stressing that they would be remembered if they died. The editors and publishers of the songster appear to have viewed glory, the ultimate social acceptance, as a stronger motivating factor than the desire to live.\(^47\) Acceptance in death was thus presented as a preferable alternative to the public's dismissal of those who failed to prove their worth through military bravery.

Not all songs were immediately obvious in their promise of leveling social difference through military service, or offered military death as a positive alternative. "All Quiet Along the Potomac To-Night," did not promise glory or a gain in social standing through military participation.\(^48\) Indeed, it began with a poignant statement subtly critical about the official assessment of an enlisted man's life as relatively unimportant.

"All quiet along the Potomac," they say,  
"Except now and then a stray picket  
Is shot as he walks on his beat to and fro  
by a rifleman hid in the thicket."
'Tis nothing: A private or two now and then  
Will not count in the news of the battle;  
Not an officer lost, only one of the men,  
Moaning out all alone the death rattle.\(^49\)

\(^{47}\) While soldiers echoed this sentiment at the beginning of the war, as the war progressed they were less likely to rush unheedingly to their deaths. Linderman, Embattled Courage, 168.

\(^{48}\) "All Quiet Along the Potomac To-Night," in Stonewall Song Book, 36-7.

\(^{49}\) Ibid., 36.
Yet this song, through its sensitive use of language makes the humanity and importance of the sentry's life increasingly apparent. We learn that he is married, "... low murmured vows/ Were pledged to be ever unbroken," that he has children, and that his concern for this woman he loves extends to their children. "... he mutters a prayer for his children asleep--/ For their mother--may heaven defend her". Thoughts of them make tears swell in his eyes; he is alone and tired. "The footstep is lagging and weary." Just when we care deeply about this lone soldier we know that he is shot: not by the sound of the blast, but by his last thought, "Mary, good-bye," and the image of his blood, "ebbing and splashing."51

This soldier, described in the opening lines as insignificant, is the most significant soldier of the war at that minute. The song ends with a line repeated from the beginning, "All quiet along the Potomac to-night./ No sound save the rush of the river./ While soft falls the dew on the face of the dead--/ The picket's off duty forever."52 In this poignant moment the soldier becomes universal and the differences, criticisms, and divisions of the war fade as the significance of this one death is multiplied through Southern and Northern armies, among those who sought the war and those who tried to avoid it, through the long years that the war continued, through the Marys all over the country who would ache for the lips that pledged those vows and the children who might not remember. "All Quiet" did not

50 Ibid., 37.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.
promise to level social difference, but in a graphic way pointed out the ultimate leveling of war.

While songs such as "All Quiet" tended to dispel issues of conflict in the light of the tragedy of war, songs about politics tended to enhance the divisions that the war created or brought into sharper relief. Songs about Northern and Southern regional differences were the most virulent, as they could criticize the other's position without the need to band together against a common enemy. Differences within a region, however, revealed strongly held, opposing political views juxtaposed with a desire to maintain solidarity over the war. Northern songs contained greater internal political differences than Southern songs, both because the North held a presidential election during the war, thus inviting political dialogue, and because increasing shortages and transportation problems in the South resulted in fewer published Southern songs as the war continued.

One can only speculate on the content of published Southern war songs over the course of the war, if these problems had not existed. After the first flush of patriotic fervor, and after the South began to experience true distress from the war, dissension in song would have been increasingly likely; unpublished songs that might reflect this trend, however, remain frustratingly elusive. The North, which had no such restrictions on the dissemination of published songs, did reflect internal conflict as the war dragged on and issues such as politics and abolition fueled the debate, as many Northern song writers joined the South in blaming the war on abolitionists or those who stood to gain economically from the war. Although Northern political songs sought to express criticism of political
opponents while diffusing that criticism in order to remain united against the common enemy, this diffusion proved to be a difficult proposition. Those who used song to fuel political debate, however, often tried to find ways to link together the position of a loyal Unionist while maintaining criticisms of the Union's positions and tactics.

One song that criticized various factions in the North, but attempted to unify all under the cause of keeping the Union together was, "Dip in, Or Rhymes for the Times," written by the prolific songwriter H. Angelo. Angelo, after commenting on the popularity of discussing current issues through song, launched into a critical commentary of contemporary trends and events, such as the use of paper money, excess interest by both women and men in fashion, and dirty politics and political factions. Some of these criticisms echoed those found in songs about proving manhood or patriotism through military duty. Angelo pointed out that politicians avoided military duty, much as the home guard had. "Dip in all you politicians,/ Many quarrels you have brew'd;/ Making money's your ambition - -/ Fight you won't --that's understood." Thus politicians violated the classless call to military duty that was one measure of manhood and patriotism.

53 H. Angelo, "Dip In, Or Rhymes for the Times," The Continental Songster, 17-19. Angelo authored many songs during the war. From their content it is apparent that he was a strong unionist. He offered criticism on innumerable topics ranging from politics, to various factions ("isms" as he termed them), to social practices, and was at least as critical of the North as he was of the South. His scathing criticism crossed party lines, usually dumping all politicians into the same category. Angelo identified himself as a traditionalist in his many criticisms of new fashions and trends. The main thrust of his work seems to be that people should overlook differences so that they might bring order back to the Union.

54 Ibid., 19.
Not only were these men open to criticism for their lack of personal risk undertaken for the war effort, but the motivations for their political stances were questioned too. The "trouble brewed" by politicians was not due to unselfish devotion to Union ideology. Rather, Angelo charged, Northern political antics were part of a scheme hatched by greedy individuals for personal economic gain.\textsuperscript{55} While firmly in support of continuing the war until all seceding states were back in the fold, "Dip in" did not support the ideological issues or political differences that forced the war. "Office-holders lose all reason:/ Factions do more harm than good:/ Folks are 'low'd to preach up treason,/ Both Abolish and Secesh brood.\textsuperscript{56} Those Angelo judged to be extremists, whether they hailed from the North or South, were judged to be equally at fault for the current tragedy; the Union itself had to hold together by joining factions into a common cause. "Dip in, do, now everybody,/ Loyal hearts we've many still;/ Take cold water or your toddy,/ And to our Union, Drink with will."\textsuperscript{57} While this song was critical of various factions, and attempted to modify behaviors by leveling scorn at those who allowed what Angelo viewed as foolishness or extremism to disrupt national unity, it maintained that it was possible to diffuse the situation if the remainder of the population forgot their differences and joined together as American citizens.


\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 19.

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
Angelo continued his criticism of politicians and political parties in "Making a Sensation." 58 "Political parties, their purpose to gain,/ All declare they'll take care of the nation,/ We give them a trial--but soon we complain,/ All they promised was but a sensation." 59 Following the pattern of the first song, he offered an avenue for putting aside differences. Taking a live and let live attitude he wrote, "It takes all kinds of people to make up a world,/ and it would take a long time too, to count 'em;/ But Columbia's sons have their flag yet unfurled,/ And no power on earth can dismount 'em." 60 Despite factions, America could remain safe though this bloody family feud through the strength of brave patriots. Those song writers who supported the war in order to keep the union together often expressed extreme displeasure in the increasing emphasis put on abolition. 61 Even those who strongly felt that the Union must be preserved sometimes revealed angry feelings about the relative merits of abolition, particularly if that was what the war was being fought over. The "White Soldiers' Song," is typical of the songs that clearly, and sometimes bitterly, stated that abolition was not adequate justification for war. "Tell Abe Lincoln to let the


59 Ibid., 22.

60 Ibid., 23.

61 Few Union soldiers fought for racial equality and only a scant few more stated abolition as their main goal in fighting the war. While some Union soldiers expressed strong sentiments against abolition, those sentiments appear to have softened as the war progressed, especially with the belief that emancipation would help end the war. McPherson, What They Fought For, 56-7; 60-65.
nigger be,/ Tell Abe Lincoln that we don't want him free."62 This song maintained that the Union was the cause worth fighting for; abolition only prolonged the fight. "Tell Abe Lincoln that he'd better end the war,/ Tell Abe Lincoln what we all came out here for,/ Tell Abe Lincoln 'twas the Union to restore."63 The "White Soldiers' Song" was paired in one songster with "Pretty Picture--Ain't it, Neighbor?," a song that contained additional bitterness toward continuing the fight for abolition instead of merely keeping the Union intact. It began with a familiar line from another song, "When this cruel war is over," but instead of painting a sentimental picture of loved ones reunited, it shockingly stated what would be the post-war reality for many veterans. "When this cruel war is over,/ and our friends all crippled are."64 It continues to paint a bleak picture of taxes supporting freed blacks while poor white folk work and swear, "men in rags and debt and taxes." The chorus drips with acidic sarcasm, "Blacks at ease--whites at labor,/ Pretty picture, ain't it neighbor?"65 Abolition is presented in a large number of Northern songs as a horrible injustice for the white soldier, or the future bane of the white post-war population. Few attempts at reconciliation with those who support abolition are apparent in these songs, but neither do they argue against the war as long as it is fought only


63 Ibid.

64 "Pretty Picture--Ain't it Neighbor?" in *Songs & Ballads of Freedom*, 27.

65 Ibid.
to keep the Union intact. While violently disagreeing with Union policy over abolition, they maintain their sense of inclusion in the culture around them.

In the face of rabid anti-abolition songs, "Call 'Em Names, Jeff," found a way to diminish the issue of abolition as a topic of internal Northern dissent and to use it as a weapon against the declared enemy, the South. "Call 'Em Names" opened with a discussion between Confederate Generals Pierre Gustav Toutant Beauregard, and Robert E. Lee, and President Jefferson Davis.

Said Beauregard to Lee and Jeff:
"Those Yankee sons of thunder,
Will scatter us from right to left,
Or cause us to knock under,
Unless we find some other way,
Of meeting their advances;
We've made up faces now so long,
They do not mind our glances." 68

After puzzling over what might manipulate Yankees who had lost their respect for Southern disapproval, they hit upon a solution. "'Oh! true,' said Jeff, 'I know it well; How shall we change our game sir?' 'Oh! dear,' said Lee, 'I cannot tell.' Quoth Beau, 'We'll call 'em names, sir.'" 69 Not only would they call them names, but they would label them with something that


68 Ibid., 352.

69 Ibid.
would deflect the public dialogue away from Southern secession. "That's good! said Jeff; 'you've hit it Beau!/ Cried Lee: 'That's what's the matter!/ We'll call them Abolitionist./And then you'll see them scatter!'"

Having decided which name would most effectively cause dissension Beauregard ordered that, "The only word that should be used/ To name the Yankee soldier/ Should be an 'Abolitionist!/ And then he strutted bolder." According to "Call 'Em Names," this strategy temporarily worked. "They really thought that calling names/ Had strengthened their position./ When all their sneaking curs up North/ Run yelping 'Abolition!'" Internal Northern strife over abolition could then be chalked up to Southern infiltration and manipulation. Manipulation it might be, but it would not remain effective for long.

But soon we made the traitors know
'Twas something else the matter;
The more they 'abolition' howled,
The more we didn't scatter.
We take the name you gave us, Beau.,
We mean to make it true, sir;
We'll first abolish slavery,
and then abolish you, sir!  

Abolition was first identified in this song as an attempt by the South to manipulate public passion against the Union cause. The song then offered a new justification for abolition when it explained how abolition was both a punishment to the South for the war, and a tactic designed to diminish Southern war-time production. "You thought we'd guard your

70 Ibid.
71 Ibid., 353.
72 Ibid.
niggers, Jeff/ And keep them raising corn, sir,/ To feed the traitor hordes you lead--/ We'll do it in a horn sir!" Abolition, according to this song's argument, was not a disputed moral issue, rather it was a tactic of war that was being mislabeled in Southern propaganda, and by those misled by the South or disloyal in the North. Thus this song moved the topic of abolition from the arena of internal political debate to a renewed emphasis on the South as the primary enemy to a Union war tactic that was both effective and punitive toward the enemy.73 Dissent and name calling in the North over abolition was labeled counter-productive to victory; after the war, the song promises, Yankee soldiers would return home to regain control over those who now howled against abolition. "When that is done, we'll home return--/ (The homes to us so dear, sir,)/ And soundly kick and cuff the curs/ Now barking in our rear, sir!" Implied in this threat was the honor and manhood of Yankee soldiers as opposed to those back home who not only created internal dissension, but failed to go to battle themselves. Internal conflict over abolition in the ranks of fighting soldiers was mentioned neither as a fact nor a possibility.74

73 Some Union soldiers who had been against abolition changed their minds when they saw that abolition might hurt the enemy. McPherson, What they Fought For, 65-66. McPherson's study concentrates on "fighting soldiers" rather than those behind lines or in positions of relative safety. Ibid., 17.

74 James McPherson asserts that while a majority of union soldiers were anti-slavery there remained a vocal minority who were not anti-slavery. Officers and educated men, on a whole were more anti-slavery than uneducated or immigrant soldiers. McPherson, What they Fought For, 62-65.
That Union soldiers did disagree on the issue was aptly illustrated in 1862 by the Hutchinson family. Although the Hutchinsons, a singing family from New Hampshire, known nation-wide for their concerts, offered programs of a general nature they also expressed their political and reform views in song. They were avid Republicans, and Lincoln often asked them to sing at official occasions or traveled to hear them at public concerts.\textsuperscript{75} Even though they enjoyed great success, however, and the public was aware they were abolitionists, when they sang an abolition song during an 1862 concert for New Jersey soldiers near rioting resulted, with Union soldiers coming to blows over the issue. Two chaplains and a sentimental religious song quieted the troops, but after General Franklin charged that the Hutchinson family's singing "demoralized the army," the family temporarily lost permission to sing in Union camps. They only regained permission after deliberation by Lincoln and his cabinet.\textsuperscript{76} Clearly Union soldiers did disagree about abolition, and Union leadership considered this disagreement, and songs that inflamed it, serious issues.

The representation of Yankee soldiers in "Call 'Em Names, Jeff" contrasts with its representation of the Southern leadership whose efforts were not that of manly soldiers but rather that of strutting manipulators who plotted and schemed, controlled "hordes" of faceless men serving under them, and were supported by enforced labor. In this scenario no one, save the Yankee soldier, could claim the moral right to criticize others.

\textsuperscript{75} Bernard, \textit{Lincoln}, 39-40.

\textsuperscript{76} Lincoln decided that the Hutchinsons could sing in those camps where they were invited by the commanders. Ibid., 40-41.
While the emphasis in "Call 'Em Names, Jeff" was on the South, and Northern dissenters were only dogs, whether stray or owned by the strutting South, "A Picture," provided a darker vision of those who created internal divisions in the North during the war, and of the South which was presented as truly evil rather than just cocky. Using religious allegory, "A Picture" reminded listeners and readers that Satan had "seceded" from his place as an angel in heaven and that a snake, a copperhead, had tempted Eve by "diffusing knowledge," when he offered her wisdom. Copperhead snakes are native to America; speaking of a copperhead instead of a generic "serpent" was a deviation from the original Biblical creation story. "Copperheads" in contemporary usage were those Northern Democrats who advocated peace. The lyricist may have made this adjustment to re-enforce the connection between the devil and the current Copperheads, or perhaps was calling the North an Eden except for the Copperhead presence. "A Picture" labeled copperheads as evil rather than mere political dissenters, and warned of contemporary copperheads


78 Ibid.

79 Although the term Copperhead, coined as a derogatory term by Republicans in 1861, was originally aimed at those Democrats who advocated an end to the war, it was sometimes used to mean all Northern Democrats. McPherson, Ordeal by Fire, 272.

80 After the Democratic party nominated George McClellan for the 1864 presidential election and a peace platform was adopted, some Northern religious groups, including Methodists and Baptists, termed the peace Democrats unchristian and sinful. These groups opposed peace before abolition. Victor B. Howard, Religion and the Radical Republican Movement, 1860-1870. (Lexington: the University Press of Kentucky, 1990), 81-2.
who might lead others astray, much as the original copperhead had fooled Eve.

Under the silent grass he hides,
Among the weeds and flowers he glides,
Down by the brooks he most abides—
A treacherous thing;
The stars and stripes that deck his sides
Conceal a sting;
Venom and death are in his spring. 81

By acting and speaking against the northern war effort while camouflaging themselves in the robes of patriotism, Copperheads not only were risking public disapproval for being disloyal, but they were on the way to hell. "Satan seceded, and he fell,/ In chains and darkness doomed to dwell/ With other traitors who rebel,/ In act and word,/ Because he'd rather reign in hell/ Than serve the Lord,/ Who guards us with his flaming sword." One could be a traitor not only by seceding from the Union, but by speaking against its policies; Union policies in this song were the policies of God. Loyal citizenry must remain alert for those who were too subtle to lie outright to them; the Copperheads would, by "diffusing" knowledge, cloud the issues and attempt to bring America's fall from its God-given destiny. Only the Federal Government could guard this destiny. But much as Satan rebelled against God and was forever doomed, those who rebelled against the Union might be doomed too. There is no room for inclusion of dissenters in this view; political dissenters risked not only shunning from loyal citizens, but shunning by God.

81 "A Picture," in Personal and Political Ballads.
Through the songs about Irish immigrants, war-time military duty and political factions there ran the thread of group identity and formation, criticism, and approval. New groups formed or expanded with new standards of behavior; those standards might result in a rise in social acceptance for those who met them or result in criticism for those who failed to make the grade. At the same time, the war allowed the promise that previously negative associations might be overlooked, allowing those without power or social acceptance to have the chance to assimilate into mainstream status. The prescriptive nature of these songs urged change, often through criticism, but sometimes through promise. These war songs held messages about what society would and would not tolerate in its members, as well as what behaviors could bring new acceptance for those willing to conform.
CHAPTER II

"HUZZA! SHE SPURNS THE NORTHERN SCUM": HIERARCHY AND GENDER

Mothers and sons, sisters and brothers, and old fogy Uncles all danced through Civil War songs. Cultural assumptions about both hierarchy and gender wove in and out of the lyrics that told the stories of these people and lent editorial comment as to how the actions of the characters should be viewed. In the seceding states, the ruling social order was a paternalistic society held together by expectations of reciprocity found in power relationships. Relationships between slave and master, non-slaveholder and slaveholder, and men and women reflected the social expectations of those who held power and their various dependents.\(^1\) The rest of the Nation, while not always reflecting the relationship between those enslaved and those who owned them, still sang about class differences and took for granted social expectations regarding gender and power. While the most obvious songs addressed the issue, often by making fun of a select group of people, or by using a stereotypical character to stand in for the larger group, other songs used societal expectations about many kinds of events.

One technique that indirectly used social assumptions about power relationships to comment on the war was personifications. These personifications, while engaging in human activities and relationships, provided a way of moralizing about political and military events; an important component in these personifications was gender.2 Both the South and the North were composed of "sister" states. Freedom and Liberty were depicted as feminine muses.3 Columbia, a personification of the United States, presented a strong female presence.4 Not all

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2 I am using the term "gender" as defined by Sonya O. Rose, as "a multi-faceted concept that refers simultaneously to the relations between women and men; to their relative positions in society; to ideas about what it means to be woman or man and the qualities of person that make one more or less womanly or more or less manly; to identity and subjectivity. The attributes are never totally consistent with one another. Even more confusing, the received ideas about what it means to be woman or man do not reflect what real people actually do or are as women or men, although ideas about gender, articulated in social practices, influence their thoughts and actions in many ways. Finally, images of gender organize and transform ideas about the world and become implicated in complex systems of meaning. They are not confined to an explication of the various relations between women and men, but are also used in the construction of political, religious, and scientific understandings. The term gender refers simultaneously to social positions, social relations, and ideas about people and to their ideas about themselves." Rose, Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 11.

3 Personifications such as these were not limited to songs. Real women sometimes portrayed this type of personification in political and patriotic displays, such as parades. Michael McGerr, "Political Style and Women's Power" The Journal of American History (December 1990), 867.

4 The poet Phillis Wheatley first popularized the image of Columbia as a goddess-representation of America in the 1776 poem "To His Excellency General Washington." Personifications of Columbia, pictured as a strong, stately woman, were thereafter used to represent the United States or the spirit of the Revolutionary war. William Henry Robinson,
personifications were female, however; country and state also assumed male forms. Uncle Sam, a familiar personification of the Nation since the War of 1812, remained a strong presence. After Abraham Lincoln became president, Uncle Abe, or sometimes Father Abraham, stepped in for Uncle Sam as a personification of the Northern identity. Jefferson, or "Jeff," Davis, president of the Confederacy, sometimes did the same for the South, albeit less often, although he was not given the title of "father" or "uncle," both of which would have implied male-kinship authority over the states, which were almost always portrayed as women. While Davis sometimes appeared in the same songs as did the states (as in one version of "Wait for the Wagon," in which the sister states hop into the secession wagon with him) his relationship to them is ambiguous; he is not defined as their guardian. The Confederacy, steeped in a strong states' rights tradition, would not have related to that imagery.

In the gendering of these personifications, public opinion of the appropriateness and morality of political events became wedded to preconceived ideas about the duties and characteristics of men and


5 While the personification of Uncle Sam originated in the War of 1812, the visual representation familiar to the twentieth century was drawn after the Civil War, in 1868, by Thomas Nast. Stuart Flexner, ed., I Hear America Talking: An Illustrated Treasury of American Words & Phrases (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1976), 363.

women.\textsuperscript{7} The kinship roles of these personifications, and contemporary assumptions about kinship relationships and duties, blended the division between public and private and applied the expectations and obligations of intimate relationships to the public actions of political figures and entities. There are different expectations of behavior when one uses the personification of sisters, which denotes the sameness of kinship, gender, and equality in status, with the personifications of mother and daughter which denotes both sameness of gender but adds the hierarchy of parent and child. The personifications of father and daughter still imply the sameness of kinship, but the difference in gender accentuates the hierarchy found in the roles of parent and child.\textsuperscript{8}

One of the best examples of songs that used assumptions about gender and power to pass judgment on war events was a series of songs about the state of Maryland. The Maryland songs did not straightforwardly

\textsuperscript{7} As Joan Wallach Scott has noted, "Political history has, in a sense, been enacted on the field of gender." Joan Wallach Scott, \textit{Gender and the Politics of History} (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 49. Within this context Scott discusses both the tradition of using gender literally or analogically to talk about political entities and power relationships, and the need for historians to look closely at these relationships and their implications. \textit{Gender and the Politics of History}, 46-50.

\textsuperscript{8}Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Writing History: Language, Class and Gender," in Teresa de Lauretis, ed. \textit{Feminist Studies, Critical Studies} (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), 50. While gender is an important factor in looking at hierarchies, gender is not the only factor. A personification of Liberty as a woman warrior, for example, would have more power and status than a cowardly male, particularly if he had no legal or social authority over her. Gender however, offers clues about where power and authority rests in songs that employ personifications involved in personal and kinship relationships.
address political events; rather Maryland was embodied in personifications and placed within events that evoked personal responses. The gender of these personifications, and their kinship relationships to other personifications, heightened the public's response to the events of the war, and strongly suggested proper, respectable behavior for Maryland within these events. The Maryland songs were some of the most popular songs of the war, provoking emotional response and political fervor on both sides of the battle. Thus popular war tunes employed gendered images to influence and manipulate the public who so enthusiastically bought the broadsheets, shared them with others, and sang them in soldiers' camps and husbandless parlors.9

The Maryland songs often use female personifications. Because real women were categorized according to class, region, and accepted rules of morality, the meaning of womanhood varied according to the category a woman was placed in. Therefore, while popular songs sometimes bespoke of Freedom, Liberty, the North, the South, States, and the Nation as women, the implication of that gendering reveals itself in the context of the songs, and the implications of assumed categories. The state of Maryland shifted identities as various factions personified it in song. Maryland was personified as a mother, warrior, sister, a woman being seduced or courted, a loyal compatriot, and a shamed-faced traitor. Maryland's status as a

9While personification of ideas and political identities is common in popular music, one should not assume this type of personification was unique to this genre. One example of the personification of the Nation is found in Anna Ella Carroll, The Great American Battle (New York: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1856). In chapters six through fifteen Carroll stages a tea party in which America is personified as a young man.
border state meant that both the North and the South assumed its loyalty. As state after state seceded from the Union, the South watched and waited for Maryland to join them. The North waited too, and while it declared its faith in the loyalty of Maryland, it watched carefully for signs of disloyalty. The songs of the day personified Maryland as a woman who might be loyal or fickle, faithful or deceiving, as various songwriters tied the symbolic acts of the personification of Maryland to the State of Maryland's political movements.

The first song about Maryland was written at the beginning of the war by James Ryder Randall, a native of Baltimore. As a border state, Maryland had factions that were in sharp conflict during the war. Although Maryland remained in the United States, almost as many Maryland men fought for the South as fought for the North. Maryland had strong national sentiments as well as strong commercial and cultural connections to the South, and the war politically divided the state. On April 19, 1861, Northern troops attempting to pass through Baltimore were attacked by the citizenry. Although Maryland did not subsequently secede, in great part due to the pro-Union political moves of Governor Thomas H. Hicks, this attack, now known as the Baltimore Riot, heartened Southern hopes that Maryland would soon join them, and caused the North to doubt Maryland's solidarity with the nation. Randall, loyal to the South, wrote Maryland!


11 For details on Governor Hicks' reaction to a possible Maryland secession see Janet Coryell, Neither Heroine nor Fool: Anna Ella Carroll of Maryland (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1990), 47-53.
My Maryland! in reaction to the incident in Baltimore. Typical of songs at the time, Maryland! My Maryland! was written as a poem and later fitted to existing music; it is sung to the tune of the German Christmas carol Tannenbaum, O Tannenbaum. Randall's version is full of gendered imagery. In it, Maryland is a woman warrior who has not yet joined the battle, although she is told "the despot's heel is on thy shore . . . his torch is at thy temple door." Thus Maryland, a woman, is threatened with unholy invasion. This imagery is not intended to inspire rescue; rather, Maryland is called to defend her own honor. Kinship relationships are set up and defined; Randall pleas as an "exiled son" for his "mother state" to reveal her "peerless chivalry." Just as community and family pressures enforced the chivalrous defense of family and country in the South, this call from her son to duty acts as an impetus for Maryland to go to battle. While tradition called for Southern men to protect their female family members, if need be Southern women could also be called upon to fight. That she is the one to fight is plainly stated in his urging her to, "gird thy


13 James Ryder Randall, Maryland! My Maryland!: A Patriotic Song (Augusta: Blackmar & Bro., 1862).

14 Ibid.


16 Ibid., 51-52. The juxtaposition of the image of women as dependents and the image of women as warring for honor creates an interesting and unresolved tension in the Southern definition of womanhood.
beauteous limbs with steel."\textsuperscript{17} Maryland, the mother warrior, must join the battle.

More kinship imagery is used with the introduction of the other Southern states as Maryland's sisters. Virginia has called to her sisters and is meeting them on the plain. Maryland, however, has not joined her sisters. Here the lyrics break away from rhapsodizing her beauty and strength to hint at the moral impropriety of her lingering with the northern despot. She is told to leave the North for her "dalliance" does her wrong. The implication strengthens with verse seven where it is noted that she blushes because of her present state. A slim excuse is offered to her, that she might be blushing from meekness instead of shame; there remains the opportunity to redeem her reputation. A cry comes from the South for her not to be seduced.

\begin{verbatim}
Thou wilt not yield the vandal toll
  Maryland, my Maryland!
Thou wilt not crook to his control,
  Maryland, my Maryland!
Better the fire upon thee roll
Better the shot, the blade, the bowl,
  Than crucifixion of the soul
Maryland, my Maryland!\textsuperscript{18}
\end{verbatim}

Death would be better than dishonor. This dishonor is distinctly sexual in nature. There is no real talk of current events, political arguments, or reasoned ideas. If Maryland does not prove her purity soon, she will be no longer be a lady worthy of respect and protection. The South has not disowned her as yet, however, and the song ends with optimism that she is

\textsuperscript{17} James Ryder Randall, \textit{Maryland! My Maryland!}.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
on her way to join them. She is not dead, nor deaf, nor dumb; Huzza! she spurns the Northern scum--/She breathes--She burns! She'll come! She'll come!/Maryland, my Maryland.¹⁹

This song was enormously popular in the South, one of the most popular songs of the war.²⁰ In this opening round, Maryland has been portrayed as a warrior capable of her own defense, a mother, a sister, and a woman who may be involved in an illicit and disgraceful affair. In all cases the emotional implications reinforce any regional ties that existed. Through the use of this gendered imagery, and emotional rather than rational arguments, the state of Maryland becomes subject to judgments and moral pressures that have little to do with political events.

After the Baltimore incident that inspired Randall to write *Maryland! My Maryland!* the Northern forces suspended the writ of habeas corpus in part of Maryland and occupied areas suspected of Southern sentiment with Federal troops. Under this pressure Maryland remained within the Union.²¹ Randall's song fostered many responses throughout the war, most using the same form and tune, although reflecting different political alliances as events unfolded. Sep Winner penned a Northern reply to *Maryland! My Maryland!* using much the same imagery as Randall, although Maryland is not left to fend for herself. She is urged to battle, this time in conflict with the South, but she is reassured that she will not be left

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¹⁹ James Ryder Randall, *Maryland! My Maryland!*


²¹ McPherson, *Ordeal By Fire*, 156.
to fight alone; the nation will come to her aid. This time it is not her own "beauteous limbs" that she needs to gird with steel; she is told instead to gird her sons, "with arms of steel." The nation trusts her sons to protect her for, "thy men are bold and strong." As in the original version, the lyrics speak of an invader and kinship ties are invoked. Maryland is told to drive back (with the use of her sons' force) the "foe that would thee wrong," and that the North is sure that she "wilt not falter nor succumb." Her sisters are now the Northern states, and although Virginia (still a woman) does call, Maryland's kinship ties are to the North.

Although the language in this Northern version mimics the Southern original, the gendered imagery sends different messages. In the original a warrior mother is called to muster her own strength and morality to retain the ties of kinship. Her sexual propriety is questioned, but not in a way that labels her decisively. She is treated as capable of exerting her own will; her closest ties are to her sisters. In the Northern version she is no longer a warrior herself; she must rely on her sons and the strength of the presumably male North to protect her. Although she has Northern sisters, her strongest kinship role is that of mother. Less able to champion her own affairs, she is nonetheless called on to marshall the forces of her male kin. One explanation for this difference is that the South, with its looser confederation of states, long thought of as "sister" states, related more readily to images that would show state strength and autonomy, and therefore empowered the "sisters" in its imagery. The more centralized

North, particularly since the Baltimore riots, would favor Maryland's dependency on and subordination to the federal government, and thus would reinforced, with its imagery of an authority over the states, the subordinate status of the sister states.23

While the image of the federal government as protector for Maryland is common in the Northern songs, these songs do leave room for some agency on Maryland's part. In "Secesh in Maryland," Maryland needs protection, but has a voice in choosing her protector. The song is written from the view of a soldier, not a personification, but he uses the words "My Maryland" to signal his entrance into the well-known musical dialogue about Maryland and then further manipulates the Maryland song personifications symbolically living out war events. "My Maryland they sought./ When they left old Virginny/ They thought her easy bought./ But Mary warn't a ninny./ Secesh she called a sham./ No promise could affect her./ She stuck by Uncle Sam./ Her genuine protector."24 Thus Maryland, according to this version, not only was not a "ninny" but was a willing dependent of the federal government.

Another Northern version, H. C. Hosmer's "Answer to My Maryland," steers away from the sexual imagery of a Northern dalliance with Maryland, but also steers away from the position that Maryland had chosen to remain loyal but was dependent on federal troops for protection. Hosmer wonders how Maryland can refuse to fight while the rebels are on

23 For issues concerning the autonomy of the states in the Southern Confederation see McPherson, Ordeal By Fire, 141, 364-365.

her soil. He recalls her bravery in the Revolutionary War but maligns her present effort. He urges, "up from the sleep of years, and fight," and hopes to urge Maryland to emulate the North by pointing out that it is, "blood on our sword instead of rust" alluding to earlier versions' mention of Maryland's powerful sword.25

In September 1862, Confederate General Robert E. Lee, invaded western Maryland, hoping to both replenish needed supplies and, by being on Union soil, to create a political conflict during Congressional elections; these things might create public pressure for peace negotiations.26 As western Maryland was predominately loyal to the North, relatively few Marylanders rushed to join Lee. In the horrific bloody battle of Antietam both sides fought to exhaustion and Lee's troops returned to Virginia.27 A Maryland song from the North reflected these events. It was an outwardly sentimental love ballad about General Lee wooing Maryland, yet it held a grim subtext. In "General Lee's Wooing," Maryland is his lover and betrothed. He sounds his horn for her and brings her costly gifts and "ghostly sheets to dress thy wedding bed."28 The image is of wealth and promised sexuality but it also bears disturbing signs of morbid decadence.


27 Ibid., 96; McPherson, Ordeal By Fire, 279-286.

The sheets are "ghostly"; the bed curtains are garlanded with "gory red." He calls her to prepare for the wedding, for her to call out her, "stalwart yeomanry" but ominous meaning can be held in his promise to bring his "ready wains," where he will, "among the reapers stand/ To gather in the grain." Given the earlier symbols of ghosts and gore his promise brings images of the grim reaper as a twist on the usual fertility symbols of grain and marriage. Lee does not find his lover waiting, however. Instead, he finds himself rejected in the "leaden rain," lead shot from Northern guns. Lee leaves the field and curses Maryland in his pain. Maryland herself is discussed but does not physically appear in the action. In this song Lee, while on the surface going through the ritualized courtship of a Southern gentleman, unintentionally reveals himself to be evil instead of honorable. The Southern gentleman is found to be a sham and is routed out by Northern lead. Maryland herself is curiously inactive; we do not know if she has rejected her suitor or if her Father protector, the North, remains the one in charge.

Many versions of Maryland! My Maryland! exist. Some were published in broadsheets, some exist through other published sources, and others are found in private correspondences or oral traditions. Maryland! My Maryland! was popular enough to be used in every conceivable way, from a version that ignored the war and urged Maryland, as a mother, not to neglect her public schools, to one rare version that changed Maryland's gender to male and presented him as muddied and vermin-infested from

29 Ibid. A wain is a farm wagon or cart.
contact with the rebels.\textsuperscript{30} In this version it is impossible to tell if Maryland is blushing with shame because his cheek, "has not been washed for many a week."\textsuperscript{31} Nothing is expected of Maryland in this version; the morality expected from the female Maryland was not expected from this crusty, aromatic male.

The \textit{Yankee Volunteer's Songster} reacted to the musical dialog about Maryland by printing a string of Maryland songs that carried on their own "debate," while they all reflected Northern attitudes and opinions.\textsuperscript{32} In "General Lee's Lament for Maryland," General Lee has once more been jilted by Maryland.\textsuperscript{33} He calls her "my own Maryland," but has no right to do so as she has eloped and is no longer his. In an unlikely line, devoid of subtlety, Lee compares himself to "yon carrion crow... Lamenting the loss of his own true love, Just like me for mine, Maryland." Whether that implies Maryland is also a crow, or perhaps just a rotting carcass, is unclear. It is also unclear who Maryland has eloped with since in the next song, "Mary's Answer to Lee," Maryland calls Lee a "lump of sin," and identifies Uncle Sam as her guardian.\textsuperscript{34}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{30} R. C. M'Ginn, "Maryland, My Maryland!" in Frank Moore, \textit{Personal and Political Ballads}, 305-307; Anonymous, "My Maryland," Ibid., 365-366.
\item \textsuperscript{31} Anonymous, "My Maryland," Ibid., 366.
\item \textsuperscript{32}\textit{Yankee Volunteer's Songster}: A collection of songs for the times (Philadelphia: A. Winch, Publisher, 1862).
\item \textsuperscript{33} "General Lee's Lament for Maryland," in \textit{Yankee Volunteer's Songbook}, 9.
\item \textsuperscript{34} "Mary's Answer to Lee," in \textit{Yankee Volunteer's Songbook}, 10.
\end{itemize}
patriarchal society, is ambiguous in that it could refer to both a husband or another adult male who had authority over her. The fact that she has a protector is apparent; their relationship is not as clear. If she has eloped she should be under her husband's protection, and by legal and social norms is subservient to him. The term "Uncle", however, implies that it is another adult male who has authority over her--this time invoking both gender and generational status over her. In either use it is clear that Maryland was not in charge of her own affairs, and was both grateful and willing for Uncle Sam to take care of them for her.

The Yankee Volunteer's Songster offered an additional Southern general's view of Maryland's affairs. In "By Barylads" General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson decries Maryland's actions during the Confederate's failed attempt on Maryland soil. This version of "Maryland! My Maryland!" closely follows the form of the original and freely quotes from its lyrics. The original's call to honor and duty in a great cause is lost, however, by this Northern version that gives the reason for the Confederate's presence as looking for supplies. Gone is the stirring character of the original; in its place is a humorous use of disgruntled slang. Only in a footnote following the song is the reader told that Jackson caught cold from sleeping on barn floors during his stay on inhospitable Maryland's estate. In a brief confession where he states his name and his sad state of grace, "By dabe it is Stodewall Jackson. A biserable sidder be I." we realize he has sung, "By Barylards," instead of My Maryland, because of his miserable cold.

By Barylads

The flesh-pots loom'd upon thy shore,
Baryladd! By Baryladd!
We sought thy teeming barn-floor,
Barylad! By Barylad!
We hoped to raise in Baltimore
Of beef and boots and clothes a store
To rig anew our ragged corps,
Barylad! By Barylad!

For weeks we'd hardly had a meal,
Barylad! By Barylad!
And did you rush to our appeal
With beef and boots? --Not by a deal,
For all we got we had to steal,
Barylad! By Barylad!

You left us outside in the cold,
Barylad! By Barylad!
To wallow in the dirty mould,
Barylad! By Barylad!
With nary blanket to enfold
Our corpuses [sic] like mummies roll'd
In rags repulsive, rancid, old,
Barylad! By Barylad!

You've chill'd our friendship to the core,
Barylad! By Barylad!
In you we'll put our trust no more,
Barylad! By Barylad!

I reckon you're a precious hum, 35
Barylad! By Barylad!
You'd sworn to fife to our drum,
Barylad! By Barylad!
Oh were you dead, or deaf, or dumb?
You treated us like Northern scum,
You wouldn't, couldn't, didn't come,
Barylad! By Barylad! 36

Jackson makes no romantic claims to Maryland; indeed he merely chides her for betraying their friendship. Maryland is removed from the dialogue in

35 "Hum" was used both as a noun and a verb; it referred to a cheat, trick, delusion, lie, or liar, deceit or deceiver.

36 "By Barylad," Yankee Volunteer's Songster, 37-38.
this version, and the songster's editor did not feel the need to have Maryland pen a rebuttal as was done in the earlier pair of Maryland's songs. Jackson's grousing and whining about his diminished state invites the reader to take less seriously his cause. Maryland had every right to ignore such a inconsequential rag mob, and the Union can enjoy laughing at this inconsequential threat. Maryland has no obligation to offer aid and protection to incompetent male friends.

While Maryland's actions or the lack thereof were sometimes criticized in these songs, she was given the benefit of the doubt by the South, who waited for her, and by the North, who claimed her loyalty when she did not secede. The Maryland city of Baltimore, however, did not escape Northern disparagement for the attack on Northern troops. In the song "In Baltimore," Bayard Taylor wrote of the Northern soldiers, unarmed, going to their sister Baltimore with the expectation of a, "welcome warm and strong." Instead, they were faced with a, "traitorous hell," in which the Revolutionary fathers saw in the dead soldiers their own "children's gore." The image of outraged father is in stark contrast to the image of Baltimore as a woman, presumably a mother, responsible for the carnage. She is looked upon in her "guilt and shame," and is told to, "cleanse from thy skirt the slaughter shed." Given the cultural assumption that women were the nurturers, caregivers, and the keepers of morality, this juxtaposition of


38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.
grieving fatherhood and women's skirts full of children's blood provokes a strong emotional response that places the events of the war into the private sphere of kinship and gender expectations.

While the popular Maryland songs provide insight to Civil War hierarchical expectations and popular perceptions about war events, they were not the only songs to do so. Not all songs that used gendered relationships spurred nationwide dialogue, but the pattern of the Maryland songs is repeated in other war lyrics. The anonymous Northern song, "Belle Missouri," which uses the tune and structure of Maryland My Maryland, is one such example. Missouri was one of the most violently disrupted states of the Civil War. Even before the war began, internal strife over slavery had caused bloodshed and intimidation between the citizens of Missouri. When the war was declared, the pro-South governor, Governor Claiborne Jackson, marshaled troops in an attempt to join the Confederacy. The Union reacted by sending in federal troops and establishing a military occupation; the Confederate counter-reaction was to implement guerrilla warfare. In a no-neutrality policy, Union leaders assumed the guilt of all Missouri citizens not actively supporting all aspects of the Union cause. People loyal to each side, as well as those who had been previously neutral but took sides with military occupation and guerrilla warfare surrounding them, found themselves part of the battle. Blood was not confined to the battle field in Missouri, however. With neighbor pitted

against neighbor the most destructive aspects of the struggle were brought by guerrilla fighters using terrorism.41

Written sometime after the Confederate invasion, "Belle Missouri" uses imagery of abused and defiled womanhood to call Missouri citizens to arms against the Confederacy. While Maryland was accused of lingering in a compromising position, Missouri is portrayed as already despoiled. She is "the helpless prey of treason's lust," and bears "the helpless mark of treason's thrust."42 In reaction to this assault Missouri "thrills," and, "her blood begins to burn."43 But we are not left with the impression that she is responding in passion to her attacker. Rather, she responds to join in counterattack. "She's bruised and weak, but she can turn," and even in this weakened state is urged to rally "a swift return," for her wounds.44 The propagandistic value of this imagery is summed up in the last verse which cites, "Liberty's appealing scars," as a justified call to war.45 Once again the lyrics imply rather than detail actual events. The political is personalized by the moral and emotional issues of sexual violation.46


43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.


46 The fears in this type of song echo those found in personal correspondences, and perhaps also fueled the fears contained in the same. In looking at private letters James McPherson quotes one soldier as
This song was not alone in using images of violated or battered women to heighten already passionate feelings about the violence in Missouri. In a song named for the state, "Missouri," the state is personified as both Queen and mother.47 This stately dame has been shamed by Northern vandals, however, who had murdered her children and keep her enslaved with "fair limbs fettered." Hyenas surround her and vultures fly over her head. While the song urges the sons of Missouri to come to her aid, there remains lingering doubts about her loyalty, much as the loyalty of Maryland was questioned. Although she is left vulnerable, with the blood of her children on the ground, the song questions if she might be a willing prisoner, thus permitting her own "pollution." This ambiguity of her role as victim or masochist, is left unresolved as the call remains for her grown sons to rescue her. This song, as well as others that mention physical violence to women, provide vivid images that demand violent retribution.

The use of this kind of emotional imagery remained common to both Northern and Southern war songs. With the war being fought on Southern soil, however, the use of this imagery to discuss the war in various southern states lent itself to Southern emotional appeals for chivalric aid to suffering womanhood.48 In "Alabama" there are once again images of violence to pledging to fight, "in defence of innocent girls & women from the fangs of lecherous Northern hirelings." McPherson, What They Fought For, 19.

47 "Missouri" in The Soldier's Prize Songster, 71-72.

48 The protection of white women and children was a basic component of Southern manhood. Therefore, these images not only begged an emotional response to violated womanhood, but suggested that Southern masculinity was violated too, in that Southern men had failed in the role of protector. Since violation of white women ran counter to positive images of manhood, Northern soldiers' collective manhood is questioned in songs that
motherhood. "E're a hostile Northern footstep/ trample, conqueror, on her breast!" In "Tennessee" the state is a mother tortured by Northern forces. Her Southern soldier sons can hear in their "lost child's heart" her "wails of anguish" and "Shrieks for help when none are near." This song varies from the norm by adding helpless fathers, most likely representing state politicians who had been on the side of the South, who are now groaning in prison, unable to help. Tennessee's "hardy yeomen" sons must drive out the "vandal foemen" from where they "desecrate our childhood's home." They are confident that they will succeed. Indeed they will do more than triumph, they will bring retribution with slaughter. "And the gleaming blade is shaking/ That shall drink your life-blood warm."

While these songs, and those about Maryland, were peopled with mostly feminine characters, women were not the only actors in the dramatic clashes between personifications in songs. "The Stolen stars," with its all male cast, used kinship relationships between three adult male

depicted the South as a battered and abused woman. The subtext in these songs is that Southern men, in order to reclaim their own honor, must retaliate against the Yankee foe. Lee Ann Whites, The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1995), 214-15.


50 "Tennessee," in The Soldier's Prize Songster, 86-88. Wyatt-Brown notes that "To attack his wife, mother, or sister was to assault the man himself," and that, "fierce retaliation was therefore mandatory when a daughter, wife or mother had been dishonored." Wyatt-Brown Honor and Violence, 36-37. Thus the kinship relationship in this song between "mother" Tennessee and soldier "sons" invokes known societal expectations.

51 Ibid.
personifications, to add human explanations to the causes of the war.\textsuperscript{52} At the beginning of the song there was a fourth character, Father Washington. Washington died, however, and the action that unfolded in the fourteen remaining stanzas was performed by three remaining male figures: Uncle Sam, who represented the federal government, and two grown nephews who represented the North and the South.

In the first stanza Uncle Sam is at the deathbed of his brother, Father Washington. When Washington dies, he passes his flag, which represented the union of states, on to "Sammy" and Sammy invoked God's blessing. After praying and singing over the flag, Sam vowed to God that it would fly, "until Judgment-day."\textsuperscript{53} The flag was not the only responsibility that Sam inherited from Washington, however, for Washington also left two sons, Puritan and Cavalier, in his care. The hierarchy in this newly formed household is not as distinct as it would have been if the trio was made up of a father and sons instead of an uncle and his legal charges. In addition, the power gulf between the boys and the uncle is not as wide it would have been had gender been a factor. While the authority of Uncle Sam over his two nephews is therefore weaker than in previous songs about guardians and young women, that authority was further weakened by the boys' adulthood, when each of them takes a wife and goes out on his own. As the uncle, Sam retains some hierarchical distinction, but they part as three adult males with all the autonomy that those roles implied. In the republican rhetoric of the American and French Revolutions families were used allegorically to


\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 25.
show the naturalness of political autonomy for a new country. These allegorical explanations said that when males reach adulthood they have the right to assume adult independence (political autonomy) and begin their own families (governments).\textsuperscript{54} In this family group there remains familial connections, and therefore political and governmental connections, but the adulthood of the two sons, or the right to political autonomy is assumed by both the North and the South.

With their Uncle's blessing, then, Puritan went North and Cavalier went South. The brothers, although very different, were able to maintain family ties, or at least not break them, as long as they had enough room to house their differences. Eventually, however, all the space, North and South, became full and both of them headed West where in close proximity they quarrel.

\begin{quote}
Out to the West they journeyed then:/ And in a quarrel got:/ One said /twas his, he knew it was:/ The other said 'twas not./
One drew a knife, a pistol 'tother,/ And dreadfully they swore:/
From Northern Lake to Southern Gulf/ Wild rang the wordy roar.\textsuperscript{55}
\end{quote}

This mythical battle represented the political battles that had raged between the North and the South over whether slavery should exist in the Western territories and in newly admitted states. The two brothers, equal in both gender and kinship relationship, began an equal battle. Their Uncle Sam, a representation of the Federal government, and supposedly their guardian, shirks his role and lets the battle escalate. "And all the time good


\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., 27.
uncle Sam/ Sat by his fireside near;/ smoking of his kinnikinick,/ And drinkin' lager beer./ He laughed and quaffed, and quaffed and laughed./ Nor thought it worth his while./ Until the storm in fury burst/ On Sumter's sea-girt isle.\textsuperscript{56}

Uncle Sam, not only neglected to play the role of family patriarch, he was portrayed as irresponsible and uncaring. While he appears equally uninterested in both his nephews, however, he is smoking kinnikinick, a plant or blend of plants that grow in the North, rather than Southern tobacco.\textsuperscript{57}

At this point the first specific real event is dropped into the song with the mention of fighting at Fort Sumter. Only after this mention of Sumter when, "O'er the waves to the smoking fort./When came the dewy dawn./To see the flag he looked--and lo, \textit{Eleven stars were gone!}" does Uncle Sam concern himself with the escalating quarrel. While Sam had been callous over the fisticuffs between the two brothers, he became enraged to realize that one of his nephews had stolen his property, the stars (states) from the flag. "'My pretty, pretty stars!' he cried."\textsuperscript{58} This theft of stars from the flag given to him by his brother, was a heavy blow that caused him to cry. Cavalier, not surprisingly given the disinterest his uncle has shown for family affairs, was not touched by the display. Indeed, Cavalier

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 27.

\textsuperscript{57} Kinnikinick is a mix of bark and dried leaves. It may also refer to a plant commonly used in this mixture, the common bearberry, \textit{Arctostaphyhis uva-use}, of the heath family. Bearberry grows in the North and Northwest, including Ohio and Michigan. Small amounts of tobacco were sometimes added to this mix.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.
underscored the tearful uncle's lack of masculine authority. Not only did Cavalier dismiss the tears, he laughed at his uncle, "I've got your stars Old Fogy Sam:/ Ha, Ha! laughed Cavalier."59 The familial connection between Cavalier and Uncle Sam had broken; Puritan, however, retained his ties to the old man. When Sam flew into a rage over the insult visited on him by Cavalier he called on Puritan to raise men and bring back the pilfered goods. Puritan assumed this role of protector for his Uncle and rallied for the cause. "Dry up your tears, good Uncle Sam:/ Dry up," said Puritan;/ 'We'll bring you home your stolen stars,/ Or perish every man!'/ And at the words a million rose,/ All ready for the fray;/ And columns formed, like rivers deep;/ And Southward marched away."60 A reversal of roles has taken place, with the North assuming authority and protection over the Federal government.

As the war was not over when this song was written, the storyline presented a disturbing pause in the action instead of an culmination. The final scene is intense. An ambiguous character, Uncle Sam, holds center stage while the growing war intensifies in the background around him. Uncle Sam, for whom Puritan has gone to war, remains impotent and involved with inconsequential thoughts and actions. "And still old Uncle Samuel/ Sits by his fireside near,/ Smokin' of his kinnikinick,/ And drinking lager beer/ While there's a tremble in the earth,/ A gleamin' of the sky;/ And

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid., 28.
the rivers stop to listen/ As the million marches by." 61 The earth and waters themselves have more awareness of the alarming destruction taking place than does the entity that set this war in motion.

"The Stolen Stars" proves unsettling because the images and relationships, and the blame, are all open to interpretation and varying degrees of condemnation. Sam, representing the Federal government, most likely Congress, seems a strong and worthy character in the beginning; at the end he is weak and self-absorbed. The flag, representing the Union of states, has been pledged to God and originally is a noble icon; by the time it is stolen Sam looks at it as an attractive symbol rather than a banner of God. Contemporary songs, as well as other popular sources, showed a belief in the degeneration of American political leadership from the strong forefathers of America to the weaker strain currently in office. While George Washington might be held as a demi-god, many politicians of the "post heroic age" had based their decisions on group or personal interests rather than the "good of the commonwealth." 62 Sam originally is a peer, indeed the brother, of Father Washington, who represents the founding fathers, and of course the revered George Washington himself, but by the 1860s, as a personification of the current Federal Government, Sam is much reduced in stature. The degeneracy of the leadership of the Nation, summed up in the one character of Uncle Sam, had allowed the country to come to the brink of ruin. Thus, Cavalier seems right to reject this

61 Ibid., 28.

62 Jean Baker, "From Belief Into Culture: Republicanism In The Antebellum North, American Quarterly 37 (Fall 1985): 535.
weakened old man, and although stealing from his uncle is reprehensible, the victim of his theft lends himself to little sympathy. Puritan, symbolizing the North, regained some of the fervor demonstrated by Sam at Washington's death, but he rashly charged off to deadly conflict without reflection as to the appropriateness of his actions. The family, and the country, is left in flames while an old man nurses his feelings, and a bottle, by the fire.

The dark nature of the song is surprising in that it is part of a songster that, while critical of various factions, was published in the North and lends its strongest support for the idea of Union over Northern and Southern differences. It is even more surprising in that an introduction to the song says that it was written for the express purpose of camp use by Union troops. While the song may provide an educational illustration of how conflict over control of the West contributed to the war, and while it shows the Northern troops as a single-minded powerful fighting force, the questions it leaves are more disturbing than any comfort over fighting strength could waylay. Songs like "The Stolen Stars," offered complex views of a war that troubled even those who felt strongly that the Union must be preserved. The allegorical action of Sam, Puritan, and Cavalier attempted to somehow simplify and explain the complexity of the war by changing political events into family conflict, something more understandable to the populace. The actions and motivations of family members can also be complex, however, and blame covers the three characters with the dingy stains of the dirty laundry they are airing. The uneasy feeling that the war itself was wrong, that the reasons for keeping the union together might not
be good ones, that the Federal Government failed to prevent the war, and now showed little concern for the resulting destruction, no doubt reflected the darker fears of many people who brooded over the lyrics of this song and other songs like it.63

In any narrative about real events there are at least two important contexts: the initial event that is being explained or presented, and the context in which the presentation takes place.64 In this case the first context is the conflict that led to war; the second context is the military camps in which the song would be read or sung. Additional contexts that suggest themselves include that of the songwriters as they chose what to say about events, and that of the publishers as they chose which songs would best inspire Union troops in camp. Assuming the songwriter, editors and soldiers all wanted to promote a feeling that the Union was justified in fighting the war, this song's intent was to support the Union's position in the war. The song, however, also shows that even those who supported the war puzzled through why the war had happened as well as the broader issues of how citizens and government officials should behave in the future. Those who tell narratives attempt to make the listener feel as if they had experienced the story.65 By presenting the story as a family dispute, however, each listener would bring in their own experience of how complex

63 The publication of this song is just prior to when Gerald Linderman dates soldiers' deep disillusionment in the war. Linderman, Embattled Courage, 245. Whether this type of song influenced or reflected that disillusionment is impossible to tell.

64 Bauman, Story, performance, and event, 2.

65 Ibid.
interpersonal relationships could be. Thus attempts to simplify complex public issues by bringing them into a private context were not always successful.

Civil War songs not only show that gender and clearly defined gender and kinship roles were used to categorize and influence individual behaviors; it also becomes apparent that these assumptions about gender and kinship were also used to subjectify, influence, and explain political events. The very assumptions and public pressures that made it difficult for people to step outside of their assigned roles made it possible to show how political persons or entities were fulfilling or neglecting expected roles. That ideas and political entities lacked the biological components necessary for classification by sex or for reproduction did not lessen the emotional impact of imposing gender or kinship roles, duties, and assumptions on personifications.66 Thus the images of familial loyalty, failed authority, bloodied skirts, or a woman given to sexual dalliance, could and did come to represent the legal and physical warring between political factions; those images, by provoking an emotional rather than a reasoned response, would attempt to influence public opinion about those factions' morality and the justness of their cause.

66 Attempts to blend history with allegory sometimes resulted in bizarre statements such as this one about America's founding fathers: "Proud of the men who gave us birth." "Ours" in Songs of the War (Albany: J. Munsell, 1863).
CHAPTER III

"A STAGGERING, SWAGGERING SORT OF CHAP," AND "THE PEDDLING, MEDDLING CREW": DEFINING CAVALIERS AND YANKEES

Which phrase described Southern manhood, "A staggering, swaggering sort of chap" or "such stately men?" Which lyrics lend insight to Northern war-time activities, "Destruction in God's name" or, "The peddling, meddling crew?" The musical prose of war-time songs provided a medium for exploring these issues of regional identity and character. In trying to capture the essence of the North or the South, songs ignored the differences between Southern yeoman farmers, rich plantation owners, and gulf coast fishermen. They also ignored the differences between Michigan farmers, wealthy New York businessmen, and immigrant day laborers. Some war songs did specify individual states, or glorified specific fighting units, but songs that praised or decried the cultural identities of the Union or the Confederacy focused mainly on two stereotypes, Yankee and Cavalier. Using these categories, both Southern and Northern songs offered unflattering personas for the other region, while presenting idealized images of themselves. While the idealized self-descriptions of the Union and the Confederacy contrasted in tone and value assessment from the


unflattering images of them provided by the other side, there were enough common factors in their descriptions to offer a glimpse of a national perception of Northern and Southern identity.

Southern songs summed up Union cultural identity in the person of a Northern Yankee, almost always a male, often a Puritan, who was more interested in money than honor, and who used pious posturing to impose his own morality on others. Yankee energy and labor was tied to money, even when other issues, such as patriotism and morality were involved. The South fought for honor; Yankees fought for profit. Thus the term "hirelings" frequently appeared in Southern songs to describe Northern troops. Typical of these songs was the popular "Southern Marsellaise". "Your country every strong arm calling/To meet the hireling Northern band." According to these songs, Northern troops were mercenaries, not patriots, and therefore were not honorable fighting men.

When the North did fight for reasons other than money, according to Southern songs, they were less interested in honor than on imposing their values and will on others. Judged by the South as fanatical, they justified their means by the end they judged imperative. As fanatics, they could wreak horrible havoc on innocents in their way. In the "Southern War Song," the South is warned that "The Star Spangled Banner, dishonored, is


4 This sentiment is apparent in other war-time entertainments. In the play "The Guerrillas," written and performed in the South during the war, money is a prime motivation for Union officers, even to the extent that they have trouble understanding that others are willing to fight for other motivations. Anonymous, "The Guerrillas" (Richmond, MacFarland & Fergusson), 1863.
streaming/ O'er bands of fanatics,/ their swords are now gleaming,/ They thirst for the blood of those you most cherish,/ With brave hearts and true, AROUSE, or they perish."5 In Southern cultural expression these fanatics had hounded the more reasonable South until Southerners were forced to stand and fight. "The Bars and Stars," sung to the tune of "Star Spangled Banner," recalled these events:

For thirty years or more, we have waited and prayed/ That the chains of oppression and wrong might be sundered;/ But the black fiends of the North, with their plans fouly laid,/ Have raised up a whirlwind, and the old ship's now foundered./ We shouted the alarms,/ We spoke of our wrongs,/ Now the argument's exhausted, we'll stand by our arms.6

Given the Southern emphasis on Northern money, there remained a calculating air to the North's fight against slavery. "Oh, Doodle's morbid conscience strains/ With Puritanic [sic] vigor,/ To loose the only friendly chains/ That ever bound a nigger;/ Yet Doodle knows as well as I,/ That when I come to free them,/ He'd see a million niggers die,/ Before he'd help to feed them."7 Thus, while the North moralized against slavery, and insisted that enslaved persons be freed, they were not willing to contribute economically to this huge transformation of the Southern economy. Implied is that despite their moral posturing, Yankees cared less for those enslaved than they did for money. Southern songs pointed out that money also motivated Northern non-military support of the war. "Oh, Yankee

6 "The Bars and Stars," Beauregard Song Book, 34.
7 "Farewell To Yankee Doodle," in The Southern Songster, 4.
Doodle got so keen/ For every dirty shilling/ Propose a job, however mean,/ and Yankee Doodle's willing."8

In 1864, the W. F. Wisely Publishing Company of Mobile Alabama, held a contest designed to encourage the production of songs that would support the war and the Southern cause. The winning song was bound together with the other entries and the resulting songster sent out to aid the war effort. This songster, the **Soldiers Prize Songster**, provides both a look at how amateur songwriters viewed the war, and the ideology assumed by the editors to be central to Southern identity and moral. The songs praise Southern identity and culture and vilify the lack of Southern virtues in the North. If prizes had been awarded for the most name calling per song, the competition would have been stiff. Among the finalists, however, would have been "Yankee Doodle Doo."

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Curse on the canting, whining race,
The peddling meddling crew,
Whose hearts are vile, and spirits base,
And backs and bellies blue!
They brag, they lie, they cheat, they steal,
In every place and time;
Their souls are bloat with bigot zeal,
And crusted o'er with crime!
a curse upon their menial crew,
The sniffing, whiffling, Yankee-doodle-doo!9
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Having defined the current state of the Northern population, the song continued by pointing out the history of this sadly lacking culture.

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They've been the pest of all the world,
Since Cromwell's bloody days;
From Holland's quagmires they were hurled,
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8 Ibid., 3.

9 "Yankee-Doodle-Doo!," In *The Soldiers Prize Songster*, 19-21.
For their pragmatic ways.
The Mayflower ship, that brought them o'er,
Conveyed a felon flock,
And spewed the vermin on the shore,
By Plymouth's "blarney rock"
Then curse the Puritanic crew,
The ranting, canting, Yankee-doodle-doo!10

These religious trouble-makers were further developed and defined by the Northern climate. "In Northern snows their souls congealed,/ To ice lumps in their breasts;/ ... Each mother's son, ere he could run, His daddy learned to cheat./ And thus a graduate become,/ With peddlers to compete!"11 Not only had their hearts congealed, but their misplaced religious fervor had metamorphosed into an evil cult.

They'd filch a bible from a priest,
But leave a tract instead;
The widow's mite they've often seized,
And ta'en the orphan's bread.
They've got a Bible of their own,
An Abolition God.
Ward Beecher fills the Savior's throne,
and Lincoln wields his rod!"12

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10 Ibid. 19.

11 Ibid., 19-20. While this song is filled with references to Puritans, it contains a subtext of anti-Semitism. Unflattering stereotypical images of Jews as dishonest peddlers were common both before and during the war. This verse places the Yankee Puritan in competition with Jewish peddlers. Anti-Semitism, in both the North and the South, resulted in discrimination against Jewish-Americans during the war, including General Ulysses S. Grant's 1862 expulsion of Jews from the military district he controlled. Hasia R. Diner, A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820-1880 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 158-159; 188; 190-191.

12 Ibid., 20-21.
Far from the moralists they claim to be, Yankee Puritans were pretenders to true Christianity and the traditional tenets of faith. False gods sat on the Abolitionist throne. No reconciliation was possible between these people and the noble race of the South. If these be men, they were twisted, deformed versions of humanity.

You know them by their coffin face,
Their pallid lanthern [sic] jaws,
Their smirking lips, their sneaking ways,
Their clumsy feet and paws!
With hypocritic eyes they leer,
And sycophantic smile;
With nasal twang they utter prayer,
and rob the church the while!
Then curse the pharisaic crew,
the kneeling, stealing Yankee-doodle-doo! 13

No redeeming characteristics for the Yankee could be found by this songwriter or by the many other songwriters who expressed similar sentiments.

In contrast to this vision of Yankees as the defilers of the true faith, Northern songs presented the Yankee as God's angel, wrecking holy vengeance on the wayward South. Typical of these songs was "Battle Anthem," in which the holy cause is apparent from the first. "Up, Christian warrior, up! I hear/ The trumpet of the North/ Sounding the charge!" 14 If the United States was God's country, the South was acting against God's will. With this in mind, loyal Unionists who might have sung bitter words against abolitionists could join freely in this anthem against Southern secession. Those symbolic stars on the flag might be lost forever, shooting

13 Ibid., 20.
14 "Battle Anthem," in Songs of the War, 55.
down from their background of blue, across the sky to embed themselves in the deep clay of the South where they might remain mired for eternity. "Our great blue sky is overcast;/ And stars are dropping out,/ Through smoke and flame!/ Hail stones and coals of fire!/ Now comes the battle-shout!/ Jehovah's name!"

The North, in God's name, would fight "the rebel pomp" until God called the battle won. "So Reapers, tear your way/ Through yonder camp,/ until you hear/ 'It is enough! Put up thy sword!/ Oh, angel of the Lord!/ My wrath is past!'"

While using religion as a justification for keeping the Union did not appear controversial in Northern songs, greater ambiguity existed in songs about money. To a small degree, this ambiguity existed also in Southern songs. Although Southern songs stressed the connection between Yankees and money, they sometimes admitted the advantages that money could bring. Both Southern and Northern versions of "A Dollar or Two," illustrate just how handy ready cash could be. The first chorus of both states, "For an excellent thing is a dollar or two,/ No friend is so true as a dollar or two;/ Through country or town, as we pass up or down,/ No passport's so good as

15 Ibid., 55.
16 Ibid.
17 Northern free labor ideology stressed that wage labor, paired with frugality, was the stepping stone to upward mobility and independence, while Southern ideology equated wage labor with slavery. Thus money, in the North, was wedded to republicanism. Eric Foner, Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 16-17.
Both versions allowed that a traveler found easier passage with a dollar or two to ease the way, and that a young man intent on courting stood a better chance of acceptance if he has a dollar or two to do the "handsome" thing. The Southern version ends with that observance, however, while the Northern version shifts from the practical and harmless benefits of money to a cynical look at what money could buy. Admitting what the South had charged in other songs, the Northern version linked religion with money. "The gospel is preached for a dollar or two;/ And salvation is claimed for a dollar or two;/ You may sin some at times, but the worst of all crimes/ is to find yourself short of a dollar or two."

Sounding more like Southern criticism than North admission, the song continues to describe what money would currently buy.

If you wish a fat post that will pay pretty true,
Or a lever to put a new dodge neatly through,
To bring legislative folks down to your view,
'Tis but to come down with a dollar or two.
For an office is bought by a dollar or two,
A battle's oft-won by a dollar or two,
Few people will care how you live--what you do,
Whilst you show them the almighty dollar or two.

While the view of money in the Northern version of "A Dollar or Two," began with a practical admission of the benefits of money, but then shifted to a culturally critical admission of the corruption connected to wealth, other Northern songs cheerfully admitted that money was part of Yankee

18 "A Dollar or Two," Humor and Sentiment 26-27; "A Dollar or Two," Patriotic and Sentimental Songster, 31-32.
19 "A Dollar or Two," Patriotic and Sentimental Songster, 31-32.
20 Ibid. 32.
tradition and an positive asset. For instance, "Uncle Sam's Hotel," in addition to presenting money as a fine thing to have, promised that the army was a good place to be for economic reasons. If the South charged that Federal troops were made up of hirelings, "Uncle Sam's Hotel" agreed, while pointing out with a smile just how well they were paid. Uncle Sam is presented as a rich hotel owner and the army as his boarders.

My Uncle Sam's a rich old man,
A rich old man is he,
He keeps a monstrous big hotel,
With board and lodging free.
He sarves [sic] things out in Yankee style,
For all who come and dwell,
Good pay, good clothes, and all, thrown in
At Uncle Sam's Hotel.21

As if having room, board and clothing provided was not enough, the song adds the physical and recreational benefits of army life too. "For exercise one needn't want./ No doubt at all 'bout that;/ If thar arn't marchin,' shootin' too, Why you may take my hat."22 This was not to say that Uncle Sam's boarders had no choice of another place to go, or failed to profess loyalty to the cause. "All hands have left good homes, you see,/ Rebellion for to quell;/ . . . They go in for the Union strong/ At Uncle Sam's Hotel."23

Other songs used the bait of room and board to lure soldiers to the Union side. In "Come Out, Ye Yankee Doodlers" economics was offered as the first justification for entering the fray. "Uncle Sam will dress us up/ And give us lots to feed on;/ Clothe us well, and pay us too;/ That's much as one

21 "Uncle Sam's Hotel," in Yankee Volunteer's Songster, 7-8.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
has need on." Some of these songs were pitched to recent immigrants. In "Sergeant McFadgin," lyrics about the joys of army life, and the benefits it could bring, were written with an Irish accent. "Och! Gay is the life of a fighting Amerykin./ Having no atin' to pay for, nor rint;/ In battle he rides to the fight like a harrykin./ And whin it's over sits down in his tint." And if this "gay life" were not enough reward in itself, there remained the ever-present promise of the social advancement that military service could bring. "Five years I was here whin they made me a citizen;/ But wanting stripes to my owld pantaloons;/ And having ambition;/ which wasn't a bit of sin;/ Listed I did in the Heavy Dragoons." Despite the Southern charge of Northern hireling troops, neither monetary rewards, nor ambition, were denigrated in these Northern troop songs. Indeed, money might be the deciding factor in the war. Northern troops sang, "Now, Uncle Sam has got the dimes;/ That's so! That's so!/... So with all our money and plenty of men;/ For Freedom! For Freedom!/ I tell you, boys, we're bound to win;/ cotton is not king!"


26 Ibid, 42.

27 In part Northern troops were termed "hirelings" because they were paid a bounty for enlistment. As the war continued, some men enlisted, deserted, and enlisted again in order to collect more than one bounty. Geary, We Need Men, 13.

28 "Rally for the Union," in Yankee Volunteer's Songster, 43-44.
In contrast to the image of the mercenary or meddling Yankee, the South emphasized the chivalry of its own fighting men, often identified as Cavaliers. A popular belief in the South was that Southerners were the descendants of English Cavaliers who traced their bloodlines back to Norman knights. Northerners, on the other hand, were commonly referred to as descendants of Puritans whose stock hailed back to the conquered Saxons. Southern songs of the war made reference to superior Southern blood by making ideological connections to chivalry and feudalism and by connecting Southern culture to French culture. Indeed, a Southern version of the French "Marseilles" became so associated with the Confederacy that a group of hapless French performers were jailed in New York just for singing the original "Marseilles." Gallantry, honor, and pride were called into focus in this image of ideal Southern manhood. Yankees were warned that they were lesser men than Southern Cavaliers. "You have no such blood as ours,/ For the shedding,/ In the veins of Cavaliers,/ Was its heading;/ You have no such stately men/ In your abolition den,/ Marching on thro' foe and fen,/ Nothing dreading." Yankees, according to

29 At the core of chivalry was a willingness to fight, as well as a strong emphasis on both reputation and deferential behavior to the elite. Wyatt-Brown Honor and Violence, 23.

30 Mosely, "Irrepressible Conflict," 49.

31 Ibid., 50.

32 Southerners frequently boasted that they were braver than other people. Wyatt-Brown, Honor and Violence, 27.

33 The Southerner's Chaunt of Defiance" in Southern Flag Song Book, pp. 51-52. Donald Yacovone points out that the affectionate friendships
Southern songs, lacked the heart and will to fight. "In battle, on their hinder-parts, They wisely put the shield." Indeed, Northern songs show awareness of the South's insistence that bravery was a Southern commodity in which they had a monopoly. Attesting to their awareness of this Southern contention, Northern songs reacted with lyrics that urged the North to disprove it. "So then we called for volunteers, the country for to save./ And show the Southern chivalry that Northern men were brave."35

Southern songs insisted that chivalry was inherent, and that Southern men's difference hinged upon bloodline. The South, this reasoning claimed, had maintained its link from a nobler strain than the North, particularly since nineteenth-century immigration had centered in the North. "Not Doubtful of Your Fatherland," characterized Northern blood as belonging to men unworthy to fight Southern men, and therefore certainly unworthy to dictate to the South. "And what the foe, the felon race,/ That seek your subjugation?/ The scum of Europe, her disgrace,/ The lepers of the

between some male abolitionists ran counter to the nineteenth century trend of "hypermasculine" behavior. Some male abolitionists rejected both rigid definitions of gender and patriarchal society. Donald Yacovone, "Abolitionists and the Language of Fraternal Love" in Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds., Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 85-95. Since Southern songs routinely identified Yankees as abolitionists, part of the intended association may have been to compare the behavior of "manly" (physically inclined and patriarchal) Southern men with those abolitionists who placed themselves at the opposite end of the spectrum of acceptable male behaviors and ideology.

34 "Yankee-Doodle-Doo," in The Soldier's Prize Songster, 21.

35 "The Goose Hangs High," in John Brown, and the Union Right or Wrong Songster, 55.
nation."36 The North, far from the South's equal, could only envy that noble society. "They envied the South her bright Stars, her glory, her honor, her fame."37 By contrast, the South's blood was untainted by inferior races, and Southern men's natural state was that of chivalrous warrior, something the Yankee knew nothing about. "The Southern blood is running fast/ In Southern veins to-night;/ Our gallant boys on tented fields/ Are eager for the fight!"38 Lyrics about the Southern flag told Southern soldiers, "'Tis yours by every sacred tie/ Of honor, valor, interest, birth;/ The hopes of millions 'neath it lie,/ The bravest and the best of earth."39

Word choice in this type of Southern song links the chivalry of Southern men with romantic aristocracy. In "Tennessee's Noble Volunteers," the men of Tennessee hastened, "with first alarm to snatch the glitt'ring shield," bringing to mind mediaeval armor rather than the realities of Civil War battlefields.40 The song continues with this imagery by telling the listener that, "Our Knights will bear their banner proud,/ and noble deeds display!"41 Southern soldiers were indeed charged as keepers of the holy grail of chivalry and honor that the rest of the world had lost.

38 "Our Southern Boys" in The Punch Songster p. 72.
39 "Stand by Your Flag," in Songs of the South 51.
40 "Tennessee's Noble Volunteers," in Songs of the South, 52.
41 Ibid., 53.
Within this Southern ideology, meddling Yankees failed to understand the noble warriors' leap into battle and insisted instead on imposing their inferior culture on the South. "Yankee Doodle had a mind/ To whip the Southern traitors,/ Because they did'nt [sic] choose to live/ On codfish and potatoes. Yankee Doodle, doodle doo/ Yankee Doodle dandy,/ And so to keep his courage up,/ He took a drink of brandy." 42 According to Southern songs, while the Yankees were on familiar turf when they were offering unsolicited advice, they were courting danger when they stepped on the unfamiliar territory of battle. "Yankee Doodle, Oh! for shame,/ You're always intermeddling:/ Let guns alone, they're dangerous things,/ You'd better stick to pudding." 43 Not only were Southern men spoken of as inherently different than Northern men in the spirit with which they approached combat, but many songs also implied an almost mystical power that this race of cavaliers had in war. In "The Cavaliers of Dixie," Southern men are described as invincible, perhaps even impossible to kill. "The South! she needs no ramparts,/ No lofty towers to shield;/ Your bosoms are her bulwarks strong,/ Breastworks that never yield!" 44

While chivalry was most connected with manhood, and Southern war songs urged men to "assert your manhood," by going into battle, southern

42 "The New Yankee Doodle" in the Stonewall Song Book. 29.

43 Ibid.

women were also characterized as brave, often as brave as men. Songs pointed out that women would, if need be, step into the fray. Southern women, according to these songs, could fight as ably as Southern men. As Southern women, they were capable of battle; as Southern ladies, they deferred the fight to men. In emergencies, particularly in those pertaining to honor, the woman in the lady would emerge. "The Yankees in arms, may outnumber our braves/ But when dead, other brave hearts and true,/ Our wives, sisters, and sweethearts, will never be slaves,/ They will rush to the fight and renew."46

Given the Southern emphasis on honor, very few popular songs suggested Southern men could fall short of those ideals. In "Kingdom Coming," a Northern abolition song by Henry C. Work that inexplicably appears in Southern songsters, however, slaves reported that when "Linkum" gunboats were heard nearing the plantation, "ole massa" fled down the road.47 The chorus reflects the tone of the song. "De massa run, ha! ha!/ De

45 "Southern Marseillaise," in Songs of the South, 34. In the ideology of the South, honor and bravery were inseparable and therefore the Civil War became a test of manhood. Wyatt-Brown, Honor and Violence in the Old South, 27-28.

46 "Hurrah, My Brave Boys," in Songs of the South, 24. While accounts of individual Southern women's bravery in the war exists in many sources, the image of Southern women supporting the war unquestioningly was in place early enough to be prescriptive rather than descriptive, and indeed, many Southern women lost their fervor for the war as it dragged on. Drew Gilpin Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice," 1204, 1220, 1224.

47 "Kingdom Coming," in the Stonewall Song Book (Richmond, VA: West & Johnson, 1865) p. 71. Stonewall does not attribute the song to anyone. Henry Work was pro-abolition and music historians refer to "Kingdom Coming" as an emancipation song. Vera Bradsky Lawrence, Music for Patriots, Politicians, and Presidents (NY: Macmillan Pub. Co.,
Darkey stay, ho! ho! It must be now, de kingdom am a coming,/ an' de year of ju-bi-lo!" While the song was written in dialect, it differed from songs that made fun of blacks; this time the master was the butt of the joke.48

He six foot one way, two foot tudder,
An he weigh four hundred pound;
His coat so big, he couldn't pay de tailor,
an' it won't go half way round.
He drill so much dey call him captain,
An' he get so drefful tanned,
I spec he try to fool dem Yankees,
for to tink he's con-tra-band."49

Not only is the master running, but he cuts a comic figure, lacks the financial resources to pay the tailor, and is "called" Captain, although the song remains ambiguous as to whether he is really a soldier or not. A far cry from proudly asserting his Southern honor, the slaves speculate that he

48 One of the key factors in looking at these songs is determining whose voice is being heard. This song was written by a white Northern abolitionist (Henry Work) for a white audience: the Southern publisher, who remains unknown, was undoubtedly white and if the rest of the songs included in the songster are weighed in, was loyal to the Southern cause. Although the song is written from the view of an enslaved person, and it supposes how enslaved persons felt and what they would do, there are no black voices in this song. Thus while various secondary sources that look at slavery from the enslaved person's point of view or that discuss black oral traditions might lend insight to actual black voices, they cannot shed light on the white conversation that is being held in blackface. Indeed, the real question remains, what appeal did this song, whose agency is based in the slaveowner's nemesis, Northern abolition, have for the white Southerners who bundled it together with Southern patriotic songs into songsters meant to inspire and cheer the Confederacy? Jean H. Baker, Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983),218-220.

49 "Kingdom Coming," Stonewall, 71.
may try to pass as a freedman rather than be recognized as a Southern aristocrat. As the story in "Kingdom Coming" continued, the slaves moved into the "massa's parlor" where they drank his wine and cider. They counted this as no great theft as the Yankees would no doubt claim it as booty anyway.50

Not one slim shred of dignity is ever awarded to the Southern gentleman in "Kingdom Coming," yet the song appeared in songbooks that unabashedly claimed to support war effort and promoted sterling images of Southern aristocracy. Those who sang it may have thought it was so absurd and unlikely that the humor was evident. Comic songs were included in patriotic songsters, but making a plantation owner the comic foil was highly atypical. This could be an example of class struggle in war-time Southern society, particularly given the public perception that plantation owners were able to sit out the war. Plantations with over twenty slaves were allowed to have one white male on the premises in order to maintain safety and stability. Although this was often a hired overseer, and not the plantation owner, public perception was that the rich did not have to fight the war.51 This Southern version omits the last verse of the Henry Work original in which the slaves lock up the overseer and throw the key down the well. They blame the plantation owner for this turn of events as, "He's ole enough, big enough, ought to know better,/ Dan to went, an' run away."52

50 Ibid.

51 Moore, Conscription and Conflict, 71-72; McPherson, What they Fought For, 15.

52 Lawrence, Music, 392.
The specter of black violence toward whites perhaps awakened unthinkable fears for the white population. Slaves turning against overseers held no humor for the South.

It also served as a warning of what could happen if the war effort was half-hearted. Perhaps if the master had gone to battle instead of drilling at home he might not have lost his dignity and position. The mental specter of freed slaves' ridicule offered a powerful inducement to increase war effort. Indeed, the slave's observation that "I spec he's run away," presents an inversion of the status of slave and master. It is not the slave who is "running away," it is the master. If the will of others was forced upon the South, the South would be enslaved.

Other songs connect the failure to fight with slavery more directly. In the "Texan General's Address to His Army," the troops are warned that they can be true Southern men, who fight for honor, or they can be slaves. "Now's the day and now's the hour:/ See the front of battle low'r;/ Who will be a traitor knave?/ Who would fill a coward's grave?/ Who so base as be a slave?/ coward! turn and flee!" The laughter of "Kingdom Coming" might hide the gnawing fear that if the war was lost, the honor of Southern manhood could also be lost; once-proud Cavaliers could be reduced to the fools Yankees already claimed them to be.

Even more atypical is the poignant song, "Nellie Gray," set on a plantation, home of the aristocratic gentlemen usually praised by Southern songs. In this song a slave is dying from grief after his love is sold away

from him. "The white man bought her for his gain;/ They have taken her to
Georgia for to wear her life away." The grieving man is neither offered as
comic relief nor are his emotions treated as shallow. In a second version,
"Nettie Moore," it is clear that it is his wife, not his sweetheart, whom the
master sold. In both versions the motivation for selling her is money, and
it is clear her new life will be at hard labor far away. No justification is
offered for her sale, and no remorse or regret is attributed to any of the
whites involved. "Came a trader up from Louisiana bay,/ Who gave to
master money,/ and then claimed her as his own,/ And then he took her off
to work her life away." In "Nettie Moore," the husband does not die, but his
only comfort is that he will see his wife once more in heaven. Neither
version is written in dialect, and the main actor in the drama is the enslaved
man. Other war-era songs tell of love from a black perspective, including
mourning for dead wives and sweethearts, but the events in them are
personal and not tied to white society or white control of slave lives. In
"Nellie Gray" and "Nettie Moore", however, the white Southern master,
usually referred to as a gentleman, is the villain.

While it is not surprising that these songs appear in Northern
songsters, their inclusion in Southern songsters lies outside the norm for
sentiment and self-definition. Part of the Southern image of slavery as an
ideal way of life was that, unlike the Northern free-labor system, it provided
an extended family for those who owned the means of production and those

54 "Nellie Gray," in *Stonewall Song Book*, 5-6.

55 "Nettie More" in *Humor and Sentiment* (Richmond, VA, J. W.
Randolph, 1863), 14-15.
who labored for them. Ownership of slaves was justified by insisting on the benevolence of the system. Songs about slaves typically treated blacks as gratefully dependent or simple, or as an extension of the white plantation family. "My Little Ned and I," is typical of the latter type of song. In this song the slave playmate of a plantation white child has died, despite the nursing efforts of the plantation mistress, the caring ministrations of the doctor, and the loving concern of the white child. The white child reminisced about happy days with his playmate, the playmate was always "subservient to my will." The enslaved child, by this submissiveness, made the white child "gentler still." The song would have the listener believe that the black child received the love and care of his owners and the white child learned to be a better person through his ownership of the other child. Thus the institution of slavery proved benevolent or beneficial for both children, even though tragedy struck this peculiar family. "Nellie Gray," by contrast, lies far outside the typical Southern ideology concerning slavery, and the pro-slavery argument that slavery was a benevolent system that contributed to a superior Southern culture and way of life.

In reaction to the Southern self-definition as Cavalier, the North recognized the image of aristocratic chivalry as part of Southern identity, but posited it as a sham and a cover-up for decadence and immorality, or even a disease that clouded Southern judgment. Northern songs, when they spoke of chivalry, did so in a derisive manner that mocked Southern

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identity.\textsuperscript{58} The lyrics of "Camp Song," charged that "We tell you, Traitors of the South/ With all your chivalry, too/ That madness whirls your brains about,/ And you know not what you do!"\textsuperscript{59} Honor and bravery were presented as veils over baser qualities. The song, "An Idyl [sic]," nodded to Southern self-definition when it opened with the lines, "You forsooth! and valor brothers!/ You the types of knighthood's braves!"\textsuperscript{60} Its next lines, however, erased all possibility that this Northern song accepted the Southern image of knighthood and a superior culture. "Offspring of degraded mothers--/ Suckled at the dugs of slaves/ . . . Confederates in a monstrous sham."\textsuperscript{61} Whether directly noting or alluding to Southern aristocracy, many Northern songs clearly judged Southern soldiers as outside that tradition, at least as defined by the South.\textsuperscript{62} "You have called us dough-faced cowards, Said you'd meet us, two to one,/ And you've shown us how a dirty mob/ Can steal a soldier's gun."\textsuperscript{63} A mob, not knights, are part of this battle. Northern songs charged that the Southern obsession with chivalry, as well as the decadence of an aristocratic life, drugged

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 50.


\textsuperscript{60} "An Idyl," in \textit{Personal and Professional Ballads}, 233.

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid. "Dugs" are the nipples or teats of female animals.

\textsuperscript{62} These attitudes are found in a variety of contemporary sources in addition to war songs. James McPherson quotes this sort of sentiment in a letter from a Union soldier: "their cant about aristocracy is perfectly sickening." McPherson, \textit{What They Fought For}, 41.

\textsuperscript{63} "Camp Song," \textit{Songs of the Soldier}, 14.
Southern minds. The song "Freedom's Land," stated this plainly with the charge that the South was "Maddened alike with pride and whiskey."64

"The South Carolina Gentleman," which appeared in sheet music form and in many songsters, offered a much different look at aristocratic Southern manhood than did its Southern counterparts. In this song the "gentleman" is described as a "staggering, swaggering sort of chap."65 The swagger came from misplaced pride; the stagger from his weekly drinking spree. His drink, neither carefully chosen nor sipped in moderation, was whatever spirit fell closest to hand: "of everything that bears the shape of whiskey-skin,/ gin and sugar--brandy sour, peach and honey,/ irrepressible cocktail, run and gum and luscious apple-jack."66 While the South boasted of rich blood, superior to that tainted by the immigrants in the North, this song suggested that white Southern blood was not isolated at all.

you trace his genealogy, and not far you'll see,/ A most undoubted octoroon, or mayhap a mustee:/ And if you note the shaggy locks that cluster on his brow/You'll find that every other hair is varied with a kink that seldom notes pure Caucasian blood, but on the contrary betrays an admixture with a race not particularly popular now.67

Not only was the Southern gentleman a pretender to a pure and noble bloodline, he also pretended to be sophisticated and elegant. He wore flashy

64 "Freedom's Land," in Songs of the Soldiers, 194.

65 "The South Carolina Gentleman," Songs of the War, pp. 27-29.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid. Sections of this song were printed in paragraph form and most likely were spoken interludes in the singing. "Mustee," an altered form of the word mestizo, was used both as a synonym of octoroon, or to mean any persons of mixed ancestry.
clothes, indeed was often overdressed, and showed his poor manners by chewing "tobacco by the pound," and spitting it "on the floor."68 This misbegotten drunken "gentleman", given to airs, was also fond of playing cards, especially when he could cheat those who "his style don't understand." Given someone to play with whom he could cheat, "he stops to pocket all the stakes." While he didn't mind winning, he could not abide losing.

But if he loses, then he says to the unfortunate stranger who has chanced to win: "It's my opinion that you are a cursed Abolitionist, and if you don't leave South Carolina in one hour, you will be hung like a dog," but no offer to pay the loss he make.69

Once more a Northern song had charged that Southern attention to abolition was a mere ploy to divert attention from themselves and place it on their enemies. Turning tables on the Southern trend of charging the North with excessive interest in money, "South Carolina Gentleman" charges that it is the South who is more concerned with money than ideology.

Of course he's all the time in debt to those who credit give,/ Yet manages upon the best the market yields to live,/ But if a Northern creditor ask him his bill to heed,/ this honorable gentleman instantly draws his bowie knives and a pistol, dons a blue cockade, and declares that in consequence of the

68 Even by Southern accounts some of these activities found a place in a Southern gentleman's life. Wyatt-Brown quotes one of South Carolina's "few intellectual squires" as saying that there was an anti-intellectual side of Southern manhood and that most of his college days were spent "making rapid advances in smoking, chewing, playing billiards; concocting sherry cobblers, gin slings and mint juleps; . . . to say nothing of more questionable matters." Wyatt-Brown, Honor and Violence, 46.

69 Ibid., 29.
repeated aggressions of the North, and its gross violations of the Constitution, he feels that it would utterly degrade him to pay any debt whatever, and that in fact he had determined to SECEDE.70

Thus all aspects of the Southern gentleman are a sham. He is not of a singular blood line, he is not honorable, and he uses a fabricated image of himself to hide his sins and defraud others. In a similar song, "Repudiation," Southern motivations are again associated with material gain rather than with ideology.

"Oh! for a nigger, and oh! for a whip; 
Oh! for a cocktail, and oh! for a nip; 
oh! for a shot at old Greeley and Beecher; 
Oh! for a crack at a Yankee school teacher; 
oh! for a captain, and oh! for a ship; 
oh! for a cargo of niggers each trip." 
And so he kept oh-ing for all he had not, 
Not contented with owing with all that he'd got.71

"Monroe to Farragut," also addresses the image of Southern aristocrat as false.72 In this song Mayor of New Orleans John Monroe addresses Admiral David G. Farragut after Farragut's capture of the city in the spring of 1862, reminding him that Monroe was "a gentleman born," and allowing that Farragut was "almost one yourself," and might therefore understand his position.

Had you lived among us, sir, now and then, 
No one can say what you might have been. 
so refrain from any sneer or quiz

70 Ibid.

71 "Repudiation," in Songs of the War, 30.

Which may wound our susceptibilities
For my people are all refined, -like me,
While yours are all low as low can be.
As for shooting women, or children either
Or any such birds of the Union feather,
We shall in all things consult our ease,
and act exactly as we please.73

"Another Version of Dixie," presented the "chivalry" of the South much differently than it was self-defined, this time questioning the fighting ability of Confederate troops. "In Dixie land,/ the land of cotton,/ Its chivalry are famed for trottin'/ yes, away, run away,/ run away, run away./ On sea or land they will not stand,/ That's chivalry in Dixie land."74 Not only had the motivations of the South been questioned, but also the bravery of Southern warriors who enjoyed a central position in its self-definition. "The Hempen Cravat" suggested that the only suitable clothing for these warrior impostors was a cravat, or tie, of hemp (rope), for then "Southern gentlemen" could swing in style.75

Southern songs about the Union centered on the image of a Yankee Puritan, even though some Union supporters hailed from states that fell outside the Northeast, and declined to identify with the old Puritan tenets of faith; Union songs also chose to use a version of this image for self-identification. The Northern version of the Yankee was typically identified as male, although the same traits were often attributed to Yankee women. When women were the topic of discussion, Yankee and a word denoting

73 "Monroe To Farragut," attributed to the June 1862 Atlantic Monthly, in Yankee Volunteer's Songster, 64.


75 "The Hempen Cravat," in Personal and Political Ballads, 173.
female gender was used, as in "The Yankee gals work'd night and day,/ Nor thought it degradation."76 Union songs portrayed good Yankees, whether male or female, as industrious, moral, and unpretentious. As shown, many Union songs accepted the association of the Yankee and money, albeit often tying the two together in a positive way, highlighting advantages wealth could bring in war, and (by comparison with the Southern gentleman spendthrift and debtor) drawing on the positive image of a solvent businessman who carefully managed his money. The Yankee might be a merchant, but a merchant was not a dishonorable thing to be. "Lo! the merchant springs to battle/ from his Boston counting-room."77 Indeed, the merchant was given equal respect with the Jeffersonian ideal of the independent farmer. "The cattle are grazing beneath the green shade,/ The ploughshare is left in the unfurrowed glade,/ The counting-house merchant, from day-book and dues,/ is lost in the current of martial reviews."78

Although the term Yankee was used in the Revolutionary war to designate the Patriots, and although both sides of the Civil War claimed direct lineage to the spirit of the Revolution, by the Civil War the term "Yankee" held a Northeastern connotation that appears to have been understood by all, given its frequent use in numerous songs written by both sides.79 Union songs, while including references to various states, used the

77 "Baltimore," in Songs of the Soldiers, 17.
79 Both the North and the South make reference to well-known ideas of the Revolution, such as liberty and republicanism. Both claimed direct
symbol of Yankee for the Union as a whole. In the "Union Drinking Song," for example, the lyrics say, "Success to Yankee arms," rather than Union arms.80 Similarly the naval tune, "Bing, Bang, Fire Away," states, "I'm 'fore the mast for Uncle Sam./Bing, Bang, Bing, Bang, fire away,/Rigged out in Yankee blue I am."81 Again, the uniform is identified as "Yankee" instead of Union, or Federal.

The connection between Northeastern identity and culture and the rest of the country was sometimes attempted by reminding Western citizens that they originally hailed from elsewhere.82 "Ho! Yankee boys throughout the West,/Hear ye the traitor's shout,/We'll build the Union up again,/And leave New England out!"83 Ties between those who left and their region of origin was further stressed in the chorus which asked these "boys" to remember their cultural heritage and not let that happen.84 "And shall we join the rabble-cry,/At tyranny's command?/Traduce the lineage from the Revolution, and both claimed the other side had left the path set for them by the founding fathers. McPherson, What They Fought For, 6-7.


82 In part this may have been due to the East's perception that the West needed its help in becoming "civilized." Daniel Howe, The Political Culture of the American Whigs (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979),161-162.

83 "Ho! Yankee Boys throughout the West," in Songs of the Soldiers, 58.

84 Apparently Yankee "boys" were known for doing just that since transplanted New Englanders showed missionary zeal in their attempt to recreate Yankee culture in the West. Their attempts were not always appreciated. Howe, The Political Culture of the American Whigs, 162.
homes our childhood loved,/ Betray our father-land."

They may have forged new lives, but the old remained sacred. "Forget the days we rambled o'er/ Our free New England hills?" Veneration for New England and New England culture is presented as basic to Union patriotism, as is the Puritanic faith that made New England its home. "What! look with alien eyes upon/ the land where Hancock died,/ And in a vile and impious tone/ The Pilgrim's faith deride?" The New England identity, according to this and similar songs, is inseparable from Union identity. "The flag that floats o'er Plymouth Rock/ shall wave o'er Sumter's wall!" "Pilgrims' sons," would conquer the "boasting cavalier," with "Freedom's holy fires" until at last, "Yankee schools shall dot the plains,/ and Yankee churches rise,/ Till truth and light dissolves each chain/ and slavery groans and dies." Just as Southern songs feared and charged, some Yankees' intent

85 Ibid.
86 Ibid., 59.
87 Ibid.
88 Debate about the importance of Puritanism to the current United States government, or to republicanism, was not limited to regional divisions. Northern Democrats, even before the war, questioned the importance of Puritanism to contemporary society, going as far as to state that the United States government developed "in spite of" Puritanism. Howe, The Political Culture of the American Whigs, 89.
89 "Ho! Yankee Boys throughout the West," in Songs of the Soldiers, 58.
90 Ibid., 60.
in the war was to obliterate Southern culture and identity, and substitute Yankee culture and identity in its place.91

Northern and Southern songs shared a common language in their discussion of Cavaliers and Yankees, although definitions of shared vocabulary held different meanings and different value assessments. Both Northern and Southern songs thus identified chivalry as an attribute associated with the South. They differed, however, in their opinion of whether this attribute was real or a sham, and whether chivalry remained an admirable trait in contemporary society. The South looked at the aristocratic gentleman as the cultural ideal, a symbol of honorable manhood and a bulwark of defense for Southern culture. Self-criticism within this tradition limited itself to what might happen if chivalrous standards were not upheld, as with the "South Carolina Gentleman," rather than with the standards themselves. Implied was that the Southern gentleman enjoyed wealth but did not concern himself with the dirty job of calculating its care or increase, instead concentrating on honor and its physical protection. The North, on the other hand, dismissed the Southern gentleman as lacking in industry, and dissipated by decadence. His call to honor, inflated by outdated visions of knights, had pushed the South past prudence into a war that should not have begun.

The North, identified by both sides as Yankee, also found its identity in both Southern and Northern songs. Points of agreement on both sides

91 These fears were not without merit. Prior to the war, part of the Republican agenda was to promote modernization in the South as a way of undermining slavery as a labor system. Howe, The Political Culture of the American Whigs, 280-281.
include the Yankee's close association with money and religion. The South, however, tied this pursuit of wealth with greed, and lack of concern for loftier goals. Some Northern songs pointed to truth behind this charge, as they made their own allegations of moneyed self-interest. Behind the Northern songs about money, however, was a respect for money not found in Southern songs. For the North, money might mean greed, but it just as often meant industry. Hard work, an honorable activity in itself, brought the reward of money. The close care and keeping of this money could bring security, and security was a scarce commodity in times of war.

The Yankee identity was also tied, by both sides, to morality or religion. The South charged it led to sanctimonious meddling, and implied that Yankees' motives were either insincere or, by its association with Puritanism, outdated, and outside mainstream American values. The North, however, portrayed its cultural ties to the Pilgrims and Puritans as retaining traditional American values, rather than holding on to outmoded ones, and defined themselves as the righteous protectors of God's country. Thus the same words were used by both sides to paint opposing portraits of regional identities and values.
"A Hundred Years Hence": Looking Back Through War Songs

The songs of the Civil War attested to both contemporary attitudes and to songwriters' and publishers' self-awareness that they were arbiters and creators of public opinion and attitudes. They not only spoke of wartime events, and sent messages about what would and would not be tolerated, as well as what behaviors would bring acceptance, but also kept an eye toward how people and events would be remembered. Songwriter and entertainer Tony Pastor participated in this trend with the song, "A Hundred Years Hence," in which he made predictions of how future Americans would view the leaders of the past. While he was wrong in his predictions, he was correct in his belief that American interest in the war would not quickly fade. Indeed today, well beyond "A Hundred Years Hence," scholars still focus on what happened, and why, and puzzle through the meaning of it all.

The songs about the war, as windows to popular sentiments and assumptions, provide one of the best but least explored venues for greater understanding of the war and war-time culture. Since song was a universal


2 Ibid. Pastor predicted that Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, among others, would be forgotten in a hundred years, while "little McClellan, of our Army the boast," would still be alive in the nation's memory.
means of expressing ideology and group identity, multiple aspects of Civil War life and culture can be viewed through song. The songs about power and politics, however, offer a look at subjects that have especially underutilized this valuable source. Criticism and promises of approval and assimilation were offered by songwriters and song editors in an attempt to illustrate and encourage appropriate patriotic behavior during the war. In addition, songs show a shifting definition of the "norm," with those previously respected risking condemnation and those who were previously disrespected finding avenues for future acceptance.

Songs also offer insight to Civil War attitudes about hierarchy and gender, as common assumptions about both were used to vilify or beatify personifications in war songs. Songs using personifications attempted to simplify war events by placing them in familiar, and familial, contexts. While often effective as an emotional trigger, this technique failed to take into account the complexity found in personal relationships, which sometimes further muddied explanations of already-controversial, complex events.

Lastly, songs offered an opportunity for each side to define itself, and to offer definitions of the opposing side. These songs often used the same vocabulary, but to different ends. The Confederacy, therefore, could be termed "Cavalier," and the Union could be termed "Yankee" by both the North and the South, while the definitions of these words were polar opposites in meaning and value assessment. Through self-definitions and definitions by others, however, a common ground is apparent in the national definitions of the North and the South, and these regions' cultural
incompatibilities become more readily apparent. Thus the insights offered through Civil War songs bring into sharper focus the immediate and highly-charged sentiments of those who faced tragedy, crises, and a potential end to the country some felt forced to leave and others would protect at all costs.
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