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This document considers the lives and works of thirty women living in the Confederate States during the American Civil War. The works they produced are songs published as sheet music in the South during and shortly after that conflict. Some wrote lyrics, some music, some both, and one arranged the lyrics and music of her husband for the piano. These works reflect the women's feelings regarding the conflict, their perceptions of women's roles in relation to it, their definitions of the South as their country, and their identities as Southerners.

The material is organized in six chapters and arranged topically and in more or less chronological order. After the introductory Foreword of Chapter One, Chapter Two deals with the initial burst of patriotism expressed in the songs produced early in the war. These songs define the South as a country and invoke the blessings of Deity. The songs discussed in Chapter Three, also produced early in the war, extol the new flag and early victories. The songs in Chapter Four reflect the onset of war's harsh realities that plagued Southerners by the middle of the war: separation anxiety, loneliness, death, and deprivations. The songs of Chapter Five are calls for peace and post-war tributes to the dead. An Afterword concludes the document in Chapter Six.

One concludes from the study of these women's lives and works that they harbored strong feelings about the war and that the writing and publishing of poetry and music was seen as an acceptable means of expressing those feelings. The literacy and/or musical training demonstrated in these songs reflect a level of education typical of middle

and upper-class Southern women of the period. Additional biographical study reveals the perseverance with which these women faced not only the war and its outcome, but also the professional limitations and the social restrictions with which they had to contend.

SOUTHERN WOMEN, SOUTHERN VOICES:
CIVIL WAR SONGS BY
SOUTHERN WOMEN

by

Mary Lee Cooke

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Approved by

Committee Chair

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To the memory of my great-grandparents,

Acenith Ervin Cook

and

Moses Sydney Cook, Private, Company C, 48th Regiment, NC Infantry, CSA

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of
The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Committee Chair _____

Committee Members _____

Date of Acceptance by Committee

Date of Final Oral Examination

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CHAPTER I

FOREWORD

The great cataclysmic conflagration that rent this country asunder in the middle of the nineteenth century unquestionably impacted the lives of generations of Americans. Whether one calls it the War Between the States, the War of Northern Aggression, the War for Southern Independence, or simply the Recent Unpleasantness, the American Civil War¹ remains the watershed event of our nation's history, defining forever the term "union." Indeed, as the late Mississippi writer and Civil War historian Shelby Foote noted in Ken Burns' landmark documentary,² the Civil War changed us from a plural, the United States "are," to a singular, the United States "is," nation.

Ever since the ante-bellum days of fire-eaters and abolitionists, the conflict has deeply affected the lives of millions of people. Many people directly involved in the war found in poetry and music an ideal means of expressing their feelings about the events unfolding around them. In their poems and song lyrics, combatants and those who waited at home expressed strong patriotism and love of country. Soldiers vented their frustration with the routine of camp life and military regulations, and both men and women lamented the pain of separation. Some writers presented idealized scenes of battlefield heroics and death. As death became a more tangible reality, lyrics reflected grief over the fallen, admiration for the nobility of sacrifice, and sometimes, an irrevocable and everlasting

¹ The conflict will hereafter and throughout this paper be referred to as the "Civil War."

² *The Civil War*, produced and directed by Ken Burns and Ric Burns, 11 hrs. 21 min., Florentine Films, 1989, PBS Television Documentary.

resentment, even hatred, toward a victorious enemy. At war's end, while Northerners produced songs celebrating the victorious return of their men, Southerners wrote songs in memory of their dead.

During the war years, many women were left at home working farms or managing plantations in the absence of their husbands, brothers, fathers, and sons. Many sought ways to involve themselves in the conflict and support the South. Some actually disguised themselves as men and went to the battlefield. Most found more traditional outlets such as working in hospitals, making bandages, making and presenting flags, sending what we would call "care packages," and organizing fundraising events. Many women found in the writing of poetry or in the composition of music a readily accessible and acceptable means of supporting the cause and the soldiers. In their creative endeavors they were able to demonstrate their belief in the rightness of their cause, the invincibility of the South, and the aggressive "tyranny" of the North. Some expressed in their lyrics the belief that the necessity of sacrifice on the home front was a vital part of their contribution. Others wrote about the separation from loved ones and the accompanying loneliness. At least one called for peace and an end to the pain, deprivation, and bloodshed. Finally, songs memorializing the dead accompanied the decoration of their graves and honored their sacrifice.

The purpose of this document is to investigate the role of Southern women in the creation of songs relating to the American Civil War. I say "relating to" instead of "during" because some of these songs were published in the years immediately following the cessation of hostilities, and some published during the war were not relevant to the

concurrent conflict. The latter are not included in this study. All of the songs considered here were published as sheet music; song sheets, broadsides, and songsters are excluded. Instrumental music is not included, and neither are songs by Northern women. I have not found any songs by African-American women among published works, but many may well have existed in the oral tradition, which is outside the scope of this study. Among the most popular Civil War songs are many about women, but written by men. These will also be excluded. I have also chosen not to include the Carys or Annie Chambers Ketchum.³

This paper will consider thirty-five songs that involved the creative output of thirty women. Eighteen of these women produced words that were set to music by others, while six set the words of others to music. Two wrote both the words and music, and one arranged the words and melodies of her husband. Three women chose to have their work published anonymously. These women, well-educated and articulate, represent the middle and upper classes of ante-bellum Southern society. To my knowledge, none belonged to the yeoman, or poorer Southern working class, nor were any African-American. Every state of the Confederacy, except Arkansas, is represented here, as well as Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri. It is true that four, and perhaps five, of these women were foreign-born, and one was born in the North, but their poems and music were written and published in the South during the war years. Most of the women

³ Hetty and Jenny Cary and their cousin, Constance, set James Randall's "Maryland, My Maryland" to the Latin tune "Lauriger Horatius," better known to most of us as the German Christmas carol "O Tannenbaum." Much has already been written about them and their activities. Also, to date, I have not been able to find out anything about Jenny, the one largely responsible for the familiar setting. Annie Chambers Ketchum wrote new words for Harry McCarthy's "The Bonnie Blue Flag." She considered McCarthy's lyrics doggerel and hers a great improvement. All of the publications of the song that I found contained McCarthy's original text.

included here were either married or widowed; only three remained single throughout their lives. Several gained notoriety as novelists and poets in their lifetimes. Many were educators, who taught a variety of subjects in a variety of venues. One supplemented her teaching income with painting and photography. Only two, both born in England to theatrical families, were professional performers. It can not be stated with certainty that these women speak for all Southern women living during the Civil War period, but they definitely found in the publishing of poems and songs a viable means of expressing their responses to the changing world around them.

Interest in the American Civil War has never waned in certain segments of our population, but in recent years it has grown considerably and even spread beyond our national borders. Re-enactors, representing both sides of the conflict, camp in period style and stage mock battles at original sites. Library shelves groan under the weight, not only of primary and historic volumes, but of works by contemporary writers analyzing and re-analyzing every aspect of those years. The internet provides innumerable websites devoted to every conceivable topic of interest to Civil War buffs and researchers. Gleaning appropriate information from such a vast array of sources is challenging. The following titles represent a sampling of those resources available.

An important work and the springboard, so to speak, for this research is *Singing the New Nation*, by E. Lawrence Abel.⁴ In this book, Abel discusses the ways in which music shaped the Confederate national image. Presenting the songs thematically and in more or less chronological order, he emphasizes the way in which Southerners defined

⁴ (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2000).

themselves and their cause in their songs. He writes that the songs “articulated Southern consciousness and disseminated it to the general population, largely illiterate and therefore unreachable through print.”⁵ Thus, music was an important and extremely effective tool. He also states that many of these songs were written by Southern women, but that “despite their pervasive influence, almost nothing has been written about them.”⁶ Abel refers to many of the songs considered in this document, but the significance of women as their creators is not emphasized.

Mothers of Invention is one of many excellent texts pertaining to the Civil War written by Drew Gilpin Faust.⁷ In this volume Faust offers an incisive look into the Southern culture of the war years and the role of slave-holding women in it. She discusses how women adapted to the sometimes overwhelming changes taking place in their lifestyles. Due to the departure of their men, they were now thrust into the role of master. They had to manage a slave household in addition to enduring a forced separation from their husbands, brothers, and sons. For many, writing provided an important outlet, but the book makes no mention of the composition and publication of song lyrics and music.

There are many other general texts about Southern women and their wartime experiences. These include *Within the Plantation Household* by Elizabeth Fox-Genovese⁸ and *Confederate Women* edited by Mauriel Phillips Joslyn.⁹ In the first of these, Fox-Genovese deals with the changing relationship between white mistress and black slave.

⁵ Abel, xvii.

⁶ Abel, xvi.

⁷ (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

⁸ (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

⁹ 2nd ed. (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Co., 2004).

She discusses the writing of poems, novels, and diaries by specific women. Joslyn has compiled ten essays, two of her own and eight by other authors, which discuss how women functioned in a variety of roles during the conflict. She discusses one writer, Margaret Junkin Preston, sister-in-law of Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson, but none of Mrs. Preston’s work is included in this study.

Another valuable resource is *American Women Composers Before 1870* by Judith Tick.¹⁰ In her chapter devoted to the mid-nineteenth-century, Tick provides a comprehensive discussion of the education offered by female seminaries during that period. She describes this period as a woman’s “place in the parlor.”¹¹ She talks briefly about songs pertaining to the Civil War and mentions a few of the women in this study. Several women are discussed in more detail, but they are all Northern women. As a general source about women composers, their opportunities, accomplishments, and acceptance, this volume is both helpful and informative.

Another book by Abel, *Confederate Sheet Music*,¹² has proved an invaluable resource for studying lyrics. It has been very helpful when checking words that are not clear on the original sheet music. In addition, Frank Hoogerwerf’s *Confederate Sheet Music Imprints*¹³ provides an excellent listing of repositories with names of composers, lyricists, dedicatees, and publishers.

Among some of the most important sources for this study have been biographical writings from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These include *Women of the*

¹⁰ *Studies in Musicology*, no. 57 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983).

¹¹ Tick., 73.

¹² (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., Inc., 2004).

¹³ *ISAM Monographs*, no. 21 (Brooklyn: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1984).

South Distinguished in Literature by Julia D. Freeman, using the name Mary Forrest,¹⁴ *The Living Writers of the South*, written by James Wood Davidson,¹⁵ and Mary Tardy's *Southland Writers: Biographical and Critical Sketches of the Living Female Writers of the South, With Extracts From Their Writings*, which appeared under the pseudonym Ida Raymond.¹⁶ Two of the important biographical dictionaries which appeared early in the twentieth century were the *Library of Southern Literature*, jointly compiled and edited by Edwin Anderson Alderman, Joel Chandler Harris, and Charles William Kent¹⁷ and *The Twentieth-Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans* produced by Rossier Johnson and John Howard Brown.¹⁸ All of these have proven to be helpful sources of biographical information about women who, although well-known in their lifetimes, are overlooked in most contemporary biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias. Other important sources of information have been nineteenth-century newspapers, census records, and vital statistics, i.e. birth, marriage, and death records.

Several journals have provided relevant information. The *Confederate Veteran* was published from 1893 until 1934 in Nashville, Tennessee. Its stated purpose was to establish communication between Confederate veterans and those interested in them and their affairs. Much of the information provided can be considered primary, war veterans being eyewitnesses. Issues almost always included war poetry, and several of the women in this study are represented. Two contemporary periodicals which deal exclusively with

¹⁴ (New York: Charles B. Richardson, 1866).

¹⁵ (New York: Carlton Publishers, 1869).

¹⁶ (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, 1870). Mrs. Tardy went on to edit a revised version, published in 1872 by the same company. Titled *The Living Female Writers of the South*, it was published without the pseudonym.

¹⁷ (Atlanta: The Martin and Hoyt Co., 1907-1910).

¹⁸ (Boston: Biographical Society, 1897-1904).

the war are the *Civil War Times Illustrated*, published by the Weider History Group in Leesburg, Virginia, beginning in April of 1962, and *Civil War History*, published by the Kent State University Press, beginning in March of 1955. Both are still in continuous publication today. These two publications effectively cover all aspects of the war and are important sources of information. Also helpful is the *Journal of Southern History*, published by the Southern Historical Association which maintains offices at Rice University in Houston, Texas, and the University of Georgia at Athens, Georgia. Publication of this journal began in February of 1935 and still continues today. It offers articles covering other topics of Southern history and culture. All three include many excellent articles about Civil War music and articles about the role of women in the conflict, but no articles deal exclusively with the writing of songs by women.

Valuable information has been found at the following libraries:

the Public Library of Charlotte-Mecklenburg County in Charlotte, North Carolina; the Rowan County Public Library in Salisbury, North Carolina; the Tennessee State Library and Archives in Nashville; the Hoskins Library at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville; the Adkins Library at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte; the Zachary Smith Reynolds Library at Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, North Carolina; the Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; and the Little Library at Davidson College in Davidson, North Carolina.

The purpose of this research is to find out who these women were and to discover what their creative work said, not only about the war, but also about themselves. Their “works” in some cases are the poems that have been set to music, and sometimes are the

musical settings themselves. In one instance the woman discussed arranged the given melody for piano accompaniment. As the life of each woman is discussed, her particular contribution, words or music, will be discussed. Biographical study reveals who they were in terms of family, social status, education, and life experience. Their works reflect their definition of themselves as Southerners embarking on a new nationalism and saluting a new flag. The works presented are songs that were published as sheet music during or shortly after the war years. These songs are presented in a variety of topical categories according to their lyrical content. These categories are arranged in three large sections representing the early years of the war, the middle years of the war, and the final defeat. Early songs, addressed in Chapters II and III, express love for the South, the invincibility of the South, the rights of the South, and the call to arms in defense of the South. As the war progresses, in Chapter IV, the songs begin to reflect the pain of separation, the deprivations at home, and the reality of death. Some call for peace and an end to the bloodshed. Songs, in Chapter V, published shortly after the war deal with remembering the dead and their sacrifice, and getting on with life.

These women were ordinary individuals caught up in an extraordinary conflict, and their lives were greatly impacted by the events they experienced. For many, the loss of loved ones and property changed forever their economic and social status. Their published works provide valuable commentary on these events and insight into the women's feelings regarding them. Although not as personal as diaries and letters, the poems and song lyrics written by these women indicate their belief in the cause for which their men were fighting and the importance of defending their Southern way of life. It is

not the purpose of this study to provide a qualitative analysis of these lyrics and musical settings, but to consider their content. It is often necessary to look past the nineteenth-century language to do that. In reproducing the lyrics, care has been taken to maintain the accuracy of the original spelling and punctuation in order to maintain the feel and flavor of the language.

Several questions arise: What did these women think about the war? How did they see themselves in relation to it and the society in which they lived? Were their perceptions appreciably different from those of the men around them? These are questions worthy of consideration. In addition, these women deserve to be known and heard. Women of later generations who have dealt with the impact of war want to know how their predecessors persevered in similar circumstances. Learning about these women, their lives, and their experiences opens a timely window upon our own lives and experiences. Also, for years we have viewed history through the eyes of men although women certainly had a part in making it. In the nineteenth century, except for the books previously cited by Freeman and Tardy, and a very few others, scholarly historical research was carried on by men. The earliest dissertations and theses that I have found by women were written in 1916 and 1929. Only in more recent decades have women joined in the research and writing of books, dissertations, and journal articles. Lastly, I have been unable, thus far, to find any research dealing specifically with Civil War songs produced by women. It is an area that has been sorely neglected. These songs, in addition to journals, diaries, letters, and newspaper articles of the time, provide us with another window through which to view the women of the Civil War period.

CHAPTER II

GRAND AND GLORIOUS HOPES

In the years immediately prior to the opening volleys fired upon Fort Sumter, the very air seemed charged with anticipation. Many Southerners eagerly waited for war and their subsequent “independence” from the Union. In spite of the seemingly advantageous position of the more industrialized North, Southerners believed in their own invincibility and created songs and poems which reflected that attitude. They firmly believed in the rightness of their cause, the blessings of Almighty God, their superior “cavalier” ancestry, and Europe’s reliance on cotton.

Even before secession, Southerners already thought of their homeland as a separate country. Compared to the cold Northern “clime,” the South was a virtual idyllic Eden, basking in the warm sunshine that represented the blessings of Divine Providence. Although the North was portrayed as being aggressive and tyrannical, the South proceeded resolutely, firm in the belief that Northerners lacked the will to endure to the end. They saw themselves as noble and stouthearted, willing to fight to the death if need be. All of these themes recur in the earliest songs of the war, represented in this opening chapter by “Song of the South” with words by Lena Lyle, “Alabama” with words by Julia Finley Shelton, and “Old Cotton is King!” with music by Delia Wright Jones.

The Land We Love

Lena Lyle wrote the words to “Song of the South” and James H. Huber set them to music.¹⁹ According to the sheet music cover, she was from Tennessee, and according to poems published in the *Memphis Appeal* in 1858, she was from the town of Jackson, a town in the western part of the state.²⁰ Many of her poems were published in various literary magazines in Boston and Philadelphia between 1858 and 1861.²¹ These poems contain familiar nineteenth-century themes of motherly love, the strong ties of friendship, the beauty of nature, and dependence upon God. The theme of death, especially that of children, also recurs often. At least one poem is humorous, relating the story of a hostess who burns her dinner. Several of her lyrics were set to music as early as 1857 and as late as 1870.²²

Across the top of the Tennessee publication of the song appeared the phrase “Kentucky and Tennessee Join Hands.” (See Appendix B, Figures 1a and 1b, p.189-190.) Lyle was from Tennessee and Huber hailed from Kentucky, representing collaboration between the two states. On the cover appeared two crossed Confederate flags; one labeled “The flag as it is” and the other, “The flag as it will be,” each having a different number of stars. Interestingly, the type used in the printing of the title of the Tennessee version appeared Gothic: red, gold, and black, and dripping with blood. The lettering on the

¹⁹ (Nashville: James A. McClure, 1861) and (Louisville: D. P. Faulds and Co., 1861).

²⁰ 7 March 1858; p. 2, c. 6; 23 May 1858; p. 4, c. 1.

²¹ Various nineteenth-century literary magazines have been accessed through Proquest. These include *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* (Boston, 1855-1859), *Flag of Our Union* (Boston, 1854-1870), *Peterson's Magazine* (Philadelphia, 1849-1862), and *Ballou's Dollar Monthly Magazine* (Boston, 1855-1862). Available from <http://uncg.edu/dbs/>; accessed 26 February 2006.

²² Anton Shide, “The Haunted Well of Alocaste” (Albany: J. H. Hidley, 1859); Anton Shide, “Nellie Rest Thee” (St. Louis: Balmer and Weber, 1857); Florence Linley, “Step Mother,” or “Memories of Home” (Louisville: D. P. Faulds, 1870).

Kentucky version looked patriotic in red, white, and blue, perhaps to appeal to Kentucky unionists. Southerners had high hopes of Kentucky joining the Confederacy.

Lyle's text reflects the soon-to-be familiar themes of Southern pride, fervor, and invincibility:

Hurrah for the South, the glorious South, the land of song and story!
Her name shall ring, and the world shall sing her honor, fame and glory!
For the skies above, that have smiled in love, are dark with heart-fires burning;
She rises in might to defend the right, on her treach'rous brethren turning.

Chorus: Sons of the South arise! Arise! For never shall fall upon her,
The land we love all the earth above, one stain of dark dishonor.

Hurrah for the South, the glorious South! With her great heart proudly beating;
She takes her stand at Freedom's hand, and dreams not of retreating.
Oh! Southern boys for their fireside joys, with their hearts so brave and tender,
Will relentlessly fight, and to death's dark night alone will they surrender.

Chorus: Sons of the South, etc.

No Northern hand shall rule this land! To the breeze give Freedom's banner!
As its glowing folds o'er our land unrolls, from mountain and savannah;
O'er river and lake the sound shall break, and swell with thundering glory,
Hurrah for the South! the noble South! The land of war and story.

Chorus: Sons of the South, etc.

The repeated chorus is a call to arms which reiterates love of fatherland and defense of honor as the motivating forces behind the fight. The opening lines tout the South as a glorious land of tradition and heritage, having a name known beyond national boundaries. The Southern fight is a defensive response to Northern aggression. It is a fight for the right, freedom, and "fireside joys," or hearth and home. It is a fight that is relentless and to the death, if need be. The flag, representing freedom, will fly over the

entire South, united against attempted Northern tyranny. In the last phrase, “land of song and story” is changed to “land of war and story.”

Lyle expresses themes that will become common to most of the war poetry of the period. She obviously loves her country, the South, and believes it to be the greatest of all countries. Her references to Southern men as boys with “hearts so brave and tender” and fighting for “fireside joys” reflect affection for them as well as faith in their ability to fight. Throughout the poem there is a tone of pride, confidence, and defiance. This will also be typical of other war poetry of the time.

Not only were songs written which glorified the entire South, but some songs praised individual states. One of these was “Alabama” by Laura Lorrimer (Julia Finley Shelton) with music by J. W. Groschel.²³ Julia G. Finley was born in Tennessee, in September of 1829.²⁴ After her marriage to John A. Shelton in Huntsville, Alabama, on December 20, 1855,²⁵ they lived in Bellefonte, Alabama, where he was a merchant. They raised two children, Eugene and Viola.²⁶ In the years between 1860 and 1870 her husband’s real estate and personal value decreased, presumably due to the intervening war and his retirement.²⁷ He died in December of 1877, leaving Julia a widow. At some point she moved back to her home state and lived part of the next two decades in

²³ (Mobile: J. H. Snow, 1861). Interestingly, the song is dedicated, probably by Groschel, to Rev. A. J. Battle, the father of another woman in this study, Ann Judson Battle Harrell.

²⁴ 1900 US Census, Harve, Chouteau County, Montana.

²⁵ Pauline Jones Gandrud, comp., *Marriage, Death, and Legal Notices from Early Alabama Newspapers, 1819-1893* (Easley, SC: The Reverend Siles Emmett Lewis, Jr., 1981; reprint, Greenville, SC: Southern Historical Press, Inc., 1994), 561.

²⁶ 1860 US Census, Bellefonte, Jackson County, Alabama.

²⁷ 1870 US Census, Scottsboro, Jackson County, Alabama. His real estate value dropped from \$1400 to \$150 and his personal value from \$7500 to \$400.

Chattanooga, Tennessee.²⁸ Her volume of poems, *A Voice From the South*, was published in 1882.²⁹ By 1900 she was living in Montana with her widowed daughter Viola. In the census records she was listed as the head of household and was an unemployed school teacher. She derived some income from a lodger in the home.³⁰ Julia Finley Shelton died in Montana on June 10, 1919, at the age of 89.³¹

According to Mary T. Tardy, Shelton's poems, under the name Laura Lorrimer, were published in both Northern and Southern magazines including *Godey's Lady's Book*, *Field and Fireside*, and the *Louisville Journal*.³² The last was published in Kentucky by poet/journalist George D. Prentice (1802-1870).³³ Apparently Prentice was a mentor of Shelton and several other writers, Tardy referring to Shelton as a member of Prentice's "galaxy of poets."³⁴ In the preface of *A Voice From the South*, Shelton herself acknowledged Prentice's "kind encouragement and praise."³⁵ Her admiration was such that her daughter's middle name was Prentice.³⁶

Julia Shelton's poetry was not only published, but it was presented in public events. One such event was a flag presentation that took place in Bellefonte on May 25, 1861. The young ladies of the town presented a flag to the Jackson Hornets (presumably, a regiment.) During the ceremony, the young women, each representing a seceded

²⁸ Robert Brooks Casey, "Shelton Family History"; available from <http://www.rcasey.net/shelton/shestaart.htm>; accessed 9 January 2007.

²⁹ (Nashville: Southern Methodist Printing House).

³⁰ 1900 US Census, Harve, Chouteau County, Montana.

³¹ Montana Death Index, 1907-2002; available from <http://search.ancestry.com>; accessed 11 January 2007.

³² Tardy, 285.

³³ Sherry Chandler, *George D. Prentice*; available from <http://sherrychandler.com/?p=838>; accessed 11 January 2007.

³⁴ Tardy, 285.

³⁵ Shelton, 5.

³⁶ 1860 US Census, Bellefonte, Jackson County, Alabama.

Southern state, came forward and recited lines especially written for the occasion by Shelton. Notices of the event appeared in newspapers in North Carolina and Texas.³⁷ As many other Southern women, Shelton undoubtedly saw this as another opportunity and venue to show her support for the soldiers and the cause.

The poem “Alabama” appeared in Shelton’s published collection of poems in a section devoted strictly to poems of the war. She was reticent about including these particular poems: “The old animosity and bitterness are dying out with the dying years – should not these songs, written amid the heat of ‘lost and won battlefields,’ die too?” The insistence of friends resulted in the inclusion of the war poems, and it was these friends to whom she dedicated them.³⁸ The words to “Alabama” express not only Shelton’s pride as a Southerner, but her strong feelings as to the pre-eminence of her home state.

Over vale and over mountain, Pealing forth in triumph strong,
Comes a lofty swell of music – Alabama’s gathering-song.
In the new-born arch of glory, Lo! she burns, the central star;
Never shame shall blight its grandeur, Never cloud its radiance mar!

Chorus: Alabama! Alabama! Listen, Southrons, to the strain;
Alabama! Alabama! Shout the rallying-cry again!

As the gulf-waves, rushing shoreward, Break in music-echoes grand,
Alabama sends this greeting Proudly to her sister band –
This her *ultimatum*, burning In each heart of Southern flame;
“Peace, if gained not by dishonor; But far better death than shame.”

Chorus: Alabama! Alabama!, etc.

Let the “Northern lion,” couchant On his bleak and frozen plain,
Lift his shaggy front in wonder, And, defiant, shake his mane!

³⁷ *Semi-weekly Raleigh Register* (Raleigh, NC), 6 July 1861; *Republican* (Marshall, TX), 13 July 1861.

³⁸ Shelton, 212.

Sunward soars the mighty eagle, And where blossom brighter bowers
Than amid the green savannas Of this sunny land of ours.

Chorus: Alabama! Alabama!, etc.

And her sons will rise in legions, Bleed and die at her behest,
Ere a hostile Northern footstep Trample conqueror on her breast.
This the faith she plights her sisters In this glorious Southern band;
Side by side she will be with them, Heart with heart, and hand with hand.

Chorus: Alabama! Alabama!, etc.

Whether or not Groschel commissioned these words as lyrics or simply set the pre-existing poem to music, Shelton certainly conceived of the lines as lyrics, since she referred to them as a song in her published collection. Several factors lend themselves to the musicality of the poem. The rhythmic regularity of the lines is typical of poetry of the period and is consistent throughout. The form is strophic with a repeated chorus. In addition, Shelton has included many musical-sounding terms in her word choices: pealing, swell of music, to the strain, grand music echoes, rallying cry.

As in other Southern Civil War poetry, a clear difference is made between the North and South in terms of climate: the Northern “bleak and frozen plain” as opposed to the sunny Southern land full of blossoming “brighter bowers” and “green savannas.” There are also familiar references to death before dishonor and the glorious South. Shelton calls Alabama the “central star,” since the Confederate government was established first in Alabama, with Montgomery as its capital.³⁹ She stresses unity among the “sister band” of states: “Side by side she will be with them, heart with heart, and hand

³⁹ It was the end of May, 1861, when Virginia entered the Confederacy, that Richmond was named the capital. The Civil War Preservation Trust, 2007; available from http://www.civilwar.org/historyclassroom/hc_capitalcitieshist.htm; accessed 12 October 2007.

with hand.” Pre-eminent in leadership, Alabama’s heart-felt commitment will be put into action. The term “Southron” in the chorus is an archaic Scottish term for Southerner, popular among Southerners because it related to their sense of their chivalric past.⁴⁰ This term occurred often in Southern Civil War songs.

Most striking are the analogies in the last two verses. The North is presented as a “couchant” lion. The term *couchant*, in heraldry, refers specifically to a lion reclining with head uplifted. This is no ordinary lion in the wild, but a symbol of royalty, strength, and arrogance. The term “front” means more than simply the face. The lion has been aroused and is facing forward in an aggressive and defiant position. The lion is obviously masculine; it has a shaggy mane. The Southern states are a band of sisters whose pure, radiant glory must be protected by her sons. The “hostile Northern footstep” must not be allowed to “trample conqueror on her breast.” Sons will rise up *en masse* and willingly die to keep this from happening. Here we see a clear picture of a strong and aggressive male attempting the violation of a weaker female who must, according to the demands of honor, be defended by her stronger male relative.

The Land of Cotton

The song “Old Cotton is King!,” with music by Delia Wright Jones, was published in 1862⁴¹ to lyrics written by George Pope Morris (1802-1864). Delia B.

⁴⁰ Abel, *Confederate Sheet Music*, 9. *Southron* is an archaic Scottish term for Southerner. It occurs often in Southern Civil War songs. The word carries a sense of chivalric knighthood, an image taken from the novels of Sir Walter Scott, which were popular in the South in the years prior to the war. Often present in Scott’s novels was the theme of defending one’s country from the invasion of outsiders. Southerners found a parallel between the Scots’ defense of their homeland against the Saxons and their own fight against Northern aggression.

⁴¹ (New Orleans: Blackmar and Co., 1862).

Wright was born in Vermont about 1831, the daughter of a shoemaker.⁴² Apparently unwilling to sit and wait to be married and supported by a husband, she received an education and came to North Carolina to teach. She was in North Carolina by 1856, for it was on March 11 of that year that she married William Borden Jones.⁴³ A North Carolina native, W. B. Jones was also an educator and a Baptist pastor. In July, 1858 she presented a paper, "Manner of Educating Females," at the second annual meeting of the North Carolina Education Association in Statesville⁴⁴ and in New Bern in June of the following year. It was also published in 1859 in *The North Carolina Journal of Education*.⁴⁵

In 1859, when W. B. Jones was named the principal of the Warsaw Baptist Seminary in Duplin County, North Carolina,⁴⁶ Mrs. Jones was placed in charge of the female department. Apparently the school had previously suffered some financial setbacks and struggled with enrollment, and the Joneses were expected to put things right. Reports in the *Biblical Recorder*, the publication of the state Southern Baptist Association, spoke highly of their progress. During their tenure at Warsaw, Mrs. Jones' articles and poems appeared often in the *Recorder*. She wrote articles about the superficial subject matter chosen by women writers, the lack of politeness at church, and a visit to a Confederate hospital. Her writings reveal an articulate individual who readily

⁴² 1850 US Census, Grand Isle, Grand Isle County, Vermont.

⁴³ The *Biblical Recorder* (Raleigh, NC), 27 March 1856, p. 3, c. 3.

⁴⁴ B. G. Northrup, "Resident Editor's Department: Educational Associations," *The Connecticut Common School Journal and Annals of Education* 5 (October 1858): 307.

⁴⁵ Delia W. Jones, "Manner of Educating Females," *The North Carolina Journal of Education*, 2 (August 1859): 227-37.

⁴⁶ The *Biblical Recorder*, 13 October 1859. In the 1860 US Census, Magnolia, Duplin County, North Carolina, they were listed as teachers, had a daughter, Frances, and had an estate value of \$1100.

and successfully expressed her strongly held opinions. At least one poem pertained to the war. Her “To the Duplin Riflemen” was presented to that regiment at a public dinner by the “young ladies of the Baptist Seminary” when the troops departed for the war. It was sung to the tune of “The Old North State.”⁴⁷

In 1862 Mrs. Jones advertised herself as a painter of portraits. The advertisement ran in the *Recorder* fourteen times from January 22 until April 16:

Mrs. D. W. Jones takes this method of making known to the public that she is prepared to paint life-size PORTRAITS in oils, either from the person or from likenesses, Daguerreotype or Ambrotype. The lineaments of present or departed friends can thus be secured in a life-like and permanent manner. Terms: From life, \$25; From likeness, \$20.

Here we see not only another artistic facet of this multi-talented woman, but her initiative in approaching another avenue of income for her family.

While her husband served as a chaplain in the Confederate army from March of 1863 until November of 1864, Delia Jones may have continued to live in Duplin County. Whether or not she continued to teach at the seminary is unknown. None of the advertisements concerning the seminary that appear in the *Recorder* after 1862 mention her or her husband.

In 1870 the Joneses were living in Greenville, South Carolina. His occupation was minister and hers, photographer.⁴⁸ Photography was a relatively new technology. Here was a woman, approaching forty years of age, who was still learning, still taking up

⁴⁷ The *Biblical Recorder*, 20 (or 26) April 1861, date partially illegible. “The Old North State” was a poem written by William Joseph Gaston (1778-1844), set to a traditional German melody, and published in 1844. In 1927 it was officially named the state song of North Carolina. Available from http://www.netstate.com/states/symb/song/nc_old_north_state.htm; accessed 16 July 2007.

⁴⁸ US Census, Greenville, Greenville County, South Carolina.

new things. Evidently she also felt that she shared with her husband the responsibility of providing income for the family. Sometime before 1880 they moved to Henry County, Tennessee, where he was a minister and she was keeping house. Their only child, Frances, then twenty- three, still lived with them.⁴⁹ In 1900, still in Henry County, W. B Jones was married to someone else and had been for five years; hence, Delia Wright Jones died sometime between 1880 and 1895.⁵⁰

George Pope Morris' lyrics present something of a puzzle. He was a Northerner and decidedly pro-Union, a stance evidenced in some of his other writings. He considered the Southern "cause" a rebellion. The poem was published before the war began,⁵¹ but with all the ante-bellum anticipation in the air, it is hard to imagine that he did not make a connection. Perhaps his lyrics were meant to be sarcastic:

Old Cotton is King, boys, aha!
With his locks so fleecy and white!
He shines among kings like a star!
And his is the sceptre of right!

Old Cotton the King, has no care,
No queen and no heir to his throne,
No courtiers his triumph to share,
He rules his dominions alone!

Old Cotton, the merry old boy!
Like smoke from the pipe in his mouth,
His years glide away in their joy,
At home, in the warm sunny South!

Old Cotton will pleasantly reign,
When other kings painfully fall,

⁴⁹ US Census, District 1, Henry County, Tennessee.

⁵⁰ US Census, District 3, Henry County, Tennessee.

⁵¹ George Pope Morris, *Poems* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1860).

And ever and ever remain
The mightiest monarch of all!

Then here's to Old Cotton, the King!
His true royal subjects are we;
We'll laugh and we'll quaff and we'll sing
A jolly old fellow is he!

Jones set the five verses of the poem in rousing musical style for solo voice and piano accompaniment. (See Appendix B, Figure 2, p. 191.) After the melody is introduced in an eight-bar piano introduction, the voice takes it up over a repetitive arpeggiated accompaniment; an additional six measures allow for three repetitions of the last line of each verse, thereby emphasizing that part of the text. The accompaniment of the last four measures changes to a thick chordal texture. She does not include a typical four-part choral refrain. There are some aspects of the vocal line that reflect the Italianate style of the early nineteenth century: a florid appoggiatura, a descending melodic line ending with a sudden upward leap before the final tonic resolution, and a syncopated repetition of that final melodic figure.

A Call to Arms: Formez vos Bataillons!

The belief in European dependence upon King Cotton was only one factor that emboldened the South to strike out on its ultimately self-destructive path. Several other themes presented themselves in the literature and music created with the onset of war. Many songs published at the beginning of the war called upon Southern men to take up arms and defend their homeland, their way of life, their wives, and their sisters. To disregard the call was considered unmanly, cowardly, and dishonorable. The advent of war was presented as one of Northern aggression and attempted tyranny. The Southern

response was deemed a fight for freedom and liberty, white Southern freedom and liberty. This meant, of course, the freedom and liberty of Southern whites from Northern enslavement, not African-American slavery.

Calls to arms appeared in both English and French. Songs considered here are Alice Rhine's "Our Country's Call" and two settings of the familiar French tune that later became that country's national anthem. "Our Country's Call" was published in New Orleans in 1861,⁵² and the music was composed by H. Walther, possibly Henry Walther, a composer living and working at the time. According to the sheet music cover, Rhine was from Texas. Her lyrics speak directly to the men of the South:

To arms! Oh! men in all our Southern clime,
Do you not scent the battle from afar,
And hear the ringing clash of armor chime,
Where men have met all panoplied for war?
To arms! Let not your Country call in vain
For willing hearts to shield her from the foe,
But let the ardor, let the ardor of a patriot's fame
Brightly within each manly bosom glow.

To arms! in this, your country's hour of need!
Behold her beautiful and broad domain,
And say, if patriot hearts shall freely bleed
To keep it sacred from invasions stain?
To arms! and don the Panoply of War,
Stay not like cowards from the battlefield;
But with your armor, with your armor on march where the roar
Of cannon tell you that your brothers bleed.

The trumpet and the clarion sound to arms:
The noisy drum in solemn Echo beats,
And martial music, robed in all her charms,
The magic words To arms! To arms! repeats.

⁵² (New Orleans: P. P. Werlein and Halsey, 1861).

To arms! the mortal combat has begun
Rush on and fight amidst the deadly fray.
Nor pause until the work is nobly done, is nobly done
And honor crowns us with her wreath of bay!

Like most Southern lyricists of the period, Rhine sees the South as her country. It was here that the patriot was to pledge his first allegiance. Her poem, of course, contains many obviously martial word choices: arms, panoply, armor, battlefield, combat, march, and cannon. There are several references to martial music, “robed in all her charms”: the chiming armor, the clarion sound of the trumpet, the noisy drum, even the roar of the cannon.

Rhine expresses some exasperation and impatience in her opening question and firmly expects a positive response. She appeals to the manliness of the Southern male, who should be enflamed by the “ardor of a patriot’s fame,” rather than stay away from the battlefield like a coward. The battle is deadly, but the patriot must fight nobly to the end in order to receive the crown of honor. She does not mention a fight unto death, but a completion of the work. And, of course, the work is a noble one. The use of the term “patriot” reinforces the sense of the South as a nation and hearkens also to the American Revolutionary fight for freedom and liberty. The commencement of hostilities is seen as an invasion of the North upon the sacred soil of the South. This will become a prevalent theme in other Southern Civil War poetry. Rhine calls this invasion a “stain,” emphasizing its profanity upon the supposed purity of soil that is “sacred.”

The sanctity of native soil was a theme borrowed from an earlier call to arms in another language: “Aux armes, citoyens! Formez vos bataillons! Marchons, marchons!

Qu'on sang impur abreuve nos sillons!" (To arms, citizens! Form your battalions! Let's march, let's march! May impure blood soak our fields' furrows!) Southerners and Northerners alike were inspired by the familiar words and melody of the *Chant de guerre pour l'armee du Rhin*, better known as the "Marseillaise Hymn," by Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle (1760-1836).⁵³ Its words, themes, and sentiments resounded in hearts and minds throughout the South. The martial melody stirred their souls and the words reflected what they considered their own fight against tyranny. Several English versions with decidedly pro-Southern texts were produced in the South at this time and there were Northern versions created as well.

Two Southern versions with lyrics furnished by women appear in this study. One, published in New Orleans in 1861 credits Mrs. L. Fanshaw with the English text.⁵⁴ The other, published in Nashville, utilizes a text by Miss M. A. Doyle. Mrs. L. Fanshaw may be Letitia Fanshaw, a middle-aged widow teaching in New Orleans at the time.⁵⁵ The first page of the sheet music presents the original French text. The music then follows with an English translation of the French and the following "southernized" verses:

Soldiers, rouse ye, to the battle, Arm, arm ye at your country's call.
Hark to the sound of war beyond ye, Rouse ye! Rouse ye! one and all!

⁵³ Rouget de Lisle was a French poet/composer/soldier who was born in 1760. While stationed in Strasbourg in 1792, he penned his famous hymn. Because of its frequent performances by the Marseilles Volunteer Battalion, it became better known as the "Marseillaise Hymn." As the son of royalist parents, Rouget de Lisle was imprisoned until the fall of Robespierre. His song fell out of favor during the Empire and Restoration in the early years of the nineteenth century. In 1830 it regained acceptance and Rouget de Lisle was granted a pension. Still, he lived in poverty and was even imprisoned for debt, until taken in by a compassionate family. He died unmarried and without descendants in 1836. The "Marseillaise Hymn" returned to favor and was acknowledged as the national anthem of France in 1879. Frederic Robert, "Rouget de Lisle, Claude-Joseph," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy; available from <http://www.grovemusic.com>; accessed 23 January 2007.

⁵⁴ (New Orleans: P. P. Werlein and Halsey, 1861).

⁵⁵ 1860 US Census, Ward 1, New Orleans, Orleans County, Louisiana.

Homes and liberties are threatened, Foes would have ye, all their own!
Rouse! assert your manhood freemen! Prove that ye can stand alone!

Chorus: To arms, to arms ye brave! Th'avenging sword unsheathe!
March on! March on! All hearts resolved on Victory or Death.

Now, now the dangerous storm is rolling,
which treacherous Kings confederate raise:
The dogs of war, let loose are howling And lo! Our walls and cities blaze,
And shall we basely view the ruin; While lawless force with guilty stride
Spreads desolation far and wide, With crimes and blood his hand embruing.

Chorus: To arms, to arms ye brave!, etc.

With luxury and pride surrounded, The vile insatiate despots dare,
Their thirst for gold and power unbounded, To mete and vend the light and air;
Like beasts of burden would they load us,
Like Gods, would bid their slaves adore.
But man is man, and who is more? Then shall they longer lash and goad us?

Chorus: To arms, to arms ye brave!, etc.

O Liberty! Can man resign thee? Once having felt thy generous flame.
Can dungeons, bolts and bars confine thee Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
Too long the world has wept bewailing That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield,
But freedom is our Sword and Shield, And all their arts unavailing .

Chorus: To arms, to arms ye brave!, etc.

Like Alice Rhine, Fanshaw views the South as her country. Also like Rhine, she appeals to Southern manhood to assert itself. Southerners need to awake to the sound of war that is coming like a storm from somewhere beyond them. The dogs of war have been let loose and are howling on the horizon. Here also is the vow to defend until death home and liberty. To stand by without responding is “base,” or dishonorable. Fanshaw’s major theme is the aggression of the North. The Southern posture is totally defensive; “th’avenging sword unsheathe.” The foe is lawless, devastating, destructive, guilty, and

spreads desolation. Southerners often accused the Northern soldiers of being mercenary, fighting for money rather than a justifiable cause. Here Fanshaw calls them vile, insatiate, power-hungry, and motivated by avarice and greed. They desire to be treated as gods, exercising authority even over light and air. Their victory would insure slavery. In the last verse is a final plea to Liberty, the justification and motivating force behind the fight which will guarantee final victory for the South.

Fanshaw's vocabulary is typical of the poets of the Civil War period. Some terminology sounds old-fashioned, even Biblical: the pronoun "ye," the contraction "th'avenging," and the phrase, "And lo!" The excessive use of exclamation points seems intended to infuse the words with additional emotional import. What is unusual is her use of the adjective "confederate" in its normal meaning, outside the context of the Southern Confederacy. It is puzzling that she would choose this word, which had just recently taken on new meaning in the young Southern nation, and apply it to the enemy. Perhaps intentional, perhaps thoughtless, perhaps insignificant, the term here might have confused, or even offended, some in her audience.

The other version with words by Miss Doyle was number six in a series titled *Southern Collection of Popular Songs for the Piano* and dedicated to Southern Enterprise.⁵⁶

Sons of the South awake to glory Hark! fair freedom bids you rise!
To repulse the foe in sin grown hoary; Would stifle now our freeborn cries,
Would stifle now our freeborn cries!

⁵⁶ (Nashville: James McClure, 1861).

Shall demagogues foul mischief breeding, Devastate our glorious land,
And woe and carnage hand in hand, Exult while liberty lies bleeding!
To arms, to arms ye brave! The tri-band standard wave

Chorus: March on, March on, all hearts resolved
On Victory or the grave.

And the threat'ning storm is nearing, Darkly frowns our fair land o'er,
And shall we tyrant's fierce frown fearing, In liberty exult no more,
In liberty no more;
No by the sword of him whose story Will live when tyrants sink in death,
Sword to sword, till life's last breath, We'll strive to emulate his glory.
To arms, to arms ye brave! The tri-band standard wave

Chorus: March on, March on, etc.

Doyle expresses similar sentiments as Fanshaw, but less forcefully and with greater brevity. The enemy is a demagogue as well as a tyrant, grown old in sin and plotting mischief. His goal is to abort the birth of the new-born Southern nation. Woe and carnage, personified, seem to be the offspring resulting from the "foul mischief" the enemy is "breeding." In tandem they exult over the destruction of liberty. Like Fanshaw, she refers to the coming battle as an approaching storm. Fear of the storm amounts to an abandonment of liberty and carries the implication of dishonor. Even though *him* and *his* are not capitalized in the last two lines of the second verse, this seems to be a reference to Christ. The analogy to the sword of Christ makes the cause a holy instrument of judgment, ending in glory. "All hearts resolved" stresses unity and the fight must have only one of two outcomes: victory or death.

Like many Southerners, Fanshaw and Doyle found a parallel between the struggle of the French peasantry against an oppressive, aristocratic monarchy, in the French Revolution, and the Southern struggle for independence from perceived Northern

tyranny. Both women wrote about death, destruction, and devastation, but whether they realistically anticipated the type of bloodbath that rocked Paris is unknown. It is conceivable that they were simply drawn to the stirring music or were commissioned to produce English lyrics. They may have made only a loose connection to the political or revolutionary context of the piece.

God Is on Our Side

Whatever association they made with other freedom struggles or periods of history, Southerners believed that their own cause was right and just. Moreover, they believed that God sanctioned it and would give them final victory. One wonders what they thought relative to this in 1865; their faith must have been greatly shaken. This theme of divine partiality recurred often in the songs, poems, and other Southern writing of the day. Two songs in this study emphatically express this belief in the intervention of Divine Providence. One is “God Defendeth the Right” composed by Hermann L. Schreiner with words by Mrs. Kate DuBose and the other is “God Will Defend the Right” with words and music by an anonymous “Lady of Richmond.” Both songs, published in the beginning year of the war, are calls to arms, proclaiming the rightness of the cause and God’s blessings upon it.

Mrs. Kate DuBose was born Katherine Ann Richards in Hook Norton, Oxfordshire, England, on September 19, 1826,⁵⁷ the eldest daughter of the Reverend William Richards, a Baptist clergyman, and his wife, Ann.⁵⁸ The family immigrated to

⁵⁷ Stanley L. Klos, ed., “Catherine Ann DuBose,” *Virtual American Biographies*, 2001; available from <http://famousamerican.net/catherineannedubose/>; accessed 26 January 2007.

⁵⁸ Eileen B. McAdams, “Kate A/Catherine Ann DuBose,” *Hancock County Georgia: American History and Genealogy Project*; available from

the United States in 1831, living first in Hudson, New York⁵⁹ and subsequently in Georgia, and South Carolina.⁶⁰ Katherine received her early education in the North and after completing it at a well known school in Midway, Georgia, (run by a Mrs. Edgerton, later Mrs. Orme of Milledgeville, Georgia),⁶¹ she taught school in Georgia for some years.⁶²

Judging from their accomplishments, Kate and her siblings were brought up in an environment which established and fostered high personal and educational standards. Her brother, Thomas Addison Richards (1802-1900), was a painter, illustrator, essayist, and art educator who edited the first major travel guide to the United States.⁶³ Another brother, William Carey Richards (b. 1818-?), was an educator, prolific poet, Baptist pastor, and lecturer on physical science.⁶⁴ A sister, Mrs. Amelia Williams of Tennessee, was also a poet.⁶⁵

On June 20, 1848, Katherine Richards married South Carolina-born Charles Wilds DuBose, a lawyer living in Sparta, Georgia. In 1860 they were living on a

<http://www.georgiagenealogy.org/hancock2/citizens.html#DU%20BOSE,%20%20Kate>; accessed 27 January 2007.

⁵⁹ Mary Levin Koch, "Thomas Addison Richards," *The New Georgia Encyclopedia*; available from <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Artocle.jsp?ide=h-973>; accessed 27 January 2007.

⁶⁰ Mary Forrest, *Women of the South Distinguished in Literature* (New York: C. B. Richardson, 1866), 407.

⁶¹ Eileen B. McAdams, "Charles Wilds DuBose," *Hancock County, Georgia: America History and Genealogy Project*; available from <http://www.georgiagenealogy.org/hancock2/citizens.html#DU%20BOSE,%20%20Charles>; accessed 29 January 2007.

⁶² McAdams, "Kate A./Catherine DuBose."

⁶³ Koch, "Thomas Addison Richards."

⁶⁴ "William Carey Richards," *Virtual American Biographies*; available from <http://famousamericans.net?williamcareyrichards/>; accessed 27 January 2007.

⁶⁵ McAdams, "Charles Wilds DuBose."

plantation near Mayfield, Georgia,⁶⁶ but by 1870 they had taken up residence in Sparta. Census records reflect the war's impact: the move from that plantation to a house and Charles' decreased estate value (\$10,000 down to \$3500). Still, in 1880 there were three servants in the household.⁶⁷

According to Davidson, their home in Sparta, "Willow Cottage," was known as "a synonym thereabouts for a cozy and elegant home."⁶⁸ Forrest also refers to Willow Cottage in a similar light: "the coziest of homes, embowered in the rich flowering trees of that region – their family of brave boys is growing daily, under a discipline which promises the manliest and worthiest life."⁶⁹ Prophetically, the four DuBose boys grew to lead successful lives: lawyer, lawyer/state legislator, US Navy surgeon, and government medical examiner. The DuBose marriage was a "union particularly fortunate, congeniality of tastes and perfect understanding giving to their home life an unusual degree of wedded happiness."⁷⁰ Kate DuBose apparently enjoyed a happy marriage and stable home life. As her parents before her, she set high standards for her sons, all of whom succeeded in later life.

Besides being a prominent lawyer, her husband was a state legislator and clerk of the Georgia Supreme Court (1860-68).⁷¹ This would have afforded her an upper-middle class life of high social status and financial security. Unlike many women, widowed by

⁶⁶ McAdams, "Kate A/Catherine Dubose," and 1860 US Census, Mayfield, Hancock County, Georgia.

⁶⁷ 1870 and 1880 US Census, Sparta, Hancock County, Georgia.

⁶⁸ James Wood Davidson, *The Living Writers of the South* (New York: Carleton Publishers, 1869), 171.

⁶⁹ Forrest, 407.

⁷⁰ McAdams, "Charles Wilds DuBose."

⁷¹ McAdams, "Kate A/Catherine Dubose;" accessed 29 January 2007.

the war and left with children to raise and support single-handedly, she did not have to face the struggles associated with that particular set of circumstances. Instead of living frugally as a boarder in someone else's home, after the war she was able to maintain her own with servants besides. In addition, Charles DuBose, judging from some of his professional accomplishments, was a progressive individual who undoubtedly supported his wife's literary endeavors as well.⁷²

Kate DuBose published her poems in various magazines and journals, often using the pseudonym *Leila Cameron*. She contributed often to the *Southern Literary Gazette*, published in Charleston, South Carolina, and edited by her brother William. Her prize-winning poem, "Wachulla," about a famous fountain near Tallahassee, Florida, appeared in the *Orion Magazine* of Georgia.⁷³ In 1858 Sheldon and Company of New York published her prose volume, *The Pastor's Household*, a story for young people. It was described as "a story of continuous interest, displaying narrative and dramatic power."⁷⁴ Another manuscript, *The Elliot Family*, was destroyed in a fire in New York.⁷⁵ According to Davidson, "Her mind is eminently religious and this element pervades nearly every piece she has ever published."⁷⁶ This was certainly true of "God Defendeth the Right,"

⁷² McAdams, "Charles Wilds DuBose." During the latter part of his tenure in the Georgia State Legislature, he succeeded in the passage of a bill, called "The Woman's Bill," which gave married women the right to own their own property. Kent Anderson Leslie, *Woman of Color, Daughter of Privilege: Amanda America Dickson (1849-1893)* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 76-128. Later he represented Amanda America Dickson, an African-American woman, whose white father/owner left her the bulk of his estate at his death. The case, won in favor of Ms. Dickson, went all the way to the Georgia Supreme Court, making her the wealthiest African-American woman in Georgia.

⁷³ Koch, "Thomas Addison Richards." From 1842 to 1844, her brothers William and Addison published and edited this magazine in Penfield, Georgia, and printed it in New York.

⁷⁴ Raymond, 411.

⁷⁵ McAdams, "Kate A./Catherine DuBose."

⁷⁶ Davidson, 171.

the song considered in this study.⁷⁷ Kate DuBose died on May 25, 1906. Her obituary called her a woman of “strong mentality and personal magnetism” and her writing as “distinguished for depths of feeling and elevation of sentiment.”⁷⁸

Her poem, “God Defendeth the Right,” is both a call to arms and an invocation:

Southrons arouse! will ye cowardly slumber
While through our land the war tocsin resounds?
Say! Shall the foeman our comrades out number
Whilst one true heart with life's current rebounds?
Up hark! the call ringeth shrill through our valleys
On to the rescue for freedom we fight.
Firm and unyielding, in desperate sallies,
Trusting in Him who defendeth our right.

Chorus: Onward! then onward ye brave Southern freemen!
Teach the false tyrants how Southrons can fight!
Death is far better than shame and dishonor;
Trust ye in God who defendeth the right.

Long have we yielded to Northern Aggression.
Yield we no more; as bold freemen we stand!
Shame to submit to a tyrant's oppression,
Rally for truth and our dear native land.

Up, in the name of God! wait no longer,
Now is the moment to do or to die;
Fighting for freedom, each heart shall grow stronger,
None be so craven, to tremble or fly!

Chorus: Onward!, etc.

Spread our fair flag to the breezes of heaven,
Wide to the winds let each fold be unfurled;
Morning and noon, and 'mid shadows of even,
Proud, let it float to the gaze of the world.
Brothers, remember that banner waves o'er you,
Never, in shame, must its stars be laid low;

⁷⁷ (Macon: John C. Schreiner, 1861).

⁷⁸ *Atlanta Constitution*, 27 May 1906.

Onward, brave hearts, to the conflict before you,
Triumph! or die in the ranks of the foe!

Chorus: Onward!, etc.

God of our fathers, who ever has aided
All who strive nobly, watch over our arms;
Tyrants have scorned and our weakness upbraided,
Strong let us be amid battle's alarms.
Up, in the name of God! stalwart and stronger,
Strike for your homes, in strength of your might,
Slaves we can never be – dally no longer!
God, whom we trust, defendeth the right.

Chorus: Onward!, etc.

As in other poetry of the period, we observe the use of rather archaic language: the use of “ye”, the –eth ending in “ringeth” and “defendeth,” words like “hark,” “whilst,” “tocsin,” the poetic contraction “o’er.” The language is both old-fashioned and Biblical, in keeping with the religious theme. The word “freeman” means, of course, one who is free, but carries with it the implication of full citizenship rights and privileges. It is related to the legal term “freehold,” referring to the lifetime tenure and transferal of land ownership,⁷⁹ so the call is made to *white*, Southern land owners. DuBose calls the aggression and tyranny of the North a false tyranny which the South has endured for a long time and further submission to it, shameful. There are other familiar themes as well: the fight for freedom, death before shame and dishonor, honoring and following the flag, fighting for homes. Having already invoked the help of God in the first two verses, she begins the fourth verse with a prayer for the God, who supports noble causes, to support

⁷⁹ “Glossary of Legal Terms,” available from <http://www.mylawyer.com/glossary.htm>; accessed 17 March 2007.

this one and to strengthen those who fight the battle. The poem ends with an exhortation to go forth confident in the knowledge of God's blessing. This poem reflects Kate DuBose's religious turn of mind, observed by James Wood Davidson.⁸⁰ She obviously believed the Southern cause to be right and worthy of God's benediction. This was the basis of her confidence and boldness.

Another woman who had the same strongly-held beliefs was an anonymous "Lady of Richmond," who wrote both the words and music to "God Will Defend the Right."⁸¹

Sons of the South arise Rise in your matchless might,
Your war cry echo to the skies, "God will defend the right."
Let haughty tyrants know, Our sunny land will be
In spite of ev'ry foe, Home of the brave and free.

Chorus: Sons of the South arise! Rise in your matchless might,
Your war cry echo to the skies, "God will defend the right!"

Our flag shall proudly stream Defiant of assault,
Bars of the rainbow's highest beam And stars from Heaven's blue vault.
Thousands of true and brave, Their hero lives may end,
O'er thousands that flag shall wave, Thousands its folds defend.

Chorus: Sons of the South, etc.

No wrongs our breasts alarm, No fears our hearts appal,
Unswerving justice nerves our arm, We cannot conquered fall.
Think on our noble sires, Immortal in renown,
Think on our altar-fires, And strike the oppressor down!

Chorus: sons of the South, etc.

With threats of horrors dire, The fierce invader comes,
We scorn his boasts, we scorn his ire, Striking for hearths and homes.

⁸⁰ Raymond, 411.

⁸¹ (Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1861).

Strike for our mothers now, for daughters, sisters, wives,
Freely would each bestow, were it ten thousand lives.

Chorus: Sons of the South, etc.

Missing in these lyrics is the old-fashioned sounding vocabulary found so often in poetry of the period. The repetition of the phrase “God will defend the right” serves to reiterate the underlying theme and unify the poem. The Confederate flag is called the “stars and bars.” Here these terms are incorporated in the second verse; the bars of rainbow beams and the stars of heaven which stream from the flag. The rainbow is a symbol of God’s promise to never destroy the earth again by water,⁸² and heaven is God’s abode and throne,⁸³ symbol of His power and sovereignty. Both allusions invoke God’s blessing and protection upon the Southern cause. These would not be merely astronomical or poetic references. According to this Virginian lady, the trust in God’s help should eradicate fear and insure victory.

Often Southern Civil War poems refer to hearth-fires and home as motivating factors in the fight. These same references are certainly found in this poem. The writer also emphasizes the defense of the entire female population, who willingly give their men to die. The term “altar fires” speaks of worship and sacrifice. This is coupled with the admonition to remember “noble sires,” either Cavalier or American Revolutionary. Both would apply, especially to Virginians, proud of both heritages. The implication is that as they willingly sacrificed their lives for what they believed, so should nineteenth-century Southerners.

⁸² Genesis 9:8-17 NAS (New American Standard Bible).

⁸³ Psalm 11:4 NAS (New American Standard Bible).

The text is set in a simple, straightforward, and refreshingly unpretentious style. (See Appendix B, Figure 3, p. 193.) There are no Italianate ornaments, or anything reminiscent of any other distinctive European model. The character marking is *maestoso e spiritoso*. The meter signature designation of common time, chordal accompaniment, and balanced phrases give the piece a rather “square” quality. The harmony is predictably diatonic. There is a bit of word-painting on the phrase in the first verse, “Your war cry echo to the skies,” on an ascending phrase ending with a fermata. These characteristics all combine to create the effect of a rousing campaign song.

Forever Defiant

In the years preceding and during the great conflict that ripped the nation apart in the mid-nineteenth century passions ran high on both sides. Fiery rhetoric flowed from the pens of both Northern abolitionists and Southern secessionists in the years leading up to the war and continued throughout. Even after the final shots were fired, Northern congressmen called for the execution of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and others, while many Southerners vowed to remain un-reconstructed. One of the most vitriolic statements of Southern pride and anger came from the pen of Catherine Ann Warfield (1816-1877). Her poem, “You will Never Win Us Back,” became “The Southron’ Chaunt of Defiance,” with music by Armand Blackmar.⁸⁴ A later setting, retaining the original title, was composed by J. E. Smith and published in 1864.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ (Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1861). Armand Edward Blackmar, born in the North in 1826, was a Southerner by choice. He moved to Huntsville, Alabama, in 1845, where he taught music. In 1852 he became a professor of music at Centenary College in Jackson, Mississippi. In 1856 he left the teaching profession to enter the music publishing business, beginning in Vicksburg with his younger brother, Henry Clay (b. 1831). The brothers began their business in New Orleans in 1860 and had moved all their business there by 1862. By April of that year, when the city fell and was occupied by the Federals, Blackmar was the

Catherine Ann Warfield (1816-1877) was a well known writer in her lifetime, producing, in addition to poetry, novels that were termed “gothic.” The genre developed in England beginning in the late eighteenth century. The stories generally took place in ruined and/or haunted locales that were inhabited by ghosts, maniacs, and various creatures of demonic origin. Plots revolved around elements of magic, mystery, insanity, and the supernatural. These works were designed to inspire fear and dread in those who read them.⁸⁶ Several elements may have colored her life and drawn her to this type of literature. She was a shy, reserved child who received a broad and somewhat eclectic education, including exposure to the gothic literature in her father’s vast library. Her life was touched by dark tragedy which resulted in sorrow and loneliness. Her mother’s family was plagued by a hereditary “curse.”

Warfield’s maternal grandfather, Charles Percy was described as a man of cultivated tastes and refinement, but given to a melancholy nature. In a state of depression following the death of his son, he committed suicide by drowning himself in a creek. His daughter, Sarah Percy Ellis, widowed with two small children, married Major Nathaniel Ware, a lawyer and land speculator from South Carolina, in 1814. He was described as “a man of profound learning and well versed in science, particularly Botany,

South’s most prominent music publisher. Like everyone else in New Orleans, he had to take an oath of allegiance to the United States to stay in business, but still was fined \$500 and jailed for publishing “The Bonnie Blue Flag.” Meanwhile Henry moved the operation to Augusta, Georgia. By 1863 Blackmar was out of jail and back in business in New Orleans. Throughout the remainder of the war, the brothers operated out of both locations. In 1865, Blackmar sold the Augusta store and stock to John Hill Hewitt. After the war both brothers continued in the music publishing business, but argued. Eventually they owned two stores that were practically adjacent on the same street, but avoided each other. A. E. Blackmar died in 1883. He was a music teacher, publisher, composer, and chess enthusiast. Abel, *Singing the New Nation*, 264-7.

⁸⁵ (Richmond: J. W. Davies and Sons, 1864).

⁸⁶ “The Gothic Novel”; available from <http://cai.ucdavis.edu/waters-sites/gothicnovel/155breport.html>; accessed 9 October 2007.

but a man full of eccentricities and naturally very shy and reserved in character...He was a fine scholar, with a pungent, acrid wit, and cool sarcasm, which made him both feared and respected by those brought into collision with him.”⁸⁷ In the same article, Raymond describes his daughter Catherine in much the same terms: reserved, sometimes sarcastic, possessing a keen wit: “We have never known anyone bold enough to strike her shield a second time in these tourneys; but it is really very charming to witness such ‘cunning of fence,’ and one enjoys the recontres greatly, as a spectator.”⁸⁸

Catherine was born in 1816 and her sister, Eleanor, followed three years later. During these years, their father was actively involved in the political affairs in the Mississippi Territory and was a successful land speculator, amassing a great deal of wealth thereby. His wife’s inherited wealth and social prominence facilitated his political aspirations.⁸⁹ He was himself a writer, publishing, in 1844 and 1845, two essays on government and economics, and a novel, *Harvey Belden*, in 1848.⁹⁰

In 1819, the Ware family endured an event which irrevocably changed the course of their lives. During the delivery of her second daughter, Eleanor, Sarah Ware contracted puerperal fever, leaving her in a mentally unbalanced state. This condition, diagnosed today as depression psychosis, had contributed to her father’s earlier suicide and left its mark on several other members of the Percy family.⁹¹ According to Bertram Wyatt-

⁸⁷ Raymond, 26-7.

⁸⁸ Raymond, 33.

⁸⁹ Larry W. Gibbs, “Catherine Ann Warfield,” in *Antebellum Writers of the South*, by Kent Ljungquist, ed., vol. 248, *The Dictionary of Literary Biography* (Farmington Hill, MI: The Gale Group, 2001), 406.

⁹⁰ James B. Lloyd, *Lives of Mississippi Authors* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1981), 451.

⁹¹ Gibbs, 406.

Brown, Southern historian and Professor Emeritus at the University of Florida, this condition has led to the suicide, or hospitalization for mental illness, of a member of the Percy family in each generation.⁹²

Ware moved his family from Mississippi to Philadelphia to seek better health care for his wife. She remained there, in the mental wing of a prestigious hospital, until 1831. He and his daughters lived with the girls' half-sister, Mary Jane Ellis, who had married Dr. Rene LaRoche, an eminent physician and member of a colony of aristocratic French expatriates. Here Catherine and Eleanor were exposed to a fashionable social circle with a strong infusion of French culture. Ware traveled extensively, leaving his daughters for long periods of time; a practice which drew criticism from his wife's family. Rather than staying in Philadelphia, Ware's solution was to take his daughters with him. They visited his land holdings in Mississippi, Florida, and other Southern locations and toured Europe in 1821. When not traveling, he saw to it that his daughters received the best education money could provide. They were enrolled, along with the daughters of other prominent Southern families, in a prestigious, French-speaking academy in Philadelphia. Catherine, refusing to stay, ran away and hid in her half-sister's house. Her father, with the help of tutors, personally took over her education and allowed her free rein in his extensive library. It was here that she was first exposed to the Gothic romances so popular at the time.

⁹² Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "A Family Tradition of Letters: The Female Percys and the Brontean Mode," in *In Joy and in Sorrow: Women, Family and Marriage in the Victorian South, 1830-1900*, ed. Carol Bleser (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 176. On page 180 Wyatt-Brown also mentions that Catherine's half-sister, Ann Ellis LaRoche, Sarah's daughter by her first marriage, died young after years of insanity. In recent years, the best known of the family, Southern novelist, Walker Percy (1916-1990), lost his father to suicide. "Walker Percy," *Mississippi Writer's Page*; available from http://www.olemiss.edu/depts/english/ms-writers/dir/percy_walker/; accessed 24 February 2007.

In 1831 Nathaniel Ware moved his family back to Mississippi, where Sarah lived at her son's plantation at Natchez. During their summer visits, she was unable to recognize her daughters. She died in 1835.⁹³ Raymond writes:

She never recognized her husband, and he rarely ever saw her. She manifested a dim recollection of her son, and was fond of her little grand-daughter, [the son's daughter, presumably] named for her,... but she did not know her as her *grandchild*. She would weep sometimes for her baby "Ellen," [Eleanor] but would repulse the caresses of her weeping daughter, [Catherine] who would often try to make her mother understand who she was.⁹⁴

In 1833, Catherine married Robert Elisha Warfield, member of a Kentucky family prominent in the breeding and racing of Thoroughbred horses.⁹⁵ Nathaniel settled dowries of \$120,000 worth of land and slaves on each of his daughters but retained control of the properties himself rather than transferring them to his new sons-in-law. The two women were thus allowed to enjoy the luxuries of plantation life and to travel and communicate with ease.⁹⁶ The sisters were quite close and communicated often. They wrote together and published their first volume of poetry in 1843. It was very well received, meriting the praise of William Cullen Bryant, to whom they dedicated their second volume in 1846.

Catherine's life was shattered in 1849, when Eleanor died in a yellow fever epidemic. Her grief was further compounded when her father also died, from the same malady, in 1853. She did not write again until 1860. In that year, following the urging of

⁹³ Gibbs, 406-7.

⁹⁴ Raymond, 30.

⁹⁵ Wyatt-Brown, 181 and 311. The Warfield family owned Darley, a foundation sire of the breed and progenitor of forty Derby winners, including Man O' War. More recently, the most famous family member was Wallis Warfield Simpson, who later became the Duchess of Windsor.

⁹⁶ Wyatt-Brown, 181.

her family, she published her first, and best known, novel, *The Household of Bouverie, or the Elixir of Gold*. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Warfield turned her attention to that conflict. Even though her home state of Kentucky did not secede, she supported the Southern cause. Many of her poems were published in Southern newspapers of the day and also appeared in post-war collections of Southern Civil War poetry. Her best known poem was “You Can Never Win Us Back,” dedicated to guerilla fighter John Singleton Mosby and his men.⁹⁷

Immediately after the war, in 1866 and 1867, she published two more novels and then, in the last years before her death, 1875-1877, she published seven more. None of the later works were as popular as *Bouverie*. Even though some of these works reflect Warfield’s unreconstructed views on Southern political and racial ideologies, they also present her view of the expanded role of women in the postwar South:

Her heroines and other female characters gradually become more assertive, taking greater control over their own lives and the lives of others around them. Many are shown rejecting the social conventions for women in the antebellum South and becoming active participants in society.⁹⁸

Gibbs goes on to state:

Whatever the previously perceived merits of Warfield’s fiction, her novels reflect the shifting attitudes of Southern women about their functions in society after the destruction of the paternalistic ante-bellum social system and thus deserve modern critical attention.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Gibbs, 408.

⁹⁸ Gibbs, 409.

⁹⁹ Gibbs, 409.

In addition to the previous reference Warfield's sarcasm and wit, Raymond goes into great detail to describe her as being passionate in her love for the South and its lost cause, lacking any transient or frivolous emotion, preserving always a reserve and sense of decorum and selective in her choice of friends. She goes on to describe Warfield as a critical scholar of the English, French, and Latin languages, and as a fine pianist, setting her own poems to music of her own composition. There is another paragraph describing her physical appearance, ending thusly: "Her appearance is striking and attractive; genius is stamped in every lineament, and sorrow too. Her life has not been happy, neither are her writings."¹⁰⁰

Raymond's complete text indicates that the author of "You Can Never Win Us Back," though outwardly reserved and decorous, possessed a keen intellect and lively imagination. She was undoubtedly influenced by the losses that she had endured in life, especially those of her mother and sister. Nothing is known about her married life, but perhaps she felt some of the restrictions that her society placed upon women and which she wrote about in her later novels. Apparently her views on the war, secession, and racism remained "unreconstructed."

Warfield's "You Can Never Win Us Back," published in 1861, the first year of the war, provides the most direct and vitriolic response to "Northern aggression" of any poems in this study:

You can never win us back; Never! Never!
Tho' we perish in the track of your endeavor;
Tho' our corpses strew the earth

¹⁰⁰ Raymond, 32-4.

Smiling now as on our birth
And tho' blood pollute each hearth
Now and ever!

You have risen to a man, stern and fearless;
Of your curses and your ban, We are careless
Ev'ry hand is on its knife,
Ev'ry gun is primed for strife,
Ev'ry palm contains a life, High and peerless.

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 you abolition den
Marching on through foe and fen, nothing dreading!

We may fall before the fire of your legions,
Paid with gold for murderous hire, bought allegiance;
But for every drop you shed,
You shall have a mound of dead,
So that vultures shall be fed in our regions!

But the battle to the strong is not given,
While the Judge of right and wrong sits in Heaven
And the God of David still guides the pebble with His will,
There are giants left to kill, wrong unshriven!

Although these words are written expressly to Northerners, Warfield never calls them by name, addressing them only as “you.” This gives the poem its strong directness and demonstrates her condescension and contempt. Other Civil War poets vowed a fight to the death, but in Warfield’s lyrics we see a rather macabre picture of smiling corpses. The fight will continue no matter how many die and no matter if the fight extends directly from the battlefield into the home. In the face of a foe that is “stern and fearless,” Southerners are “careless”: undeterred, primed, and ready for the fight. Warfield’s views on racial superiority and purity are apparent in the second verse. She believes that Southern fearlessness is based upon Cavalier blood, to which Northern blood is inferior.

A pointed reference is made to abolition. A den is a place where a pack of animals gather, find sanctuary, and from which they go to forage and seek prey. These Northern abolitionists are not merely inferior, they are sub-human. She clearly sees the war as a fight about the abolition of African-American slavery, an issue many other Southern poets avoid.

The idea that the Northern soldiers are paid mercenaries is strongly stated. “Bought allegiance” implies that their cause is totally unworthy. The gothic novelist is revealed in the reference to vultures feasting on piles of dead bodies. In the final verse is a reference to the Biblical story of David and Goliath: not only is “God on our side,” but he takes up for the underdog. Warfield must see that in many ways the North is stronger, but she believes that strength alone will not win the day.

Alice Fahs, Associate Professor of History at New York University, states that themes of proud defiance and vengeance ran through many Confederate verses. In referring to this poem specifically, she mentions the presumed white Southern racial superiority over the North, defiance and violence, and the praise of Southern manhood. She adds: “Here was an embrace not only of defiance but of bloodshed as well. Such an expressed eagerness for bloodshed was a theme running through many early wartime poems, whose naïve bloodthirstiness was all too soon fulfilled by the violence of war.”¹⁰¹ Warfield’s poem certainly exemplifies Fahs’ statement and hints at the many dark themes flowing through her “gothic” novels.

¹⁰¹ Alice Fahs, *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 82.

CHAPTER III

OUR FATHERS BROUGHT FORTH A NEW NATION

In the spring of 1861 the South created a new government, a new nation, and embarked upon a new path. This new national experiment needed its own symbols to define its own identity. Through symbols, Southerners sought to establish and reinforce, in reality, that identity that they already possessed in their own minds. Already, prior to the commencement of the war, they viewed themselves as different and separate from, as well as, superior to their Northern counterparts. Certainly a new national flag would be a powerful symbol and readily visible to everyone. This glorious banner, a symbol of freedom and liberty, was to be followed unhesitatingly into battle and never allowed to fall. Heroes were also glorified as symbols of inspirational leadership. Early in the conflict, victories on the battlefield served to reinforce Southerners' beliefs in themselves and their ability to enjoy the final victory.

New songs were published which, praising the new "Stars and Bars," served to inspire allegiance to both the new flag and the new young nation it represented. Five such songs appear in this study. Early battles brought the Confederacy early victories and songs celebrated these, especially the fall of Fort Sumter, which set off the hostilities between North and South. Poets and composers produced works paying homage to heroes, from Robert E. Lee to the common soldier in the ranks.

You're a Brand New Flag

Many Southern poets wrote verses paying homage to the new flag, which were soon turned into songs singing its praises. “Adieu to the Star Spangled Banner Forever,” with words by Ella D. Clark and music by J. R. Boulcott,¹⁰² and “Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner,” with words and music attributed to Mrs. E. D. Hundley,¹⁰³ expressed disenchantment with the old banner and the country it represented. “The Confederate Flag,” with lyrics by Susan Blanchard Elder and music by G. George¹⁰⁴ praised and honored the new flag and all things for which it stood. Finally, “The Stars of Our Banner,” by Alice Lane,¹⁰⁵ “Up With the Flag,” a collaborative effort between Dr. William Harrell and his wife, Ann Judson Battle Harrell,¹⁰⁶ and “The Flag of the South,” with words by Anna Dixon Hearn and music by Dr. O. Becker,¹⁰⁷ were calls to arms, inviting Southerners to follow the flag.

The music for “Adieu to the Star Spangled Banner Forever” was composed by J. R. Boulcott, an English-born musician living in Mobile, Alabama, in 1860. The dedicatee, Miss C. Mordecai, may be Caroline Mordecai, the daughter of a prominent physician in that same city.¹⁰⁸ Clark’s lyrics reflect the shift of allegiance from the old flag, the Star Spangled Banner, and the nation it represented, to the new banner representing the Confederacy:

¹⁰² (New Orleans: P. P. Werlein and Halsey, 1861).

¹⁰³ (Richmond: J. W. Davies, 186-).

¹⁰⁴ (Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1861).

¹⁰⁵ (Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1861)

¹⁰⁶ (Richmond: George Dunn and Co., 1863).

¹⁰⁷ (Nashville: C. D. Benson and Co., 1861).

¹⁰⁸ 1860 US Census, Northern Division, Mobile, Mobile County, Alabama. Solomon Mordecai was a retired physician, with an estate valued at \$60,000, sizeable for the time. Miss Mordecai was likely a student of Boulcott.

How dear to each heart was the star spangled Banner,
When equity spread out its folds to the gaze,
And God favor'd people united hosanna,
Shouted Union for ever and Heaven the praise.

Chorus: 'Mid the mad clouds of fury,
A Lone Star of Glory,
Like a beacon of hope on a surge crested sea;
Shone forth in a halo all crimson and gory,
And the Palmetto Flag was unfurled to the free.

But tyranny clad in the robe of devotion
Was perched on that banner in envious flight
And spread her dark wing o'er a land in commotion,
And mocked at our freedom our justice and right.

Chorus: 'Mid the mad clouds of fury, etc.

Like the daughters of Atlas that shine in the heaven
In dearest communion of any above,
These fair brilliant stars, the Confederate 'leven,
Shall reflect from our flag our union and love.

Chorus: 'Mid the mad clouds of fury, etc.

Adieu to that star spangled Banner for ever,
Its once joyful folds are now trailing in dust
The ties that endeared it in sorrow we sever
And give to the flag that redeemed us our trust.

Chorus: 'Mid the mad clouds of fury, etc.

In the first verse Clark writes that once Northerners and Southerners lived together as a blessed people in unity and equality under the old Star Spangled Banner. Then tyranny, “clad in the robe of devotion” and motivated by envy, used the flag as the vantage point from which it encroached upon Southern freedom. The “robe of devotion” implies deception, and tyranny appears to be a cawing crow: “perched,” “dark wing,” and

“mocking.” She likens the eleven Confederate states to the constellation, the Pleiades.¹⁰⁹

Just as the seven daughters of Atlas represent the special communion shared by sisters, the Southern “sisters” experience the true unity and love represented by a new flag. In the last verse she reiterates the idea of leaving the old banner behind, and doing so in sadness and reluctance. The recurring chorus sings the praises of the “Bonnie Blue Flag” of secession, not the subsequent “Stars and Bars.”

This same theme of “out with the old, in with the new” is evident in “Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner,” a song attributed to Mrs. E. D. Hundley.¹¹⁰ Mrs. Hundley was very likely Frances Hundley, the wife of farmer, Elijah D. Hundley. In 1860 she was fifty-six years of age. They and their six children lived in Halifax County, Virginia. Given a real estate value of over \$22,000, and a personal estate value in excess of \$63,000, Hundley must have owned a large acreage worked, presumably, by a large number of slaves.¹¹¹ After the war, his real estate value increased to \$25,000, while his personal value decreased to \$8000. They still employed three African-American servants.¹¹² Their home has been described as the finest in the area.¹¹³ Living about eighteen miles from the Confederate capital, the Hundleys experienced the war first hand:

¹⁰⁹ According to Greek mythology, the Pleiades were the seven daughters of Atlas and Pleione. Orion, the hunter, upon seeing them, fell in love with them and pursued them for seven years. The sisters appealed to Zeus, who transformed them into doves and place them among the stars of heaven. When Orion died, he was placed there also, forever immortalizing the chase. “The Pleiades,” 2000; available from <http://www.windows.ucar.edu/tour/link=/mythology/pleiades.html>; Steven Gibson, “The Pleiades”; available from <http://www.naic.edu/~gibson/Pleiades/>; Micha F. Lindemans, “Pleiades,” 1999; available from <http://www.pantheon.org/articles/p/pleiades.html>; accessed 16 July 1007.

¹¹⁰ Although her name does not appear on the sheet music, both Harwell and Hoogerwerf acknowledge her as the composer, apparently of both words and music. Richard Harwell, *Confederate Music* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950), 67, and Hoogerwerf, 37.

¹¹¹ 1860 US Census, Northern District, Halifax County, Virginia.

¹¹² 1870 US Census, Roanoke, Halifax Courthouse, Virginia.

For the last two days, there has been spirited skirmishing going on near Hanover Court House, some eighteen miles from Richmond. We have learned from a soldier, who was in the engagements, some particulars which we subjoin. On Monday the enemy came out in force near Talliaferro's Mill, burnt the bridge across the Pamunkey, near Captain Newton's, shot a young man named Hundley, on his mother's farm, and carried him off. At the same time they destroyed Mrs. Hundley's furniture, ripped open her feather beds, and indulged in other savage-like propensities. This party was principally composed of New York Zouaves.¹¹⁴

It is no wonder that Mrs. Hundley's verses contain more emotional fervor, expressed in stronger language, than those of Ella D. Clark:

Let tyrants and slaves submissively tremble
And bow down their necks 'neath the juggernaut car;
But brave men will rise in the strength of a nation
And cry give me freedom or else give me war.

Chorus: Farewell forever the Star spangled banner
No longer shall wave o'er the land of the free,
But we'll unfurl to the broad breeze of Heaven
Thirteen bright stars round the Palmetto tree.

We honor, yes honor, bold South Carolina,
Though small she may be, she's as brave as the best
With flag-ship of State, she's out on the ocean,
Buffeting the waves of a dark billow's crest.

Chorus: Farewell forever, etc.

We honor, yes honor, our seceding Sisters
Who launched this brave bark alone on the sea,
Though storms may howl and thunder distraction,
We'll hurl to the blast the proud Palmetto tree.

Chorus: Farewell forever, etc.

¹¹³ Pocahontas Edmunds, "The Mount Laurel Area," and M. W. Lewis, "A Brief History of Mt. Laurel," *History of Halifax*; available from <http://www.halifaxva.net/county/MtLaurelHistory.htm>; accessed 27 March 2007.

¹¹⁴ *Richmond Enquirer*, 28 May 1862, p. 2, c. 1.

And when to the conflict the others cry onward,
Virginia will be first to rush to the fight,
She'll break down the iceberg of Northern coercion,
And rise in her glory of Freedom and right.

Chorus: Farewell forever, etc.

When the fifteen Sisters in bright constellation
Shall dazzling shine in a nation's emblem sky,
With no hands to oppose, nor foes to oppress them,
They will shine forever, a light to every eye.

Chorus: Farewell forever, etc.

Hundley, unlike Clark, makes no reference to a blessed life of unity under the Star Spangled Banner, nor does she express any remorse at abandoning it. In fact, Hundley, like most Southern Civil War poets, sees the secession of Southern states as a defensive reaction to Northern aggression. She describes the Northern union as a “juggernaut car,” a reference to a Hindu deity. In India, when the statue of this deity was drawn through the street in a wagon, or car, worshippers would throw themselves under its wheels. The word juggernaut has come to describe any large, forward-moving force that crushes anything in its path and demands cruel, unquestioning sacrifice.¹¹⁵ According to Hundley, only tyrants and slaves, motivated by fear, submit to such a force. Brave men respond in true national unity, choosing either freedom or war. She echoes the sentiments of her fellow Virginian, Patrick Henry, who voiced similar sentiments at the outbreak of the American Revolution in his famous “Give me liberty or give me death” speech.

¹¹⁵ “Juggernaut”; available from <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/juggernaut>; accessed 27 March 2007. Dictionary.com is a multi-source dictionary search service produced by Lexico Publishing Group, LLC. Its resources include many established and reputable dictionaries such as *Random House Dictionary*, *Webster's Dictionary*, the *American Heritage Dictionary*, and *Merriam-Webster's Dictionary* as well as Princeton University and the US Census Bureau.

In subsequent verses Hundley draws an analogy between her new fledgling nation and a ship embarking on her maiden voyage. After remarking on the state's diminutive size, she honors South Carolina as bravely leading the way. She honors also the other Confederate "sisters," who have joined in to battle the dark, thundering storm. Virginia, rushing to the fray, will ultimately save the day by destroying the Northern "iceberg." (Never mind that when a ship runs upon an iceberg, the iceberg usually wins.) Finally, Hundley anticipates the secession of Maryland and Kentucky in her reference to fifteen sisters in the last verse. The constellation is to shine forever on the flag, the "nation's emblem sky." Ultimate victory will insure a final, peaceful existence with no opposition or oppression. It is in the recurring chorus that she bids farewell to the "Star Spangled Banner" and hails its replacement, the flag of secession. Many early flags of the Southern Confederacy, especially those originating in South Carolina, depicted a palmetto tree. The reference to the South as the "land of the free," in spite of African-American slavery, must puzzle modern readers. To the nineteenth-century Southern mind, which believed in the absolute inferiority of the Negro race, African-American slavery was the natural order of things. The attempt of white Northerners, on the other hand, to impose their will upon white Southerners, their presumed equals, constituted true slavery.

Hundley's overall tone is one of pride in both her state and her new country. The references to South Carolina's size and Virginia's destruction of the iceberg clearly imply the latter state's superiority. As a wealthy Virginian, she probably relished her cavalier and revolutionary heritage. The tone of the lyrics is also hopeful, expressing confidence in final Southern victory.

Hundley has set her lyrics to a simple, diatonic melody marked *spirituoso*. (See Appendix B, Figure 4, p. 195.) The sixteen bars contain four well-defined phrases: abab'. The chorus is the same tune with only one note different in the melody and one different in the accompaniment. The accompaniment is simple; open octaves in the left hand outlining the harmonic progression with repetitive chords in the right hand. Even with words that are somewhat unwieldy, the tune is catchy and singable. The song was so popular that it was sung by Confederate soldiers around their campfires. Carlton McCarthy made mention of it in his memoirs in a list which included "Dixie," "Bonny Blue Flag," and "Maryland, My Maryland" among others.¹¹⁶

While Clark and Hundley said goodbye to the old flag, Susan Blanchard Elder penned lyrics that praised the new one and expressed her love and admiration for it. "The Confederate Flag," with music by Sig. G. George (his name as it appears on the sheet music) of Norfolk, Virginia, was published in 1861 in both Augusta, Georgia, and New Orleans by Armand Blackmar. The author, Susan Blanchard Elder, was born in Fort Jessup, Louisiana, on April 19, 1835. Her father, at that time a captain in the United States Army, was stationed there. She was educated in Catholic schools near New Orleans from 1850-52.¹¹⁷ Raymond described these as "world-noted public schools" and went on to say, "Cultivation taught her to appreciate art, and her education thoroughly developed a mind of no ordinary capacity."¹¹⁸ Raymond also stated that her mother died when Susan was quite young and that she was separated from her father for many years,

¹¹⁶ Carlton McCarthy, *Detailed Minutiae of Soldier Life* (Richmond: Carlton McCarthy and Company, 1882), 199.

¹¹⁷ "Elder, Susan Blanchard," *Biographies of Notable Americans, 1904*; available from <http://search.ancestry.com>; accessed 7 March 2005.

¹¹⁸ Raymond, 334.

leaving her virtually an orphan. She failed to elaborate.¹¹⁹ In 1850, at the age of fifteen, Susan Blanchard was living in her father's household along with his second wife and their six children and three other adults, probably a boarder and two servants.¹²⁰ In April of 1855 she married Charles D. Elder.¹²¹ Elder was a book dealer who owned his own bookshop by 1866.¹²² The war evidently had an effect on their lifestyle; between 1860 and 1870 their estate value diminished, but in 1870 they still had two "domestics."¹²³ The most immediate impact of the war was their forced evacuation from New Orleans due to the Federal occupation of that city. The family spent the greater part of the war years in Selma, Alabama, where their home became a hospital for wounded confederate soldiers.¹²⁴

After the war, the family returned to New Orleans and, according to Raymond, Susan Elder "gracefully" conformed to their changed circumstances, devoted much time to the education of her children and "those increased household cares to which our Southern matrons have been called since the war,"¹²⁵ presumably referring to the loss of slaves. Also, according to one biographical source, after the war, she was a "professor of

¹¹⁹ Raymond, 334.

¹²⁰ 1850 US Census, New Orleans Municipality 2, 4th Ward, New Orleans, Orleans Parrish, Louisiana.

¹²¹ "Daily Picayune, 4/22/1855, p. 4, c. 3," New Orleans Marriage Index; available from <http://search.ancestry.com>; accessed 7 March 2005.

¹²² *Soard's New Orleans, Louisiana City and Business Directory for 1866*, lists 143 St. Charles as the address of Elder's bookshop and 90 Pleasant as their residence. Available from <http://search.ancestry.com>; accessed 7 March 2005.

¹²³ 1860 US Census, Thibodaux, LaFourche Parrish, Louisiana and 1870 US Census: Ward 12, New Orleans, Orleans Parrish, Louisiana. In 1860 their real estate value was \$1500 and personal estate value was \$1800. In 1870 no real estate value is listed, but the personal estate value had dropped to \$400. There were two female domestics in the household; one Caucasian and one African-American.

¹²⁴ "Elder, Susan Blanchard," *Biographies of Notable Americans, 1904*.

¹²⁵ Raymond, 335.

natural sciences in the high school” until 1884,¹²⁶ a fact born out by the 1880 census, where her occupation is listed as “teacher.”¹²⁷ The same source goes on to say that she was the assistant editor of the *Morning Star* from 1882 until 1890.¹²⁸ She then served at the Southern Academic Institute as a vice-principal in 1890 and as a teacher in 1891.¹²⁹

Sometime before 1900 Susan Blanchard Elder was widowed and that census year, she was the head-of-household in a house that she owned and shared with a daughter, son-in-law, and grandson. She also employed a cook and a nurse.¹³⁰ By the next census, she was living with her daughter, son-in-law, and their five children. Her oldest daughter, Theresa, who had remained single, was also living there. Both she and Theresa were writers for newspapers.¹³¹ Susan Blanchard Elder died in November of 1923, at the age of eighty-eight.¹³²

According to Raymond, Elder began writing at sixteen. She contributed short poems and “little pictures of life” to various newspapers. Her early work is described as being full of pathos and beauty, written with simplicity of style and tenderness of feeling, and sometimes tinged with melancholy. Raymond attributes her patriotic and military themes, as well as her love of the “wild and stupendous in Nature,” to her early years in a

¹²⁶ “Elder, Susan Blanchard,” *Biographies of Notable Americans, 1904*.

¹²⁷ 1880 US Census, New Orleans, Orleans Parrish, Louisiana.

¹²⁸ “Elder, Susan Blanchard,” *Biographies of Notable Americans, 1904*.

¹²⁹ *New Orleans, Louisiana Directories, 1890-1891*; available from <http://search.ancestry.com>; accessed 31 March 2007.

¹³⁰ 1900 US Census, New Orleans, Orleans Parrish, Louisiana.

¹³¹ 1910 US Census, New Orleans, Orleans Parrish, Louisiana.

¹³² *New General Catalog of Old Books and Authors*; available from <http://kingkong.demon.uk/ngcoba/ngcoba/htm>; accessed 31 March 2007.

military outpost in the West (Ft. Jessup, Louisiana). She also suggests that the melancholy elements are derived from the early death of Elder's mother.¹³³

Both Raymond and Davidson agreed that the onset of war spurred Elder to greater creativity.¹³⁴ Davidson's rather chauvinistic accounting for this was that before the war the "allurements of domestic life too fully met the wants of her womanly nature, happy beyond the need of poetic utterance."¹³⁵ He also attributed the greater output and new character of her work to the effects of war:

She wrote essays, addresses, lyrics, petty dramas, and literary exercises of a light nature. The war roused her to graver themes. Exile into Mississippi and Alabama, during the greater part of the war, called forth frequent utterances of sentiments accordant to the harsher times in which her life was moving.¹³⁶

After the war, Elder published several prose works in addition to her poetry and contributed to several Catholic publications.¹³⁷ Davidson included her poem, "Chateaux en Espagne," in his 1869 volume, saying that it was a "pleasantly turned lyric of the times, and illustrates in some degree the general style of Mrs. Elder's versification, though it wants something of that vivid and indignant tone that characterizes some of her war songs."¹³⁸

¹³³ Raymond, 334.

¹³⁴ Raymond, 335, and Davidson, 177.

¹³⁵ Davidson, 177.

¹³⁶ Davidson, 177.

¹³⁷ "Elder, Susan Blanchard," *Biographies of Notable Americans*, 1904.

¹³⁸ Davidson, 178.

“The Confederate Flag” is one of those war songs. Unlike Clark and Hundley, who praised the early flag of secession, Elder’s verses tout the later national flag, the “Stars and Bars:”

Bright Banner of Freedom! with pride I unfold thee,
Fair flag of my country, with love I behold thee,
Gleaming above us in freshness and youth,
Emblem of liberty, symbol of truth,

Chorus: For this flag of my country in triumph shall wave
O’er the Southerners’ home and the Southerners’ grave.

All bright are the Stars that are beaming upon us,
And bold are the Bars that are gleaming above us,
The one shall increase in their number and light,
The other grow bolder in power and might.

Chorus: For this flag of my country, etc.

Those Bars of bright red show our firm resolution
To die, if need be, shielding thee from pollution;
For man in this hour, must give all he holds dear,
And woman her pray’rs and her words of high cheer.

Chorus: If they wish this fair banner in triumph must wave, etc.

To the great God of Battle we look with reliance,
On our fierce Northern foe with contempt and defiance;
For the South shall smile on in her fragrance and bloom
When the North is fast sinking in silence and gloom.

Chorus: For the flag of our country, etc.

In this poem Elder voices many of the recurring themes found in the Southern war poetry of the period. She expresses pride, love, and admiration for the flag. The flag represents her country, the South, and her feelings for the flag are an extension of her patriotism toward her country. To Elder the flag was a thing of beauty and a symbol of

freedom. That would be Southern freedom from Northern interference. She is confident of ultimate Southern victory, a belief based upon God's ability to turn the tide of battles. For the North there is only contempt and defiance. The South will finish fragrant, blooming, and smiling, "smelling like a rose" as they say. The North has already begun its slide into oblivion. The reference in the chorus to the Southerners' home and grave incorporates the defense of homeland with a fight to the death if necessary. She reiterates this more strongly in verse three: "our firm resolution to die, if need be." Elder defines the roles of men and women in the conflict: men to give all, the ultimate sacrifice if necessary, and women, presumably on the home front, to support the men with prayers and encouragement.

The overall tone of the poem is positive, confident, and optimistic. Published in 1861, the lines reflect the flush of excitement at the prospect of building a new nation. One hears something of the "vivid and indignant tone" to which Davidson referred. Her word choices are descriptive: "bright banner," "gleaming above us," "freshness and youth," "bars of bright red," and "bright stars beaming upon us." In addition, there is the personification of the South smiling. Elder's indignation is evident in the reference to "shielding" the flag from "pollution" and the expression of "contempt and defiance" for the North. Still, the biting venom and bloodthirstiness of Catherine Warfield is lacking. Also evident here is Elder's simplicity of style. At least it is refreshingly simple by nineteenth-century standards. Except for the use of "thee," there is no archaic or Biblical language as with Kate DuBose, and the sentence structure is straightforward, unlike the lines of Julia Shelton, in which the word order is sometimes inverted.

Follow the Flag!

The last three songs relating to flags also qualify as “calls to arms.” “The Flag of the South,” with words by Anna K. Hearn, and “The Stars of Our Banner,” by Alice Lane, were both published in 1861 amidst the white-hot fervor surrounding the opening volleys of the war. The third, “Up With the Flag” by Dr. William B. and Ann Battle Harrell was published in 1863 when the war was already well under way, and may have been intended to help bolster sagging Southern spirits.

Mrs. Anna K. Hearn was born Anna K. Dixon in Tennessee, on March 8, 1828 and died in that same state on October 1, 1910.¹³⁹ Her “The Flag of the South” is subtitled “A Voice from the Old Academy” and dedicated to C. D. Elliott. Elliott was Dr. Collins D. Elliott, teacher and principal of the Nashville Female Academy.¹⁴⁰ It would seem logical to assume that Hearn had been a student there since she came from a prominent family.¹⁴¹ Anna was married in 1852 to the Reverend Isham G. Hearn. Hearn was described as “one of the most influential ministers of his time” and “known throughout West Tennessee as a man of much ability and influence.” Mrs. Hearn lost both her husband and a son at the Battle of Shiloh in 1862.¹⁴² She was married and widowed twice more before her death.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Jonathan Kennon Thompson Smith, “Anna K. McMillen,” *Genealogical Abstracts From Reported Deaths, The Nashville Christian Advocate, 1911-1914* (Jackson, TN: J.K.T. Smith, 2003); available from http://tns-verso.auto-graphics.com/verso/public/public_opac.htm; accessed 6 April 2007.

¹⁴⁰ W. Woodford. Clayton, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee* (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis and Co., 1880).

¹⁴¹ Transcribed by David Donahue, “Biographical Sketches of Decatur County,” *The Goodspeed Publishing Co., History of Tennessee, 1886*; available from <http://www.tngenweb.org/goodspeed/decatu/bios.html>; accessed 11 July 2006.

¹⁴² Donahue, “Biographical Sketches of Decatur County.”

¹⁴³ Smith, “Anna K. McMillan.”

Her lyrics to “Flag of the South” proclaim a rousing call to arms, directed to
Southern men:

Ye Southern men that love your land,
Gird on your armor bright!
Go ye forth like Sparta’s band,
And battle for your right,
Raise your banners!
Shout your cry,
“God save our sunny South, God save our sunny South!
For her we live, for her we’ll die,
E’en at the cannon’s mouth!”

Chorus: For her we live, for her we’ll die,
E’en at the cannon’s mouth!

Go ye forth with valiant arm
To save your happy home!
Heard ye not the bold alarm
Sound from the City Dome?
Their forts, their arms we mean to take,
Is Tyrants sullen boast.
Oh! let the earth around him shake
With thunder from our coast!

Dispute with them each inch of ground
Within our sunny land!
Let your martial thunder sound
Along the Northern strand!
“Strike! till the last arm’d foe expires”
On each green savannah!
“Strike! for your altars and your fires”
And Old Jackson’s banner!

Drive from our land, this coward foe
That dares our right deny;
That aims at us a dastard blow,
And bids us yield, or die!
Yield! yes, with the crimson flood
That ebbs our lives away,
For our injur’d country’s good,
We’ll yield-the worthless clay!

Our INDEPENDENCE we shall prove,
Tho' ev'ry "stripe" be torn,
And all the "stars" that own'd our love
Another flag adorn!
Ne'er shall Northern colors o'er us wave
That deny us "Equal Rights"
In the land our father's died to save
From England's belted knights!

Then, Southern men that love your land,
Gird on your armor bright!
And go ye forth a Spartan band
To battle for your right!
Raise your banner! Shout your cry,
"God save our Sunny South,
For her we live, for her we'll die,
E'en at the cannon's mouth!"

This poem incorporates nearly every theme seen in southern Civil War poetry: fighting for love of country; fighting to defend homes, altars, and fires; fighting to defend Southern rights; and fighting to the death if need be. Northerners, described as tyrannical, sullen, dastardly, and cowardly, are aggressive invaders, seeking to take over the "sunny South." Fighting to the death is expressed in the first chorus: to live and die for country, even in the face of cannon fire. Later there is the reference to yielding blood and "worthless clay" for the good of one's country. Hearn admonishes Southern men to "go forth like Sparta's band." It is unknown to what extent she would carry the allusion. Sparta, in ancient Greece, was a militaristic, slave-holding city-state that sought to produce strong, vigorous young men and women. They ultimately defeated Athens, their *northern* neighbor, in the Peloponnesian Wars.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ Richard Hooker, "Ancient Greece," *World Civilization* (1996); available from <http://www.wsu.edu/~dee/GREECE/GREECE.HTM>; accessed 7 April 2007. *World Civilization* is an

Although the word “flag” appears in her title, it is not the major theme of the poem, only appearing in three out of six verses. There are passing references in the first and third verses: “Raise your banners!” and “Strike! for your altars and fires and Old Jackson’s banner!” Presumably she means General Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson. Hearn’s most extended reference to the flag is in verse five, where she states that the proof of our independence (emphasized by capital letters) is the determination to defend the flag until it is tattered and torn and the refusal to submit to the flag of the United States. She also alludes to our fight for freedom in the American Revolution.

There are six verses, the first and last being similar enough to form “bookends” to the four middle verses. Because of the text underlay, one verse under the music and the rest printed at the end, it is impossible to say whether the chorus is always the same or if it is always the last lines of the verse preceding it.

Alice Lane, composer of “The Stars of Our Banner,” is credited by Abel with two other compositions, both for piano.¹⁴⁵ The words to “The Stars of Our Banner” were supplied by Louisiana poet, Mark Frederick Bigney (1817-1886):

Up! up! let the stars of our Banner
Flash out like the brilliants above.
Beneath them we’ll shield from dishonor
The homes and the dear ones we love.

Chorus: With “God and the Right!”
Our cry in the fight,
We’ll drive the invader afar,

internet classroom and anthology. It furnishes the reading and course materials for two World Culture courses at Washington State University. Richard Hooker is the author, principal editor, graphic designer, and technical designer.

¹⁴⁵ Abel, in *Confederate Sheet Music*, lists “Reverie Mazourka” (#1321), 181; and “La Zaidee Schottisch” (#1696), 251.

And we'll carve out a name
In the temple of Fame
With the weapons of glorious war.

Arise with an earnest endeavor!
A nation shall hallow the deed:
The foe must be silenc'd forever
Tho' millions in battle may bleed.

Chorus: With "God and the Right!", etc.

Strong arms and a conquerless spirit
We bring as our glory and guard,
If courage a triumph can merit
Then Freedom shall be our reward.

Chorus: With "God and the Right!", etc.

Beneath the high sanction of heaven
We'll fight as our forefathers fought,
Then pray that to us may be given
Such guerdon as fell to their lot.

Chorus: With "God and the Right!", etc.

Lane's setting is in 4/4 time, with a character marking of *maestoso*. (See Appendix B, Figure 5, p. 197.) The song is in the characteristic "solo verse/four part chorus form" typical of parlor songs of the period. Rather than SATB, the chorus parts are designated, from top to bottom: tenor, alto, air, basso. The word "chorus" is parenthetically followed by the words *ad libitum*. Since the song was intended to be sung by family members and/or friends gathered around the parlor piano, the chorus could be sung by any variety or number of voices, or omitted entirely. The accompaniment is made up predominantly of thick chords and open octaves. The rousing, march-like nature of the music is reminiscent of early nineteenth-century French and Italian operatic

soldiers' choruses. The recurring dotted rhythms are also characteristic of nineteenth-century American revival hymns. The piece is in the key of B flat major with a brief tonicization of its relative minor, G minor, in the opening phrase of the chorus.

The final song in this section is "Up with the Flag," composed by Dr. William Bernard Harrell and arranged for piano by his wife, Ann Battle Harrell. Throughout their fifty-six years of married life they collaborated in the composition and performing of hymns and songs.¹⁴⁶ Ann Judson Battle was born in Nashville, North Carolina, on March 8, 1834. She was the daughter of Baptist minister and educator, Amos J. Battle. He was a co-founder of the Chowan Baptist Female Institute and an original trustee of Wake Forest College. His career also included tenures as the pastor of First Baptist churches in both Wilmington, North Carolina, and Raleigh, North Carolina. According to the *Recorder*, her father's involvement in Baptist churches and education greatly influenced Ann so that "in her girlhood she learned to breathe an intelligent interest in the work of God's Kingdom, and especially in everything that pertained to Baptist progress." This then especially fitted her to her future role as a minister's wife.¹⁴⁷ After receiving her education from the Chowan Baptist Female Institute, Battle taught vocal and instrumental music at the Rose Bowen Academy.¹⁴⁸

In his autobiography, William Harrell lovingly recounts his earliest meeting with Battle and his desire to court her, but her father strenuously objected. He intended for his

¹⁴⁶ The *Biblical Recorder*, Harrell Obituary, 19 December 1906, p. 15, c. 3.

¹⁴⁷ Harrell Obituary.

¹⁴⁸ William Bernard Harrell, "Autobiography," 246, *Harrell Family Papers*, Special Collections, J. Murray Atkins Library, the University of North Carolina at Charlotte.

daughter to be a missionary.¹⁴⁹ After consulting with a friend and colleague, Rev. Quinton Trotman, who later presided over the wedding ceremony, the elder Battle relented. William Bernard Harrell and Ann Judson Battle were married on March 13, 1851, just days after her seventeenth birthday. Harrell was baptized in the creek behind the church the same day.¹⁵⁰

Born in Suffolk, Virginia, Harrell had attended Randolph-Macon Academy and received his medical degree from the University of Maryland in 1849. During the Civil War he served as an assistant surgeon in the Confederate army.¹⁵¹ For a few years after the war, Dr. and Mrs. Harrell and two of their children performed as “The Harrell Family.” Dr. Harrell described the repertory: “The music was made on piano and flute, with songs military and amatory, the children also playing and singing duets and solos, all of which seemed quite popular with everybody wherever we went.”¹⁵² In 1868 Harrell was ordained as a Baptist minister and served churches in eastern North Carolina until the 1890s.¹⁵³

Both Dr. and Mrs. Harrell were highly respected and well thought of by their fellow North Carolina Baptists. Both died in November of 1906, she on the 22nd and he, three days later. Their joint obituary included this description of their marriage:

¹⁴⁹ Battle’s naming of his daughter Ann Judson was surely not coincidental. Ann Hasseltine Judson (1789-1826) was the first American female missionary to go overseas, first to India and then to Burma. “Ann Hasseltine Judson,” *Christian Biography Resources*; available from <http://www.wholesomewords.org/missions/bjudsonann.html>; accessed 15 September 2005.

¹⁵⁰ Harrell, “Autobiography,” 239-69.

¹⁵¹ William S. Powell, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 42.

¹⁵² Harrell Autobiography, 319-20.

¹⁵³ Powell, 42.

Their lives together constitute a real poem in the best sense of that word. They were exceedingly practical in their doing, but there was a sentiment of love and tenderness that cast a halo of beauty and glory about it. Their lover-like devotion to each other, their well-directed efforts in the cause of Christ. Their thorough identification of themselves with everything around them that made toward better things entitle them to rank high among the factors that go toward making the kingdom of Heaven a reality on earth.

They were described as being “possessed of culture and refinement to a wonderful degree,” and as being gifted musicians, who would perform their compositions for the joy of their friends. The obituary goes on to say that it would be “out of place to say that they retired when they grew old, for they did not grow old. Who ever went into their charming home circle and felt that they were in the presence of old people?”¹⁵⁴ The Harrells must have maintained cheerfulness, vitality, and optimism up to the ends of their lives.

The Harrells wrote and performed many songs during their lives together. The best known, “Ho! For Carolina,” was very popular and came close to being chosen the state song of North Carolina. Other titles included: “Song of Freedom,” “The Confederate Banner,” “Soldier’s Reverie,” and, the song considered here, “Up With the Flag.”¹⁵⁵ Several sources have stated that Dr. Harrell wrote the lyrics and that Mrs. Harrell set them to music, but when describing the composition of “Ho! For Carolina” in his autobiography, Harrell stated that he wrote the words and melody, and his wife supplied

¹⁵⁴ Harrell Obituary.

¹⁵⁵ Richard Walser, *Poets of North Carolina* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1963), 30.

the piano accompaniment.¹⁵⁶ The sheet music for “Up With the Flag” indicates the same arrangement.

Oh! come, boys, come, with a merry heart and will;
Up with the flag, Up with the flag,
And bear it onward to victory still,
Up with the flag, and away!
Its bright stars twinkle in the rosy morning light,
Up with the flag, Up with the flag,
Beaming o’er for “God and the right,”
Up with the flag, and away!
Spread its folds out proudly and free;
Up with the flag, Up with the flag,
Let it wave o’er the land and the sea;
Up with the flag, and away!
Rally, boys, to the banner that we love,
Up with the flag, Up with the flag!
“Deo vindice,” victorious we’ll prove,
Up with the flag, and away!

Oh! hasten, brothers, the proud foe to meet;
Up with the flag,
For the hordes of the North are doomed to defeat;
Up with the flag, and away!
We’ll plant our flag on the fierce battle-field,
Up with the flag,
And die ‘neath its folds, but never, never yield,
Up with the flag, and away!
Up with the flag with a loud, hearty cheer;
Up with the flag,
Symbol of Freedom, to Southern hearts dear
Up with the flag, and away!
Banner of hope – let the nations of the earth,
Up with the flag,
Honor its claims, and the cause of its birth,
Up with the flag, and away!

¹⁵⁶ Harrell, “Autobiography,” 275-6.

Hark boys, hark! to the roll of the drum!
 Up with the flag,
 Your homes are invaded, come, boys, come!
 Up with the flag, and away!
 Oh! stay not, comrades, meet the dark host
 Up with the flag,
 Strike for your firesides – stand to your post.
 Up with the flag, and away!
 God, your defender, surely, will be –
 Up with the flag,
 Brave hearts win, when resolved to be free.
 Up with the flag, and away!
 Up with the battle flag! Sound the alarm!
 Up with the flag,
 Heed not their numbers, arm! boys, arm!
 Up with the flag, and away!

All of the familiar themes found in other Southern Civil War songs are also found here: anticipation of final victory, the flag as a symbol of freedom, the blessings of God upon the cause, the rightness of the cause, unyielding determination, and the defense of home and fireside. What is missing here is a tone of resentment, bitterness, and anger. The spirit of the piece is buoyant and wholehearted, even joyful. The initial appeal is to a “merry heart and will” and, later, the flag is to be raised “with a loud, hearty cheer.” The melody, marked *moderato* and set in 4/4 time, is rhythmic and rousing. (See Appendix B, Figure 6, p. 200.) On the words, “Up with the flag,” the melody moves downward; first within the range of a sixth, and, then, an octave. On the phrase, “Up with the flag, and away,” the melody moves upward and “away” on the last note. The accompaniment utilizes alternating open octaves and chords in the left and right hands. Each of the three verses is set in two sixteen-bar sections, AA’, which are further subdivided into four eight-bar sections having clear, well-defined two-bar phrases. The eight measure

introduction utilizes the material from the first section and the closing coda, the material from the second section. The overall form is very clearly organized and easily perceptible to the ear. In addition to the initial *moderato* marking at the beginning of the piece, the word *cheerfully* appears at the point where the vocal part starts. That marking fairly sums up the overall spirit of the song.

The Thrill of Victory

Southerners were absolutely confident that final victory would be theirs. In the face of far greater numbers, they firmly believed in the rightness of their cause and God's blessings upon it. Early victories seemed to vindicate these beliefs. Elizabeth Sloman's "Sumter: A Ballad of 1861,"¹⁵⁷ with words by E. O. Murden, celebrated the fall of Fort Sumter to Confederate forces on April 12, 1861. Margaret Weir produced both the words and music to "Dixie Doodle,"¹⁵⁸ which referenced early Confederate victories.

Elizabeth Sloman was born into a theatrical family in England about 1833 and had at least three sisters, two of which were also born in England in the 1830s. All of them were musical.¹⁵⁹ According to the 1910 census, Elizabeth came to the United States in 1838.¹⁶⁰ Throughout the nineteenth century, articles and advertisements appeared in the *New York Times* relative to their performances. While sisters Jane and Ann performed primarily on the piano, Elizabeth was a harpist and vocalist. They often performed

¹⁵⁷ (Charleston: H. Siegling, 1861).

¹⁵⁸ (New Orleans: P. P. Werlein and Halsey, 1862)

¹⁵⁹ 1860 US Census, Charleston, Charleston County, South Carolina and 1870 US Census, New York, New York.

¹⁶⁰ 1910 US Census, Manhattan Ward 21, New York, New York.

together and with their father.¹⁶¹ Elizabeth had studied with French harpist, Nicolas Charles Bochsa,¹⁶² a renowned performer, composer, and teacher of the day.

The Sloman family was living in Charleston, South Carolina, at the time of the 1860 census. Elizabeth's sister, Jane Sloman Torry, is not in the household, presumably married already.¹⁶³ Ann is also not present, for some unknown reason. Information as to the Slomans' whereabouts during the war years is scarce. Odell makes no mention of any performances in or around New York in his volume seven, which covers the years 1857 to 1865. Elizabeth's composition, "Sumter," was published in Charleston in 1861, so they may have been there when the war began. Sloman and his daughters were performing in that city as late as 1864.¹⁶⁴

The US census taken in 1870 found Sloman and his daughters, Elizabeth and Annie, living in New York. According to the census record, both daughters were

¹⁶¹ "The Historic New York Times"; available at <http://library.uncg.edu/dlbs/>; accessed 15 April 2007.

¹⁶² Advertisement, *Broadway Journal*, 30 August to 6 December 1845, appeared eight times; available from <http://library.uncg.edu/dlbs/>; accessed 15 April 2007. In the advertisement, she endorses an "improved patent double-action harp" manufactured by J. F. Browne and Co. and is referred to as a "pupil of N. C. Boscha." His name is spelled incorrectly. Nicholas Bochsa (1789-1856) was an accomplished harpist, who played many other instruments, and a rather prolific composer. He lived in France until 1817. He was compelled to flee the country due to the lucrative forgery business which he conducted on the side. He lived in England until 1839, holding positions at the Royal Academy of Music and the King's Theatre. In his absence, in 1818, he was tried in Paris and condemned to twelve years imprisonment and a fine of 4000 francs. Rumors finally caught up with him in England, and combined with attacks on his character, bankruptcy, and, possibly, bigamy, forced him to leave in 1839. His exact whereabouts the next several years is not known, but he left San Francisco in 1855, bound for Sydney, Australia, where he died in 1856. Presumably, Sloman studied with him in the United States, since she was born about 1833 and he left England in 1839. Temperley says that he was one of the most prolific of composers for the harp and that his harp method was long considered a classic. Nicholas Temperley, "Boscha, (Robert) Nicholas Charles," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy; available from <http://www.grovemusic.com>; accessed 16 April 2007.

¹⁶³ Jane Sloman Torry, was an accomplished pianist, composer, and teacher. According to an article in the *New York Observer and Chronicle*, 8 July 1852, p. 222, she was already married and a teacher at the Brooklyn Female Academy.

¹⁶⁴ W. Stanley Hoole, "Charleston Theatricals During the Tragic Decade, 1860-69," *The Journal of Southern History*, 11 (November 1945): 541.

teachers.¹⁶⁵ Throughout the 1870s, -80s, and -90s Elizabeth Sloman performed in various venues in New York City. One performance, in November of 1882, was with Adelina Patti in *Lucia di Lammermoor*.¹⁶⁶ In May, 1892, she advertised herself as a teacher of the harp.¹⁶⁷ The last mention of her found in the *New York Times* was in May, 1900. Her students and friends gave a concert for her and in her honor at the Astoria.¹⁶⁸ She must have been a much loved and respected teacher and performer. In 1910, Elizabeth and her sister Anna, both in their seventies, were living in a boarding house in Manhattan.¹⁶⁹

In addition to “Sumter,” the song pertinent to this study, Sloman composed several other songs. One, a setting of John Greenleaf Whittier’s “Barbara Frietchie,”¹⁷⁰ qualifies her to be included in a future study of Northern Civil War songs. Her setting of another Whittier poem includes a personal letter from the poet.¹⁷¹ Her musical compositions indicate a musical sophistication somewhat above the typical nineteenth-century parlor piece and demand a more than standard proficiency on the piano.

The song, “Sumter,” commemorates the bombardment and subsequent fall of Fort Sumter to Confederate forces in 1861. This was the event which prompted Lincoln to call for volunteers to put down the rebellion and instigated the Civil War. It is dedicated to General Beauregard and the “Brave Sons of South Carolina.” The words are a poem written by E. O. Murden:

¹⁶⁵ 1870 US Census, New York, New York.

¹⁶⁶ George Odell, “Annals of the New York Stage,” vol. 12 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927-31), 80.

¹⁶⁷ Advertisement, *Belford’s Monthly and Democratic Review*, 9, no. 48, May 1892, A12.

¹⁶⁸ “What Is Doing in Society,” *New York Times*, May 28, 1900.

¹⁶⁹ 1910 US Census, Manhattan, Ward 21, New York, New York.

¹⁷⁰ (New York: W. A. Pond and Co., 1874).

¹⁷¹ Elizabeth Sloman, *The Vow of Washington* (New York: W. A. Pond and Co., 1889).

T'was on the twelfth of April, Before the break of day,
We heard the guns of Moultrie, give signal for the fray.
Anon across the waters, There boomed the answ'ring gun,
From North and South came flash on flash, The battle had begun;
Again to fight for Liberty, Our Gallant boys had come
They smiled when came the bugle call, And laughed when tapp'd the drum!

See! Yonder anxious gazing, Alone a matron stands,
The tear drop glistening on each lid And tightly clasped her hands,
For there exposed to deadly fire, Her husband and her son,
"Father" she said and heavenward looked, "Father! Thy will be done."
Yet breathed no heart one thought of Fear, Prompt at their country's call,
They yielded up their dearest hopes, And gave to honor all.

All day the shot flew thick and fast, All night the cannon roared
While wreath'd in smoke, stern Sumter stood And vengeful answer poured.
Now densest smoke and lurid flames Burst out o'er Sumter's walls.
"The Fort's on fire," is the cry, And soon for aid must call.
See! How he answers gun for gun, Hurrah! His flag is down,
The white, the white, Oh! see it wave, Is echoed all around.

Now ring the bells a joyous peal, and rend with shouts the air.
We've torn the hated banner down, And placed the Crescent there.
All honor to our gallant boys, bring forth the roll of fame.
And there in glowing lines inscribe Each patriot hero's name.
Spread Spread the tidings far and wide Ye winds take up the cry,
Our souls redeemed from the hated yoke, We'll keep it pure, or die.

E. O. Murden may have been one of those "Brave Sons of South Carolina," so he was possibly an eyewitness and perhaps even a participant in the bombardment.¹⁷² The cover reads: "Composed and Dedicated to General Beauregard and the Brave Sons of South Carolina by Elizabeth Sloman," implying that she herself may have been responsible for the dedication. This would seem to indicate sympathy for the Southern

¹⁷² There is an E. O. Murden listed as a Private in the 23rd Regiment, Company D, South Carolina Infantry, formerly Hatch's Coast Rangers. National Park Service, "Civil War Soldiers and Sailors System," Available from <http://www.itd.nps.gov/cwss/soldiers.cfm>; accessed 22 September 2007. There was also an E. O. Murden, captured by Federals 21 June 1863, who captained the blockade runner, *Victory*. Mark E. Neely, *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1982), 144.

cause. Her setting of the Northern poem, “Barbara Frietchie,” was published in 1874, years after the war was over. As a composer, she may have simply been accepting commissions.

The piece is set in 4/4 time and is marked *con spirito*. (See Appendix B, Figure 7, p. 203.) There is an opening eight measure introduction for the piano and a shorter four measure closing section, which, with four verses, functions as a ritornello. The writing of these two sections is more pianistic than the writing which accompanies the voice. The introductory measures include two cadenza-like figures in the right hand; one measure and two measures long, respectively. The writing which accompanies the voice is chordal, sometimes alternating quarter notes and eighth notes with rest in-between and sometimes dotted quarters with rest in-between. Then it changes to open octaves in the left hand alternated with repeated chords in the right hand, before returning to the former. The piece is a three-part form: ABA’, with the B section tonicizing D major, the dominant of the home key, G major.

Sloman’s writing demonstrates her above average musical style, compositional skills, and, presumably, performance skills as well. She utilizes keyboard ornamentation without overdoing it, modulates smoothly from tonic to dominant and back again, and creates tonal interest through the effective use of accidentals. Judging from the first verse, the text-underlay is very good. The melodic emphasis accurately fits the textual emphasis. The other three verses are placed at the end of the piece. In this genre of American “parlor songs,” Sloman strikes a good balance between the sometimes pretentious writing that is based on European operatic models and the less pretentious,

more straightforward, and sometimes “square” American models reminiscent of nineteenth-century revival hymns.

Another song that celebrated early Confederate victories was “Dixie Doodle,” music and lyrics by Mrs. Margaret Weir. The dedication was to “Our dear soldiers on the Battle Field.” Another of Mrs. Weir’s songs was published in 1832.¹⁷³ This early publication date would seem to indicate that when the war began, she was already middle-aged or older. “Dixie Doodle” was published in at least seven different Southern cities, giving no hint to her residence:

Dixie whipped old Yankee Doodle early in the morning,
So Yankeedom had best look out, And take a timely warning.

Chorus: Hurrah! for our Dixie Land! Hurrah! for our borders!
Southern boys to arms will stand, and whip the dark marauders!

Yankee Doodles soundly slept upon their greasy pillows,
While Dixie boys, with muffled oars, were gliding o’er the billows.

Chorus: Hurrah! for our Dixie Land!, etc.

Yankee Doodles, grease your heels, make ready to be running,
For Dixie boys are near at hand, surpassing you in cunning.

Chorus: Hurrah! for our Dixie Land!, etc.

Anderson, the gallant brave, who broke upon their slumbers,
E’en little girls and boys shall sing your name in tuneful numbers.

Chorus: Hurrah! for our Dixie Land!, etc.

A thousand blessings on your heads, our brave, unflinching leaders,
A light you are upon the path of all our brave seceders.

Chorus: Hurrah! for our Dixie Land!, etc.

¹⁷³ “The Lord of the Castle; a Favorite Song” (New York: Firth and Hall, 1832).

Wright, on Carolina's coast, was e'er a hero bolder?
He seized a Yankee foe, and made a breastwork of the soldier.

Chorus: Hurrah! for our Dixie Land!, etc.

Louisiana, bold and brave, renowned for Creole beauty,
Your champions will bear in mind the watchword, grace and booty!

Chorus: Hurrah! for our Dixie Land!, etc.

Yankee Doodle, fare thee well, ere long you'll soon be forgotten,
While Dixie's notes will gaily float throughout the land of cotton.

Chorus: Hurrah! for our Dixie Land!, etc.

Weir's text, with its cocky sarcasm, and her playful, upbeat musical setting combine to form the only song in this study that is remotely humorous. Humorous Civil War songs, usually lamenting and ridiculing routine camp life, were generally written by men. Here Weir celebrates Southern victories and ridicules Yankees for being lax in vigilance, easily routed, and lacking in cunning. Southerners are, of course, cunning, brave, bold, and unflinching. She is confident of Southern victory, referring in the last verse, to the songs "Yankee Doodle," forever forgotten, and "Dixie," sounding perpetually throughout the South. In spite of some poetic contractions, the language is in the vernacular, unlike some earlier songs in this study which utilized more archaic, even Biblical wording. This gives the text a lighter feeling and makes it much easier to sing.

The musical setting is "catchy." (See Appendix B, Figure 8, p. 206.) The meter is 2/4 and marked *spirited*. Weir has borrowed from both "Yankee Doodle" and "Dixie" with the 2/4 meter and the "up and down," non-legato melody. The opening measure of the melody even sounds like Dixie." She has skillfully combined elements of both songs.

Some of the melodic movement is stepwise, but great use is made of descending and ascending thirds. There are some running sixteenth notes as well as dotted eighth and sixteenth patterns, adding to the playful quality of the piece. There are two sequential patterns, one at the end of the verse and one at the end of the chorus, which help to make the tune more easily accessible to the ear. The melodic range of the song extends from the a^1 below middle c to f^2 an octave above middle c , stretching a little beyond what would be considered middle-range. Weir has successfully combined elements from the two songs that perhaps most identified the opposing sides of the conflict. In so doing, she has created a song that is upbeat and tuneful, without the musical or textual pretensions so often typical of the period.

Hero Worship

Neither of the opposing sides in the conflict had a dearth of heroes and many were commemorated in poetry and song. Probably the most revered on the Southern side, then and now, was General Robert E. Lee of Virginia. “The Sword of Robert Lee” was one of the best known poems of Father Abram Ryan, known as the “Poet-Priest of the Confederacy”:¹⁷⁴

Forth from its scabbard, pure and bright,
Flashed the sword of Lee!

¹⁷⁴ Abram Joseph Ryan was born in 1838 or 1839 in either Hagerstown, Maryland, or Norfolk, Virginia, the son of Irish immigrants. At an early age, the family moved to Missouri. Educated at Niagara University in New York, Ryan was ordained a priest in the Vincentian order in 1856. He taught theology at Niagara and at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, until the war began. He served in the Confederate army as a chaplain throughout the war. After the war he served various parishes in the South and was never “reconstructed” in his pro-Southern views. He published several volumes of war poetry and established a weekly literary magazine called *The Banner of the South*. His most famous poem was *The Conquered Banner*. He died in a Franciscan monastery in Kentucky in 1886. “About Abram Joseph Ryan”; available from <http://www.civilwarpoetry.org>; accessed 20 April 2007.

Far in the front of the deadly fight,
High o'er the brave in the cause of Right
Its stainless sheen, like a beacon light,
Led to victory!

Out of its scabbard, where, full long,
It slumbered peacefully,
Roused from its rest by the battle's song,
Shielding the feeble, smiting the strong,
Guarding the right, avenging the wrong,
Gleamed the sword of Lee!

Forth from its scabbard, high in the air,
Beneath Virginia's sky—
And they who saw it gleaming there,
And knew who bore it, knelt to swear
That where that sword led they would dare
To follow—and to die!

Out of its scabbard! Never hand
Waved sword from stain as free,
Nor purer sword led braver band,
Nor braver bled for a brighter land,
Nor brighter land had a cause so grand,
Nor cause a chief like Lee!

Forth from its scabbard! How we prayed
That sword might victor be;
And when our triumph was delayed,
And many a heart grew sore afraid,
We still hoped on while gleamed the blade
Of noble Robert Lee!

Forth from its scabbard all in vain
Bright flashed the sword of Lee,
'Tis shrouded now in its sheath again,
It sleeps the sleep of our noble slain,
Defeated, yet without stain,
Proudly and peacefully.

One musical setting of this poem was composed by a woman, Miss Carrie R.

Stakely (1843-1922). According to her obituary she was born in Madisonville,

Tennessee.¹⁷⁵ She grew up in an apparently middle-class family, her father being a dry goods merchant, with at least six other siblings and step-siblings.¹⁷⁶ In the 1870 census she was still living at home and teaching music. She must have been successful at it, since her estate value was listed as \$2500, a rather impressive amount of money for a woman in those days.¹⁷⁷ She was married, on January 1, 1874, to James S. Hall of Knoxville, Tennessee, and lived there until her death on March 26, 1922. She died a widow and was survived by at least three children. She was described as:

a lady of high culture, wonderfully gifted as a musician, of scholarly attainments, a sincere Christian, a leader in Sabbath school and church work. She had a bright, merry disposition; she was a true gentlewoman in every sense of the word.¹⁷⁸

There is no date on the publication of Stakely's setting,¹⁷⁹ but judging from its last verse, the poem was not published until after the war. Five other settings of the poem have been found, four published in 1866 and 1867 and all retaining the original title of the poem.¹⁸⁰ Stakely called hers "The Sword of Gen. Lee."

The piece is in 4/4 time and marked *moderato*. (See Appendix B, Figure 9,

¹⁷⁵ Obituary for Carrie Stakely, *The Kefauver Family Papers* MS 2498, Item 17, Special Collections, Hoskins Library, The University of Tennessee at Knoxville.

¹⁷⁶ 1860 US Census, 10th District, Sweetwater, Monroe County, Tennessee.

¹⁷⁷ 1870 US Census, Union Springs, Bullock County, Alabama.

¹⁷⁸ "Obituary for Carrie Stakely."

¹⁷⁹ (Louisville, KY: Louis Tripp).

¹⁸⁰ Henry Webber, "The Sword of Robert Lee" (Nashville: James A. McClure, 1866); E. Louis Ide, "The Sword of Robert Lee" (Baltimore: George Willig and Co., 1867); C. C. de Nordendorf, "The Sword of Robert E. Lee" (Lynchburg, Virginia: Southern Musical Exchange, 1867); Rev. Father Rotchford, "The Sword of Robert Lee" (Memphis: E. A. Benson, 1867); A. E. Blackmar, "The Sword of Robert Lee" (n.p.; copyright held by Oliver Ditson).

p. 209.) Each verse is set in a rather atypical twelve-bar form, as opposed to the more usual sixteen. Instead of two eight-measure or four four-measure phrases, there are three four-measure phrases. Other composers who set this poem either repeated the first or last lines of the poem to accommodate the additional measures or simply added extra measures for the piano accompaniment. The piano accompaniment here employs the typical alternation of solid and broken chords as seen in earlier examples cited. The twelve measures are “framed” by a four-measure introduction and a different four-measure closing for the piano. The chorus is also typically set for SATB chorus.

The piece is in A flat major and remains very straightforward harmonically, except in measure ten near the end of the verse, where Stakely briefly tonicizes the dominant, E flat major. She places a vii^{o7}/V in the middle of the last phrase with a fermata. This very unstable harmony is thus prolonged by the fermata before it cadences through a I^6 and a V^7 to the tonic, A flat. The same three chords end the first phrase, but without the seventh on the dominant chord. This additional seventh strengthens the cadential feeling. In the first verse, which Stakely repeats as the chorus, the fermata occurs on the word *light*, perhaps using the harmonic instability to represent its ephemeral nature, and, further, the transitory nature of the Southern cause. In Ryan’s poem, the sword is not literal, but represents Lee’s leadership and its transitory nature.

Homage to the Common Man

Not only were songs produced that honored famous Southern military leaders, but also the common soldier in the ranks. One such song was “The Soldier’s Suit of Grey,”¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ Music by E. Clarke Ilesley (Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1864).

with lyrics written by Georgia poetess, Carrie Bell Sinclair. She was not a member of the Southern aristocratic elite, and being of more humble origins, it seems fitting that she would pay homage to the ordinary soldier. She was born in Milledgeville, Georgia, in 1839. She was the third of eight daughters, two of which died in infancy, born to Reverend Elijah Sinclair and his wife, Cecilia Wells Sinclair.¹⁸² Both parents were natives of South Carolina and Elijah was a nephew of inventor Robert Fulton,¹⁸³ best known for his application of steam power to a ship. Elijah Sinclair, Methodist clergyman and educator, was one of the founders of the Georgia Female Academy, later Wesleyan College, in Macon, Georgia, the world's oldest college for women.¹⁸⁴ Failing health compelled him to leave the pulpit, and his last years were spent in Georgetown, South Carolina, teaching in a female seminary.¹⁸⁵ According to one source, he died in 1841 in Anson County, North Carolina.¹⁸⁶

Sinclair was a child when her father died, and three years after his death one of her sisters also died. It was these events that prompted her first verses. Shortly afterward, the Sinclair women moved to Augusta. Using the pseudonym "Clara," Carrie published poems in the *Georgia Gazette*. It was also in Augusta that she published her first volume

¹⁸² Anna Marie Green Cook, *History of Baldwin County, Georgia* (Anderson, SC: Keyes-Hearn, 1925; reprint, Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Co., 1978), 444-5.

¹⁸³ Ida Raymond [Mary T. Tardy], *Southland Writers: Biographical and Critical Sketches of the Living Female Writers of the South, With Extracts From Their Writings* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remson and Haffelfinger, 1870), 466. Robert Fulton (1765-1815) was a painter and inventor. He invented, among many other things, a mill for sawing marble, a machine for spinning flax, and several different types of boats. He successfully experimented with submarines and torpedoes and was especially interested in steam navigation and canal navigation. In addition to his experiments and inventions, he wrote several essays on these subjects. He is best known for his application of the steam engine to a ship. His steamboat, the *Clermont*, steamed up the Hudson River to Albany on August 11, 1807. Stanley L. Klos, ed., "Robert Fulton"; available from <http://famousamericans.net/robertfulton/>; accessed 3 March 2007.

¹⁸⁴ Cook, 444.

¹⁸⁵ Raymond, 466.

¹⁸⁶ Jeannette Holland Austin, *Georgia Obituaries 1740-1935* (n.p., Georgia: H. R. Books, 1993).

of poetry, titled simply *Poems* and dedicated to her mentor, Alexander Stephens.¹⁸⁷

Stephens, later vice-president of the Confederacy, provided financial assistance in the book's publication.¹⁸⁸ The volume was evidently well received, and Sinclair was seen as a promising young writer. Raymond quotes one reviewer, "Here and there the poetical element glitters through like the sunlight between fresh green leaves, and shows that she possesses some of the elements necessary for success."¹⁸⁹ One critic, poet/editor John R. Thompson of Richmond, commended the poems as youthful efforts, but deemed them written with too much haste and in too much quantity. He admonished Sinclair to take more time and greater care to produce poems of better quality.¹⁹⁰

When *Poems* was published in 1860, Sinclair was twenty-one years of age. According to her preface, she had been writing and publishing her poetry successfully for two years. She stated that it had been her intention since a child to publish a volume of poems. She said that she had not expected to accomplish this task so soon, but friends urged her on. Although she expressed some trepidation as to the poems' reception, Sinclair hoped that readers would be moved by what they read, and she referred to the sorrow of her own life. Sinclair also indicated that, if the volume were successful, she would publish a larger one in the future.¹⁹¹ One hears something of sorrow in the tone of the preface, yet there is hope for the future. She does not sound weighed down with the cares of life. Her self-effacing attitude and youthfulness come through. There is no hint of

¹⁸⁷ Carrie Bell Sinclair, *Poems* (Augusta: H. D. Norrell, 1860).

¹⁸⁸ Richard Harwell, *Confederate Music* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950), 74.

¹⁸⁹ Raymond, 466.

¹⁹⁰ Mary Forrest, *Women of the South Distinguished in Literature* (New York: Charles B. Richardson, 1866), 27-8.

¹⁹¹ Sinclair, v-vi.

disaster on the horizon. For Sinclair the writing of poems was not simply an artistic enterprise or a personal creative outlet. Short on career options, like many women of her time, Sinclair said that she hoped to generate some income for her family and “secure a home for her mother and sisters.”¹⁹²

During the war years Sinclair resided in Savannah, Georgia, supporting the war effort in various ways. Like many Southern women, she visited military hospitals seeking to comfort the sick and wounded soldiers. As a strong advocate of the Southern war effort, she also wrote and published poems praising the South and the legitimacy of the Southern cause, many of which were set to music. Often she presented her poems publicly as recitations.¹⁹³ According to the *Confederate Veteran*, she presented thirteen handmade silk flags to different Confederate regiments.¹⁹⁴ One such presentation, recorded in the *Savannah Republican*, took place February 7, 1862. In Sinclair’s address to the troops she said that her motivation was her belief in the Southern cause and her pride in the soldiers from her home state. She spoke of the flag as a symbol of power, justice, and liberty that would wave over the South in final victory, striking fear in the enemy and bringing pride to the Southern people. Anyone who did not feel love for his native land and hatred for its invaders was likened to Benedict Arnold. To Sinclair the role of women was to attend the sick and suffering away from the battlefield, but she cited the example of a woman who, during the Mexican War, defied the Mexican army, denied them entrance to the United States Embassy, and raised the United States flag

¹⁹² Forrest, 27.

¹⁹³ One such event occurred on Friday evening in April of 1864. It was advertised in the *Savannah Republican* as “Grand Entertainment” at the Athenaeum, consisting of “Recitations, Tableaux, and Songs for the Benefit of the Widow’s Home.” 22 April 1864, p. 2, col. 5.

¹⁹⁴ “The Homespun Dress,” *Confederate Veteran* 9 (September 1901), 399.

there. She hoped that Georgia might yet produce a woman of such bravery and daring who would plant the Confederate flag in the face of the enemy.¹⁹⁵

In addition to publishing her poems, performing recitation, and making and presenting flags, Sinclair was the president of the Ladies Knitting Society, a relief effort she organized in conjunction with the Quartermaster General of Georgia. By 1863 the South was beginning to feel the pinch of shortages, and yarn was sometimes in short supply. But on Christmas Eve of that year she had received a large supply from the Quartermaster General. Having enough yarn now for eighty or ninety pairs of socks, she called for any interested volunteers to knit: “With the beginning of the New Year, let us renew our efforts in behalf of the suffering soldiers, and do all that we can for their comfort.”¹⁹⁶

All of these activities provided strong evidence of Sinclair’s enthusiastic support of the Southern cause. Besides simply writing about the war, she stayed busily engaged in the effort as much as anyone could personally. There is no evidence, to my knowledge, that she and her family owned slaves. Given their social standing and presumed financial situation, it seems highly unlikely. Her actions must have sprung from genuine feelings of nationalism and admiration for the nobility of the soldiers and their sacrifice. She obviously felt that the soldier’s sacrifice on the battlefield must be matched with equal fervency on the home front.

¹⁹⁵ The *Savannah Republican*, 7 February 1862, p. 3, c. 1.

¹⁹⁶ *Socks, Stockings, and Other Knitted Items: Articles from Civil War Newspapers*; The *Savannah Republican*, 24 December 1863; available from <http://www.uttyler.edu>, accessed 6 February 2007.

After the war Sinclair continued to write and publish poetry. Her second volume of poetry, *Heart Whispers, or Echoes of Song*, was published in 1872.¹⁹⁷ Both Davidson and Raymond, writing prior to that date, mentioned the book. Davidson said that the new collection included all of Sinclair's war poems and was ready for publication.¹⁹⁸ Raymond included a contemporary journal notice (without citing the specific journal or author):

Miss Sinclair's poems abound with vigor, pathos, and the current of genuine poetic sentiment, united with almost faultless versification, breathing the ardor of true affection, and those deep-thrilling touches of patriotic sentiment that make the tendrils of the warm Southern heart to cling with redoubled fondness around the once happy and prosperous South.¹⁹⁹

Reviews in those days waxed almost as eloquent as the poetry itself, but Sinclair's genuine love for the South most certainly reverberated in the hearts and minds of her fellow Southerners.

According to Raymond, Sinclair was living in her birthplace, Milledgeville, Georgia, in 1870.²⁰⁰ According to the 1880 census, she lived in Philadelphia with her twice-widowed sister, Fanny. She listed her occupation as "writer",²⁰¹ at a time when most women were listed as "at home" or "keeping house." This was how she identified herself and presumably defined her role as a contributor to her family and society.

¹⁹⁷ Edwin Anderson Alderman, Joel Chandler Harris, and Charles William Kent, eds., *Library of Southern Literature* (Atlanta: The Martin and Hoyt Co., 1907, 1910), vol. 15, *Biographical Dictionary*, Lucian Lamar Knight, ed., 400.

¹⁹⁸ Davidson, 530.

¹⁹⁹ Raymond, 467-8.

²⁰⁰ Raymond, 469.

²⁰¹ 1880 US Census, Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania.

According to the *Confederate Veteran*, she died in Philadelphia in 1883, her later life “clouded by disappointment.”²⁰²

Sinclair’s contemporary and biographer, James Wood Davidson, described her as small, having blue eyes, brown hair, and a fair complexion. He wrote that her features were small and often suggested an expression of sadness. Analyzing her handwriting, he found “earnestness, constancy, quickness and acuteness of feeling, hopefulness, and a limited desire for applause.”²⁰³

Although she shared with most Southerners a great admiration and respect for the high-ranking officers in the Confederate army, in “The Soldier’s Suit of Grey,” Sinclair praises the common soldier:

I’ve seen some handsome uniforms deck’d off with buttons bright,
And some that are so very gay, they almost blind the sight;
But of those handsome uniforms I will not sing today,
My song is to each soldier lad, who wears a suit of grey.

Chorus: Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! for Southern boys we say,
And God bless every soldier lad, who wears a suit of grey.

Brass buttons and gold lace I know are beautiful to view,
And then, to tell the honest truth, I own I like them too;
Yet should a thousand officers come crowding round today,
I’d scorn them for a lad who wears a simple suit of grey!

Chorus: Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!, etc.

God bless our Southern soldiers! for every one is dear,
And God defend each gallant form no matter what they wear;
For each has acted well his part, yet still in truth I say,
The bravest of the brave are those who wear a suit of grey!

²⁰² September 1901, 469.

²⁰³ Davidson, 530.

Chorus: Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!, etc.

Tho' torn and faded be each coat, their buttons tarnished too,
I know beneath each soldier's dress a Southern heart beats true;
We honor every gallant son who fights for us today,
And Heaven protect the noble boys who wear the suit of grey!

Chorus: Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!, etc.

They bravely strike for Freedom, and on the battle-field,
They are the first to strike a blow, and they the last to yield;
At Richmond and Manassas who was it won the day?
It was our noble Southern boys all clad in suits of grey!

Chorus: Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!, etc.

God bless our Southern soldiers! for each we breathe a prayer,
And over every fallen son we shed a mourner's tear!
Oh! sacred be the graves of those who died so far away,
And honored be each one who sleeps clad in the suit of grey!

Chorus: (Omit after this verse.)

Round every patriot soldier's brow the laurel wreath entwines,
And round the battle-flag they bear, a ray of glory shines;
And when the foe is conquered with pride we then shall say,
All honor to the noble boys, who wear the suit of grey!

Chorus: Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!, etc.

In her first two verses, Sinclair alludes to the impressively ornate uniforms worn by military officers. These naturally draw attention and turn heads. She confesses to being attracted to them herself. Subsequent verses indicate that she regards the true substance of courage and nobility to lie beneath the uniform, not in it. In fact, the torn, faded uniform represents battlefield experience, bravery under fire, and commitment to the Southern cause. To Sinclair, these are the truly important characteristics of the Southern soldier.

Her appreciation for things simple, unassuming, and humble probably sprang from her own non-elitist background, humility of character (see footnote 199), and interaction with ordinary soldiers in her hospital work, flag presentations, and other wartime activities. She probably would not have been involved, as were planters' daughters, in fancy dress balls, mingling with aristocrats and high-ranking officers.

When this song was published in 1864, much initial Southern enthusiasm must have waned. The tide of the war had turned in the summer of 1863 and the reality of the North's numerical and industrial superiority was taking its toll. In addition, the casualties were mounting. Many of the songs published after 1863 served to bolster morale and encourage flagging spirits. To this end, Sinclair reminds her readers of early victories, calls them to prayer, honors the fallen, and still expresses confidence in ultimate victory. Her strong commitment to and strong faith in the Southern cause comes through without any hint of resentment or bitterness of tone.

CHAPTER IV

TIME FOR A REALITY CHECK

In 1861 most Southerners welcomed the approaching conflict. They confidently marched off to battle following visions of glory, leaving homes and loved ones behind and anticipating an easy victory. Early battlefield successes seemed to confirm what they believed about themselves, the enemy, and the eventual outcome. As the war progressed, the horrors of battle and the casualties left in its wake began to temper their initial enthusiasm. The prolonged separation from loved ones and from the comforts of home began to take its toll. Many soldiers, disillusioned and dissatisfied with military life, were distressed by letters from home describing the problems their beleaguered spouses faced. Increased deprivations at the home front further complicated the lives of women already grappling with the new roles being thrust upon them because of the absence of their men: single-parenting, managing slaves, or actually working the land themselves. Concern for their men who were in harm's way and their own safety, if the tide of battle happened to flow in their direction, further intensified their distress. Many were faced with the threat of losing homes and property. In addition, for some women there was the burden of ministering to the sick, wounded, and convalescent soldiers straining the limited medical resources and hospital facilities. Increasingly, the realities of war were encroaching upon those at home. The songs discussed in this chapter deal with many of these realities which directly touched those at the home front as well as those on the battlefield: the

separation from loved ones, deprivation, and the anonymity of death. By the spring of 1863, the folks at home were really beginning to experience the burdens of the war firsthand.

Sweet Sorrow

Two of the songs included in this study relate to the pain of separation experienced on both fronts: at battle and at home. The poem “Keep Me Awake, Mother,” by Mrs. M. W. Stratton, eloquently expresses the pain and misery experienced by the young soldier away from home. Ella Wren’s “We Have Parted” deals with the loss of separation whether caused by the war or not.²⁰⁴ This section of this chapter will deal with Mrs. Stratton’s poem and Ella Wren’s song.

Stratton was from Columbia, South Carolina.²⁰⁵ Her poem, “Keep Me Awake, Mother,” which follows, demonstrates remarkable insight into the mind of a young soldier away from home for the first time. Perhaps she had a son at the battlefield herself. There are three musical settings of her poem, none of which match the quality or gravity of the text:²⁰⁶

Forward! oh, forward, time stays not his flight;
I’m older and wiser and sadder tonight,
Mother dear Mother I see thee no more,
But watch me oh watch me again as of yore;

Let me not slumber but gaze on life’s cares
With the look of defiance a warrior wears.

²⁰⁴ (Richmond: Geo. Dunn and Co., 1863).

²⁰⁵ Charles Hamm, *Songs of the Civil War*; available from <http://newworldrecords.org/linernotes/80202.pdf>; accessed 10 October 2007.

²⁰⁶ Joseph Hart Denck, “Keep Me Awake Mother” (Columbia, SC: Julian A. Selby, 1863); F. Koenigsberg, “Keep Me Awake! Mother” (Macon: John C. Schreiner and Son, 1863); Henry Schoeller, “Keep Me Awake, Mother!” (Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1863).

Once more to thy bosom a weary one take,
Keep me awake, Mother, keep awake!

I'm tired of earth and I'm tired of life-
Its unfulfilled hopes – its profitless strife;
Still must I onward, my destiny calls,
Tho' trouble betides, or danger appals;
My life-path is covered with gloom and decay,
But let me not falter or sleep by the way;
Of glory and honor, a name let me make,
Keep me awake, Mother, keep me awake!

Give me stern power of frame and of soul
To meet all the troubles that over me roll,
Let me not murmur, though working I be
For those whom I see not, or never may see;
Let me plant trees, though they flourish and bloom
When I am away in a far-off tomb;
For those who are coming, care let me take –
Keep me awake, Mother, keep me awake!

Dreams of my childhood have faded or flown,
Objects I cherished, repulsive have grown,
All things seem fleeting, no pleasure endures,
But Mother, dear Mother, the same lot was yours;
Such dreaming, such mourning, hoping and trust,
Such crumbling of air-castles to dust;
Bravely, as thou didst, my part let me take –
Keep me awake, Mother, keep me awake!

Awake to my duties, awake to my trust,
Let me do my task bravely, if toil I must;
But sometimes, oh sometimes, in dreams let me be
The child again, Mother, who slept on your knee;
Wipe out for a moment my story of life,
Its struggles, its sorrows, its follies and strife,
Some season of pleasure, of rest let me take –
Then wake me, my Mother, oh keep me awake!

And Mother, dear Mother, when life's nearly o'er,
And God calls me home to the "echoless shore,"
My tasks are all done, and my busy brain still –
And I have no longer a power or will,
O then, blessed spirit, O then hover near,

And smooth from my brow the dark shadows of fear;
Then linger near, to watch, Mother, to watch and to weep,
Then “rock me to sleep, Mother, rock me to sleep.”

Many songs were written and published as “answers” to other songs. In this case, “Keep Me Awake, Mother” was presented as a response to “Rock Me to Sleep, Mother, Rock Me to Sleep,” which begins: “Backward, turn backward, Oh time in your flight; make me a child again, just for a night” and continues to invoke a return to childhood and a mother’s comfort and protection.²⁰⁷ While “Rock Me to Sleep, Mother” is an escapist prayer to return to the protective cocoon of childhood, “Keep Me Awake, Mother” is a plea, not to escape, but to endure. Here, Stratton displays remarkable insight into the inner feelings of a soldier, probably young and away from home for the first time. He is homesick, heartsick, disillusioned, filled with fear, and sensing impending death. Time is irrevocably rolling forward, away from childhood. This young man is “older and wiser and sadder.” His youthful exuberance and naiveté are gone.

Here is a young man whose feelings of fear, hopelessness, and disillusionment must be subjugated to dedication to duty. He must maintain the “look of defiance a warrior wears” rather than allow his countenance to betray his true apprehensions. Though “tired of earth and tired of life,” he must resist the temptation to slide into slumber. Duty demands that he remain awake, ever vigilant and steadfast, true to those

²⁰⁷ John Hill Hewitt, music, and Florence Percy, words (Columbia: Julian Selby, 1862) and Ernest Leslie, music, and Florence Percy, words (Macon: John C. Schreiner and Son, 186-). In his memoirs Carlton McCarthy related the following humorous story: “At Gettysburg, when the artillery fire was at its height, a brawny fellow, who seemed happy at the prospect for a hot time, broke out singing: ‘Backward, roll backward, O Time in thy flight; Make me a child again, just for this *fight!*’ Another fellow near him replied, ‘Yes, and a *gal* child at that.’” McCarthy, 106-7.

for whom he is fighting. Finally, after finding an occasional, brief respite in a dream, slumber comes with death.

In “Rock Me to Sleep, Mother,” although the point of view is ostensibly that of the soldier, it seems really to be that of the mother instead. The tone of the poem remains nostalgic and sentimental. In “Keep Me Awake, Mother,” the perspective seems more true to the young soldier and the tone is more realistic, the language slightly less “flowery.” Many writers on the home front, far removed from the realities of the battlefield, wrote their own idealized versions of what it was like and what the soldiers thought. Stratton captures something of the reality of what a frightened young soldier must have experienced.

Not only was the pain of separation felt at the battle front, but there was also a great deal of worry, loneliness, uncertainty, and sense of loss experienced at the home front. These sentiments were expressed in songs like Ella Wren’s “We Have Parted.” Ella Wren is included in this study because her significance to the subject of Civil War music is undeniable. As a singing actress, touring throughout the South during the war, she brought and kept songs before the public. Several songs published at the time were either, dedicated to, written for, or performed by her.²⁰⁸ She was a colleague of actor, composer, theatrical manager, and Southern sympathizer, John Hill Hewitt,²⁰⁹ and claimed that he

²⁰⁸ John H. Hewitt, “I will Meet Thee,” “Composed and Dedicated to Miss Ella Wren” (Macon: John C. Schreiner and Son, 1863); “The Young Volunteer,” “As sung by Miss Ella Wren” (Macon: John C. Schreiner and Son, 1863); “The Unknown Dead,” “As sung by Miss Ella Wren” (Macon: John C. Schreiner and Son, 1863); M. W. Balfe, “See at Your Feet a Suppliant One,” “As sung by Miss Ella Wren” (Richmond: George Dunn and Co., 186-).

²⁰⁹ Composer, music teacher, and theater manager John Hill Hewitt was born in New York in 1801 and died in Baltimore in 1890. He attended West Point from 1818-1822. His only known instruction in music came from the academy bandmaster, Richard Willis. After a failed music tour that ended in Augusta,

composed “Rock Me to Sleep, Mother” for her and that she was asked to perform it everywhere she went.²¹⁰

Wren began her life in England in 1839. She and her family, including eight siblings, came to this country in 1847.²¹¹ In the years prior to the war, the children performed as the Wren Juvenile Comedians, often at P. T. Barnum’s museum.²¹²

By the late 1850s Ella had embarked on a solo career and was advertised as an “eminent vocalist.”²¹³ According to her wartime reminiscences, published posthumously in the *Washington Post*, at the start of 1861 she was living with her mother in Brooklyn. At the time, one of her sisters, whose husband was a Virginian, was visiting them. When the war erupted, the brother-in-law wanted his wife to return home. Anticipating a short-lived conflict and wanting to visit friends, Wren accompanied her sister back to Richmond. They departed New York shortly after the Baltimore riots of April 19. Finding it impossible to return to the North because of the ensuing hostilities, she spent the war years touring and performing throughout the South.²¹⁴

Georgia, in 1823, Hewitt remained in the South, where he established himself as a teacher of music. After his return to Boston in 1827, he married Estelle Magnin of New York. The union produced seven children. From 1828 until 1840, Hewitt was in Baltimore, where he won a poetry competition which included Edgar Allen Poe. After years of traveling, the family settled at the Chesapeake Female College near Hampton, Virginia, where they remained until his wife’s death in 1859. In 1863 Hewitt remarried, to Mary Alethia Smith. He spent the remainder of the war years in Augusta and Savannah, Georgia. After the war, he served various colleges in Virginia and finally moved back to Baltimore about 1874. He was a prolific writer and composer, especially remembered for his songs. Four volumes of his autobiographical writings are in Emory University Library, Atlanta and a fifth is in the New York Public Library. John W. Wagner, “Hewitt, John Hill,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy; available from <http://www.grovemusic.com>; accessed 9 February 2005.

²¹⁰ Ella Wren, “The Stage in the South During the Civil War, Reminiscences of the Late Ella Wren of This City”, *Washington Post*, 1 September 1901, p. 24.

²¹¹ “George Wren Obituary,” *The New York Times*, 14 May 1898.

²¹² Several advertisements appeared in the *New York Times* in the years 1858, 1859, and 1860; available from <http://www.uncg.edu/dlbs>; accessed 2 May 2007.

²¹³ *New York Times*, 17 July 1860, p. 7.

²¹⁴ Wren, 24.

Wren was already well known to Richmond audiences, having performed in several roles there during the 1859-60 season. That season she often shared the stage with John Wilkes Booth.²¹⁵ She and her sister arrived in Richmond May 25, 1861. The theater was closed and the highlight of the summer was the drilling and dress parades of the New Orleans Light Infantry, which everyone turned out to see. Finally, in October the Richmond Theater re-opened under the management of John Hill Hewitt with a company which included Wren and four other actors. Within two weeks the company grew to a more respectable size and a variety of plays, including Shakespeare, were produced, “We played domestic drama, war drama, comedy, farces, etc. for the first three or four weeks, then into legitimate.”²¹⁶

On April 17, 1862 she married Col. Charles Blair, an officer in the Confederate army. Their meeting sounds like something scripted by Dumas:²¹⁷ after a bout of typhoid, “While I was so very ill, a young gentleman called at the house every day to ask how I was. He was brought to see me, after my recovery, by a mutual friend.”²¹⁸

Sometime toward the end of 1862 or the beginning of 1863, Wren traveled to Columbia, South Carolina. Her daughter, Eugenie, who later became a successful actress herself, was born there in 1863.²¹⁹ Wren’s performing took her to major cities throughout

²¹⁵ Gordon Samples, *Lust for Fame: The Stage Career of John Wilkes Booth* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, Inc., 1982), 228-30. A play titled *Heir at Law* is listed as her first performance and “in which she will sing a beautiful ballad.”

²¹⁶ Wren, 24.

²¹⁷ In *La Dame aux Camélias*, the novel and play by Alexandre Dumas the Younger, the young hero visits and inquires about the heroine when she is sick, unbeknownst to her until afterward. Wren would have undoubtedly known the play. The play was also the basis of *La Traviata*, the opera by Giuseppe Verdi.

²¹⁸ Wren, 24.

²¹⁹ 1880 US Census: Chicago, Cook County, Illinois and Marie B. Schrader, “Stage Favorites,” *Washington Post*, 24 April 1904, p. A6.

the South and included some time in the West Indies. It was after a performance on St. Georges Island that she and her husband both came down with a fever and her husband succumbed. Her only comment relative to this tragedy is that she returned to Wilmington, North Carolina, brokenhearted. Toward the end of the war she was in Mobile, Alabama, a witness to the Battle of Mobile Bay.²²⁰

After the war Wren continued to travel and perform. The 1870 Census found her living in Brooklyn, as a boarder, and in 1880 she was living in Chicago with Eugenie and her second child, Harry, again as boarders.²²¹ She settled in Washington, D. C., where she performed, taught “stage elocution and practical acting,” and founded and ran her own dramatic company.²²² As Eugenie’s career developed, Wren often filled supporting roles in productions in which her daughter took the leads.

In the 1890s Wren became a playwright. Her play, *Putnam*, was produced at the National Theatre in Washington in September 1896. The stars of the cast were her son-in-law, actor Robert Downing, in the title role with his real-life wife, Eugenie Blair, playing his stage wife.²²³ A *Washington Post* review called Wren’s portrayal of Aunt Edith “impressive, yet natural,” and praised both Downing and Eugenie. The article stated that the play contained “much good material,” but that it was “in a chaotic condition” and suggested extensive re-writing.²²⁴ Wren lived with her daughter and son-in-law in

²²⁰ Wren, 22.

²²¹ 1870 US Census: Brooklyn, New York and 1880 Census: Chicago, Cook County, Illinois.

²²² *Washington Post*, 11 November 1889, p. 5, and 28 December 1892, p. 2.

²²³ “Chronology – The National Theatre – 1835-Present,” *The National Theatre: Washington, D.C.*; available from <http://www.nationaltheatre.org/location/timeline2006Aug.pdf>; accessed 6 May 2007.

²²⁴ “A Revolutionary Play,” *Washington Post*, 19 September 1896, p. 7.

Washington, D.C. until her unexpected death in 1899. She had an apparent heart attack while driving her carriage down Pennsylvania Avenue.²²⁵

Wren's published war memoirs relate her personal experiences in the South during the war. She had some interesting adventures: a vengeful prop man tried to poison her, she escaped with her baby from a burning hotel room in Mobile, and her travels to the West Indies and back involved running the Union blockade. Sometimes the exact chronology is unclear and can only be partially surmised from the mention of certain events like the death of Col. Elmer Ellsworth, the fall of Fort Fisher, and the Battle of Mobile Bay.²²⁶

Never in her reminiscences does Wren express either pro-Southern or pro-Northern sentiments. In fact, she does not espouse any political or national opinions whatsoever and she certainly performed songs and ballads that were popular on both sides. Although she often worked with Hewitt, who was a strong Southern sympathizer, her reasons were professional, not political. While she was married to a Confederate officer, she had five brothers who served in the Union army.²²⁷ If she had any strong

²²⁵ "Died in Her Carriage," *Washington Post*, 19 December 1899, p. 12.

²²⁶ Col. Ellsworth, aged 24 years and a personal friend of President Lincoln, became the first officer to die in the Civil War, in Alexandria, Virginia, on May 24, 1861. John T. Marck, "Colonel Ephraim Elmer Ellsworth"; available from <http://www.aboutfamouspeople.com/article1011.htm>; accessed 12 May 2007. The bombardment of Fort Fisher, located at Wilmington, North Carolina, began in January, 1864 and the fort fell to Union forces on January 15. North Carolina Office of Archives and History, "Fort Fisher: American Malakoff," *North Carolina Historic Sites*, 26 January 2006; available from <http://www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/section/hs/fisher/fisher.htm>; accessed 12 May 2007. The assault on the forts in Mobile Bay began on August 2, 1864 and they fell by August 23, effectively blockading the last major Southern port of entry. National Park Service and Library of Congress, "Mobile Bay, Passing of Fort Morgan and Fort Gaines, Civil War Alabama"; available from <http://americancivilwar.com/atopic/al/a1003.htm>; accessed 12 May 2007.

²²⁷ "George Wren Obituary," *New York Times*, 14 May 1898, p. 7, and "Stage Favorites," *Washington Post*, 24 April 1904, p. A6.

opinions concerning the war, she kept them to herself. Her life revolved around her profession.

“We Have Parted” deals with the subject of separation, regardless of its cause:

We have parted! and for ever O'er my life a shadow's cast;
For the light of love, Ah! never can restore the happy past.
We have parted! I have loved thee, But for me all hope is o'er:
All is over, we have parted, I must dream of thee no more.
All is over, we have parted, I must dream of thee no more.

We have parted, but thy image Is engraven on my heart.
Canst thou think what happy moments We have passed? – and yet we part.
But thou lov'st me; and for ever Must thy mem'ry be with me:
We have parted – all is over; But I still must think of thee.
We have parted – all is over; But I still must think of thee.

Although written in nineteenth-century language that sounds old-fashioned to our ears today, the lyrics are simple and straightforward. The separation spoken of has the power to cast a long shadow but not to erase the inner image of the loved one. The first verse indicates that, since the happy past is irretrievably lost, it must be willfully left behind, but the second verse concedes that the memories will be ever-present companions, impossible to dislodge from the thoughts.

Wren has set her simple, sentimental lines in a similarly simple, straightforward musical setting. (See Appendix B, Figure 10, p. 211.) The lyrical, rather Italianate melody, with its moderate vocal range, rises and falls smoothly from beginning to end. Its undulation is interrupted only briefly by one syncopated downbeat and two fermatas reminiscent of early nineteenth-century Italian operatic vocal writing. The repeated arpeggiated figure in the right hand of the accompaniment also invokes that genre. The

meter is “common time” (4/4) and the key is B flat major. Harmonically, two simple diatonic V⁷ – I sections in the home key surround a four-measure tonicization of D major, creating an ABA form. The two verses are presented without a refrain, but with the last line of text repeated.

Ella Wren’s importance to the study of Civil War music lies not only in her own composition of songs, but also in her association, as dedicatee for example, with many other songs of the period. She performed these songs regularly, presenting them outside the family parlor. She was a colleague of both John Hill Hewitt and Harry McCarthy,²²⁸ personages who figured prominently in the musical world of the time. Within her profession, she shared the stage with many of the best known actors of her day, passed her art onto a younger generation through teaching, became a playwright, and lived to share the stage with her own daughter and witness her successful acting career.

Ersatz at Home

The Civil War placed a strain on Southern resources which became more and more pronounced as the conflict progressed. The South’s lack of industry and the resulting dependence upon foreign trade undoubtedly were initially responsible for this. The Union blockade and the destruction created by battle and occupation exacerbated it. As early as 1862, the Confederate government was prompted to call upon towns and churches to relinquish their bells to be melted down for the construction of cannons and many churches and communities responded. Folks at home were forced to be creative in

²²⁸ Abel, *Singing the New Nation*, 52-63. English-born McCarthy was an actor and performer active and popular in the South during the war years. Abel calls him “unquestionably the South’s best-known and most popular entertainer,” dubbing him the “Bob Hope” of the Confederacy. He put his own words to an old Irish tune, creating the extremely popular song, *The Bonnie Blue Flag*.

the provision of the ordinary day-to-day necessities of life: food, clothing, medicine, for example.

Two songs relating to this topic are “Melt the Bells” by Flora Byrne²²⁹ and the extremely popular parody, “The Homespun Dress” with words by Carrie Bell Sinclair.²³⁰ Flora Bryne was born about 1809 or 1810 in Maryland. The 1850 census found her living in Clarke County, Missouri with her husband Edward and their eleven-year-old daughter, Annie.²³¹ Their farm was called “Byrneham Wood.”²³² Her nephew, visiting from Maryland, likens her life on the Missouri “frontier” to something of a cultured island amid a sea of relatively backwoods ignorance. He refers to her neighbors as pioneers whose “ignorance gives rise to many amusing incidents – all of which furnish a field of observation to my aunt Flora.”²³³ Bryne was an attentive hostess who entertained her guest with humor and relish, “The numerous amusing anecdotes of western life which my aunt has related to me with the peculiar zest which she possesses I shall long laugh over.”²³⁴

In June, 1851 the Byrnes left Clark County and moved to St. Louis in order to educate Annie. During the journey Mrs. Byrne entertained her fellow travelers by singing and accompanying herself on the guitar.²³⁵ In 1860 the family was still living in St. Louis

²²⁹ Words by J. Y. Rockett (St. Louis: Balmer and Weber, 1866).

²³⁰ aka. “The Southern Girl” (New Orleans: Blackmar and Co., 1865).

²³¹ 1850 US Census: Clarke County, Missouri.

²³² Frank (Francis) Blackwell Mayer, *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851: The Diary and Sketches of Frank Blackwell Mayer*, ed. Theodore C. Blegen (St. Paul: The Minnesota Historical Society, 1932); available from [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/lhbumbib:@field\(TITLE+@band\(With+pen+and+pencil+on+the+frontier+in+1851:+\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/lhbumbib:@field(TITLE+@band(With+pen+and+pencil+on+the+frontier+in+1851:+))); accessed 7 August 2006.

²³³ Mayer, 78.

²³⁴ Mayer, 82.

²³⁵ Mayer, 84-5.

and Edward was practicing medicine.²³⁶ During the war, he served in the Confederate army as a surgeon.²³⁷ At some point the family moved to Alabama. The cover sheet of “Melt the Bells” indicates Mrs. Dr. Bryne’s residence as Mobile. They probably left Missouri, a border state that did not secede, because of their Southern sympathies, but how or when they disposed of their Missouri property is unknown at this time, as is the date of Edward Bryne’s death. In 1880, at the age of seventy one, Flora Bryne was living in Montgomery, Alabama, and employed as a governess by a lawyer with six children. The date of her death is thus far unknown. Byrne was the composer of at least two other songs published prior to the Civil War: “Penitential Hymn” (1848) and “Let’s Sit Down and Talk Together” (1852)²³⁸ Her best known war-time composition was a piano piece, “President Davis Grand March,” published in 1861.²³⁹

“Melt the Bells” commemorates the call of the Confederate government for bells to be melted down for cannons for military use. Many cities, towns, and churches across the South responded. The words were supplied by J. Y. Rockett:

Melt the bells! melt the bells! Still the tinkling on the plain;
Melt the bells! melt the bells! And transmute the evening chimes
Into war’s resounding rhymes, That th’invader may be slain
By the bells! by the bells! That th’invader may be slain,
By the bells.

Melt the bells! melt the bells! Though it cause a tear, to part
Melt the bells! melt the bells! With the music they have made,

²³⁶ 1860 US Census: St. Louis, Missouri.

²³⁷ *US Military Collection*; available from <http://search.ancestry.library.com>; accessed 23 August 2007.

²³⁸ Words by John Taylor (Baltimore: F. D. Benteen) and words by Mackellar (St. Louis: Balmer and Weber).

²³⁹ (New Orleans: P. P. Werlein and Halsey).

When the ones we loved are laid with pale cheek and silent heart,
'Neath the bells! 'neath the bells! with pale cheek and silent heart,
'Neath the bells.

Melt the bells! melt the bells! That for years have called for prayer
Melt the bells! melt the bells! And instead the cannon's roar
Shall resound the valleys o'er That the foe may catch despair
From the bells! from the bells! That the foe may catch despair,
From the bells.

Melt the bells! melt the bells! Into cannon rash and grim,
Melt the bells! melt the bells! That the foe may feel the ire
From their heaving lungs of fire; And we'll put our trust in Him
And the bells! and the bells! And we'll put our trust in Him,
And the bells.

Melt the bells! melt the bells! And when the foe are driven back,
Melt the bells! melt the bells! And the lightning cloud of war
Shall roll thunderless afar We will melt the cannon back,
Into bells! into bells! We will melt the cannon back,
Into bells.

Melt the bells! melt the bells! And they'll peel a sweeter chime,
Melt the bells! melt the bells! And remind us of the brave
Who have sunk to glory's grave and who sleep for coming time,
'Neath the bells! 'neath the bells! And who sleep for coming time,
'Neath the bells.

The text-setting in this song is interesting. In each verse of Rockett's poem, the thought in the second line goes directly into the third line and that of the third into the fourth. In addition, there is the extra "_____ the bells!"²⁴⁰ line at the end of each verse, rendering each verse a little "unbalanced." How would a composer successfully set these four lines in four balanced musical phrases? (See Appendix B, Figure 11, p. 213.) Bryne, with a little variation in each *a* section, creates an *aaba* musical framework for each

²⁴⁰ This line recurs in each verse with a different word, so I am using a blank instead of writing the phrase multiple times. Musically the phrase is always the same at the end of each verse, but the words are different: by the bells, 'neath the bells, from the bells, and the bells, into bells, and 'neath the bells.

verse. The ending of the first line is different, making it *a'* and the last *a* is *a'* with a short three-note extension provided for the final “_____ the bells” line. This creates the effect of the textual phrases overlapping the musical phrases, and, with the extension, a slightly off-balanced feeling of asymmetry. The recurring dotted melody on all of the “_____ the bells” lines provides some sense of regularity. The piece is in the key of D major and never wavers tonally. The eight-measure piano introduction, with both hands playing in the higher register above middle C, creates sounds reminiscent of tinkling bells. This pattern continues under the text, “_____ the bells,” but there is a more typical lower octave in the left hand and chords in the right hand accompaniment under the rest of the words. The duple meter and *andante* tempo marking keep the song moving smoothly along without agitation. The music does not have the martial spirit evidenced in many songs of the period.

We know from her nephew’s diary that Bryne owned a piano and that she was proficient with the voice and guitar. In addition, her performances for family and friends were well received. Her compositions indicate that she was an accomplished musician who had received some formal training. Growing up in a fairly well-to-do family in Baltimore, she must have received a good general education, especially since she was apparently qualified to become a governess later in life.

The Union blockade was extremely effective in cutting off the flow of goods into the South. Cotton, so crucial to the Southern economy, could no longer be shipped out and other valuable commodities could not be shipped in. Cloth, coffee, tea, and sugar

were sorely missed. Mary Elizabeth Massey, in her book, *Ersatz in the Confederacy*,²⁴¹ discusses, in great detail, the creative resourcefulness of those at the home front in providing for the most common everyday necessities of life. A whole variety of types of seeds were ground into coffee and tea was brewed from a wide range of roots and berries. Bonnets were made from palmetto leaves. Rather than the finer imported fabrics to which they were accustomed, women had to create their own cloth and garments; hence, the homespun dress.

Carrie Bell Sinclair, whose life was discussed earlier, wrote “The Homespun Dress” about the deprivations that Southern girls proudly faced. Set to the same tune as Harry McCarthy’s popular “Bonnie Blue Flag,” it was probably one of the best known parody songs²⁴² produced during the war years:

Oh, yes, I am a Southern girl, And glory in the name,
And boast it with far grater pride Than glittering wealth and fame,
We envy not the Northern girl Her robes of beauty rare,
Though diamonds grace her snowy neck And pearls bedeck her hair.

Chorus: Hurrah! Hurrah! For the sunny South so dear;
Three cheers for the homespun dress The Southern ladies wear!

The homespun dress is plain, I know, My hat’s palmetto, too;
But then it shows what Southern girls For Southern rights will do.
We send the bravest of our land To battle with the foe,
And we will lend a helping hand -We love the South you know.

Chorus: Hurrah! Hurrah!, etc.

²⁴¹ Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy*, 2nd ed., Southern Classics Series, ed. John G. Sprout, no. 8 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993).

²⁴² A parody song was one in which the newly written words were set to a pre-existing tune. Many were produced during the course of the war. According to Abel in *Singing the New Nation*, p.52, McCarthy used the tune “The Irish Jaunting Car” by Valentine Vousden. (So “The Bonnie Blue Flag” itself was a parody.)

Now Northern goods are out of date; And since old Abe's blockade,
We Southern girls can be content With goods that's Southern made.
We send our sweethearts to the war; But, dear girls, never mind –
Your soldier-love will ne'er forget The girl he left behind,

Chorus: Hurrah! Hurrah!, etc.

The soldier is the lad for me – A brave heart I adore;
And when the sunny South is free, And when fighting is no more,
I'll choose me then a lover brave From all that gallant band;
The soldier lad I love the best Shall have my heart and hand.

Chorus: Hurrah! Hurrah!, etc.

The Southern land's a glorious land, And has a glorious cause;
Then cheer, three cheers for Southern rights And for the Southern boys;
We scorn to wear a bit of silk, A bit of Northern lace,
But make our homespun dresses up, And wear them with a grace.

Chorus: Hurrah! Hurrah!, etc.

And now, young man, a word to you: If you would win the fair,
Go to the field where honor calls, And win your lady there.
Remember that our brightest smiles Are for the true and brave,
And that our tears are all for those Who fill a soldier's grave.

Chorus: Hurrah! Hurrah!, etc.

In this poem Sinclair glories in being a Southerner. The opening verse expresses her pride in humility. She imagines the rich attire worn by Northern women, but considers pride in these external trappings superficial. The two direct references to ersatz are dresses made of homespun cloth and hats constructed of palmetto leaves. She alludes to the cause of these necessary substitutions: "old Abe's blockade." Her manner of reference belies not only a lack of respect for the Northern head of state, but the view that he personally, being the instigator of the war, is the aggravating source of Southern deprivation. Familiar themes for Sinclair are a love for the South, a firm belief in the

Southern cause, and an admiration for Southern soldiers. All three are evident here, yet her patriotism is not expressed in militant terms. There is no hint of resentment or bitterness. Overall, the tone is positive and optimistic, almost light-hearted.

Sinclair's writing and her involvement in many wartime activities, cited earlier, demonstrated her commitment to the Southern cause and her view of the Southern woman's role in the war. If Southern women could send their men to the battle to fight for the cause, they surely could be content to endure some deprivations. Their role was to "lend a helping hand." She may have seen the man's role of direct involvement in battle as a higher calling, but she surely believed in the role of women to do all that they could with all that they had on the home front to support those fighting. The Southern girls' motivation was a love for the South and a commitment to Southern rights. Sinclair's admiration for the Southern fighting man was so strong that any young man who had not served in the Southern army would ever be considered as an acceptable suitor.

The Anonymity of Death

After the initial bravura and fiery rhetoric that accompanied the opening of hostilities, the grim reality of war began to take its toll. Although not usually directly confronted by the carnage of battle, women had to deal with its aftermath. Many either served as nurses or at least visited the wounded, ministering to their non-medical needs. Hospital facilities were strained beyond capacity with the continually growing influx of maimed, wounded, and sick soldiers, while the shortage of medicine and other medical supplies was becoming critical at the same time. Often soldiers died away from home, without their families having any notion of their whereabouts, and surrounded only by

caring strangers. “Somebody’s Darling,” Marie Ravenal de La Coste’s vivid description of just such a death became one of the most popular poems of the Civil War, both North and South.

Piecing together the life of the author of the most popular poem of the Civil War is like trying to construct a jigsaw puzzle, only to find several pieces missing. La Coste was born in France, probably around 1843. According to an article published in the *Washington Post* shortly after her mother’s death, her poem was published in 1863 when she was twenty years of age.²⁴³ According to census records, in 1900 and 1910 La Coste lived with her mother in Washington, D.C.²⁴⁴ In 1900 she gave her birth month and year as August, 1855 and her date of immigration as 1865. Ten years later, in 1910, the immigration date was given as 1880. If these dates are to be believed, she was about eight years old and living, presumably, in France when her poem was published!

By most accounts she was living in Savannah and teaching French when the war began.²⁴⁵ Her parents were French royalists, her mother, Angela d’Istria La Coste, was a descendant of Corsican patriots. Her father, Henri Honore de La Coste, having died in France, Marie, her mother, and possibly two siblings immigrated to the United States sometime before the war. A brother died, perhaps during the war, and was buried in Charleston.²⁴⁶ According to a *Washington Post* article La Coste was employed as a

²⁴³ “A War-time Poem,” *The Washington Post*, 23 June 1901, p. 19.

²⁴⁴ 1900 US Census, Washington, D.C.; 1910 US Census, Precinct 8, Washington, D.C.

²⁴⁵ “Catholics and the Civil War,” *Catholic Diocese of Savannah*; available from <http://diosav.org/gallery/archives-catholicsinthecivilwar?page=2>; accessed 28 May 2007.

²⁴⁶ “Mme. D’Istria La Coste Dead,” *Washington Post*, 18 June 1901, p.2. According to the 1900 US Census, Angela La Coste was the mother of three children, one (Marie) living at the time. No record has been found thus far of a third child.

teacher in Baltimore, in 1886.²⁴⁷ She and her mother moved to Washington, D.C., sometime before 1900, where her mother died in 1901.²⁴⁸ La Coste continued to live there until her death on October 4, 1936. La Coste and her mother were both interred in Charleston beside her brother.²⁴⁹ In the years between 1900 and 1916 La Coste's name appeared frequently in the society pages of the *Washington Post*. She spent much of her time traveling and visiting: friends at Saratoga, her cousin on the Riviera, the Butler plantation near Wilmington. Her visits lasted for months at a time. Her Washington address changed often and in the census records she was listed as a boarder in someone else's home. Apparently she enjoyed the life of an aristocratic French émigré.

It seemed that several people claimed the authorship of "Somebody's Darling." In response to one claimant's submission to the *Washington Post* in 1901, the newspaper sent a reporter to interview La Coste. She was described as "a little woman, characteristically French, decided in expressing herself, speaking definitely, with point and spirit."²⁵⁰ In response to the authorship dispute, she was quoted as saying, with an indifferent shrug and lifted eyebrow, "It does not matter the slightest difference to me. I wrote it. My friends know that I wrote it – that is enough. It is altogether too small a matter to make any fuss about."²⁵¹ She claimed to have written the poem before she was eighteen and to have written poetry all of her life. Finally, La Coste said of herself: "I

²⁴⁷ "A War-time Poem," *Washington Post*, 23 June 1901, p.19.

²⁴⁸ "Mme. D'Istria La Coste Dead," *Washington Post*, 18 June 1901, p. 2.

²⁴⁹ "Obituary 2," *Washington Post*, p. X19.

²⁵⁰ "Parentage of a Poem," *Washington Post*, 20 August 1901, p. 7.

²⁵¹ "Parentage of a Poem."

cannot be considered as an author at all and resign all claim to the title. I wish always to be identified with France and to be known and considered ever as a French woman.”²⁵²

The actual publication date of the poem, “Somebody’s Darling,” like several aspects of La Coste’s life, is unclear. By most accounts it was published anonymously in the *Southern Churchman* in 1863 or 1864.²⁵³ In the 1901 *Washington Post* interview, previously cited, La Coste herself agreed with the 1863 *Southern Churchman* date but added that it had appeared in another magazine earlier, exactly when she did not remember. It was subsequently published in a variety of magazines from 1864 to 1885. The lines, sometimes with minor variations, were set to music by at least ten different composers. Probably the best known setting south of the Mason/Dixon line was that of John Hill Hewitt.²⁵⁴ The other nine publications originated in Northern cities.

Evidently the poem resonated in the hearts and minds of war-weary Americans both North and South. Almost all of them had experienced the death of family members, friends, or acquaintances. During the war and for decades afterward, the words “somebody’s darling” were used euphemistically in memoirs, speeches, songs, and other poetry to refer to dolls, children, and drunkards as well as the unknown dead. The phrase was used to express the idea that any individual, no matter how anonymous or how disreputable, was once precious to someone.

²⁵² “Parentage of a Poem.”

²⁵³ According to the *Washington Post* article, “A War-time Poem,” previously cited, the year was 1863. According to Richard Harwell in his book, *Confederate Music*, previously cited, the date was 1864.

²⁵⁴ (Macon: J. C. Schreiner and Son, 1864).

“Somebody’s Darling” appeared and reappeared numerous times in publication with some slight variations nearly every time. Here is the version that appeared in *Arthur’s Home Magazine* (Philadelphia) in January 1869:

Into a ward of the whitewashed walls,
Where the dead and dying lay-
Wounded by bayonets, shells, and balls-
Somebody’s darling was borne one day.
Somebody’s darling! So young and so brave,
Wearing still on his pale, sweet face,
Soon to be hid by the dust of the grave,
The lingering light of his boyhood’s grace.

Matted and damp are the curls of gold,
Kissing the snow of that fair young brow;
Pale are the lips of delicate mould-
Somebody’s darling is dying now.
Back from the beautiful, blue-veined face
Brush every wandering silken thread;
Cross his hands as a sign of grace-
Somebody’s darling is still and dead.

Kiss him once for somebody’s sake,
Murmur a prayer soft and low,
One bright curl from the cluster take-
They were somebody’s pride, you know.
Somebody’s hand has rested there:
Was it a mother’s, soft and white?
And have the lips of a sister fair
Been baptized in those waves of light?

God knows best. He was somebody’s love;
Somebody’s heart enshrined him there;
Somebody wafted his name above,
Night and morn, on the wings of prayer.
Somebody wept when he marched away,
Looking so handsome, brave, and grand;
Somebody’s kiss on his forehead lay;
Somebody clung to his parting hand.

Somebody's watching and waiting for him,
Yearning to hold him again to her heart;
There he lies – with the blue eyes dim,
And smiling, childlike lips apart.
Tenderly bury the fair young dead,
Pausing to drop on his grave a tear;
Carve on the wooden slab at his head –
Somebody's darling lies buried here!

What does one say about a poem that so deeply affected the lives of so many?

The sentiments expressed here must surely have had a universal appeal. The entire population, in both the North and the South, felt the impact of the war's death toll. States, neighborhoods, families, and individuals were all affected. Beyond the simple fear of death was the fear of abandonment and the unknown. People recognized their interconnectedness and the need to pass from this life among friends and loved ones, as much for the sake of those left behind as those taken. Today we would refer to this as "closure." The poem clearly addresses these issues.

Although written in nineteenth-century language, La Coste vividly describes the death of an anonymous young soldier, far away from home and surrounded by strangers. The sense of anonymity is reinforced by the repetition of the word "somebody:" *somebody's darling, somebody's sake, somebody's hand, somebody's love, somebody's heart*. In the poem, the "somebody" at home is just as anonymous as the young soldier who is dying. It is perhaps a mother or sister who, after a reluctant parting, is continually praying, watching, and awaiting his return, which will never come. During the Civil War, there were few, if any, women who had not experienced this.

The other major theme of La Coste's poem is the youth of the soldier. He is described as young and brave, carrying only the "lingering light of his boyhood grace." Other youthful images are his curls of gold, his fair young brow, his lips of delicate mould, and his smiling, childlike lips. Also, the brushing back of hair from the face and the preserving of a curl of hair are loving, maternal gestures.

In the fifth verse the contrast is presented between his appearance when he left home and his appearance now. Also, he left with great pomp and circumstance with loved one present. Now he languishes alone among strangers in more ignominious surroundings. These strangers, sensitive to his plight, are compelled and honor-bound to do the things loved ones would do: murmur a prayer, tenderly and carefully bury the body, and shed a final tear.

Keeping the Faith

Another popular war lyric by Georgian Carrie Bell Sinclair, whose life has been discussed previously, was "Strike for the South." The musical setting by James Pierpont was published in 1863.²⁵⁵ Pierpont (1822-1893) was the composer of "Jingle Bells" and uncle of a rather famous nephew.²⁵⁶ In the year that "Strike for the South" was published, the tide of battle was beginning to turn in the North's favor and some Southern spirits were starting to feel the strain. The song may have served to bolster morale as the realities of war began to take their toll:

²⁵⁵ (Macon: John C. Schreiner and Son).

²⁵⁶ Abel, *Singing the New Nation*, 92. "Jingle Bells" is more popular today than when Pierpont wrote it in 1857. Originally titled "The One-Horse Open Sleigh," the Oliver Ditson Company renamed it when they issued it in 1859. Pierpont was an ardent Southerner, although born and educated in the North. He was the uncle of J. P. Morgan, whose middle initial stood for Pierpont.

Strike for the South! let her name ever be
The boast of the true and the brave.
Let Freedom's bright star still shine on her brow,
And her banner the proudest still wave.
Strike for the South! shall the heroes who fell,
In graves all unhonor'd repose
While the turf on each head and the sword by each side,
Has been stain'd with the blood of her foes.

Strike for the South! for Liberty's sun
In darkness and gloom has not set;
Her bright beams still shine like a light from above,
And will lead thee to victory yet.
Strike for the South! for her weapons are bright,
And the heroes who wield them are strong;
Let her name brightly glow on the record of fame,
And hers be the proudest in song.

Strike for the South! we will honor her name,
For the glorious deed she has done!
The laurel we'll twine round each patriot brow,
And shout when the battle is won.
Strike for the South! it must never be said
That her banner was furl'd to a foe;
"Let those stars ever shine in bright glory above
And the pathway to victory show."

The overall tone of the poem is optimistic and expresses belief in final victory.

But now, two years into the conflict, we see the words "still" and "yet": still wave, yet shine, victory yet. Sinclair assures the reader that "Liberty's sun in darkness and gloom has not set." There were those who may have begun to think that it had. Early in the war songs projected the intention to fight until death. In this poem one sees the emphasis shifted to those who have already died with bloodstained swords and who are interred in bloodstained ground. These fallen should not only be remembered, but honored. In later

songs, as defeat looms on the horizon and eventually arrives, this shift in emphasis will be complete.

To Sinclair the cause is still considered one for freedom and liberty and the theme of light pervades the entire piece: bright beams, bright weapons, bright glory, brightly glowing name, and the denial of darkness and gloom. The stars on the flag represent the stars of heaven, and thereby, the blessings of heaven, showing the way to ultimate victory. After two years of fighting, which filled military hospitals with sick, wounded, and dying soldiers, Sinclair was still strongly committed to the cause in which she believed. She voiced here some of the same sentiments found in the address, previously cited, in the *Savannah Republican* account of the flag presentation. She still possessed a youthful, idealistic “hero worship,” if you will, of the Southern soldier and an almost sacred reverence for the Southern flag. In the summer of 1863, Vicksburg had fallen to siege and Confederate forces were defeated at the Battle of Gettysburg. According to Abel, the song “Strike for the South” was meant to inspire the Confederacy after the defeat at Gettysburg.²⁵⁷ Sinclair would have felt compelled to use her poetic gifts and any other skills or talents in her power to support the cause and encourage others to continue to do so.

Give Peace a Chance

While most of the songs and poetry heretofore discussed in this study reflect the clamor for war, brash patriotism, and sometimes vitriolic rhetoric, at least two women expressed an opposite view. Their calls for peace represent a more realistic reaction to

²⁵⁷ Abel, *Confederate Sheet Music*, 219.

war's devastation, destruction, and deprivation. In their works, death is not idealized, chivalry and honor are not mentioned, and the tone is not prideful, resentful, boasting, or sarcastic. Two of the lyrics are by Mrs. C. L. Edmonston: "Sheathe the Sword America"²⁵⁸ and "Peace!"²⁵⁹ A third, "Prayer for Peace," or "A Hymn to Peace,"²⁶⁰ is by a Lady of New Orleans who chose to remain anonymous.

Besides the two poems included here, three other settings of Edmonston's lyrics have been found, all published during or shortly after the war.²⁶¹ She may very likely have lived in New Orleans or its vicinity, since all five of the songs were published in that city. A. Cardona, the composer of "Sheathe the Sword America," was a professor of music at the Orleans Female Academy.²⁶² In striking contrast to the poems previously cited, the call here is not to bravely go off the war in anticipation of a great victory or to stoically endure the resultant hardship and suffering. The plea here is to lay down arms, be done with the suffering, death, and deprivation, and seek peace:

Sons of America! Why wield ye the sword?
 See ye not that ruin's at hand,
 Hear ye not the taunt of the stranger
 When the theme is our once happy land?
 Ah! Are ye deaf to the wail of the dying,
 Are your hearts in you breast turned to stone
 Hear ye not the sad autumn wind sighing,
 Their requiem o'er the hosts that are gone?

²⁵⁸ Music by A. Cardona (New Orleans: n.p., 1863).

²⁵⁹ Music by E. K. Cole (New Orleans: C. Edmonston, 1865).

²⁶⁰ Music by Eugene Bischoff (New Orleans: Louis Gurnewald, 1863).

²⁶¹ Theodore von La Hache, "Popping the Question" (New Orleans: Blackmar and Co., 1864); Theodore von La Hache, "Yes!" (New Orleans: C. Edmonston, 1864); E.K. Cole, "Fireman's Anniversary Song" (New Orleans: Blackmar and Co., 1865).

²⁶² He is designated as such on the cover of another of his compositions, "Rosale Grand March," Op. 18, published by Blackmar in 1861.

Sons of America! Why wield ye the sword?
The war worn crave rest and peace.
Naught but death but ruin still lingers,
Then let war and its dread horrors cease.
Ah! Let the cry of the heart stricken mother
Bid ye pause though for ever she may mourn
Still the knell that war's tocsin is sounding
Let the land of its glory be shorn.

Sons of America! mark the cold still forms
Where they rest with stony eye turned to heaven,
Our unshrouded dead in death gloom uncoffined they lie
Ah! they are gone! They have yielded the spirit
Mid the din of the loud cannons roar;
The death shaft still speeding around them,
They heed not, It will harm them no more.

At the beginning of each verse the words are addressed to the Sons of America, to both sides of the conflict. Edmonston does not seem to consider the South her country, unlike many of the other Southern writers of the period. Twice she poses the question, "Why wield ye the sword?" Many other writers of Southern Civil War poetry clearly articulate several reasons: honor, freedom from Northern slavery, defense of home, the rightness of the cause, the blessings of God, among others. They also praise nobility of sacrifice and speak of death in reckless, idealized terms. Including herself among the war-weary and seeing the death and ruin left in war's wake, Edmonston questions the cost in loss of lives. Her focus is on outcomes rather than motives; she sees no justification for the resulting deaths.

In the first verse she also asks America's sons if they are even aware that their brothers are dying around them and if they are aware of the taunting of non-Americans who are watching. The sad autumn wind refers to that season of the year in which the

living green leaves of summer give way to the dying leaves of fall. In a very literal sense, if one sees each year of the war as a season, then 1863 would be the Autumn year. The cold deadness of winter inevitably follows. In the second verse, war has left its legacy of death and ruin and the “war-worn” crave relief: “rest and peace.” The “tocsin,” or alarm bell of war is really sounding a “knell,” or tolling which signifies death, in spite of the crying of grieving mothers. Many Southern writers referred to the tocsin as being glorious. Here Edmonston says, “Let the land of its glory be shorn.” That “glory” has resulted in untold misery and death. Verse three realistically pictures the unknown dead, un-mourned and un-interred, while the battle continues to rage around them. In contrast to La Coste’s young soldier, whose death is attended to by caring strangers, the dead and dying here are unattended and ignored. The last three lines add a powerful finality to the verses.

Edmonston’s second poem, “Peace!,” was set to music by E. K. Cole, M.D., composer of a few other compositions including another collaboration with Edmonston.²⁶³ Here, two years later in 1865, the plea is even stronger:

Oh! cast the blood stained sword away,
Shield save us from war’s terrors dread,
Too many of our sons are slain,
Too many number’d with the dead.
All desolate our valleys green,
All smould’ring ruins our homesteads are,
Want, care and famine, orphan babes
Are record of the war.

²⁶³ “Carrie Vaughn” (Augusta: Blackmar Brothers, 1864); “She Waits By the River For Me” (New Orleans: A. E. Blackmar, 1866); “Fireman’s Anniversary Song” (New Orleans: Blackmar and Co., 1865).

Chorus: Sheathe, sheathe the sword, away with war,
Be ours its blight and dread no more.
Sheathe, sheathe the sword, let discord cease,
And one and all huzza for Peace.

Go to the cot that stands hard by,
No inmates, tell me where are they?
Cold, cold upon the battlefield,
The ravens croaking o'er their prey,
Go where once wealth and grandeur dwelt,
No joyous hearts are there today
No answ'ring voice will greet you there
For exiles, wanderers are they.

Chorus: Sheathe, sheathe the sword, etc.

Shall discord, strife, shall want and woe
Still desolate our glorious land!
Is there no might to hurl them back
To rid us of that hated band!
Is there no power in Heaven or Earth
To stay the tide of crimson blood
That from brave hearts in torrents flow,
And mingles with the mountain flood!

Chorus: Sheathe, sheathe the sword, etc.

Americans, your bark of state
All tempest tost, is doom'd to wreck;
One saving power alone remains,
Peace only, can the dread storm check:
Then cast the blood stained sword away,
Unbar the loathsome prison door,
Strike off the chains, Come, heaven born Peace,
Sweet paeans sing from shore to shore.

Chorus: Sheathe, sheathe the sword, etc.

Two years later, after even further devastation and bloodshed, Edmonston's plea for peace is more impassioned. The three verses of the previous poem have been expanded to four. In addition to death, the focus of the first poem, several other aspects of

war's outcomes are dealt with and the poem is punctuated with several exclamation points. The overall tone is one of deep frustration. Edmonston presents a litany of war's legacy: desolation of the land, burning farms and homes, want, care, famine, orphans, people exiled from their homes, discord, strife and woe.

One hears the bitterness in the question which opens the second verse, "Where are they?" and its answer, "cold, cold upon the battlefield." The reference to "ravens croaking o'er their prey" is only a little milder than Catherine Warfield's vultures feeding on mounds of dead. Edmonston's bitterness escalates in the third verse as she more forcefully asks three questions ending, not with question marks, but with exclamation points. These are not really questions; one imagines an orator pounding a podium in outrage. Lastly, the situation is dire, a matter of life or death. The country is doomed unless salvaged by Peace. Heaven-sent Peace alone can release America from the bondage of war.

Edmonston does not sound like a Southerner. Perhaps, like Vermonter Delia Wright, she came South as a teacher. Perhaps, like Professor Cardona, she was associated with the Orleans Female Academy. Of course, this is pure conjecture. Her writing is indicative of a woman of strong intelligence, education, and opinion. Unlike most of the women included in this study, her concept of country is not limited to the South. Also, her view of war is more realistic. Unlike most of the poems previously cited, her poems are not filled with idealistic rhetoric, excessively Biblical language, divisive bitterness toward the North, or naïve, and some would say, misplaced patriotism. Edmonston's

greatest concern is not for the “cause” or any other reason for the war, but her focus is only on ending it and bringing restoration to a broken and divided nation.

The last poem in this chapter is titled “Prayer For Peace” on the cover and “A Hymn to Peace” on the first page of music. The words, written by an anonymous Lady of New Orleans, were set to music by Eugene Bischoff. The lines express the plaintive cry of a war-weary population:

O gentle Peace, before thee stand,
The children of this bleeding land,
A weary, worn, but hopefull band,
Thy blessings, thy blessings to implore.
O let thy dulcet whispers come,
To every heart, to every home,
As erst they came of yore.

Dim eyes that watch, would seek repose,
Sad hearts that weep, their wounds would close,
While prayers which for our country's woes,
Are daily, are daily born alone,
All turn to thee and fondly crave,
From these protracted ills to save
The land we dearly love.

Published in 1863, the same year as Edmonston's “Sheath the Sword America,” the tone and style of this short poem are completely different. Although the plea is certainly heartfelt, the tone is not one of bitterness or frustration. Rather, it is one of meekness and penitence. Instead of a listing of the specific woes experienced, the terminology is more general: bleeding land, wounds, country's woes, protracted ills. The emphasis is not on the woes and ills themselves, but on those who have suffered through

them. In spite of being weary and worn, these hopeful sufferers maintain an attitude of expectant waiting with watchful eyes and daily prayers.

If the body of work researched in this study were the only indication, the views expressed in these three poems would seem to reflect a glaring minority opinion. In fact, as the tide of the war began to turn in the summer of 1863 and the prospect of Southern victory diminished, enthusiasm for the cause waned. Women missed their husbands and strained under the added burden of responsibilities that came as a result of their absence. People were tired of the deprivation of essential and non-essential goods which resulted from the very effective Union blockade. Many literally suffered the loss of homes, farms, and businesses. Mostly, they were appalled by the unprecedented numbers of casualties. Many diaries, journals, and letters written by Southern women in the last years of the war express their distaste for the conflict and their disenchantment with the causes leading to it. No, by the end of the Civil War, Edmonston and the anonymous Lady of New Orleans probably spoke for more and more Southerners and Northerners alike.

CHAPTER V

IN THE WAKE OF WAR

As one can well imagine, the end of the war was met with very different reactions from its Northern and Southern participants. Northern citizens, relieved that the long ordeal was finally over, were jubilant, reviewing the victorious Grand Army of the Republic as it paraded through the streets of Washington and New York City. Their Southern counterparts, amid dashed hopes and smoldering ruins, mourned in disbelief. Although most Southerners welcomed an end to bloodshed, some remained recalcitrant and committed to remaining “un-reconstructed,” leaving their homeland forever, preferring expatriation to submission. Most sought to pick up the pieces left to them and get on with their lives as best they could under the circumstances.

While Northerners wrote poems and composed songs celebrating the return of their victorious boys in blue, Southerners produced lyrics glorifying the past and memorializing their fallen heroes. Today we might refer to this as a form of “spin-doctoring,” putting the best possible face on the worst possible outcome. Living with defeat and the retribution of Reconstruction was tempered by remembering the fading glory of the lost cause and the noble sacrifices of those who gave their lives for it. The last songs discussed in this study reflect the attempt to not only mitigate the sting of defeat, but to even deny its ultimate existence.

The Final Meeting

The Civil War ended, at least officially, on April 9, 1865, when Confederate General Robert E. Lee met Union General Ulysses S. Grant in Wilmer McLean's front parlor in the village of Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia. An anonymous lady from Virginia, known only as Mrs. J. P. H., commemorated the event and the resulting demise of the Army of Northern Virginia in a piece aptly titled "General Lee's Surrender."²⁶⁴ Mrs. H. provided both the lyrics and the music:

I never can forget the day,
Lee and his soldiers had to part,
There was many a tear to wipe away,
And many a sad and weary heart.

Chorus: For the soldier had to part with his rifle,
His trusty companion lay aside,
While his heart-felt emotions he must stifle
As he yielded up Virginia, his pride.

Bravely and well that noble heart,
On many a hard won field had stood,
Determined for their native land,
Freely to give their heart's best blood.

Chorus: For the soldier, etc.

'Twas vain! for an un-number'd host,
Clos'd round our small heroic band
The General saw that hope was lost,
And sadly gave up his command.

Chorus: For the soldier, etc.

His desperate soldiers still fought on,
Determined they would yet be free,

²⁶⁴ (St. Louis: Balmer and Weber, 1867).

Unconscious of what had been done,
By their loved leader, General Lee.

Chorus: For the soldier, etc.

Look! as a courier hurries on,
To still the cannon's deafening roar,
He bids them lay their armor down,
And fight for homes and friends no more,

Chorus: But the soldier would not listen to the story,
Till their glorious old leader bid them yield,
They would follow him to sorrow or to glory,
So all silently they left the battlefield.

Mrs. H's sentimental lyrics are fairly simple and straightforward by nineteenth-century standards. Although they fail to convey any genuine depth of feeling and certainly are not profound, their lack of excessively flowery, grandiose, or Biblical language prevents a complete trivialization of the event. She most probably was not an observer of the actual surrender, so her perspective is highly idealistic. Still, she accurately describes the scene: a great and significant parting did take place, tears were shed, hearts were sad and weary. Battles had been hard-fought and hard won, but only the active participants in those battles could fully appreciate the depth and range of emotions felt that day. The comradeship among men who had faced death together would have been beyond her scope of experience, and although she revered Robert E. Lee, her feelings would not have matched those of the men who served under his command. For a truer perspective and more meaningful depth of expression, one must look to soldiers' accounts in personal diaries and memoirs.

Several now familiar themes, seen in previous songs, are here also: pride, bravery, nobility, determination. In this particular song Virginia is the “native land” for which blood has been freely shed. In the face of defeat, there are new themes: the commitment to always remember, the vanity of bloody sacrifice, the continued reverence of Lee. The Southerners’ commitment to remembering the heroism of the past and the treasuring of such memories served to help validate the enormous number of casualties rendered up for the cause. Here, and in ensuing years, the defeat of the Army of Northern Virginia is seen as resulting, not from any military failure or lack of heroism, but from the vast numerical superiority of the enemy. The reverence for Lee evidenced in these lines would soon verge on deification.

The music, also supplied by Mrs. J. P. H., is typical of much that has already been considered. (See Appendix B, Figure 12, p. 216.) The melody is not particularly striking or memorable, but its moderate vocal range would have been suitable for parlor singing. Instead of an SATB quartet the chorus continues for solo voice. The piano accompaniment, like many already cited, utilizes open octaves in the left hand and an arpeggiated eighth note pattern in the right, which changes at some point to block chords and then returns to the arpeggiated pattern. Mrs. H. places her block chords at the beginning of the chorus. The eight-measure introduction features the tune of the verse and the ritornello, between each verse, the tune from the chorus. The eight-measure sections create a balanced form. The never-wavering tonality of the piece is G major. Every chord is either, sub-dominant, dominant, or tonic, the three most basic chords in musical composition, and there is not a single accidental, or note that does not belong to

the key, anywhere in the song. This completely stable harmony and balanced form give the piece its intrinsic predictability. Musically, there are no surprises in the piece.

Remaining Noble in Defeat

As the news from Appomattox spread throughout the South, Southerners received that news with disbelief, denial, and dismay. After the initial shock they had to make decisions about getting on with their lives. With victory now beyond their grasp, Southerners had to find nobility in defeat. A song titled “Carolina,” with the words of Caroline Augusta Ball demonstrates this perspective.

Caroline Augusta Ball was born into one of the most prestigious of South Carolina families and married into another. Her father, Edward Rutledge (c.1795-1836), an Episcopal clergyman and educator, was the grandson of John Rutledge, signer of the United States Constitution, first governor of South Carolina, and a chief justice of the United States Supreme court.²⁶⁵ She was later married to Isaac Ball, a member of one of the wealthiest families in South Carolina.

According to census records she was born in South Carolina sometime between 1823 and 1825.²⁶⁶ Alderman is more specific: Charleston on February 27, 1823.²⁶⁷ Her early years were spent in the North: in Pennsylvania, where her father was a college professor from 1828 to 1835,²⁶⁸ and in Connecticut, her mother’s home state. She was

²⁶⁵ Alderman, Chandler, and Kent, vol. 15, 19 and “Edward Rutledge, c.1795-1836,” *Penn Biographies*; available from <http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/people/1700s/Rutledge>; accessed 15 January 2007.

²⁶⁶ 1860 US Census, Ward 6, Charleston County, South Carolina; 1870 US Census, New York Ward 21, New York, New York; 1880 US Census, Charleston, Charleston County, South Carolina; 1910 US Census, Ward 2, Charleston County, South Carolina.

²⁶⁷ Alderman, 19.

²⁶⁸ “Edward Rutledge, c.1795-1836,” *Penn Biographies*.

educated at a seminary in New Haven, and it was here that her first poem was published, anonymously, when she was sixteen. It was described by Raymond as a “satirical piece, in answer to an impertinent attack on woman” which appeared in the *Yale Literary Magazine* and was vigorously debated among her student acquaintances. Raymond failed to mention in what publication the poem appeared.²⁶⁹

She moved back to Charleston and married Isaac Ball, exactly when is unknown, but probably in the early 1850s, judging by the age of their two children in 1860. She must have been widowed prior to 1860, for in the census that year she was listed as the head of household and owner of an estate valued at \$5000. Her two children, Louisa and Alwyn, were six and four years of age, respectively.²⁷⁰ Sometime after the war, Ball moved to New York City where she and her children resided as boarders and she worked as a teacher.²⁷¹ By 1880 Ball had returned to Charleston and remarried. Her new husband, Fred Fraser, was a watchman. The household included his three children as well as Alwyn, his wife, and daughter. They were well-off enough that there were two servants in the household.²⁷² By 1910 Caroline Ball Fraser had been again left a widow, since that census found her living in her son Alwyn’s household.²⁷³ She died in 1913.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁹ Raymond, 473.

²⁷⁰ 1860 US Census, Charleston, Charleston County, South Carolina.

²⁷¹ 1870 US Census, Ward 21, District 6, New York County, New York.

²⁷² 1880 US Census, Charleston, Charleston County, South Carolina.

²⁷³ 1910 US Census, Ward 2, Charleston County, South Carolina.

²⁷⁴ The South Carolina Historical Society, *South Carolina Genealogies*, vol. 4 (Spartanburg: The Reprint Company, 1983), 151.

Ball's volume of poems, *The Jacket of Grey and Other Fugitive Poems*, was published in Charleston in 1876.²⁷⁵ According to Raymond, the poems had appeared earlier, in 1866, in the *Charleston Daily News*.²⁷⁶ If she had already moved to New York City by that time, Ball may have indeed felt like a fugitive or refugee. One of the poems in this volume, "Carolina," was set to music by composer/publisher Armand Blackmar. The tone and language of the poem is definitely post-war:

'Mid her ruins proudly stands, Our Carolina,
Fetters are upon her hands, Dear Carolina!
Yet she feels no sense of shame, for upon the scroll of Fame,
She hath writ a deathless name, Brave Carolina!

She was first our wrongs to feel, Our Carolina,
First to draw the glitt'ring steel, Dear Carolina!
Ready first to strike the blow, At th'oppressor and the foe,
And to lay their standard low, Brave Carolina!

Nobly now she bears her wrong, Our Carolina,
In her night she still hath songs, Dear Carolina!
In the dust her sons lie low, Yet tho' stricken by the foe,
Pride is mingled with her woe, Brave Carolina!

Ball obviously took great pride in her home state and that state's pre-eminence in the late war. She emphasizes South Carolina's role in beginning the conflict: first to feel, first to draw, first to strike. Responsibility for instigating the conflict is lauded, but any responsibility for the resultant death and destruction is abdicated, left at the feet of the "oppressor and foe." In her view, she and her state have endured battle, deprivation, and

²⁷⁵ (Charleston: Walker, Evans and Cogswell) is the edition that is in the *Women's Collection*, Jackson Library, the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. There is another, earlier edition, (Charleston: J. Walker, 1866) in the Rosanna Alexander Library, *Special Collections*, Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, West Virginia.

²⁷⁶ Raymond, 473.

final defeat with pride and honor intact and present circumstances should be borne nobly and proudly as well. She expresses no regrets and offers no apologies: wrongs are still wrong; the North is still the enemy; and, presumably, the South is still right. Seemingly, nothing has been learned, except the vincibility of her state, country, and way of life. In any event, this cannot be admitted. Circumstances have changed; attitudes certainly have not. One wonders how she coped, living among Yankees in New York, for some years after the war. The poem, already “musical” in its rhythmic regularity and with the recurring “Carolina” phrases, lent itself well to Blackmar’s setting.

Remembering the Dead

Another and better known poem by Caroline Ball is “The Jacket of Grey.” It also appeared in the collection of “fugitive poems” published in 1866 and 1876. There were at least two musical settings of the poem. One, by Charlie L. Ward, was titled “The Faded Gray Jacket”²⁷⁷ and dedicated to “Those who wore it.” Another one, “The Jacket of Grey,” by Stratford B. Woodberry,²⁷⁸ was dedicated to Lieut. Richard W. Greer, “who fell at the Battle of Secessionville, June 16th, 1862.” This version of the poem appeared in the *Confederate Veteran* in 1894.²⁷⁹

Fold it up carefully, lay it aside;
Tenderly touch it, look on it with pride;
For dear must it be to our hearts evermore,
The jacket of gray our loved soldier boy wore.

Can we ever forget when he joined the brave band,
Who rose in defense of our dear Southern land,

²⁷⁷ (Louisville, KY: D. P. Faulds, 1866).

²⁷⁸ (Augusta: George A. Oates, 1871)

²⁷⁹ *Confederate Veteran*, 2, no. 3 (March 1894). The poem appears on a page between pages 64 and 65 which has no page number.

And in his bright youth hurried on to the fray –
How proudly he donned it – the jacket of gray?

His fond mother blessed him and looked up above,
Commending to Heaven the child of her love;
What anguish was her's, mortal tongue cannot say,
When he passed from her sight in the jacket of gray.

But her country had called, and she would not repine,
Though costly the sacrifice placed on its shrine;
Her heart's dearest hopes on its altar she lay,
When she sent out her boy in the jacket of gray.

Months passed and war's thunder rolled over the land,
Unsheathed was the sword, and lighted the brand;
We heard in the distance the sounds of the fray,
And prayed for our boy in the jacket of gray.

Ah! vain, all, all vain were our prayers and our tears,
The glad shout of victory rang in our ears;
But our treasured one on the red battlefield lay,
While the life-blood oozed out on the jacket of gray.

His young comrades found him, and tenderly bore
The cold, lifeless form to his home by the shore;
Oh, dark were our hearts on that terrible day,
When we saw our dead boy in the jacket of gray.

Ah! spotted and tattered, and stained now with gore,
Was the garment which once he so proudly wore;
We bitterly wept as we took him away,
And replaced with death's white robe the jacket of gray.

We laid him to rest in his cold narrow bed,
And graved on the marble we placed o'er his head,
As the proudest tribute our sad hearts could pay,
He never disgraced the jacket of gray.

Then fold it up carefully, lay it aside,
Tenderly touch it, look on it with pride;
For dear must it be to our hearts evermore,
The jacket of gray our loved soldier boy wore!

As in “Carolina,” Ball’s lines are almost musical in their rhythmic regularity, rhyme scheme, and use of the recurring phrase, this time “the jacket of gray.” In both poems the recurring phrase is also the title and focal point of the piece. The balance and regularity is further reinforced by the use of identical opening and closing verses.

Ball’s lines, though sentimental in tone and doggerel in rhyme by modern standards, still relate a heart-rending experience that was all too common. Earlier in the conflict, “Somebody’s Darling” had resonated with Southerners and Northerners alike because of the universality of the experience presented. Now, in a crushing defeat made even more so because it followed the white-hot fervor and optimism that opened hostilities, Southerners needed to find validation. If the grueling devastation of war could not be justified by ultimate victory, then another justification had to be found. Southerners chose to revere and memorialize the dead and honor their sacrifice. Ball makes the Confederate uniform the symbol of that choice.

The uniform is revered as a holy object. The blessings of heaven have been invoked upon the one who wore it as he was presented sacrificially upon the altar of his country. In spite of prayers and tears at home and victory on the battlefield, death has claimed the young soldier. Unlike the anonymous “darling,” this young man has been returned to his loved ones and lovingly placed in a coffin and grave. His greatest epitaph is that he never disgraced his uniform. The jacket of gray, appearing constantly throughout the poem and repeated at the end of every line except the first and last, becomes the mute witness of these events and retains an eternal quality. It is finally replaced with “death’s white robe.” Why is the soldier not buried in his uniform? To hide

the jacket away would break the link with the past and the cause for which the young man, thousands of young men, died. The jacket of gray represents the ideals for which Southerners fought and which many refused to abandon, vowing never to forget. In this way, the illusion of victory is maintained in the reality of defeat.

Remembering the dead and commemorating their sacrifice led to the practice of visiting and decorating graves and holding services of remembrance. “Kneel Where Our Loves Are Sleeping” by Mrs. L. Nella Sweet,²⁸⁰ published in 1867 and dedicated to the “Ladies of the South Who are Decorating the Graves of the Confederate Dead,” indicated that the practice of memorializing the dead and decorating their graves began in the South almost immediately after the war. In addition, the *Confederate Veteran* reported such observances taking place as early as 1866.²⁸¹

Mrs. L. Nella Sweet was from Nashville, Tennessee. Before her marriage to Louis Sweet at Christ Episcopal Church in that city in 1856,²⁸² she was Laura N. Wynn. The marriage was her second, since Wynn (or Wynne) was the maiden name of her daughter, Ada, who married George W. Roberts in Nashville in 1868.²⁸³

Louis Sweet was a slave owner, as evidenced by an interesting incident that occurred in the fall of 1857. The Sweets were traveling in Canada and New England with their five-year-old daughter, an infant, and a slave named Betty. Abolitionists in

²⁸⁰ Words by G.W.R. (New Orleans: A.E. Blackmar, 1867).

²⁸¹ “Semicentennial Celebration in Charleston,” *Confederate Veteran*, 24, n. 7 (July 1916): p. 326-7. On May 21, 1866 the first meeting of the *Confederate Southern Memorial Association* took place in Charleston, South Carolina. A resolution was passed to observe memorial services on June 16. On that date the first Memorial Day services were held at Magnolia Cemetery in Charleston. In 1867 the date was changed to May 19.

²⁸² Byron and Barbara Sistler, *Early Middle Tennessee Marriages, Volume I: Grooms* (Nashville: Byron Sistler and Associates, 1988), 528, and *Nineteenth Century Tennessee Church Records, Volume 1* (Nashville: Byron Sistler and Associates, 1979), 227.

²⁸³ Davidson County Marriage Records, Tennessee State Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Massachusetts assured Betty that she could remain free in the North. To their surprise and consternation she elected to return to Tennessee with the Sweets. Mrs. Sweet was described in a Boston paper as “one of the handsomest ladies that ever honored the Court House with her presence, and is a perfect type of Southern woman of good breeding. Throughout the examination she was calm and self-possessed.”²⁸⁴

The lyrics of “Kneel Where Our Loves Are Sleeping” were provided by G.W.R. The anonymous G.W.R. quite possibly might have been her aforementioned son-in-law, Dr. George W. Roberts. Two other compositions by Sweet were published in 1868. One, a theme and variations for piano, was dedicated to her son-in-law, and the other, a song titled “How Pure Is Love,” was dedicated to her daughter.²⁸⁵ It is reasonable to assume that these were a wedding present, 1868 being the year of her daughter’s marriage to Roberts. The lyrics of “How Pure Is Love” were also by G.W.R.

The lyrics of “Kneel Where Our Loves Are Sleeping” stress the loved ones’ past courage, present absence, and peaceful rest. Those who remain are admonished and inspired to live exemplary lives so as to attain the same afterlife and reunion:

Kneel where our loves are sleeping,
Dear ones loved in days gone by,
Here we bow in holy reverence,
Our bosoms heave the heartfelt sigh.

They fell like brave men, true as steel,
And pour’d their blood like rain
We feel we owe them all we have,
And can but kneel and weep again.

²⁸⁴ “Another Slave Case in Boston,” *Liberator*, 13 November 1857, p. 183.

²⁸⁵ “La Inspiratione,” or “Twilight Musings” (New Orleans: A. E. Blackmar, 1868) and “How Pure Is Love” (New Orleans: A. E. Blackmar, 1868).

Chorus: Kneel where our loves are sleeping,
They lost, but still were good and true,
The fathers, brothers fell still fighting
We weep, 'tis all that we can do.

Here we find our noble dead
Their spirits soar'd to him above,
Rest they now about his throne,
For God is mercy, God is love.

Then let us pray that we may live,
As pure and good as they have been,
That dying we may ask of Him,
To ope the gate and let us in.

Chorus: Kneel where our loves are sleeping, etc.

Many composers of nineteenth-century American parlor songs incorporated idioms found in Italian songs and opera, German lieder, and French romances in their compositions. Being a member of Southern slave-holding society and described as a “perfect type of Southern woman of good breeding,” Sweet probably had received a good formal education. She had obviously received some musical training and, therefore, some knowledge of these European models herself. This is evidenced by her use of grace notes, turns, vocal ornamentation, strategically placed fermatas, and the character marking *affectuoso* in lieu of a tempo marking. (See Appendix B, Figure 13, p. 219.) There is an additional *con dolore e piano* marking at one point for the accompanist. Also, while the voice is holding one of those fermatas, the piano has a downward, arpeggiated, two-octave-plus figure with an *ad lib* marking. All of these devices typify the nineteenth-century Romanticists’ penchant for musical expression.

Rather than writing one section of music and repeating it for each stanza of the poem, Sweet has set the four stanzas of poetry in two different sections of music. The first two stanzas form the first verse of the song and the last two stanzas, the second verse. Typical of the genre, she includes an SATB chorus. But the musical material in the chorus is different, thereby creating an ABCABC form for the entire piece. This is much more interesting than simply writing one section for each stanza and singing it four times with a chorus in-between.

The key of the piece is E flat major and is, for the most part, predictably straightforward harmonically. But Sweet has created some points of harmonic interest that appeal to the listening ear. Just before the cadence of the first section, she has used a diminished seventh chord of the dominant key, B flat major. This is a relatively unstable harmony and generally in musical composition unstable harmonies demand resolution to more stable harmonies. The instability created by the use of this particular chord is then emphasized and prolonged by its placement under a fermata. This serves to intensify the listener's desire for its resolution. In the middle of the second section there is a brief tonicization of C major, which is followed by an A flat major chord. This chord serves as a "pivot" chord²⁸⁶ leading back to the tonic, E flat. At the end of each section there is a short, descending, chromatic, eighth-note figure in the piano, which really catches the ear. These techniques appeal tangibly to the listener and add harmonic interest, saving the piece from total harmonic predictability.

²⁸⁶ A pivot chord is one that serves one function in the key you are leaving and another function in the key to which you are moving. It serves as a bridge between two tonal centers.

In addition to memorializing the Confederate dead in general, some songs honored the memory of specific Confederate officers whose lives were taken. Remarkable among these is “Memorial Flowers” by Fanny Murdaugh Downing. In twenty-six verses she honors twenty fallen Confederate soldiers, pairing each with specific flowers. Two years after the war’s end, a dozen of these verses were set to music by composer Mendelssohn Coote.²⁸⁷

Fanny Murdaugh was born in Portsmouth, Virginia, on the nineteenth of October in 1831²⁸⁸ to a prominent family. Her father and uncle were both distinguished lawyers and her father was a state legislator. According to Davidson, these two men constituted “some of the finest legal ability in that state.”²⁸⁹ Coming from such a family, she evidently received a thorough formal education commensurate therewith.²⁹⁰ In 1850 she was in Florida,²⁹¹ and in 1851 she married lawyer Charles W. Downing, who was at that time Florida’s Secretary of State.²⁹² By 1860 they had moved back to Virginia, for their second child was born there in that year.²⁹³ At some point early in the war, when Federal forces overran the Norfolk/Portsmouth area, she took up residence in Charlotte, North

²⁸⁷ (New Orleans: A. E. Blackmar, 1867).

²⁸⁸ “Correction/Classification”; available from <http://scholar.lib.ut.edu/VA-Pilot/issues/1996/vp960528/05280049.htm>; accessed 16 June 2007.

²⁸⁹ Davidson, 169.

²⁹⁰ Davidson, 170.

²⁹¹ 1850 US Census, Division 8, Leon County, Florida.

²⁹² Davidson, 170. Downing (1825-1862) served, as the third to hold that office, from 1849 to 1853. In 1838, Colonel Downing led a political protest to force the establishment of a more representative bi-cameral legislature. In 1840 he introduced House Bill 466 to end the Seminole War. “Secretary of State Charles Downing photographs, 1849-1922,” The Florida State Library and Archives; available from <http://dls.dos.state.fl.us>; accessed 19 July 2007. These seem remarkable achievements for one so young.

²⁹³ 1880 US Census, Portsmouth, Virginia.

Carolina, where she lived until 1869.²⁹⁴ According to the *Confederate Veteran*, she was “refugeeing with kindred in Charlotte, N.C.”²⁹⁵

It was while in Charlotte that Downing published her first poems. According to Raymond, this is where her “literary life commenced” in 1863. She wrote to a friend: “I shall write first to see if I can write; then for money, and then for fame!”²⁹⁶ She contributed often to *The Land We Love*, a literary magazine created and edited by D. H. Hill,²⁹⁷ and to the *Charlotte Observer*. According to one source, “the *Observer*’s early emphasis on women’s education and suffrage has been attributed to her influence on the staff.”²⁹⁸ In 1862, shortly before she began her literary career and was perhaps already in Charlotte, her husband died.²⁹⁹ It is a matter of conjecture as to whether or not this event precipitated the advent of her writing career. As any war-widow of the time left with children to support, she would necessarily have had to find some source of income or live with her family. By 1870, she considered herself to be writing for money, the “second stage of her programme.”³⁰⁰

Downing produced her first novel, titled *Nameless*,³⁰¹ while living in Charlotte, making it the first novel written in Mecklenburg County.³⁰² Her friend H. W. Husted

²⁹⁴ LeGette Blythe, *The Charlotte Mecklenburg Story*; available from <http://www.cmstory.org>; accessed 13 July 2007.

²⁹⁵ “The Poems of Fanny Downing,” *Confederate Veteran*, 24, n. 4, (April 1916), 38.

²⁹⁶ Raymond, 844.

²⁹⁷ D. H. Hill (1821-1889) was a Confederate general who, after the war, returned to a career in education and literary and historical writing. Stewart Sifakis, “Daniel Harvey Hill,” *Who Was Who in the Civil War*; available from <http://www.civilwarhome.com/dhill.htm>; accessed 2 November 2007.

²⁹⁸ “North Carolina: Historical Note,” *Road and Travel*; available from <http://www.roadandtravel.com>; accessed 19 July 2007.

²⁹⁹ “Secretary of State Charles Downing photographs, 1849-1922.”

³⁰⁰ Raymond, 844.

³⁰¹ (Raleigh: W. B. Smith, 1865).

³⁰² LeGette Blythe, *The Charlotte Mecklenburg Story*.

called it “a novel of merit, filled with sprightly descriptions and delineations of character, but which was, from some unexplained reason, too suddenly crowded to a close, before its plot could be evolved and completed.”³⁰³ Davidson considered it only a “fair success,” but attributed the fact to its being published in the South. He did not say why being published in the South was a disadvantage. He continued to say that although it sustained the reader’s interest, it evidenced haste of preparation. Still, it was an adventurous first attempt, and “the wonder is that it was not a signal failure.”³⁰⁴ Both agree that it was written in less than two weeks, Husted saying that it was written hastily in order to prove whether she could write prose or not.³⁰⁵ Richard Walser, an expert on North Carolina literature, writes that although *Nameless* would hardly appeal to the contemporary reader, it had no trouble reaching a second edition in those “book-starved” days.³⁰⁶ In 1880 Downing and her three children were living in Portsmouth, Virginia,³⁰⁷ and for some time during the 1880’s she edited the *Portsmouth Times*.³⁰⁸ Fanny Murdaugh Downing continued to live in Portsmouth until her death on May 6, 1894 and was buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery in that city.³⁰⁹

Davidson described Downing’s character as being “eminently feminine” and “womanly to the last analysis.” She was petite, but “elevated in bearing, and in every

³⁰³ Raymond, 846.

³⁰⁴ Davidson, 157.

³⁰⁵ Raymond, 846.

³⁰⁶ Richard Walser, *Literary North Carolina* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1970), 24.

³⁰⁷ 1880 US Census, Portsmouth, Norfolk County, Virginia.

³⁰⁸ Barbara Millner, “One Journalist’s Life,” 2002; available from <http://www.ancientfaces.com>; accessed 19 July 2007.

³⁰⁹ “Correction/Classification”; available from <http://scholar.lib.ut.edu/VA-Pilot/issues/1996/vp960528/05280049.htm>; accessed 16 June 2007.

sense a woman of mark.” Evidently she made quite an impression on people that she met. Her “vivacity, black eyes, and luxuriantly abundant black hair” as well as her “aptness of *bon mot* and repartee,” suggested that she was French, but she was of English descent and “tenacious of English feelings and habits of thought.”³¹⁰ Husted agreed on these points and, likening her to Daniel Webster, called a “steam-engine in breeches,” he saluted Downing as a “steam-engine in crinoline” with reference to her speed and output of composition.³¹¹

In Davidson’s opinion, of the many creative writers who sprang to notoriety during the war of secession and its wake, Downing was the most noteworthy. He has written that among the many poems published since her first, “*Folia Autumni*,” “there are few that are not well done, many that are striking, and some that are brilliant.”³¹² Husted described the poems which followed “*Folia Autumni*” as being “remarkable for musical rhythm, and the easy and graceful flow of feelings which can never be spoken so well as in the language of song.”³¹³ He called her war-poetry “poems of a sterner sort,” deemed by some as just a “trifle rebellious.”³¹⁴ In reference to her war poems, Davidson praised Downing’s ability to cloak “fervid outbursts of indignant and outraged feeling” in figurative language, genius.³¹⁵ Among these were two different poems titled “Dixie,” “*Prometheus Vincit*,” about the imprisonment of former Confederate President Jefferson Davis, “*Sic Semper Tyrannis*,” a paean to Virginia, reminiscent of Ball’s

³¹⁰ Davidson, 170.

³¹¹ Raymond, 844.

³¹² Davidson, 157.

³¹³ Raymond, 845.

³¹⁴ Raymond, 846.

³¹⁵ Davidson, 168.

“Carolina,” and, the poem considered here, “Memorial Flowers.” Indicative of Downing’s “southernness,” is a poem called “Cuffee in Congress,” written during Reconstruction and ridiculing the presence of African-Americans in Congress, and frankly racist by contemporary standards.

Several of Downing’s post-war poems demonstrate wit, tone, and sophistication of language. They lack the old-fashioned, high-sounding, often Biblical wording found in some other poems of the period. Many contain a healthy dose of sarcasm and fun, the subject matter often being the sometimes complicated relationships between men and women. There is musical regularity in the patterns of Downing’s rhymes. Almost every four-line verse falls into an *abab* or *aabb* pattern, yet Downing often ends a sentence in the middle of the line or continues a thought from one line to the next; hence the regularity does not become doggerel or like “sing-song.” These factors all combine to give the reader the impression that the poems were written in the early twentieth century rather than the mid-nineteenth century.

“Memorial Flowers” has been praised in early twentieth-century sources. One called it a “lengthy and charming poem that breathes the love every woman feels for Memorial Day.”³¹⁶ In 1916 the *Confederate Veteran*, saying that Downing’s poems were noted for “exquisite sentiment,” published the poem as an example of “the most beautiful of that type of poetic expression.”³¹⁷

³¹⁶ Mrs. John Huske (Lucy London) Anderson, *North Carolina Women of the Confederacy* (Fayetteville, NC: Cumberland Printing Company, 1926); quoted in the *Confederate Veteran*, 37, n. 10 (October 1929): 377.

³¹⁷ “The Poems of Fanny Downing,” *Confederate Veteran*, 24, n. 4 (April 1916), 38.

The original poem contained twenty-five verses. Coote set only these twelve to music:

I lay the laurel wreath above
The cedar, with its sacred ties,
And place them with a mother's love
Where Jackson lies.

The lily in its loveliness,
Pure as the stream where it awoke
And spotless as his bishop's dress,
I give to Polk.

The fleu-de-lis, in song and lay,
The emblem of true knighthood's pride,
I place, commixed with jessamine spray,
By Ashby's side.

The honeysuckle's rosy drift,
Whose fragrance dripping dews distill,
I offer as the proper gift
For Ambrose Hill.

While orange blossoms fall like snow
And fill the air with fragrance ripe,
They form of Maxey Gregg, below,
The truest type.

Let stars of Bethlehem gleaming be,
As pure as Barksdale's soul, which soars
While he exclaims: "I gladly die
In such a cause."

For Morgan let the wildwood grape
Afford a dewy diadem
And with its drooping tendrils drape
The buckeye's stem.

Around the stone which Cleburne's name
Wreath daisies and the golden bell
And trumpet flowers with hearts of flame
And asphodel.

For him who made all hearts his own
The sweetest rose of love shall bloom
In buds of blushing beauty strewn,
On Stuart's tomb.

Each nameless work and scattered spot
Which hides my children from my view
I mark with the forget-me-not
In heaven's own blue.

Of all the varied vernal race,
I give my cherished dead a part,
Except the cypress; that I place
Upon my heart.

Unlike the North, the South was unable to celebrate the return of a victorious army. Their husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons came home defeated. Instead of singing "When Johnnie Comes Marching Home,"³¹⁸ Southerners chose songs which glorified those who did not come back. When their cause was lost, with no victory to validate it, they turned to memorializing their dead to achieve that end. Keeping the sacrifice and nobility of their lost loved ones alive helped, not only to assuage the pain of defeat and loss, but to snatch some semblance of victory from the jaws of defeat and humiliation.

Downing's approach is unique in both its length and scope. In twenty-five verses she has honored twenty Confederate officers, somehow tying them significantly to thirty different flowering plants. She has chosen to honor individuals instead of presenting a generic, all-encompassing memorial and is very specific in the men named and in the flowers with which they are associated. Her contemporary audience, for whom the memory of these men and their exploits was still fresh, would have readily perceived and

³¹⁸ Words and music by Louis Lambert (Boston: Henry Tolman and Company, 1863).

appreciated her connections. Today's reader, to whom some of these men are completely unknown, would find her allusions less clear. For the inhabitant of the Southern region who is familiar with these particular plants, Downing has created a floral palette rich in colors and aromas.

Downing begins and ends her list of officers with the two most famous: Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson and James Ewell Brown "Jeb" Stuart. In the ancient world, the laurel wreath was awarded to the victor in battle or games.³¹⁹ In the Bible the apostle Paul, writing to Timothy, referred to receiving a crown as a reward for finishing one's course.³²⁰ The cedars of Lebanon are mentioned often in the Biblical record, one reference in particular to spiritual growth and strength.³²¹ Both Biblical allusions would apply to Jackson, who was a devout Christian.³²² Stuart was a brilliant cavalry officer whose daring exploits marveled the Southern populace and provided a thorn in the Union flank. His style of clothing complete with extravagantly plumed hat, his gregarious personality, and his unswerving sense of loyalty and honor created the image of the quintessential cavalier.³²³ The rose, generally accepted as a symbol of love, certainly represented the affection that the Southern people had for Stuart. Beyond that, roses came to represent the houses of Lancaster and York in the series of civil wars that divided

³¹⁹ "Laurel," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Encyclopedia Britannica Online, 2007; available from <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9047351>; accessed 1 October 2007.

³²⁰ 2 Timothy 4:6-8 NAS (New American Standard).

³²¹ Psalm 92:12 NAS (New American Standard).

³²² James I. Robertson, Jr., *Stonewall Jackson: The Man, The Soldier, The Legend* (New York: Macmillan Publishing USA, 1997), x.

³²³ Stewart Sifakis, "James Ewell Brown Stuart," from *Who Was Who in the Civil War*; available from <http://www.civilwarhome.com/stuartbi.htm>; accessed 2 October 2007.

England between 1455 and 1487³²⁴ thereby associating them with knighthood and chivalry. It would have seemed most fitting to Downing to associate the rose with Stuart, the epitome of Southern cavaliers.

General Leonidas Polk, in civilian life, was an Episcopalian bishop, educator, and founder of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee.³²⁵ Downing chose the lily as a symbol of loveliness and purity to represent the religious side of his life. For Turner Ashby she chose the French symbol of royalty, the *fleur-de-lis*. Taken over by the English for use in their coats of arms, it also represents knighthood and chivalry.³²⁶ This would be particularly suitable for Ashby, who was born into a notable Virginia family, descended from military heroes of the American Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, and known as the “Knight of the Confederacy.”³²⁷

Famed cavalry officer John Hunt Morgan was a member of the Confederate army, but operated more often in the manner of guerrilla warfare. He chafed under the restrictions placed upon his activities by his superiors. Once while riding a raid into Kentucky, he crossed the Ohio River, against General Braxton Bragg’s orders, and was captured and imprisoned for four months before escaping.³²⁸ Given these facts the wildwood grape seems appropriate. Of all the officers Downing has honored, Morgan is the only one not associated with a domestic, fragrant, flowering plant. She also has noted

³²⁴ “Wars of the Roses,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Encyclopedia Britannica Online, 2007; available from <http://search.eb.com/eb/article - 9064117>; accessed 2 October 2007.

³²⁵ “Biography of Leonidas Polk,” *Sewanee On-Line History Museum*; available from <http://www.leonidaspolk.org/Biography.html>; accessed 2 October 2007.

³²⁶ Fleur-de-lis Designs, “The Fleur-de-lis in Heraldry and History”; available from <http://www.fleurdelis.com/fleur.htm>; accessed 2 October 2007.

³²⁷ Jon Coulter, “Turner Ashby,” *Find a Grave*; available from <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=8336>; accessed 2 October 2007.

³²⁸ Stewart Sifakis, “John Hunt Morgan,” *Who Was Who in the Civil War*; available from <http://www.civilwarhome.com/morganbio.htm>; accessed 3 October 2007.

the buckeye, a symbol of the state of Ohio. The buckeye tree was not officially named the state tree of Ohio until 1953, but the nickname was used by Ohioans to describe themselves as early as 1840.³²⁹

Downing ends by paying homage to the anonymous dead. Their scattered graves are to be covered with forget-me-nots. The flower's name means just what it implies: these men are gone, but never forgotten. The blue color of the flower, likened to that of heaven, denotes the benediction of Divine Providence. Finally the cypress is retained for the living. The cypress tree has traditionally been associated with mourning and death in various cultures. Known for its durability and strength, the wood has been used to build coffins and temple doors. Its fragrance has been thought to possess healing qualities.³³⁰ Retaining the cypress exclusively for the living is indicative of their separation from the dead. The cypress represents their grief, their strength needed to continue with life, and their healing and closure.

A predominant theme of Downing's poem is fragrance. Almost every plant she references exudes some sort of scent. Studies have shown smell to be more strongly associated with memory than any other sense. Of all the senses it is the most powerful in terms of triggering memories and their related emotions. As the popularity of scented candles illustrates, smells can be soothing and comforting. Smell can even be used therapeutically. After being associated with a particular treatment over a period of time,

³²⁹ Ohio Historical Society, "Ohio's State Tree – Buckeye," *Ohio History Central*, 2007; available from <http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/entry.php?rec=1880>; accessed 3 October 2007.

³³⁰ Samuel G. Goodrich and J. N. Stearns, "Wonderful Trees No. 4 – The Cypress Tree," *Robert Merry's Museum* 19 (January 1850): 13.

the smell can eventually have the same effect without the treatment.³³¹ Many of Downing's floral references would therefore evoke pleasurable and comforting sensations in her Southern readers who were familiar with these plants.

In the opening verses of the poem Downing recognizes the Lord as the source of all the flowers and the flowers as representative of His love:

The Lord of light, who rules the hours,
Has scattered through our sunny land
Mementos of his love in flowers
With lavish hand.

The South, still a nation, is identified as the speaker of the poem: "the South in plaintive tone of pride and sorrow, mixed with bliss, speaks." In addition to this attribution of emotions, the South is further personified by the use of the personal pronoun "I" in several of the verses. The tone of expression is maternal, as shown in the references to "a mother's love" in the verse about Jackson and "my children," the unknowns in the next to last verse. The Southern homeland is something of a "Mother Earth" figure. In cyclical "dust to dust" fashion she takes the flowers from the ground and gives them as tribute to the dead who are in the ground. In addition, as she receives the flowers from the Lord and gives them to the dead, she becomes an intermediary or intercessor.

Downing has used the fruits of nature to create a stunning visual and olfactory picture which strongly appeals to both senses. She has wrapped the subjects of death,

³³¹ Tom Jacob, "Smell (Olfaction)," 23 March 2007; available from <http://www.cf.ac.uk/biosi/staff/jacob/teaching/sensory/olfac1/html>; accessed 4 October 2007.

loss, and mourning in sensual terms of beauty and fragrance. These images combine to create feelings of repose and comfort.

Carrying On

For many, the American Civil War left in its wake death, devastation, and deprivation. Across the South homes and other buildings were razed, fields were left desolate, their crops destroyed, and cities were reduced to rubble and ashes. The Southern male population was greatly decimated, leaving many women widows and children, orphans. This sudden change in economic status left many women, with few professional options, to make a living and rear their children under much less privileged circumstances than those to which they had been previously accustomed. In addition to material challenges, there were the psychological and emotional scars resulting from the humiliation of defeat. To begin with such high hopes, only to have them completely dashed, must have been shocking and unbelievable. This would have been especially true for those Southerners who firmly believed that God always defended the right side, which they assumed was theirs. What a crisis of faith they must have experienced as they were forced to contemplate Northern “rightness.”

During the Reconstruction years, Southerners were forced to re-evaluate, rebuild, and “get on with their lives.” Most were still devoted to the South and managed to cope with their changed circumstances; some more successfully than others. Some, who were unable to adjust, left and established plantations elsewhere. Matilda Jane Young (also known as Maud Jeannie) loved and maintained loyalty to the South, took great pride in her adopted state of Texas, and chose to remain. Among her many war poems were two,

both set to music by F. W. Smith, composer and professor of music at Baylor College,³³² relating to the demise of the Confederacy and her commitment to Texas. Both “‘Tis Midnight in the Southern Sky” and “Leave it! Ah no! The Land is Our Own” were published in 1866 by A. E. Blackmar in New Orleans.

Young was born Matilda Jane Fuller on November 1, 1826, in Beaufort, North Carolina.³³³ Mary Tardy goes into considerable detail as to her family tree, which included John Rolf and his wife, Pocahontas, and a well-known French Huguenot named Michael Pacquenet. She was a cousin of Confederate General Braxton Bragg.³³⁴ About 1839 the family moved to Alabama and by 1843 had settled in Houston, Texas. There her father, Nathan Fuller, served as mayor of that city for a year from 1853 to 1854. Later he was employed as a railroad paymaster.³³⁵ Census records indicate that he was a railroad agent and paymaster and retired by 1880. From 1860 to 1870 the value of his real estate dropped appreciably, from \$12,000 to \$4000; presumably as a result of the war and the end of slavery. Still, in 1870, there were three servants in the household.³³⁶ In 1847 Matilda Jane Fuller married Dr. Samuel Oliver Young, a native of South Carolina. He died nine months after their marriage and before their son was born.³³⁷

³³² Lota M. Spell, “Music in Texas,” *Civil War History* 4, n. 3 (1958): 302.

³³³ Margaret Swett Henson, “Matilda Jane Fuller Young,” *Handbook of Texas Online*; available from <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu>; accessed 11 July 2005.

³³⁴ Mary Tardy, *Living Female Writers of the South* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, 1872), 551.

³³⁵ Henson, “Matilda Jane Fuller Young,” *Handbook*.

³³⁶ 1860, 1870, 1880 US Census, Houston, Harris County, Texas.

³³⁷ Henson, “Matilda Jane Fuller Young,” *Handbook*. After serving in the Confederate army, Company A, Fifth Regiment, Hood’s Brigade, during the war, Samuel Oliver Young, Jr. completed his undergraduate studies under General Lee at Lexington, Virginia. (Tardy, 551) That would be at what was then Washington College and, today, Washington and Lee. He studied medicine, at his mother’s insistence, practiced for about ten years, and then pursued a career in journalism. Moving to Galveston, he survived the great hurricane of 1900 that hit that city and wrote a first-hand account of the experience. “Samuel

As to Young's education, according to one source she was largely self-taught, but had a reading knowledge of Latin, Greek, German, and French.³³⁸ She also possessed a deep interest in and knowledge of botany. Her poetry, fiction, and essays were published as early as 1856 and as late as 1880.

When the war began, Young turned to writing poems in support of the Confederate soldiers of Texas, often as "The Confederate Lady" and "The Soldier's Friend." In addition, like so many other Southern women, she collected clothes and money, nursed in hospitals, and sewed and presented flags. In May 1862 she made a flag for her son's and brother's Company A, Fifth Regiment, Hood's Texas Brigade. By the fall of 1864 it had become so tattered and worn that it was rendered unfit for further use. The Regiment returned it to Young's care and keeping.³³⁹ Young's emotional reply of acceptance, written in November 1864, was published in the *Confederate Veteran* in 1903.³⁴⁰

Young was unquestionably pro-Southern in her perspective and sympathies. Even after Lee's surrender she, along with Generals Edmund Kirby Smith, John Bankhead Magruder, and Joseph O. Selby, contributed to a broadside, *To the Soldiers and Citizens of Texas, New Mexico and Arizona*, urging continued resistance on behalf of the Confederate cause. In 1872, when the Hood's Brigade Association was formed, their first resolution was to cite Young as the "Mother of Hood's Brigade," acknowledging her continued support. Always remaining pro-Texas, she was appointed by a board in

Oliver Young," *John and Kitty's Family Pages* (2001), available from http://freepages.pets.rootsweb.com/~gooddog/family/samuel_oliver_young.htm; accessed 6 August 2007.

³³⁸ Henson, "Matilda Jane Fuller Young," *Handbook*.

³³⁹ Henson, "Matilda Jane Fuller Young," *Handbook*.

³⁴⁰ *Confederate Veteran*, 11, no. 3 (March 1903): 105.

Philadelphia to represent her state on the Women' Centennial Executive Committee. She worked to co-ordinate fund-raising among Texas women for the national Centennial (1876).

From 1866 until 1869 Young was a teacher at the private Houston Academy, which fell on hard times and closed with the advent of public education. She herself opened a private school in the Old Jewish Synagogue and may have taught some in public schools. In addition to her poetry and fiction, Young published writings on botany and natural history. In 1880 *Burke's Texas Almanac* published her article on "Forest Culture," which advocated conservation, research, tree planting, forest clubs, and the passage of a forest law. She also authored the first textbook on Texas botany, *Familiar Lesson in Botany, with Flora of Texas* (1873) and was the state botanist from 1872-73. Unfortunately, her herbarium of Texas ferns and flowering plants and a collection of her writings were lost in the great Galveston hurricane of 1900. Maud Young died on April 15, 1882 and is buried in Glenwood Cemetery in Houston.³⁴¹ According to the *Confederate Veteran*, she herself succumbed to yellow fever while nursing during an epidemic.³⁴²

Mary Tardy, writing in typical, rather flowery, nineteenth-century terms, commends Young's empathetic nature, which emanated from her and touched all who came in contact with her. According to Tardy, she possessed "incomparable" conversational powers, "perfect" manners, tact, and a ready understanding. All of these

³⁴¹ Henson, "Matilda Jane Fuller Young."

³⁴² *Confederate Veteran*, 11, no. 3 (March 1903): 105.

qualities attracted people to her and brought out the best in them. She had been greatly strengthened and “refined” through suffering. Tardy further describes her this way:

In person, Mrs. Young is tall, with a commanding grace. She has beautiful dark eyes, an expressive mouth, and a soft, clear voice. Clad always in soft, black, flowing robes, and moving, as she does, like a dream, her memory haunts all who have once seen her, and her wonderful presence leaves a sense of itself wherever she has been.³⁴³

“‘Tis Midnight in the Southern Sky,” written about the end of the war and the demise of the Southern nation, still possesses a positive tone of confidence and vindication:

‘Tis midnight in the Southern sky,
See the starry cross decline
The watching flowers all bathed in tears
Weep over the mournful sight.

But that decline but serves to mark
A bright and glorious hour,
Whose gleaming splendors shall then crown
With stars the simplest flower.

A day that in its turn shall tell
Of the starry cross uprighted,
Then weep not ev’ry change is well –
All wrongs shall be requited.

It is midnight, the darkest part of the night and the darkest time for the Southern Confederacy. The “starry cross,” or the constellation known as the Southern Cross, visible only in the Southern sky, is declining. So too, the flag which represented the Southern Confederacy, and incorporated the starry cross, has fallen. Again, as in

³⁴³ Tardy, 554.

Downing's poem cited earlier, flowers are associated with grief at its passing. But, just as the darkest midnight always precedes dawn and a new day, a new day will come for the South. The flowers will rejoice, the flag will be restored and unfurled, and vindication will come. In the third verse there probably should be a comma after the word not: "Then weep not, ev'ry change is well..." Young evidently believed that one could and should adapt to change, not waste time crying over it.

"Leave it! Ah no! The Land is Our Own" is a poem honoring Texas and expressing Young's love for her state. She also addresses those who chose to leave the South to continue their plantation lifestyles in other countries:

Leave it! Ah no! The land is our own,
Tho' the flag that we lov'd is now furl'd.
A Texan must roam o'er his own prairie plains,
Or find rest in the far spirit world.

Chorus: Oh! the Lone Star State our home shall be,
While the waters shall roll to the Mexican Sea. (repeat)

Where shall so blue a sky e'er be found,
As the heavens that bend o'er us here?
Or where shall sweet flowers as fragrant and fair,
The wayfaring wanderer cheer.

Chorus: Oh! the Lone Star State...etc.

Here do our Fannins and Traviges rest,
Our Scurry and Wharton and Green,
And here may our hearts repose on her breast,
When death's shadow shall fall on the scene.

Chorus: Oh! the Lone Star State...etc.

Others may seek South American shores,
Orizava and fair Monterey,

But never! because she is burdened with woes,
Shall our feet from our own State stray.

Chorus: Oh! the Lone Star State our home shall be,
While her blue rivers roll to the Mexican Sea.

Then here's to our State! our own dear State!
Right or wrong, enslaved or free,
In poverty, wealth, enthroned or disowned,
Out Mother, our Queen, she shall be.

Chorus: Oh! the Lone Star State our home shall be,
As long as her rivers run down to the sea.

In the wake of defeat, and with many Southerners choosing expatriation, Young emphatically believes in remaining loyal to her home state. Only death should separate a Texan from his native soil. Texans had strong ties to their land, ties derived from their rich and rather unique history. They had fought for their independence in the mid 1830s and then fought Mexico again in the 1840s. Young lists several heroes, veterans of the Texas War of Independence from Mexico, the Mexican War, and the Civil War, whose legacies should be remembered. They lived and fought for Texas, departing only through death.

Unique among the songs in this study is Young's reference to the issue of expatriation. With the cause lost and their fortunes reversed, many Southern aristocrats relocated to establish plantations and continue their lifestyles elsewhere. Common destinations were South America and Mexico. Again Young is emphatic: *never* would she leave simply because of the "burden of woes" now imposed upon her and her state.

Young's poems reflect the strength, determination, and perseverance that she demonstrated in her life. She survived the death of her husband, reared her son, and

pursued a career, all difficult challenges for single or widowed women in the nineteenth century. Her positive attitude, which enabled her to overcome such difficulties, also motivated her to a life of service to her community and state. She did not hesitate to involve herself in the lives of those around her. As Tardy observed, her empathetic nature drew people to her and she moved swiftly to meet their needs.³⁴⁴ After the war, her involvement with the National Centennial, representing Texas, indicated her acceptance of reconciliation with the Union. Her death from yellow fever, contracted while ministering to those with the disease, was the final confirmation of a life given in the service of others.

³⁴⁴ Tardy, 554.

CHAPTER VI

AFTERWORD

This study has considered thirty-five songs having words and/or music created by thirty Southern women. These songs were produced and published in the South during or shortly after the Civil War. The creation of poetry and songs provided a readily available and socially acceptable means of expression for these women. For the contemporary reader these thirty-five songs provide valuable insight into nineteenth-century Southern culture and history and as well as a window into the lives of these specific women.

The level of their education and literacy indicate that these thirty women were members of the middle and upper-middle classes. As such, it cannot be assumed that they speak for all Southern women of the period. The largest Southern class was the *yeoman* class, or poor, mostly non-slaveholding, illiterate white farmers. This class is not represented by any of the women discussed in this study.

It should also be remembered that since these poems and songs were created and disseminated for public consumption, and were intended to encourage Southern nationalism, antagonism toward the North, and pro-war feelings, the sentiments expressed may not have been held throughout the Southern population as a whole. To acquire a more accurate and balanced view of women's attitudes toward the war, one should read their personal diaries, journals, and letters. Often these records reflect a

growing distaste for the war and its many hardships and deprivations. Negative feelings about the war were more likely to be expressed privately than publicly.

Representative or not, the tone of the vast majority of these thirty-five songs is decidedly pro-war and pro-Southern. Several recurrent themes present themselves: Southern nationalism, freedom and liberty, the rightness of the cause and God's blessings upon it, the role of women on the home front, and the emotional cost of the war.

The South was strongly identified as country, nation, or homeland, overriding any previous allegiance to the United States. The South with its balmy climate was pictured as an idyllic Eden compared to the cold, barren Northern region. Proud of their patriotic heritage, Southerners considered their region to be the virtual cradle of patriotism and liberty, hearkening back to the American and French Revolutions and their British cavalier ancestors.

African-American slavery notwithstanding, another major theme was the firm belief that their fight was one for freedom and liberty. In all of these songs, only a single reference is made to African-American slavery: "your abolition den" in Warfield's "You Can Never Win Us Back." Slavery in the minds of these Southern women was their own subjection to the ideas and practices of their Northern neighbors. These songs present the war as an act of Northern Aggression and attempted tyranny, against which the South was forced to defend herself and her way of life.

These thirty Southern women, for the most part, firmly believed that God smiled upon and blessed their way of life and the efforts being made to perpetuate it. In their view, their cause was right and their soil sacred. They could not allow that land to be

desecrated and despoiled by a host of barbaric Northern invaders. Further, the war was seen as a fight to defend homes and families. Soldiers were encouraged to remember those pure innocents at home for whom they were fighting: wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters. The purity of those waiting and praying at home was often emphasized, as was the warmth of beckoning firesides and tenderly remembered scenes of joyful home life and tearful parting.

According to these songs a woman's role in the conflict was primarily on the home front. As the previous paragraph suggests, they were part of the home-life being defended. They were to inspire their men to strive with greater intensity and energy. It was their duty to endure the hardships which resulted from the absence of their men with fortitude and grace, even joy, deeming their sacrifices a privilege. Providing prayers and moral support was also seen as a primary occupation. Biographical data indicates the involvement of these women in a host of activities: knitting socks, making blankets, visiting and ministering to the needs of wounded soldiers, sponsoring various fund-raising projects, sewing and presenting flags in support of the war effort.

Many of the songs, some more than others, deal with the emotional toll that the war was taking on its participants, both those facing the prospect of battle with its unknown consequences and those waiting, praying, and working at home. Separation, loneliness, the fear of death, and the anonymity of death became familiar themes. These experiences were universal to both sides of the conflict. In addition, Southerners had to deal with a humiliating defeat, made even more so by such pride and high hopes at the outset. Imagine the crisis of faith experienced by those who espoused the belief that "God

Defendeth the Right,” when final victory went to the North. Either God did truly defend the right side and the South was clearly wrong, or God had failed and trust in Him had been misplaced. One solution was to memorialize the dead and thereby ennoble the “Lost Cause,” and live in the victories of the past. Songs published at the end of the war and in the ensuing years often stressed this theme.

As one delves into and reflects upon the biographical data concerning these thirty women, one is made aware of the limitations many of them faced. Most of the women in this study were married to and supported by professional men, but those who were single or widowed often faced life’s challenges alone. Chiefly there was the maintaining of a home and the rearing and education of children. Usually having a male head-of-household, whether husband, father, son, or son-in-law, provided the security of a home. Single or widowed women without such male support generally lived as boarders in other peoples’ homes or took in boarders themselves. On the other hand, even with the intervening war and resultant decrease in estate values from 1860 to 1870, many married women were able to maintain their former lifestyles to some degree and after the war several continued to have servants in their households.

In addition, this biographical data implies much about the limited professional options that these women faced. Southern women were usually not expected to work outside the home and few professions were open to them. Married women who pursued “extra-domestic” activities, did so as avocations. Their lifestyles and social standings were more generally determined by their husbands’ careers. Single and widowed women,

on the other hand, had to find some means of support for themselves and their children, if they had any.

The two most common professional activities represented by the women in this study were writing and teaching. Catherine Ann Warfield was a successful and well-known writer in her day, but she was wealthy in her own right through inheritance, and married well. Fanny Downing managed to create a professional career as a journalist and editor. She also came from a prestigious family from whom she may have received additional support. None of the other women in this study pursued writing successfully as a full-time career independent of family support.

Several of these women were teachers. Delia Wright Jones was a professional educator who supplemented her family's income with painting and photography. She also did a goodly amount of writing: newspaper articles, poetry, at least one article in an educational journal, and a religious pamphlet. All of these activities augmented the income of her husband. At the age of seventy-two a widowed Flora Byrne worked as a governess, a position that presumably included room and board. In between her traveling, French émigré Marie Ravenal de La Coste taught French. Here again, these female teachers were either supported by husband or family, or they struggled.

The two women who pursued what most closely resembled what we would call professional careers today were Ella Wren and Elizabeth Sloman. Both were born into English theatrical families, toured extensively throughout the South during the war, and lived in Northern urban centers afterward. After the war, Wren lived and worked in the nation's capital. In addition to performing, she taught acting and elocution, managed her

own dramatic company, and wrote a play. She was able to live with her daughter and son-in-law, both successful actors. Living in New York after the war, Sloman performed as a harpist and maintained a studio of students. In her seventies, she and her sister, also a seventy-ish spinster, lived as boarders.

One may conclude from these observations that independent professional careers for women were in their infancy in the mid-nineteenth century. The war most certainly had an impact in this area. As in a later generation experiencing World War II, women began moving into arenas or work previously occupied by and then vacated by men who went to battle. Some women chafed and strained under the burden, but some rediscovered themselves and their abilities and undoubtedly enjoyed their first taste of independence.

These thirty women lived through some of the most tumultuous years of our country's history. Their lives and their writings reflect their feelings about and reactions to the war and the death, deprivation, and loss associated with it. Most persevered and succeeded because of their resiliency, resourcefulness, and family support. Still, some lives were irrevocably changed, and the memories of the Civil War persisted for generations to follow.

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Appendix A: Southern Women and Their Songs
Part 1: Songs Listed Alphabetically by Title

The following is a list of the songs referenced in the foregoing study. They are presented here in alphabetical order by song title.

“Adieu to the Star Spangled Banner Forever.” Music by J. R. Boulcott. Words by **Ella D. Clark**. New Orleans: P. P. Werlein, 1861.

“Alabama.” Music by J. W. Groschel. Words by Laura Lorrimer (**Julia Shelton**). Mobile: J. H. Snow, 1861.

“Carolina.” Music by Armand E. Blackmar. Words by **Caroline Augusta Ball**. (No publication information is given, but since Blackmar composed the music, it is likely that he published it himself.)

“The Confederate Flag.” Music by G. George. Words by **Susan Blanchard Elder**. Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1861.

“Dixie Doodle,” Music and words by **Margaret Weir**. New Orleans: P. P. Werlein, 1862.

“The Faded Gray Jacket,” or “Fold It Up Carefully.” Music by Charlie L. Ward. Words By **Caroline Augusta Ball**. Louisville: D. P. Faulds, 1866.

“Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner.” Music and words attributed to **Mrs. E. D. Hundley**. Richmond: J. W. Davies, 186-.

“The Flag of the South: A Voice from the Old Academy.” Music by Dr. O. Becker. Words by **Anna K. Hearn**. Nashville: C. D. Benson and Co., 1861.

“General Lee’s Surrender.” “Words selected and music arranged by” **Mrs. J. P. H. St. Louis**: Balmer and Weber, 1867.

“God Defendeth the Right.” Music by Hermann L. Schreiner. Words by **Katherine Ann DuBose**. Macon: John C. Schreiner and Sons, 1861.

“God Will Defend the Right.” Music and words by a **Lady of Richmond, Va.** Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1861.

“The Homespun Dress,” or “The Southern Girl.” Music by Valentine Vousden. Words by **Carrie Bell Sinclair**. New Orleans: Blackmar and Co., 1865.

- “The Jacket of Grey.” Music by Stratford B. Woodberry. Words by **Caroline Augusta Ball**. Augusta: George A. Oates, 1871.
- “Keep Me Awake Mother.” Music by Joseph Hart Denck. Words by **Mrs. M. W. Stratton**. Columbia, SC: Julian A. Selby, 1863.
- “Keep Me Awake! Mother.” Music by F. Koenigsberg. Words by **Mrs. M. W. Stratton**. Macon: John C. Schreiner and Son, 1863.
- “Keep Me Awake, Mother!” Music by Henry Schoeller. Words by **Mrs. M W. Stratton**. Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1863.
- “Kneel Where Our Loves Are Sleeping.” Music by **Laura Nella Sweet**. Words by G.W.R. New Orleans: A. E. Blackmar, 1867.
- “Leave it! Ah no! The Land Is Our Own.” Music by F. W. Smith. Words by **Matilda “Maud” Jane Young**. New Orleans: A. E. Blackmar, 1866.
- “Melt the Bells.” Music by **Flora Byrne**. Words by J. Y. Rockett. St. Louis: Balmer and Weber, 1866.
- “Memorial Flowers.” Music by Mendelssohn Coote. Words by **Fanny Murdaugh Downing**. New Orleans: A. E. Blackmar, 1867.
- “Old Cotton Is King!” Music by **Delia Wright Jones**. Words by George Pope Morris. New Orleans: Blackmar and Co., 1862.
- “Our Country’s Call.” Music “adapted and arranged” by H. Walther. Words by **Alice Rhine**. New Orleans: P. P. Werlein and Halsey, 1861.
- “Peace!” Music by E. K. Cole. Words by **Mrs. C. L. Edmonston**. New Orleans: C. Edmonston, 1865.
- “Prayer for Peace,” or “A Hymn to Peace.” Music by Eugene Bischoff. Words by a **Lady of New Orleans**. New Orleans: Louis Grunewald, 1863.
- “Sheathe the Sword, America.” Music by A. Cardona. Words by **Mrs. C. L. Edmonston**. New Orleans: n.p., 1863.
- “The Soldier’s Suit of Grey.” Music by E. Clarke Ilsley. Words by **Carrie Bell Sinclair**. Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1864.

- “Somebody’s Darling.” Music by J. D. Abbott. Words by **Marie Ravenal de La Coste**. Cleveland: S. Brainard and Son, 1866.
- “Somebody’s Darling.” Music by Mrs. E. K. Crawford. Words by **Marie Ravenal de La Coste**. Cleveland: S. Brainard and Co., 1865.
- “Somebody’s Darling.” Music by William Cumming. Words by **Marie Ravenal de La Coste**. Cincinnati: A. C. Peters and Bro., 1865.
- “Somebody’s Darling.” Music by John Hill Hewitt. Words by **Marie Ravenal de La Coste**. Macon: J. C. Schreiner and Son, 1864.
- “Somebody’s Darling.” Music by Josephine L. Kay. Words by **Marie Ravenal de La Coste**. New York: Carl Fischer, 1926.
- “Somebody’s Darling.” Music by Leon C. Weld. Words by **Marie Ravenal de La Coste**. New York: William A. Pond and Co., 1866.
- “Somebody’s Darling is Slumbering Here.” Music by C. R. Moon. Words by **Marie Ravenal de La Coste**. Detroit: C. J. Whitney and Co., 1864.
- “Somebody’s Darling Slumbers Here.” Music by John P. Ordway. Words by **Maria LaCoste**. Boston: Oliver Ditson and Co., 1867.
- “Song of the South.” Music by James H. Huber. Words by **Lena Lyle**. Nashville: James A. McClure, 1861.
- “The Southern Marsellaise Hymn.” Music by Rouget de Lisle. Words by **Miss M. A. Doyle**. Nashville: James McClure, 1861.
- “Southern Marseillaise.” Music by Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle. Words by **Mrs. L. Fanshaw**. New Orleans: P. P. Werlein and Halsey, 1861.
- “The Southron’s Chaunt of Defiance.” Music by A. E. Blackmar. Words by a Lady of Kentucky (**Catherine Ann Warfield**). Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1861.
- “The Stars of Our Banner.” Music by **Alice Lane**. Words by M. F. Bigney. Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1861.
- “Strike for the South.” Music by James Pierpont. Words by **Carrie Bell Sinclair**. Macon: John C. Schreiner and Son., 1863.
- “Sumter.” Music by **Elizabeth Sloman**. Words by E. O. Murden. Charleston: H. Siegling, 1861.

“The Sword of Gen. Lee.” Music by **Carrie R. Stakely**. Words by Moina, (Father Abram Joseph Ryan). Louisville: Louis Tripp, (no date).

“‘Tis Midnight in the Southern Sky.” Music by F. W. Smith. Words by **Matilda Jane Young**. New Orleans: A. E. Blackmar, 1866.

“Up With the Flag.” Music and words by William Bernard Harrell. Arranged for piano by **Ann Battle Harrell**. Richmond: George Dunn and Co., 1863.

“We Have Parted.” Music and words by **Ella Wren**. Richmond: George Dunn and Co., 1863.

“You Can Never Win Us Back.” Music by J. E. Smith. Words by a Lady of Kentucky, (**Catherine Ann Warfield**). Richmond: J. W. Davies and Sons, 1864.

Appendix A: Southern Women and Their Songs
Part 2: Songs Listed Alphabetically by the Women's Last Names

The following is a listing of the same titles that appear in the first appendix, but arranged in alphabetical order according to the women's last names.

Ball, Caroline Augusta, words. "Carolina." Music by A. E. Blackmar. (no publication information).

_____. "The Faded Gray Jacket." Music by Charlie L. Ward. Louisville: D. P. Faulds, 1866.

_____. "The Jacket of Gray." Music by Stratford B. Woodberry. Augusta: George A. Oates, 1871.

Byrne, Flora, music, "Melt the Bells." Words by J. Y. Rockett. St. Louis: Balmer and Weber, 1866.

Clark, Ella D., words. "Adieu to the Star Spangled Banner Forever." Music by J. R. Boulcott. New Orleans: P. P. Werlein and Halsey, 1861.

Downing, Fanny Murdaugh, words. "Memorial Flowers." Music by Mendelssohn Coote. New Orleans: A. E. Blackmar, 1867.

Doyle, Miss M. A., words. "The Southern Marsellaise Hymn." Music by Rouget de Lisle. Nashville: J. A. McClure, 1861.

DuBose, Katherine Ann, words. "God Defendeth the Right." Music by Hermann L. Schreiner. Macon: John C. Schreiner and Sons, 1861.

Edmonston, Mrs. C. L., words. "Peace!" Music by E. K. Cole. New Orleans: C. Edmonston, 1865.

_____. "Sheathe the Sword America." Music by A. Cardona. New Orleans: n.p., 1863.

Elder, Susan Blanchard, words. "Confederate Flag." Music by G. George. Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1861.

Fanshaw, Mrs. L. (Letitia?), words. "Southern Marseillaise." Music by Charles Joseph Rouget de Lisle. New Orleans: P. P. Werlein and Halsey, 1861.

Harrell, Ann Judson Battle, arranger. "Up with the Flag." Music and words by William Bernard Harrell. Richmond: George Dunn and Co., 1863.

Hearn, Anna K., words. "The Flag of the South: A Voice from the Old Academy." Music by Dr. O. Becker. Nashville: C. D. Benson and Co., 1861.

Hundley, Mrs. E. D. (Francis), music and words. "Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner." Richmond: J. W. Davies, 186-.

Jones, Delia Wright, music. "Old Cotton Is King." Words by George Pope Morris. New Orleans: Blackmar and Co., 1862.

La Coste, Marie Ravenal de, words. "Somebody's Darling." Music by J. B. Abbott. Cleveland: S. Brainard and Son., 1866.

_____. "Somebody's Darling." Music by Mrs. E. K. Crawford. Cleveland: S. Brainard and Co., 1865.

_____. "Somebody's Darling." Music by William Cumming. Cincinnati: A. C. Peters and Bro., 1865.

_____. "Somebody's Darling." Music by John Hill Hewitt. Macon: J. C. Schreiner, 1864.

_____. "Somebody's Darling." Music by Josephine L. Kay. New York: Carl Fischer, 1926.

_____. "Somebody's Darling." Music by Leon C. Weld. New York: William A. Pond, 1866.

_____. "Somebody's Darling is Slumbering Here." Music by C. R. Moon. Detroit: C. J. Whitney and Co., 1864.

_____. "Somebody's Darling Slumbers Here." Music by John P. Ordway. Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1867.

Lane, Alice, music. "The Stars of Our Banner." Words by M. F. Bigney. Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1861.

Lorrimer, Laura (**Julia Finley Shelton**), words. "Alabama." Music by J. W. Groschel. Mobile: J. H. Snow, 1861.

Lyle, Lena, words. "Song of the South." Music by James H. Huber, Nashville: James A. Mc Clure, 1861.

Rhine, Alice, words. "Our Country's Call. "Music by H. Walther. New Orleans: Werlein and Halsey, 1861.

Sinclair, Carrie Bell, words. "The Homespun Dress," or "The Southern Girl." Music by Valentine Vousden. New Orleans: Blakmar and Co., 1865.

_____. "The Soldier's Suit of Grey. "Music by E. Clarke Ilsey. Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1864.

_____. "Strike for the South." Music by James Pierpont. Macon: John C. Schriener, 1863.

Sloman, Elizabeth, music. "Sumter." Words by E. O. Murden. Charleston: H. Siegling, 1861.

Stakely, Carrie R., music. "The Sword of Gen. Lee." Words by Moina (Father Abram Joseph Ryan). Louisville: Louis Tripp, (no date given).

Stratton, Mrs. M. W., words. "Keep Me Awake Mother." Music by Joseph Hart Denck. Columbia: Julian A. Selby, 1863.

_____. "Keep Me Awake! Mother." Music by F. Koenigsberg. Macon: John C. Schreiner, 1863.

_____. "Keep Me Awake, Mother!" Music by Henry Schoeller. Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1863.

Sweet, Laura Nella, music. "Kneel Where Our Loves Are Sleeping." Words by G.W.R. New Orleans: A. E. Blackmar, 1867.

Warfield, Catherine Ann, words. "The Southron's Chaunt of Defiance." Music by A. E. Blackmar. Augusta: Blakmar and Bro., 1861.

_____. "You Can Never Win Us Back." Music by J. E. Smith. Richmond: J. W. Davies and Sons, 1864.

Weir, Margaret, music and words. "Dixie Doodle" New Orleans: P. P. Werlein and Halsey, 1862.

Wren, Ella, music and words. "We Have Parted." Richmond: George Dunn and Co., 1863.

Young, Matilda “Maud” Jane Fuller, words.” Leave it! Ah no! The Land Is Our Own.”
Music by F. W. Smith. New Orleans: A. E. Blackmar, 1866.

_____. “‘Tis Midnight in the Southern Sky,” Music by F. W. Smith. New Orleans:
A. E. Blackmar, 1866.

Anonymous:

Mrs. J. P. H., “words selected and music arranged.” “General Lee’s Surrender.” St.
Louis: Balmer and Weber, 1867.

A Lady of New Orleans, words. “Prayer for Peace,” or “A Hymn to Peace.” Music by
Eugene Bischoff. New Orleans: Louis Grunewald, 1863.

A Lady of Richmond, Va., words and music. “God will Defend the Right.” Augusta:
Blackmar and Bro., 1861.

Appendix A: Southern Women and Their Songs
Part 3: Songs Listed in Chronological Order

This table contains the same titles listed in the previous two appendices. In this appendix the songs are listed chronologically according to year of publication.

DATE	TITLE	COMPOSER	LYRICIST	ARRANGER
1861	“Adieu to the Star Spangled Banner Forever”	J. R. Boulcott	Ella D. Clark	
	“Alabama”	J. W. Groschel	Laura Lorrimer (Julia Finley Shelton)	
	“The Confederate Flag”	G. George	Susan Blanchard Elder	
	“The Flag of the South: A Voice from the Old Academy”	Dr. O. Becker	Anna K. Hearn	
	“God Defendeth the Right”	Hermann L. Schreiner	Katherine Ann Dubose	
	“God Will Defend the Right”	A Lady of Richmond, Va.	A Lady of Richmond, Va.	
	“Our country’s Call”	H. Walther	Alice Rhine	
	“Song of the South”	James H. Huber	Lena Lyle	
	“The Southern Marsellaise* Hymn”	Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle	Miss. M. A. Doyle	
	“The Southern Marseillaise”	Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle	Mrs. L. (Letitia?) Fanshaw	

*mis-spelling in original title

	“The Southron’s Chaunt of Defiance”	Armand E. Blackmar	Catherine Ann Warfield	
	“The Stars of Our Banner”	Alice Lane	M. F. Bigney	
	“Sumter”	Elizabeth Sloman	E. O. Murden	
1862	“Dixie Doodle”	Margaret Weir	Margaret Weir	
	“Old Cotton Is King!”	Delia Wright Jones	George Pope Morris	
1863	“Keep Me Awake Mother”	Joseph Hart Denck	Mrs. M. W. Stratton	
	“Keep Me Awake! Mother”	F. Koenigsberg	Mrs. M. W. Stratton	
	“Keep Me Awake, Mother!”	Henry Schoeller	Mrs. M. W. Stratton	
	“Prayer for Peace” or “A Hymn to Peace”	Eugene Bischoff	A Lady of New Orleans	
	“Sheathe the Sword, America”	A. Cardona	Mrs. C. L. Edmonston	
	“Strike for the South”	James Pierpont	Carrie Bell Sinclair	
	“Up With the Flag”	Dr. William Bernard Harrell	Dr. William Bernard Harrell	Ann Battle Harrell
	“We Have Parted”	Ella Wren	Ella Wren	
1864	“The Soldier’s suit of Grey”	E. Clarke Ilsley	Carrie Bell Sinclair	
	“Somebody’s Darling”	John Hill Hewitt	Marie Ravenal de La Coste	
	“Somebody’s Darling Is Slumbering Here”	C. R. Moon	Marie Ravenal de La Coste	

	"You Can Never Win Us Back"	J. E. Smith	Catherine Ann Warfield	
1865	"The Southern Girl" or "The Homespun Dress"	Valentine Vousden	Carrie Bell Sinclair	
	"Peace!"	E. K. Cole, M.D.	Mrs. C. L. Edmonston	
	"Somebody's Darling"	Mrs. E. K. Crawford	Marie Ravenal de La Coste	
	"Somebody's Darling"	William Cumming	Marie Ravenal de La Coste	
1866	"The Faded Gray Jacket" or "Fold It Up Carefully"	Charlie L. Ward	Caroline Augusta Ball	
	"Leave it! Ah no! The Land Is Our Own"	F. W. Smith	Matilda Jane "Maud" Young	
	"Melt the Bells"	Flora Byrne	J. Y. Rockett	
	"Somebody's Darling"	J. D. Abbott	Marie Ravenal de La Coste	
	"Somebody's Darling"	Leon C. Weld	Marie Ravenal de La Coste	
	"'Tis Midnight in the Southern Sky"	F. W. Smith	Matilda Jane "Maud" Young	
1867	"General Lee's Surrender"	Mrs. J. P. H.	Mrs. J. P. H.	
	"Kneel Where Our Loves Are Sleeping"	Laura Nella Sweet	G. W. R.	
	"Memorial Flowers"	Mendelssohn Coote	Fanny Murdaugh Downing	

	“Somebody’s Darling Lies Slumbering Here”	John P. Ordway	Marie Ravenal de La Coste	
1871	“The Jacket of Grey”	Stratford B. Woodberry	Caroline Augusta Ball	
1926	“Somebody’s Darling”	Josephine L. Kay	Marie Ravenal de La Coste	
No Date	“Carolina”	Armand E. Blackmar	Caroline Augusta Ball	
	“Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner”	Mrs. E. D. Hundley	Mrs. E. D. Hundley	
	“The Sword of Gen. Lee”	Carrie R. Stakely	Father Abram Joseph Ryan	

Appendix A: Southern Women and Their Songs
Part 4: Other Works Created by the Women in This Study

The following is a listing of other works created by the women discussed in this study. These titles were either created before or after the war, are for solo piano, or do not relate to the war. The works are listed in alphabetical order by the women's names.

Byrne, Flora, music. "Let's Sit Down and Talk Together." Words by Mackeller. St. Louis: Balmer and Weber, 1852.

_____. "Penitential Hymn." Words by John Taylor. Baltimore: F. D. Benteen, 1848.

_____. "President Jefferson Davis Grand March." For solo piano. New Orleans: P. P. Werlein and Halsey, 1861.

Downing, Fanny Murdaugh, words. "The Love Bird." Music by Louisiana Wilson. Baltimore: G. Wilig and Co., 1866.

Edmonston, Mrs. C. L., words. "Fireman's Anniversary Song." Music by E. K. Cole. New Orleans: Blackmar and Co., 1865.

_____. "Popping the Question" ("Risquer la Demande"). French translation by Placide Canonge. Music by Theodore von La Hache. New Orleans: Blackmar And Co., 1864.

_____. "Yes!" ("Oui!"). French translation by Eugene Chassaignac. Music by Theodore von La Hache. New Orleans: C. Edmonston, 1864.

Fanshaw, Mrs. L. (Letitia?), English words. "Il Va Partir." Music and words by Rousseau de Lagrave. Piano arrangement by Edouard Lavessiere. Nouvelle Orleans: Sourdes and Chassaignac, 1858.

Harrell, Ann Judson Battle, arranger. "Ho! For Carolina." Music and words by Dr. William Bernard Harrell. Raleigh: Alfred Williams and Co., sometime between 1877 and 1881.

_____. "Chi-Phi Polka." For solo piano. Music by Dr. William Bernard Harrell. Baltimore: Miller and Beacham, 1860.

_____. *The North Carolina Teacher*. Volume 10, Number 7 (March 1893): 264-7. This article lists the following titles: war songs, "Song of Freedom," "The

Confederate Banner,” “Soldier’s Reverie;” later songs, “The Sailor Boy,” “The Fair Milkmaid,” “Dreams of Love,” “Wedding Anthem,” “Remember The Orphans;” hymns, “Praise to Jesus,” “Home Above,” “The Lord is My Portion,” “Wondrous Love.”

Jones, Delia Wright, music. “My Girl With the Home-spun Dress.” Words by Anonymous New Orleans: Blackmar and Co., 186-.

Lane, Alice, music. “Reverie Mazourka.” For solo piano. New Orleans: Blackmar and Co., c. 1863.

_____. “La Zaidee Schottisch.” For solo piano. New Orleans; Blackmar and Co., c. 1863.

Lyle, Lena, words. “Dost See the Angels.” Music by Anton Shide. Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1857.

_____. “Fleecy Clouds, I See Thee Flying.” Music by Anton Shide. Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1857.

_____. “The Haunted Well of Alocaste.” Music by Anton Shide. Albany: J. H. Hidley, 1859.

_____. “I Have Loved Thee Long and Truly.” Music by Anton Shide. Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1857.

_____. “Nellie Rest Thee.” Music by Anton Shide. St. Louis: Balmer and Weber, 1857.

_____. “O Bury Me by the Brooklet’s Side.” Music by Anton Shide. Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1857.

_____. “Step Mother,” or “Memories of Home.” Music by Florence Linley. Louisville: D. P. Faulds, 1870.

Sloman, Elizabeth, music. “Apple Blossoms.” Words by Will Carleton. New York: William a. Pond and Co., 1876.

_____. “Barbara Frietchie.” Words by John Greenleaf Wittier. New York: William A. Pond and Co., 1874.

_____. “Gaily I Trill My Joyous Lay.” Words by ? New York: William A. Pond and Co., 1868.

_____. "O'er Waves of Ocean." English words by ? Italian words by C. C. Sebastiani. New York: William A. Pond and Co., 1877.

_____. "The Vow of Washington." Words by John Greenleaf Whittier. New York: William A. Pond and Co., 1889.

Sweet, Laura Nella, music. "How Pure Is Love." Words by G. W. R. New Orleans: A. E. Blackmar, 1868.

_____. "La Inspiratione," or "Twilight Musings." Theme and variations for piano. New Orleans: A. E. Blackmar, 1868.

Weir, Margaret, music. "The Lord of the Castle." Words by Anonymous New York: Firth and Hall, 1832.

Wren, Ella, music and words. "Little Feet," or "Treading the Streets of Gold." Arranged for the piano by R. Madden. Cincinnati: F. W. Helmick, 1878.

APPENDIX B: Illustrations and Musical Examples

This appendix contains two examples of sheet music covers and copies of the twelve Songs referenced and discussed in the previous document.

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1a. “The Song of the South” as published in Kentucky	189
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10. “We Have Parted”	211
11. “Melt the Bells”	213
12. “General Lee’s Surrender”	216
13. “Kneel Where Our Loves Are Sleeping”	219

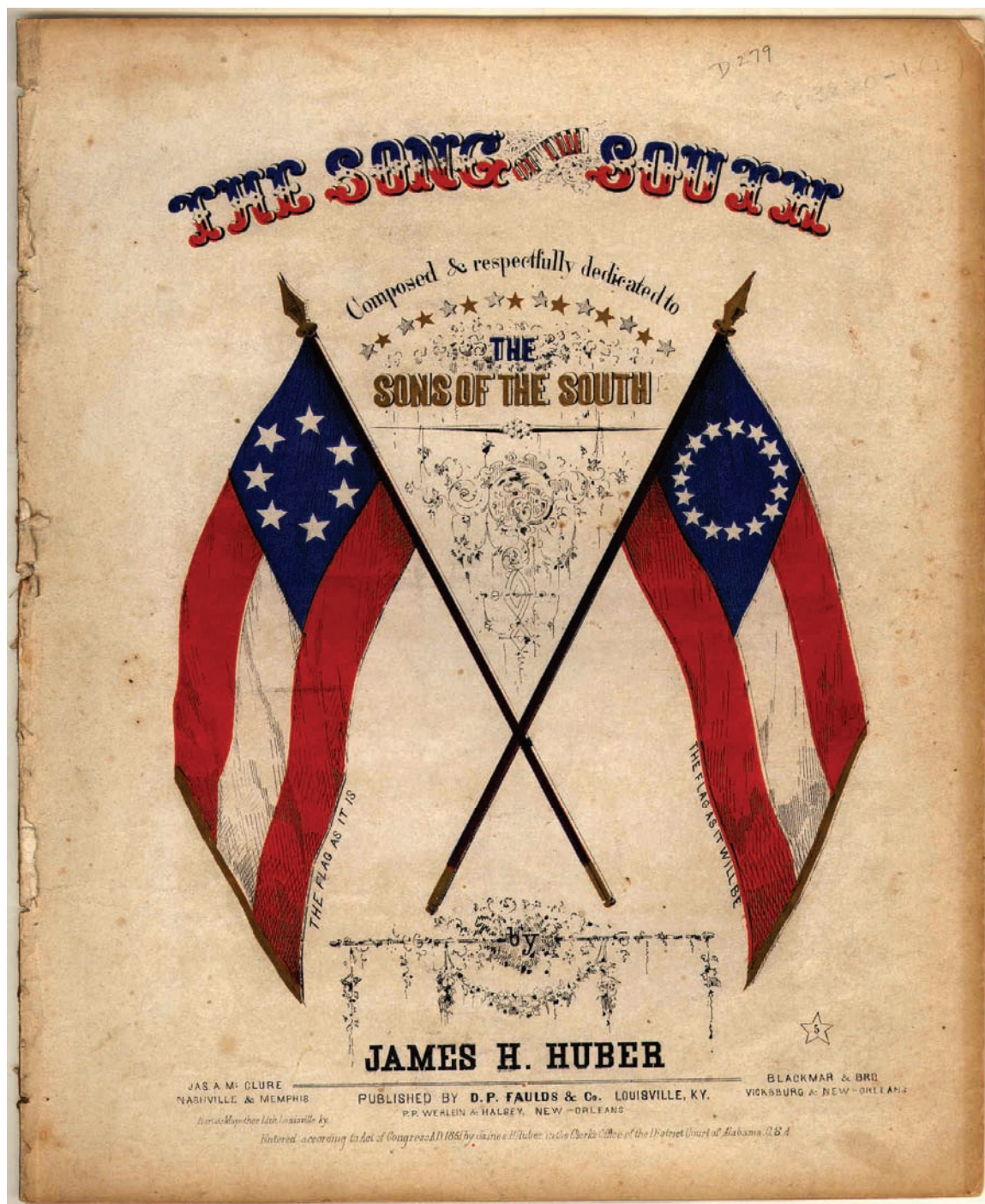


Figure 1a: "The Song of the South" as Published in Kentucky

Source: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?dukesm:3:/temp/~ammen_Nqij::

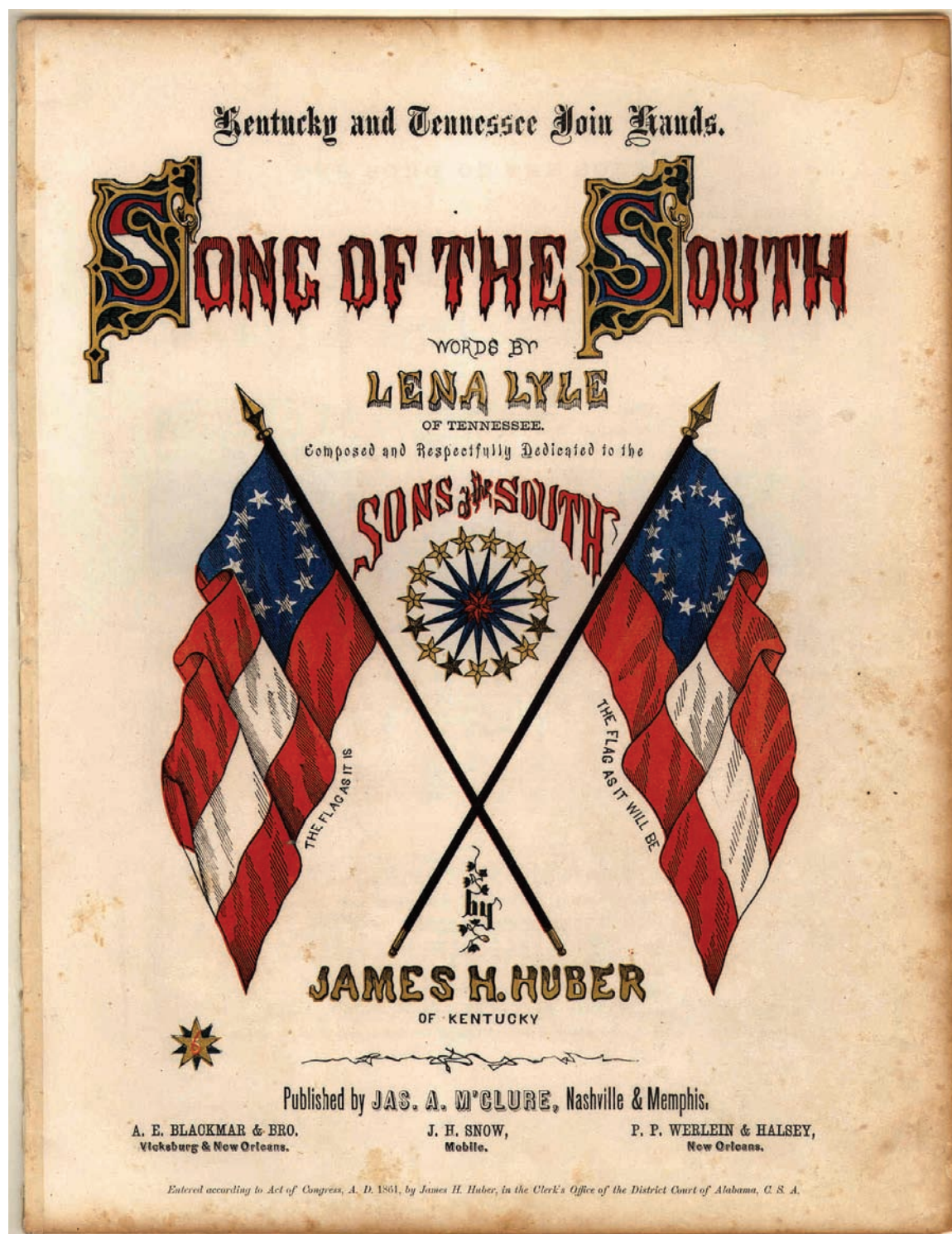


Figure 1b: "Song of the South" as Published in Tennessee

Source: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?dukesm:2:./temp/~ammen_Nqij::

OLD COTTON IS KING

Lively.

PIANO.

1. Old Cot - ton is King, boys, 'a-ha! With his
 2. Old Cot - ton the King has no care, No
 3. Old Cot - ton, the mer - ry old boy! Like

locks so Hee - cy and white! He shines among kings like a star! And
 queen and no heir to his throne, No courtiers his tri - umphs to share, He
 smoke from the pipe in his mouth, His years glide a way in their joy, At

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1862 by BLACKMAR & CO in the Clerk's Off. of the Dist. Court for the Dist. of L.
 100.

Figure 2: "Old Cotton Is King"

Source: <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query>

his is the sceptre of right, Boys, of right, And his is the sceptre of right! And
rules his domi - nions a - lone, Boys, a - lone, He rules his dominions a - lone! He
home, in the warm sun - ny South! Boys, the South, At home, in the warm sun - ny South At

his is the sceptre of right, And his is the sceptre of right!
rules his domi - nions a - lone! He rules his dominions a - lone!
home, in the warm sun - ny South! At home in the warm sun - ny South!

4. Old Cot - ton will pleasantly reign, When other kings pain - ful - ly fall, And
5. Then here's to Old Cot - ton, the King! His true royal subjects are we; We'll

ev - er and ev - er re - main The mightiest monarch of all! Boys of all, The mightiest monarch of
Laugh and we'll quaff and we'll sing A jolly old fel - low is he, Boys is he, A jolly old fel - low is

all. The mightiest monarch of all! The mightiest monarch of all!
he A jolly old fel - low is he, A jolly old fel - low is he!

God will defend the Right!

Maestoso e spiritoso Lith. B. DUNCAN & Co. Columbia S.C.

PIANO.

Sons of the South a - rise Rise in your matchless night, Your

war - cry ech - o to the skies, "God will defend the right." Let

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1861 by BLACKMAR & Bro. in the Cl. Off. of the D.C. of the U.S. for the D. of L.

Figure 3: "God Will Defend the Right"
 Source: <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query>

haughty tyrants know, Our sun-ny land shall be In spite of ev-ry

CHORUS

foe; Home of the brave and free. Sons of the South a-rise!

cen. do. ff

Rise in your matchless might, Your war cry echo to the skies,

"God will defend the right!"

The musical score is written for piano and voice. It features a vocal melody line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "haughty tyrants know, Our sun-ny land shall be In spite of ev-ry foe; Home of the brave and free. Sons of the South a-rise! Rise in your matchless might, Your war cry echo to the skies, 'God will defend the right!'" The score includes dynamic markings such as "cres." and "ff".

FAREWELL TO THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

Spiritoso

The musical score is written for piano and voice. It begins with a piano introduction marked 'Spiritoso' in 2/4 time, featuring a treble and bass staff with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The introduction consists of several measures of chords and moving lines. The vocal melody enters in the second system, with lyrics: 'Let tyrants and slaves sub-mis-sive-ly tremble And bow down their'. The piano accompaniment continues with chords. The third system continues the vocal melody with lyrics: 'necks'neath the yug-gernaut ear; But brave men will rise in the strength of a'. The piano accompaniment features a steady chordal accompaniment. The fourth system is the 'Chorus', marked 'Chorus' above the staff. The lyrics are: 'nation. And cry give me freedom Or else give me war. Farewell for'. The piano accompaniment continues with the same chordal pattern.

Let tyrants and slaves sub-mis-sive-ly tremble And bow down their

necks'neath the yug-gernaut ear; But brave men will rise in the strength of a

Chorus
nation. And cry give me freedom Or else give me war. Farewell for

Figure 4: "Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner"
Source: <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query>

ever the Star spangled banner No longer shall wave o'er the land of the free,
But we'll unfurl to the broad breezed Heaven Thirteen bright stars round the Palmetto tree

We honor, yes honor, bold South Carolina,
Though small she may be, she's as brave as the best
With flag-ship of State, she's out on the ocean
Buffeting the waves of a dark billow's crest
Farewell forever, &c.

We honor, yes honor, our seceding Sisters
Who launched this brave bark alone on the sea,
Though storms may howl and thunder distraction,
We'll hurl to the blast the proud Palmetto tree.
Farewell forever, &c.

And when to the conflict the others cry onward,
Virginia will be first to rush to the fight,
She'll break down the iceberg of Northern coercion,
And rise in her glory of Freedom and right.
Farewell forever, &c.

When the fifteen Sisters in bright constellation,
Shall dazzling shine in a nation's emblem sky;
With no hands to oppose, nor foes to oppress them,
They will shine there forever, a light to every eye.
Farewell forever, &c.

THE
Stars of our Banner

WRITTEN BY
M. E. BIGNEY ESQ.

MUSIC BY
ALICE LANE.

Voice.

Maestoso.

PIANO.

V1. Up!
V2. A -

up! let the stars of our Banner Flash out like the brill-i-ants a - bove; Be-
- rise with an earn - est en - deav-or! A na - tion shall hal-low the deed: The

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1861 by BLACKMAR & Bro. in the Cl. Off. of the D. C. of the U. S. for the D. of 1, 2

Figure 5: "The Stars of Our Banner"

Source: <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query>

-neath them will shield from dis-hon - or The homes and the dear ones we love.
foe must be si-lenc'd for-ev - - er Tho' mil-lions in bat-tle may bleed.

CHORUS (ad libitum)

TENOR. With "God and the Right!" Our cry in the fight, We'll drive the inva-der a - far, And we'll

ALTO. With "God and the Right!" Our cry in the fight, We'll drive the inva-der a - far, And we'll

AIR. With "God and the Right!" Our cry in the fight, We'll drive the inva-der a - far, And we'll

BASSO. With "God and the Right!" Our cry in the fight, We'll drive the inva-der a - far, And we'll

PIANO. *ff*

carve out a name In the temple of Flame With the weap-ons of glo - rious war.

carve out a name In the temple of Flame With the weap-ons of glo - rious war.

carve out a name In the temple of Flame With the weap-ons of glo - rious war.

carve out a name In the temple of Flame With the weap-ons of glo - rious war.

3
Strong arms and a conquerless spirit
We bring as our glory and guard,
If courage a triumph can merit
Then Freedom shall be our reward.
chorus. With God and the Right!"

4
Beneath the high sanction of heaven
We'll fight as our forefathers fought,
Then pray that to us may be given
Such guidance as fell to their lot.
chorus. With "God and the Right!"

THE FLOWERS COLLECTION
Marye Johnson

UP WITH THE FLAG.

COMPOSED AND RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO
 THE
FOURTH N.C. TROOPS
 BY
Dr. Wm. B. Harrell.

ARRANGED FOR THE
 Piano Forte By *Mrs. Harrell.*

RICHMOND VA. LITHOG. & PUBLISHED BY GEO. DUNN & CO. P.O. BOX 991. COLUMBIA S.C. JULIAN A. SELBY.

ENTERED ACCORDING TO ACT OF CONGRESS IN THE YEAR 1863, BY GEORGE DUNN IN THE CLERK'S OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA.

MODERATO

The musical score is written for piano and features two systems of staves. The first system consists of a treble and bass staff joined by a brace. The melody is primarily in the treble staff, with chords and accompaniment in the bass. The second system follows the same format. The score includes dynamic markings such as *f* (forte) and *ff* (fortissimo), and a pedaling instruction labeled *ped.* with a dashed line. The time signature is 4/4, and the tempo is marked *MODERATO*.

Figure 6: "Up With the Flag"

Source: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?duke:1:/temp/~ammen_BmRj::

Cheerfully.

Oh! come, boys, come, with a merry heart and will; Up with the flag, Up with the flag, And bear it onward to

victory still, Up with the flag, and a way! Its bright stars twinkle in the rosy morning light,

Up with the flag, Up with the flag, Beaming o'er for "God and the Right," Up with the flag, and a way!

Spread its folds out proudly and free; Up with the flag, Up with the flag! Let it wave o'er the land and the sea;

The musical score is written for voice and piano. The vocal line is in treble clef, and the piano accompaniment is in grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature has one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The score is divided into four systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The piano accompaniment consists of chords and single notes, providing a harmonic support for the vocal melody. The tempo and mood are indicated by the instruction "Cheerfully." at the beginning.

Up with the flag and a way! Rally, boys, to the banner that we love, Up with the flag,

Up with the flag! "Deo Vindice," vic.....to...ri...ous we'll prove, Up with the flag and a way!

Sma...

Sva...

Oh, harken, brothers, the proud foe to meet; Up with the flag,
 For the hordes of the North are doomed to defeat; Up with the flag, and away!
 We'll plant our flag on the fierce battle-field, Up with the flag,
 And die 'neath its folds, but never, never yield, Up with the flag, and away!
 Up with the flag, with a loud, hearty cheer; Up with the flag,
 Symbol of Freedom, to Southern hearts dear Up with the flag, and away!
 Banner of hope—let the nations of earth, Up with the flag,
 Honor its claims, and the cause of its birth. Up with the flag, and away!

Hark, boys, hark! to the roll of the drum! Up with the flag.
 Your homes are invaded, come, lads, come! Up with the flag, and away!
 Oh! stay not, comrades, meet the dark host— Up with the flag,
 Strike for your firesides—stand to your post. Up with the flag, and away!
 God, your defender, surely, will be— Up with the flag,
 Brave hearts win, when resolved to be free. Up with the flag, and away!
 Up with the battle-flag! sound the alarm! Up with the flag,
 Heed not their numbers, arm! boys, arm! Up with the flag, and away!

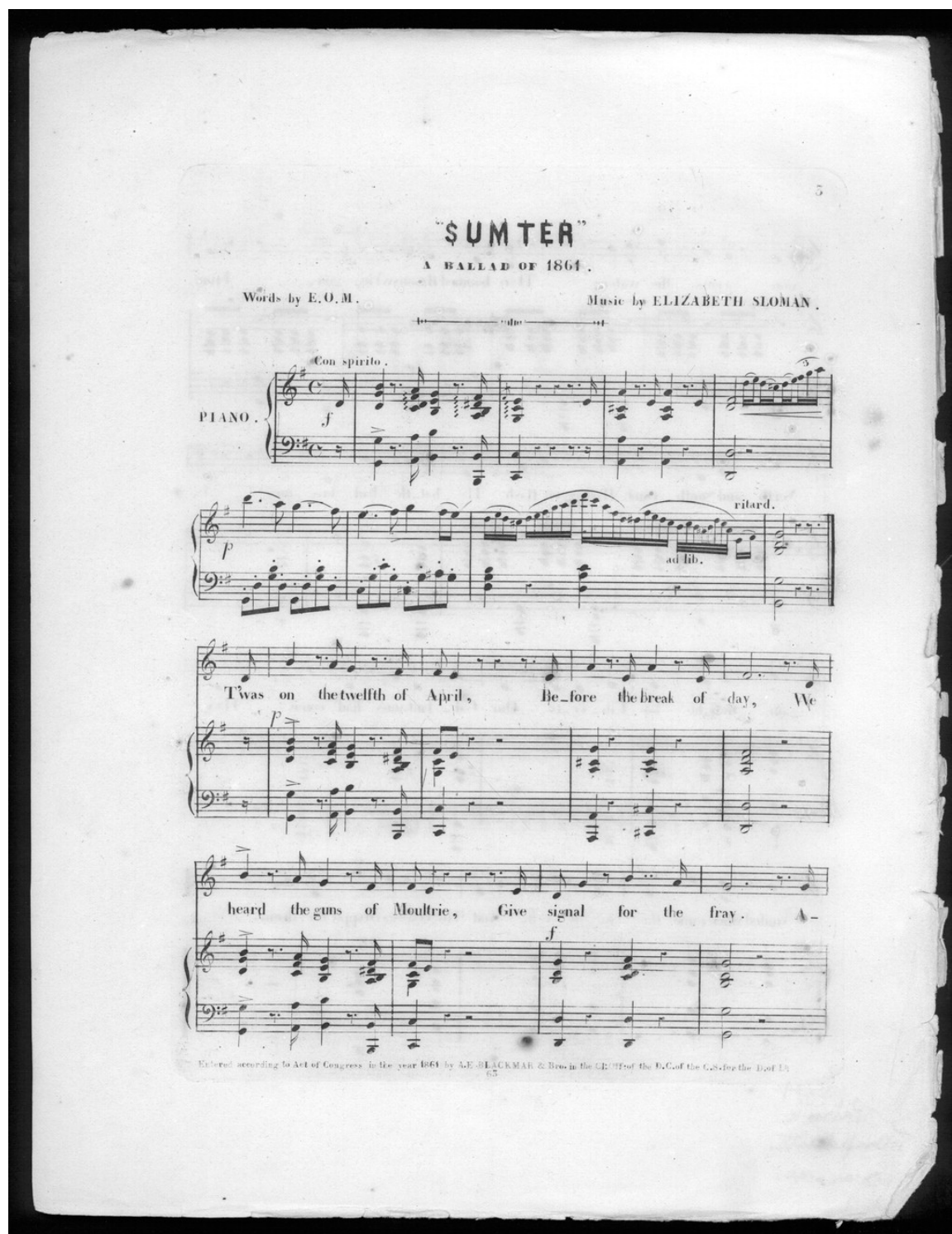


Figure 7: "Sumter"

Source: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ih/loc.natbib.ih/200002562/default.html>

4

non across the waters There boomed the answering gun, From

North and South came flash on flash, The bat-tle had be-gun; A-

-gain to fight for Lib-er-ty, Our Gal-lant sons had come They

smiled when came the bug-le call, And laughed when tappid the drum.

91.65



2^d

See! yonder, anxious gazing,
Alone a matron stands,
The tear drop glistening on each lid
And tightly clasped her hands,
For there exposed to deadly fire
Her husband, and her son,
"Father!" she spoke and heavenward looked,
"Father! They will be done!"
Yet breathed no heart one thought of fear,
Prompt at their country's call,
They yielded up their dearest hopes,
And gave to honor all.

3rd

All day the shot flew thick and fast,
All night the cannon roared
While wreath'd in smoke, stern Sumter stood
And vengeful answer poured.
Now, densest smoke, and lurid flames
Burst out o'er Sumter's walls,
"The Fort's on fire!" is the cry,
And soon for aid must call,
See! how he answers gun for gun,
Hurrah! his flag is down,
The white, the white, Oh! see it wave,
Is echoed all around.

4th

Now ring the bells a joyous peal,
And rend with shouts the air,
We've torn the hated banner down
And placed the "Crescent" there;
All honor to our gallant boys,
Bring forth the roll of fame
And there in glowing lines inscribe
Each patriot hero's name.
Spread! Spread the tidings far and wide
Ye winds take up the cry,
Our souls redeemed from hated yoke
We'll keep it pure, or die.

11-65

DIXIE DOODLE.

Words and Air by Mrs. M. WEIR.

Spirited.

The musical score is written for piano in 2/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It consists of three systems of music. The first system is an instrumental introduction. The second system continues the instrumental melody. The third system includes two vocal parts with lyrics. The lyrics are: 1. Dix - ie whipped old Yan - kee Doo - dle, ear - ly in the morn - ing, So 2. Yan - kee Doo - dles soundly slept up - on their grea - sy pil - lows, While. The score ends with a double bar line. The publisher's name 'W. C. H. L.' is printed at the bottom right of the page.

W. C. H. L.

Figure 8: "Dixie Doodle"

Source: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?dukesm:2:./temp/~ammen_mSAb

Yan - kee - dom had best look out, and take a time - ly warn - ing.
Dix - ie boys, with muf - fled oars, were glid - ing o'er the bil - lows.

This system contains the first vocal line and the first two staves of the piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The piano accompaniment consists of a right-hand staff in treble clef and a left-hand staff in bass clef, both with a key signature of one flat. The music is in 4/4 time.

CHORUS:

Hur - rah! for our Dix - ie land, Hur - rah! for our bor - ders!

This system contains the chorus of the song. It includes the vocal line and the piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat. The piano accompaniment consists of a right-hand staff in treble clef and a left-hand staff in bass clef, both with a key signature of one flat. The music is in 4/4 time.

South ern boys to arms will stand, and whip the dark ma - rau - ders.

This system contains the second vocal line and the second two staves of the piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat. The piano accompaniment consists of a right-hand staff in treble clef and a left-hand staff in bass clef, both with a key signature of one flat. The music is in 4/4 time.

W. & H. 9



3. Yankee Doodles, grease your heels, make ready to be running,
For Dixie Boys are near at hand, surpassing you in cunning.
CHORUS: Hurrah! for our Dixie land, &c.

4. Anderson, the gallant brave, who broke upon their slumbers,
E'en little girls and boys shall sing your name in tuneful numbers.
CHORUS: Hurrah! for our Dixie land, &c.

5. A thousand blessings on your heads, our brave, unflinching leaders,
A light you are upon the path of all our brave seceders.
CHORUS: Hurrah! for our Dixie land, &c.

6. Wright, on Carolina's coast, was over hero bolder?
He seized a Yankee foe, and made a breastwork of the soldier.
CHORUS: Hurrah! for our Dixie land, &c.

7. Louisiana, bold and brave, renowned for Creole beauty,
Your champions will bear in mind the watchword, grace and booty!
CHORUS: Hurrah! for our Dixie land, &c.

8. Yankee Doodle, fare thee well, ere long you'll be forgotten,
While Dixie's notes shall gaily float throughout the land of cotton.
CHORUS: Hurrah! for our Dixie land, hurrah for our borders,
Southern boys to arms will stand, and whip the dark marauders.

W. & H. 3.

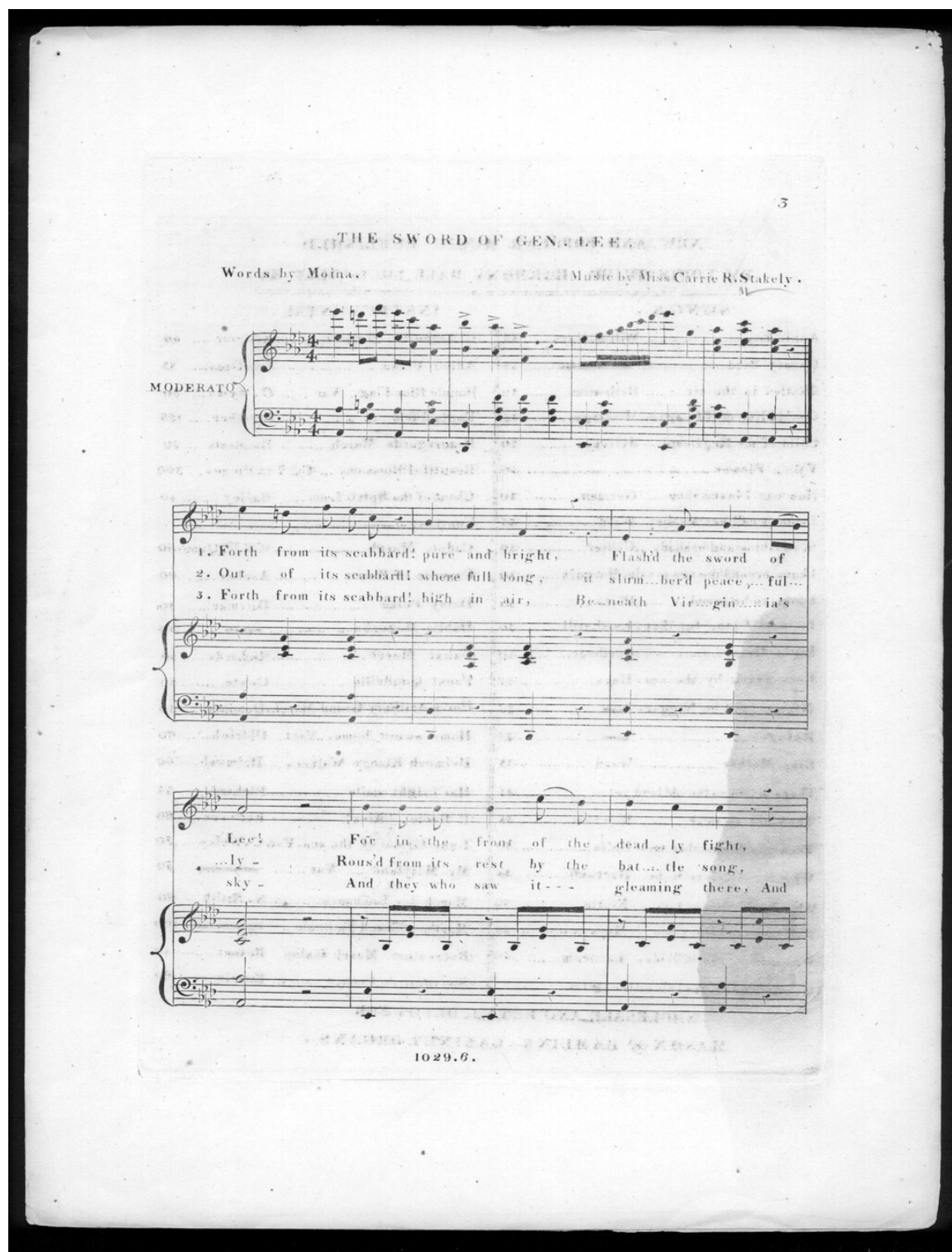


Figure 9: "The Sword of Gen. Lee"

Source: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihms/loc.natlib.ihms.200002577/default.html>

High o'er the brave, in the cause of right, Its stain... less sheen like a
Shielding the feeble, smite...ing the strong, Guarding the right, aveng...
knew who bore it, knelt to swear, That where that sword led,

CHORUS.*
beacon light, Led us to vic...to...ry.
...ing the wrong... Gleam'd the sword of Lee!
they would dare, To fol...low and to die.

4. Out of its scabbard! Never hand Wav'd sword from stain as
5. Forth from its scabbard! How we pray'd That sword might vic...tor
6. Forth from its scabbard! All in vain! Flash'd the sword of

1029. 6. * Each verse may be repeated in Chorus.

We Have Parted..

Poetry & Music by Miss Ella Wren

We have part ed! and for er er O'er my life a sha dow's cast; For the

light of love, Ah! nev er Can re store the hap py past. We have

part ed! I have loved thee, But for me all hope is o'er: All is

cres.

Figure 10: "We Have Parted"

Source: <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query>

o ver, we have part ed, I must dream of thee no more. All is

o ver, we have part ed, I must dream of thee no more.

We have parted, but thy image
 Is engraven on my heart.
 Canst thou think what happy moments
 We have passed?—and yet we part.
 But thou lov'st me; and for ever
 Must thy mem'ry be with me:
 We have parted—all is over;
 But I still must think of thee.

MELT THE BELLS

3

In the first year of the Southern war, an order was issued by General Beauregard, to have the bells in the State of Louisiana melted into cannon. Many of the church bells and hundreds of plantation bells were sent to N.O. for that purpose but unfortunately, they were seized by General Butler and sent to Boston where they still remain.

WORDS BY J. Y. ROCKETT.

MUSIC BY MRS. DR. BYRNE.

The musical score is written for piano and voice. It begins with a piano introduction marked 'Andante' and 'mf'. The piano part features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the right hand and a more active melody in the left hand. The vocal part enters with a melody that is repeated three times, each time with different lyrics. The lyrics are: 'v.3. Melt the bells! melt the bells! That for years have called for prayer', 'v.1. Melt the bells! melt the bells! Still the tink-ling on the plain;', and 'v.2. Melt the bells! melt the bells! Though it cause a tear, to part'. The piano part continues with a similar accompaniment throughout the vocal sections. The score ends with a final piano accompaniment section marked 'p'.

1821 = 3

Entered, according to act of Congress A.D. 1866 by Balmer & Weber in the Clerk's office of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Mo.

Figure 11: "Melt the Bells"

Source: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihms/loc.natlib.ihms.200001855/default.html>

Melt the bells! melt the bells! And in- stead the can - non's roar Shall re -
 Melt the bells! melt the bells! And transmute the eve - ning chimes In - to
 Melt the bells! melt the bells! With the mu - sic they have made, s - Where the

sound the val - lies o'er That the foe may catch des - pair
 war's re - sound - ing rhymes, That th' in - va - der may be slain
 ones we loved are laid With pale cheek and sil - ent heart,

From the bells! from the bells! That the foe may catch des - pair From the bells.
 By the bells! by the bells! That th' in - va - der may be slain, By the bells.
 Neath the bells! Neath the bells! With pale cheek and sil - ent heart Neath the bells.

rall

f

5

v.s. Melt the bells! melt the bells! And they'll peel a sweet - er chime,
 v.s. Melt the bells! melt the bells! In - to can - non rash and grim,
 v.s. Melt the bells! melt the bells! And when the foe are driv - en back,

p

Melt the bells! melt the bells! And remind us of the brave Who have
 Melt the bells! melt the bells! That the foe may feel the ire From their
 Melt the bells! melt the bells! And the lightning cloud of war Shall roll

sunk to glo - ry's grave And who sleep for com - ing time
 heav - ing lungs of fire; And we'll put our trust in Him
 thun - derless a - - far We will melt the can - non back,

'Neath the bells 'neath the bells And who sleep for com - ing time 'Neath the bells.
 And the bells! and the bells! And we'll put our trust in Him And the bells.
 In - to bells In - to bells We will melt the can - non back In - to bells.

p *rall.*

1621 = 3

REPEAT SYMPHONY
AS BEFORE.

GENERAL LEE'S SURRENDER

3

Music by Mrs: J. P. H.

Andante

PIANO

v.3. 'Twas vain! for an un-number'd host, Clos'd round our small heroic band The

v.1. I ne- ver can for- get the day, Lee and his soldiers had to part, There was

v.2. Brave - ly and well that no- ble band, On many a hard-won field had stood, De -

p

4097#3

Entered according to act of Congress A.D. 1867 by Mrs L.B. Hawkins in the Clerk's office of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Mo.

Figure 12: "General Lee's Surrender"

Source: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihms/loc.natlib.ihms.200002419/default.htm>

Gen - er - al saw that hope was lost, And sad - ly gave up his com -
 ma - ny a tear to wipe a - way, And ma - ny a sad and wea - ry
 ter - min - ed for their na - tive land, Free - ly to give their hearts best

- mand. CHORUS.
 heart. Verses 1 2 3 & 4 For the sol - dier had to part with his ri - fle, His
 blood. 5. verse But the sol - dier would not lis - ten to the sto - ry, Till their

trus - ty com - pan - ion lay a - side, While his heart felt e - mo - tions he must
 glori - ous old lea - der bid them yield, They would follow him to sor - row or to

sti - - - - fle As he yield - ed up Vir - ginia - his pride.
glo - - - - ry So all si - - - - lent - ly they left the bat - tle field.

ritard.

verse 4.

His desperate soldiers still fought on,
Determined they would yet be free,
Unconscious of what had been done,
By their loved leader General Lee.

CHORUS. For the soldier had to, &c.

verse 5.

Look! as a courier hurries on,
To still the cannon's deafening roar,
He bids them lay their armor down,
And fight for homes and friends no more.

CHORUS. But the soldier would not, &c.

KNEEL WHERE OUR LOVES ARE SLEEPING

Words by G.W.R.

Music by L. NELLA SWEET.

Affectuoso.

PIANO. *p*

dolce.

1. Kneel where our loves are sleep - ing, Dear ones loved in days gone by,
2. Here we find our no - ble dead. Their spirits soar'd to him a - bove,

The musical score is written for piano in a key of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and common time. It begins with a tempo marking of 'Affectuoso.' and a dynamic of 'piano' (p). The first system features a melody in the right hand with a slur over the first two measures, and the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment. The second system continues the melody, with a 'dolce.' marking appearing in the right hand. The third system contains the vocal lines for two parts, with lyrics written below the notes. The final system shows the piano accompaniment concluding the piece.

Figure 13: "Kneel Where Our Loves Are Sleeping"

Source: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihas/loc.natlib.ihas.200002569/default.html>

Here we bow in ho-ly rev-erence, Our bosoms heave the heart-felt
 Rest they now a-bout his throne, For God is mer-cy, God is

sign. love. They fell like brave men, true as steel, And
 Then let us pray that we may live, As

pour'd their blood like rain We feel we owe them all we
 pure and good as they have been, That dy-ing we may ask of

have, And can but kneel and weep a-gain.
 Him, To ope the gate and let us in.

B. 524.

CHORUS .

TREBLE. *pp* *p mf*
 Kneel where our loves are sleep-ing, They lost, but still were good and true, Our

ALTO. *mf*
 Kneel where our loves are sleeping, They lost, but still were good and true, Our

TENOR. *mf*
 Kneel where our loves are sleeping, They lost, but still were good and true, Our

BASS. *mf*
 Kneel where our loves are sleeping, They lost, but still were good and true, Our

PIANO.

f *pp*
 fath - ers, brothers fell still fight-ing We weep, 'tis all that we can do .

f *pp*
 fath - ers, brothers fell still fight-ing We weep, 'tis all that we can do .

f *pp*
 fath - ers, brothers fell still fight-ing We weep, 'tis all that we can do .

f *pp*
 fath - ers, brothers fell still fight-ing We weep, 'tis all that we can do .

f *pp*