

ABSTRACT

Rhetorical Legacy of the “Battle Hymn of the Republic”: Patriotic Hymns as Agents of Change for Religion, War, and Race in the United States

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The “Battle Hymn of the Republic” is a unique American musical artifact that has evolved with American history to both reflect social change as it happens in society and serve as a vehicle for making that change happen. As a patriotic hymn, the “Battle Hymn” intersects with religion, war, and race throughout American history. As a religious song, variations of the “Battle Hymn” link duty to country with divine providence. As war tune, songs based on the “Battle Hymn” or “John Brown’s Body” give voice to support and protest both within the troops and those affected by the war. As an African American song, variations of “John Brown’s Body” disputes unfair treatment while resituating African Americans as central to American culture.

Rhetorical Legacy of the “Battle Hymn of the Republic”: Patriotic Hymns as Agents of Change
for Religion, War and Race in the United States

by

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DEDICATION

To my grandmother, Clara Carter.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The “Battle Hymn of the Republic” is a uniquely American hymn that is woven through the dense fabric of our national history. With roots in African American field songs, it spread through tent revivals of the 1800s, rewritten by many – including members of the military and cultural commentators– and taken up as a marching anthem before being rewritten again as the “Battle Hymn of the Republic” This song stands as an exemplar of the transitions rhetorical texts undergo as they are worked and reworked to fit contemporary political usage over time.

Julia Ward Howe wrote the most familiar version of the song in November 1861 after reviewing Union troops with her husband. She based her version on a rewriting of an established song. Arising from the early 19th century revival and slave field-song traditions, the melody and religious tonality of the “Battle Hymn” established a strong basis on which later generations would build. Originally known as “Say Brothers” or “Canaan’s Happy Shore,” the original song combined the celebratory spirit of religious revival with the raw emotionality of African American spirituality. The tune and chorus “Glory, Glory, Hallelujah” remained in the modern version as a reminder of these religious and cultural roots. A third version, “John Brown’s Body” started as a parody of a specific Union soldier before losing its satirical and parodic roots and taking on direct reference to the Harpers' Ferry figure. From this version, the modern song retained the refrain “his truth is marching on.” Sung as a marching song by Union troops to bolster

their anti-slavery and anti-confederate spirit, the refrain spread to reach Ward's ears and inspire her to write the verses we know today.

Songs are rhetorical artifacts that can function as religious and political discourse. Patriotic hymns in particular, operate within popular sentiment while simultaneously presenting themselves as reflections of social change through rhetorical evolution of the artifact itself. Through analysis of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," I will show how one set of social changes were reflected over time through the circulation and articulation of lyrical changes, parody, and resonance to situational exigencies and constraints.

Prior Research on Topic

The literature in the field of rhetoric on the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" itself is nonexistent up to this point. However, there has been some research concerning music and religion or music and national identity that is of great value to this study. Resources from history and hymnology both provide greater insights to the influence of music, particularly hymns, on rhetoric.

Music occupies an odd space at the edge of rhetorical study. While music can certainly be rhetorical, its function as a site of rhetoric has been somewhat more debatable. Vincent M. Bevilacqua called music a "sister art" to rhetoric, along with poetry, painting, and literature.¹ Some have argued that music shows a "lack of an adequate conceptual medium" and relies almost entirely on emotional appeals rather than the art of discourse.² From this perspective, there is no logic, dialogue, or discourse in the

¹ Vincent M. Bevilacqua, "Rhetoric and the Circle of Moral Studies: An Historiographic View," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 55 (1969): 343.

² Bevilacqua, "Rhetoric and the Circle of Moral Studies," 352-353.

traditional sense. Over the last 40 years, we as a field have come to an understanding of rhetoric beyond that of straightforward public address to include nearly anything that can be persuasive, be it verbal, visual, written, or anything in between—anything that has suasive potential.³

While semiotics has covered the aural appeal of music, songs do not exist in a vacuum. While many have worked to show the emotional appeal created through music theory, adding words to the music forms a discursive function to an already emotion-evoking artifact. This research provides insight into the ways in which foundational elements of music are rhetorical through melody and counter melody.⁴

For the purposes of my research, however, study of the melody is simply not sufficient. In order to study song lyrics as a rhetorical site, we must move beyond semiotics. Mark W. Booth argues that song lyrics are not entirely an oral art either, for while “they are a species of script,” not all meaning is derived from the song verse itself.⁵ In order for a song to function rhetorically, it must be subtle in its argument by offering a familiar face to invite in the audience, but through modification and enrichment of the

³ Thomas O. Sloan “Report of the Committee on the Advancement and Refinement of Rhetorical Criticism” in *The Prospect of Rhetoric: Report of the National Developmental Project*, ed. Lloyd F. Bitzer and Edwin Black (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971) 220-227.

⁴ Theo van Leeuwen, “The Critical Analysis of Musical Discourse,” *Critical Discourse Studies* 9 (2012): 320. For semiotic studies of music, see Deryck Cooke, *The Language of Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959); Eero Tarasti, *Myth and Music: A Semiotic Approach to the Aesthetics of Myth in Music* (The Hague: Mouton, 1979); Carl E. Burklund, “Melody in Verse,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 39 (1953): 57-60; and Gerard G. LeCoat, “Music and the Three Appeals of Classical Rhetoric,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 62 (1976): 157-164.

⁵ Mark W. Booth, “The Art of Words in Song,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 62 (1976): 242-243.

lyric present them with new ideas.⁶ Beyond the first experience with a song, the different environments in which the song is invoked and the changes in the words themselves are among the ways audiences can experience the song in new and different ways. Each new experience helps develop a more intricate understanding of the song and the ways in which it discursively functions. This allowance for multiple experiences with a single artifact is precisely what makes music an ideal vehicle for constituting support and/or resistance through song.

The confluence of music and the religious experience is a natural place to examine this intersection of rhetorical sites. Most of the study of this intersection involves either gospel or contemporary Christian music. Used to excite, reaffirm, or reassure belief in worship and conversion, music plays an integral role in the Christian experience. Where hymns function to praise and glorify God, gospel songs concentrate on the needs and faults of mankind.⁷ Much more has been written about gospel music than hymns, particularly concerning their influence upon the Christian tradition through religious revivals.⁸ Hymns, though, are mostly unexplored terrain in need of further investigation.

The potential for resistance is what makes protest songs a central site for the study of rhetoric and music. With particular attention to the 1960s, rhetorical studies of protest

⁶ Booth, "The Art of Words in Song," 249.

⁷ Janice L. Rushing, "Gospel Music Rhetoric," *Religious Communication Today* 1 (1978): 29-30.

⁸ See Archibald T. Davison, *Church Music: Illusion and Reality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952); Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1958); Michael P. Graves and David Fillingim, eds., *More Than "Precious Memories:" The Rhetoric of Southern Gospel Music* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2004).

music show the interplay of resistance and ideology. Particular focus within the disciplines has been on the mid-20th century, from Bob Dylan and the Folk Protest Movement⁹ to singing in the Civil Rights Movement¹⁰ to Funk music and urban protest post-1965,¹¹ to name just a few of the topics covered. All explore the interplay of music, genre, and rhetorical resistance as a means of attempting social change. Some of this literature will be engaged with more depth later in this thesis, but there is no doubt that music lyrics can effectively change people's minds and present a counter hegemonic discourse when called upon to do so.

Related to the protest song is the national song, as explored in most depth by Robert James Branham and Stephen J. Hartnett. Their interest is primarily focused around how music functions as political persuasion through the gradual accrual of musical and political promises that build to form a tradition or custom that often tends "to crystallize national memory in ways that marginalize oppositional politics."¹² This buildup of national memory often filters out independent or alternative voices that we

⁹ James Dunlap, "Through the Eyes of Tom Joad: Patterns of American Idealism, Bob Dylan, and the Folk Protest Movement," *Popular Music and Society* 29 (2006): 549-573.

¹⁰ Kerran L. Sanger, "Functions of Freedom Singing in the Civil Rights Movement: The Activists' Implicit Rhetorical Theory," *Howard Journal of Communications* 8 (1997): 179-195. See Also Guy Carawan and Candie Carawan, *We Shall Overcome!: Songs of the Southern Freedom Movement*, 5th ed. (New York: Oak ,1963).

¹¹ Matthew P . Brown, "Funk Music as Genre: Black Aesthetics, Apocalyptic Thinking and Urban Protest in Post-1965 African-American Pop," *Cultural Studies* 8 (1994): 484-508.

¹² Robert James Branham and Stephen J. Hartnett, *Sweet Freedom's Song: "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and Democracy in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) 5.

have stopped listening to because of dependence on nationalist memories that we have already constructed.¹³ Recovering the new voices and engaging the national memory in new ways while simultaneously relying on that national tradition to keep the audience's interest becomes the key to political songs. This writing and rewriting of national songs engages rhetorical strategies, such as parody and irony, in new ways and develops the song beyond a single iteration or performance. Their discussion of national songs as political rhetoric sets the stage for my exploration of the patriotic hymn.

I define a patriotic hymn as a musical piece that invokes both religious and national loyalty in the lyrics of a song and the identity it constructs. Some examples of patriotic hymns include "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," "America," "God Bless America," "God Bless the U.S.A.," and the National Anthem of the United States. By patriotic, I mean a song expressing devotion to or extolling the virtues of a nation. Similar to Branham's conception of national songs, patriotic songs are a much more concentrated expression of allegiance to a country, not just a "resource for the expression, inculcation and contestation of national identities."¹⁴ Patriotic hymns, I argue, focus on the celebration of the virtue of that national identity from the perspective of one who is a member of that national identity. The inclusion of these patriotic hymns in religious songbooks is not a requirement, though they certainly are featured in them at the discretion of the hymnbook editors. Even within patriotic songs there is often an invocation of God's blessing or divine providence that combines patriotic sentiment with religious belief. This somewhat ethereal combination of words and music creates what

¹³ Branham and Hartnett, *Sweet Freedom's Song* 6.

¹⁴ Robert James Branham, "'God Save the _____!': American National Songs and National Identities, 1760-1798," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 85 (1999): 17.

Branham and Hartnett call “musical messages that somehow weave their way into consciousness, infiltrating prejudice, melting anger, nudging the listener toward the willingness to consider new ideas, new images, new possibilities.”¹⁵ This blend of religious belief and national identity is a powerful union that can intertwine to create meaning for American Christian identity.

On the “Battle Hymn” itself, there are a number of sources that flesh out the song’s past strictly from a historical perspective. John Stauffer and Benjamin Soskis’ *The Battle Hymn of the Republic: A Biography of the Song that Marches On* is the most comprehensive book on the origins and life of the “Battle Hymn” since its inception through various social movements, events, and political figures. The book’s strict historical perspective paints the “Battle Hymn” as the song that marches on as a Civil War anthem engaged as a universal call to action by every cause and movement in 19th and 20th American history. The authors’ focus on the popularity of the song as a vehicle for expressing the tensions between unity and discord inherent to the song from its inception and perpetuated by its use in grassroots and establishment movements alike. Where they look only at the history of the song, I want to examine how the song functions as a patriotic hymn through its rhetorical construction of national sentiment and its ability to simultaneously negotiate new spaces for meaning and understanding.

Battle Hymn History as Musical Rhetoric

The genealogy of the “Battle Hymn” can be traced to the camp revival meetings of the early 1800s. As a major religious institution of the South, revival spirituals helped constitute the beginning of the Bible Belt and brought together communities in a shared

¹⁵ Branham and Hartnett, *Sweet Freedom’s Song*, 3.

religious experience.¹⁶ The songs of these revivals arose extemporaneously, pulling from familiar melodies and common biblical phrases in often repetitive form for the audience to more easily follow. One of these tunes was “Say Brothers,” also known as “Canaan’s Happy Shore”:

Say brothers, will you meet us?
Say brothers, will you meet us?
Say brothers, will you meet us?
On Canaan's happy shore?

refrain:
Glory, glory hallelujah!
Glory, glory hallelujah!
Glory, glory hallelujah!
For ever, evermore!¹⁷

Camp meeting often lasted long into the night where lighting for reading lyrics was poor, if available at all. Even for those who were literate, the cost of producing and purchasing hymnals was beyond the budget of camp organizers. Simple, easy to memorize songs were preferred to make musical participation accessible to all. Relying heavily on repetition for the audience to pick up the lyrics and carry on together, the style and lyrics worked in tandem to get those gathered to sing without worrying about knowing the words. Heightened by the choice between salvation and damnation, “Say Brothers” blended the hope of heaven with the communion of fellow Christians in an intense, lyrical experience.

¹⁶ John Stauffer and Benjamin Soskis, *The Battle Hymn of the Republic: A Biography of the Song that Marches On* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 19.

¹⁷ William Steffe, Second Hand Songs. “Say Brothers, Will You Meet Us?” 1856. <http://www.secondhandsongs.com/work/43760>. Accessed March 20, 2014. Though this version is attributed to William Steffe in 1856, he was merely one of many to claim the song as his own. The song was written down and published in collections of camp meeting songbooks as early as 1806. For references to earlier publications of the song, see Stauffer and Soskis’s *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*, 21-24.

Eventually, the song and other revival traditions made their way north and gained oral popularity in the late 1840s and early 1850s.¹⁸ The song first appeared in print in 1859 and continued to grow in printed popularity through the middle of the 19th century.¹⁹ Largely connected with the Methodist tradition and reprinted in their hymnals, the song spread and grew in popularity, leading to many parody lyrics that were anything but religious. One such parody came out of the Massachusetts 2nd regiment right at the build up to the Civil War. A Scottish soldier and member of the regiment glee club had two notable characteristics: a habit for being late and a shared name with the more famous John Brown of Harpers' Ferry. His fellow soldiers mocked his resemblance to the more notorious John Brown by saying "there goes John Brown...I thought he was dead?... Well he makes a lively corpse."²⁰ Eventually a song was made out of the ongoing joke, set to the same tune used by "Say Brothers" and using most of the chorus from the revival song. In AAAB style, "John Brown's Body" repeated the lyrics "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave" three times, ending with "but his soul goes marching on." The refrain, which is largely preserved in modern versions, repeats "glory, glory, hallelujah" three times, concluding with "his soul is marching on!"²¹ The later

¹⁸ Stauffer and Soskis, *The Battle Hymn*, 27.

¹⁹ Information taken from the Hymnary.org entry for "Say Brothers." Hymnary.org is an online hymn music database started and maintained by The Hymn Society in the United States and Canada in conjunction with the Christian Classics Ethereal Library and the Calvin Institute of Christian Worship through Calvin College. <http://www.hymnary.org/>

²⁰ Stauffer and Soskis, *The Battle Hymn*, 47.

²¹ Song text taken from "John Brown's Body Lies A-Mouldering in the Grave," Found at <http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/johnbrown/brownbody.html>. Accessed May 5, 2014.

verses included “John Brown’s Body lies a-mouldering in the grave, His soul is marching on,” “He’s gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord, His soul is marching on!,” “John Brown’s knapsack is strapped upon his back, His soul is marching on!,” and “His Pet lambs will meet him on the way, They go marching on!”²² Once the song took on a life of its own outside the regiment along with the onset of the Civil War, two pro-Union verses were added to the end: “They will hang Jeff Davis to a sour apple tree, As they march along!” and “Now, three rousing cheers for the Union, As we are marching on!”²³ Though it began as a regimental joke, the song quickly became an anthem as it travelled to the various encampments as the war progressed.

As “John Brown’s Body” spread, the original reference to John Brown of the Massachusetts 2nd faded and instead took on a direct connection to the more famous John Brown and his stand at Harpers' Ferry. The brisk tempo, patriotic lyrics, and easy to learn nature made the song the ideal marching tune for Union soldiers going off to war. Abolitionist advocates in the North focused their efforts on spreading the song to heighten association between the war effort and abolitionism. As Stauffer and Soskis note, “for those who joined the fight out of abolitionist principles, ‘John Brown’s Body’ struck a note of defiance not merely against Southern antagonists but against Union military or political leaders who sought to tamp down those principles.”²⁴ Advancing the abolitionist agenda through song was certainly not a new concept, but it was effective at refocusing war aims around freeing the slaves.

²² Franny Nudelman, *John Brown’s Body: Slavery, Violence, & Culture of War* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 1-3.

²³ Nudelman, *John Brown’s Body*, 3.

²⁴ Stauffer and Soskis, *The Battle Hymn*, 57.

The final transformation in the evolution of the “Battle Hymn” came when Julia Ward Howe encountered “John Brown’s Body” during a review of troops with her husband in 1861. A somewhat older woman at the time, she occupied an odd spot in the war effort: wanting to do something to help the Union cause but with a husband too old to serve and younger children who tied her to the nursery.²⁵ Howe herself was a staunch abolitionist with a direct tie to “John Brown’s Body.” Her husband was one of the eight financiers of the raid on Harpers' Ferry, intertwining her further with the song she would later rewrite.²⁶

At the request of several high-ranking Union politicians, Mr. and Mrs. Howe travelled outside of the nation’s capital to review the troops stationed there in late 1861. She described the experience in her journal:

For a long distance the foot soldiers nearly filled the road. They were before and behind, and we were obliged to drive very slowly. We presently began to sing some of the well-known songs of war, and among them: “John Brown’s body lies a-moldering in the grave.” This seemed to please the soldiers, who cried, “Good for you,” and themselves took up the strain.²⁷

Howe goes on to describe how her friend and travel companion appealed to her established reputation as a poet, telling her she should write her own, more patriotic, version of the song. She replied that she often thought of doing so, but the right words had not yet come to her. That very night, however, she awoke with the words she had

²⁵ Florence Howe Hall, *The Story of the Battle Hymn of the Republic* (1916; rpt. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 50.

²⁶ Samuel Gridley Howe and some of the other members of the “Secret Six” backers of Brown evaded legal consequences of their support by distancing themselves from Brown in newspaper editorials, legal battles, and when necessary, strategic trips to Canada until the storm passed. Edward J. Renehan, Jr, *The Secret Six* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1995), 222-251.

²⁷ Hall, *The Story* 51.

been searching for to remaster “John Brown’s Body,” scribbled them down on a nearby piece of paper, and then went back to bed feeling it was one of the better things she had ever written.²⁸ In February 1862, *Atlantic Monthly* published the “Battle Hymn;” it spread like wildfire through the general populace. Howe later discovered that the first public performance of the hymn was likely in Framingham, Massachusetts in late February 1862, at a celebration of Washington’s birthday.²⁹

Today, the “Battle Hymn” is predominantly reprinted in church hymnals. “John Brown’s Body” is identified as its own entity, independent of the modern “Battle Hymn,” while “Say Brothers” has faded from public memory altogether. Even though the hymn itself has solidified in structure and form, it continues to change slowly over time. The initial publication of Howe’s hymn included five verses. Howe wrote a sixth verse in her initial draft of the hymn, but omitted it from publication. Upon the publication of her memoirs in 1901, the sixth verse slowly began to make its way into circulation through hymnal publication, just as the second and third verses started to fade from popularity. Tones of violence and martyrdom are funneled out, while gender neutral language and emphasis on Christian witness are brought in. Even on the individual publication level, the choices made by publishers and editorial boards are rhetorical acts that shape our understanding of the “Battle Hymn” and the ways in which we engage it as a patriotic hymn.

²⁸ Hall, *The Story*. 53.

²⁹ Julia’s Journals: The Yellow House Papers. Julia Ward Howe Archives. Journal entry for Oct. 9, 1899. Accessed March 20, 2014. http://www.juliawardhowe.org/genealogy/jwhscans/825_1027.pdf

Justification for Study

This paper does not attempt to argue that all shifts in the “Battle Hymn” are rhetorically significant. Many of the changes made in the song bear little importance to the overarching aim of the hymn, nor do they change the ways in which it is engaged rhetorically or the ways in which it is interpreted. However, the larger shifts in the song and corresponding message changes are worthy of further investigation particularly as they are invoked as a way for individuals to shape their conception of patriotism and their place within larger movements of social change. In particular, I will be interested in war, religion, race, and temperance/prohibition.

Methodology

My methodology for this study is based in close textual analysis of the “Battle Hymn of the Republic” in its published and parodic forms and the circulation and articulation of those various forms.

Close reading entails a detailed look at specific rhetorical artifacts in order to position the text at the center of the critique being offered.³⁰ By focusing on the rhetorical texture, density, textual context, internal movement, and audience invitation of the artifact, the text in context allows for a greater depth to understanding. Putting a detailed analysis of the changes to the “Battle Hymn” over time in the context of the exigencies in which those changes occurred will allow for a different perspective of the song as rhetoric.

³⁰ James Jasinski, *Sourcebook on Rhetoric* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2001) 90.

Circulation and articulation of the hymn helps highlight the interaction between the movement of the hymn across time and with distinct but interrelated publics. Michael Warner first conceptualized circulation as a simultaneously notional and material process of public discourses and public formation. Cara A. Finnegan and Jiyeon Kang rightly assert that circulation is a constitutive process for public formation “created by interactions between specific types of circulating forms and the interpretive communities built around them.”³¹ This understanding of circulation as constitutive operates through the constant movement within the scene of the hymn over time. As the “Battle Hymn” never stops changing and never falls out of public usage, the hymn has been circulating as a constitutive element of our formation of nationalist, militaristic, religious, and racial understandings of self since the inception of “Say Brothers.” Rather, it is articulated differently through the various adaptations of the song (“Say Brothers,” “John Brown’s Body,” and the “Battle Hymn”). Though circulation theory is largely applied to visual artifacts, it functions similarly for songs. The difference though lies in the method of reproduction of the artifacts. Where visual circulation relies on print media to travel amongst publics, songs are reproduced through multiple sites: the singing of the song itself, the reprinting of the song in hymnbooks or other print pages, recordings of the song and passive playing of the song without audience participation in the production of the song itself. This constant circulation across many media never allows the song to stop circulating, thus never needing to be recirculated as conceptualized by Lester C. Olson.³²

³¹ Cara A. Finnegan and Jiyeon Kang. “‘Sighting’ the Public: Iconoclasm and Public Sphere Theory” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 90 (2004): 337-402.

³² Lester C. Olson. “Pictorial Representations of British America Resisting Rape: Rhetorical Re-Circulation of a Print Series Portraying the Boston Port Bill of 1774,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 12 (2009): 1-36.

For the “Battle Hymn” itself, I start with the initial publication of the poem in *Atlantic Monthly* by Julia Ward Howe and then trace it through its published forms in hymnals. Starting with the hymnary.org database, I tracked down hymnals that include the “Battle Hymn of the Republic” in their pages. In addition, I went through the Baylor Library hymnal section to supplement my collection with some of the more recently published hymnals not included in the hymnary database. In sum, 480 hymnals have been collected and analyzed for this project.³³ Though the hymnals to be collected and examined are, by no means, all the hymnal publications of the “Battle Hymn” from 1862 to the present they are nonetheless an unbiased representation of all the hymnals for the time period that is relevant to this study.

Each instance of the “Battle Hymn” was evaluated and the following information recorded: Hymnal title, year of publication, editor, publishing company, hymn number, title of the hymn as printed in the hymnal, denominational affiliation of the hymnal, verses included, corresponding scripture printed with the hymn, section heading under which the hymn was printed, and wording discrepancies between the hymn as printed in the hymnal and the initial publication of the “Battle Hymn” in the February 1862 issue of *Atlantic Monthly*. For the sixth verse, which was resurrected from Howe’s drafts of the hymn after her death, I will use the text printed in her memoirs as the point of comparison. Variations that have been noted include slight spelling changes, omission of verses, substitution of words or phrases, and punctuation changes from the initial publication.

For the parodies and other instances of the “Battle Hymn” and its reappropriation, I located any version or rewriting of the hymn mentioned in Stauffer and Soskis, found

³³ See Appendix for the full list of hymnals examined for this project.

on archive.org, included in hymnals examined in the primary collection process, inserted in various news articles involving the “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” or otherwise encountered in the process of researching other aspects of this project. While this method of collection is less systematic for the parodic portion, the selection presented in this study will cover the major parodies that impacted the trajectory of the “Battle Hymn” and its place within American history.

Thesis Structure

The thesis will be structured around five political/religious scenes in which the “Battle Hymn” is rhetorically engaged and of which it is simultaneously reflective: War, Christianity, Race, and contemporary social movements such as Labor, Feminism, and Temperance/Prohibition. Each these scenes has its own chapter. Each chapter will address how this patriotic hymn is engaged as an element of the rhetoric of the scene. Using the “Battle Hymn” as a case study, I will then look at how patriotic hymns are engaged as a rhetorical force within the discourse of that scene.

Chapter Two focuses on the function of the hymn in religious rhetorical artifacts. Music and religion have a long history together. This chapter will specifically look at Christian religious practices and the intertwinement of the religious with national pride. In the case of the “Battle Hymn,” the intertwinement of patriotism and religion implicates the interdependence of Christian faith on love of country through the 19th and 20th centuries. Tracing the “Battle Hymn” from its roots as “Say Brothers,” through tent revivals and its contemporary life in hymnals, the rhetorical shifts and choices made in how the hymn was written, presented, and framed, shapes our understanding of patriotism through religion.

The second chapter looks at war, a central scene for understanding how Americans shape their own conception of patriotism and national values. War is also central to the formation of the “Battle Hymn” as a rhetorical artifact that shifts to fit each major war from the mid-19th century onward. The violence inherent to war is normalized as it is incorporated as a central tenet of patriotism. This chapter follows the “Battle Hymn’s” trajectory from the Civil War through Reconstruction, Mark Twain’s “The Battle Hymn of the Republic, Updated” during the Philippine-American War, through both World Wars, the Korean War and the engagement of the song for Vietnam protests. The Civil War establishes the “Battle Hymn” as a patriotic hymn and as a platform for simultaneous parody and patriotism in subsequent wars by civilians and soldiers alike.

Chapter Four follows the racial scene as the “Battle Hymn” intersects with American field songs, through John Brown’s memory, abolitionist reappropriation of military parody and the “Battle Hymn” itself, to Parchman prisoners and members of the Black Power movement invoking the song in civil rights orations. With particular focus on parody and reappropriation, I argue that strategic engagement of patriotic hymns effectively repositions marginalized groups as a necessary component to mainstream American identity.

Concluding in Chapter Five, I will briefly examine other movements and parodies that have reflected or affected changes in the “Battle Hymn” in more contemporary ways. Among such examples are parodies used in the formation of labor unions, the temperance and prohibition movements, the move toward gender-neutral language within the hymn as a response to the rise of feminism, and use of the patriotic hymn abroad as it extends its influence beyond the shores of the United States. Though we cannot yet determine if

the shifts in the “Battle Hymn” are temporary to suit a specific purpose, or permanent, the trajectory of change within the patriotic hymn suggests the continuation of an evolution of the political and religious rhetorical artifact.

CHAPTER TWO

The Religious Battle Hymn

To understand the circulation and rhetorical impact of the “Battle Hymn of the Republic” through religious audiences, we have to start with the earliest articulations of the song that historians have traced. Most historians of the song agree that the “Battle Hymn” arose from the Second Great Awakening’s popularization of the tune “Say Brothers.” A protestant revival movement from the early nineteenth century United States, the Second Great Awakening is largely credited for the rapid rise in membership for Baptist and Methodist denominations. Notable for its tent meetings and circuit riders, the Second Great Awakening provided the ideal environment for religious conversions and rapid rhetorical evolution of song across the United States.

For the trajectory of the “Battle Hymn it is productive to observe the religious life of the song through two distinct phases. The first is the early iterations of “Say Brothers” that circulated through tent revivals, beginning as a slave field song and transitioning to established churches and hymnals. After the military revisions to the song reshaped “Say Brothers” into the “Battle Hymn,” the new iteration is taken up once again by the American Christian community in a second phase to circulate once again in religious environments.

The long history of music and religion speaks, in part, to the powerful force created when music and religion are used in conjunction. Where religion functions in part, as an explanatory system for lived experiences, music works at a more primitive,

primordial appeal to the soul to soothe and excite.¹ This chapter looks at the American Christian religious practices, specifically the intertwining of religious duty with national pride. The rhetorical coupling of God and salvation in “Say Brothers” and the subsequent blending of divine salvation through patriotic duty in the “Battle Hymn” and later a rewritten version “It is God Who Holds the Nation” implicates the dependence of salvation on expressions of patriotic support. Without professions of national support and religious affirmation in worship, salvation and redemption are less certain for the sinner. In this way, national pride is brought in the church while simultaneously expanding religious identity to overlap more completely with national identity as hymns spread to secular usage without losing their religious tonality.

Say, Brothers, Will You Meet Us

The earliest printed version of the song that would become the “Battle Hymn” is in an 1806 North Carolina hymnbook edited by David Mintz, closely followed by Stith Mead’s 1807 hymnbook from the Boiling Spring camp meetings.² These books published in close succession and with different geographic points of origin suggest that the song was orally circulated long before anyone bothered to write it down. “Say Brothers” was not the only revival song to receive this treatment; it was not until the turn of the 19th century that revival hymns began to make their way into publication through hymnals. Before these two publications, the author is unknown. Most attribute its composition not to a single individual, but to an organic composition process “emerg[ing] out of the

¹ John B. Boles, *The South Through Time: A History of an American Region* v.1, ed. 2, (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1999), 168.

² Stauffer & Soskis, *Battle Hymn*, 21.

collective spiritual yearnings of the camp meetings, likely originating more from the congregants than from a minister.”³ Much like the tent revival meetings themselves, the song likely grew organically from the audience/pastor interaction for which the meetings were renowned.

Second Great Awakening Context

Camp meetings or tent revivals--terms used interchangeably for the purposes of this study--were generally characterized as outdoor religious gatherings where anyone and everyone could camp on the grounds as independent agents participating in collective worship.⁴ Revival meetings associated with what would become the Second Great Awakening reportedly began as early as the mid-1780s, picking up steam through the early 19th century to hit their peak popularity in the 1850s. African American Christians had two distinctly different experiences with revivals: as slaves, they could usually attend the meetings of their masters seated or standing at the back of the tent or outside; or, as freed African American Christians they could conduct their own camp meetings and did so as early as 1794. Such meetings were not attended by white Christians other than a few denominational ministers.⁵

³ Stauffer & Soskis, *Battle Hymn* 22

⁴ Kenneth O. Brown describes five elements of a camp meeting as: outdoor religious exercises; everyone camping on the grounds; campers independently supporting themselves; “the camp meeting method gains wide popular recognition”; and “the camp meeting method becomes standardized into a pattern.” See Kenneth O. Brown, *Holy Ground: A Study of the American Camp Meeting* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1992), 4.

⁵ Brown. *Holy Ground* 8.

The revivals themselves were emotionally charged, fervent expressions of faith, high-stakes rhetorical battles for the salvation or damnation of souls. Either the participants were saved, or cursed to hell for eternity. These “extended emotional orgies” were characterized by violent movement, free-form dancing, crying, singing, shouting, and ecstatic displays of spiritual fits, all contained within camp meeting tents holding several hundred to several thousand souls.⁶ Such fervent displays were encouraged by the pastors to increase the frenzy and heighten the collective experience so the individual could lose him or herself in the experience of the pastor’s message as one of the masses seeking redemption through the message, song, prayer and movement of the spirit.

In the South, revivals thrived. A key component of Southern identity, according to Reta Ugena Whitlock, “spirituality is part of what it means to feel Southern, and spiritual renewal is key to new, more affirmative ways of feeling Southern that are not paralyzed by a lost cause.”⁷ For the kind of Christian spirituality practiced in the Southern United States, ideas of fellowship, salvation, and sacrifice were cornerstones of Protestant faith and contributors to the dominant ideology. Revivals of the Second Great Awakening offered all these faith staples and more. Circuit preachers tailored their messages to these particular aspects of Christian faith. Rev. Thomas C. Teasdale published some of his revival sermons, most of which focus on topics such as “God’s Controversy with Sinners,” “A Future General Judgment,” “Self-Righteousness,” “Revival of Religion,” “The Sin Against the Holy Ghost,” (which he never names) and “The Ultimate Destiny of

⁶ Stauffer & Soskis, *Battle Hymn* 20.

⁷ Reta Ugena Whitlock. *This Corner of Canaan: curriculum studies of Place & the Reconstruction of the South* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007). 19

the Finally Impenitent,” among many others.⁸ Regardless of the precise sins postulated in a particular sermon, the message always ended with hope of salvation through Christ the savior.

Music of the Revivals

With large crowds, simple and repetitious songs were most effective for collective audience singing during revivals. Nighttime sermons, dim lighting, illiteracy of participants, lack of amplification for instrumental accompaniment, and scarcity of hymnals made reading traditional hymns with multiple unique verses from songbooks impractical and nearly impossible for the camp meeting experience.⁹ The complex hymns of Isaac Watts and the Wesley brothers did not thrive among the revival fires as they did in church pews. Instead, they adopted lining out from the field slave singing tradition.¹⁰ Lining out was a call and response format where the pastor or worship leader would sing a line to a familiar and simple melody--usually pulled from his sermon or a familiar Bible passage--and the congregation would sing it back and follow along. Simple and repetitious words and melody were the keys to hymn success in the revival camp meetings. Yet, they were not a product of a single author or derived solely from a single pastor's sermon; rather, they were “group religious statements which were sung by those

⁸ Thomas C. Teasdale, *Revival Discourses* (St. Louis: National Baptist Publishing Company, 1872).

⁹ Dickenson D. Bruce, Jr., *And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp-meeting Religion, 1800-1845* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1974), 91.

¹⁰ The lining out tradition predates American slavery, having been recorded throughout Europe back to the 16th century.

who had been converted.”¹¹ As such, they reflected the beliefs of both the revival leaders and the singers, thus providing insight into what motivated conversion or was valued as acts of religious devotion. The brevity and simplicity of these songs limited the expression of these complex beliefs to short stock-phrases that were largely agreed upon by members of the faith community. Revival songs were not the site of complex theological debates or contested beliefs, but focused instead on the plain articulation of religious messages highlighting the benefits of conversion.¹²

Lining out also served revival pastors as a tool for refocusing the congregation. When not preaching, preachers offered singing as a way to highlight parts of the sermon they wished to emphasize. Lining out a phrase from the sermon or piece of scripture foundational to their message ensured that the congregation not only heard the message, but repeated it back as a collective audience. This constitutive action creates the congregation as a people that are simultaneously believers, sinners in need of salvation, and actors in the drama of salvation as performed by the pastors in the revival setting. The act of public identification through musical repetition cements the collective vulnerability of those perceiving their need for salvation.

“Say Brothers” as Exemplar

“Say Brothers” evolved out of these revival campfires. Particularly popular with the Methodist camps, the song exemplified the success of lining out: simple words, familiar melody, and a message with which all members of the audience could identify.

¹¹ Dickenson Bruce, *And They All Sang Hallelujah*, 93.

¹² See Dickenson Bruce, *And They All Sang Hallelujah*, 93-95.

Though the words would occasionally change with different reproductions and audiences, the version most agreed upon by musical historians reads:

Say, brothers, will you meet us
Say, brothers, will you meet us
Say, brothers, will you meet us
On Canaan's happy shores.

CHORUS: Glory, glory, hallelujah
Glory, glory, hallelujah
Glory, glory, hallelujah
forever, evermore.

By the grace of God we'll meet you
By the grace of God we'll meet you
By the grace of God we'll meet you
Where parting is no more.

Jesus lives and reigns forever
Jesus lives and reigns forever
Jesus lives and reigns forever
On Canaan's happy shore.¹³

Simple, easy to repeat, and evocative of salvation imagery awaiting those moved to conversion by the revival experience propelled the song's circulation through the Second Great Awakening.

In order to understand the reception of "Say Brothers," we first need to understand the audience and simultaneous producers of revival music. Camp meetings were attended by entire communities: the rich, poor, white, black, and all ages. Revivals served as social gatherings, attracting huge crowds to hear the circuit preachers and experience the entertainment and spiritual spectacle. Even though everyone was invited to attend, the audience was not nearly as integrated as it might appear. Gender divided the

¹³ Annie J. Randall "A Censorship of Forgetting: Origins and Origin Myths of 'Battle Hymn of the Republic,'" in *Music, Power, and Politics*, ed. Annie J. Randall. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 12.

audience down the middle, with women on one side and men on the other, and race separated the congregation front to back, with whites at the front, followed by free nonwhites behind them, and enslaved persons at the very back. Although some denominations (like the Methodist Episcopal Church) taught that slavery was a sin against God, many denominations continued to endorse slavery and held segregated services. As the Second Great Awakening rose, opposition to religious instruction for slaves faded but Christian devotion was not necessarily encouraged for slaves.¹⁴ For many, the social structure of revivals was another way of reinforcing the social stratification and racial inferiority of African Americans. Eventually, three of the denominations that benefitted most from the Second Great Awakening split over irreconcilable difference over the issue of slavery: Methodists in 1844, Baptists in 1845, and Presbyterians in 1857.¹⁵ Despite the appearance of unity through the grace of God, ideological and cultural prejudices were not left at the door.

Amidst this segmented congregation, music flowed. Where “Say Brothers” promises eternal reunion on Canaan’s happy shores as Jesus smiles down on them, interpretations of what Canaan looked like varied greatly based on one’s seat in the audience. For southern whites, Canaan’s happy shores closely resembled their day-to-day existence elevated to “a heavenly version of their moral universe.”¹⁶ The expansion of the southwest as slave territory was commonly referred to as new Canaan, and the slave-less

¹⁴ Dena J. Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press: 1977), 192-3.

¹⁵ Mark Nickens “Denominations Slitting Everywhere Once upon a Time” *Study Church History*. <http://www.studychurchhistory.com/Denominations%20Splitting.htm>. Accessed October 23, 2014.

¹⁶ Stauffer and Soskis, *Battle Hymn*, 25

North as Egypt.¹⁷ Safe within the bounds of institutionalized slavery, the contemporary existence of white, slave-owning southerners mirrored the ideal afterlife. Their image of Canaan required maintenance of the status quo and support for southern institutions bolstered feelings of resentment for imposition of northern values leading up to the Civil War and Reconstruction.

For African Americans, Canaan and the utopia it represented was precisely the opposite from the white congregational image: deliverance from bondage and suppression. The North and the spread of northern ideology supported their vision of Canaan, lived out in an earthly setting. Frederick Douglass, discussing his early plans to escape from slavery, recalled singing hymns that repeatedly invoked a similar yearning for the land of Canaan. He went on to explain that Canaan represented “something more than a hope of reaching heaven”: “We meant to reach the *north*--and the north was our Canaan.”¹⁸ In search of their earthly Canaan, the North would serve as an earthly promised land until God called them to their heavenly reward.

Since these conflicting views of Canaan were not explicitly articulated between the two segmented populations of the camp meetings, each vision of the promised land continued to boost the popularity of “Say Brothers” through the Second Great Awakening. Due to its popularity, simplicity, and memorable melody, “Say Brothers” was ripe for rewriting and parodying.

¹⁷ Stauffer and Soskis, *Battle Hymn*, 25.

¹⁸ Stauffer and Soskis, *Battle Hymn*, 25. Quotation of Frederick Douglas comes from Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and my Freedom*, ed. John Stauffer (New York: Modern Library, 2003)159-160.

John Brown's Body

The military marching song rewrite largely uncouples the religious references that popularized “Say Brothers.” The Massachusetts 2nd erased mentions of Canaan’s happy shores, Christian fellowship, God’s grace, heaven, and the eternal reign of Christ. What did remain to tie together the earliest articulation with the later “Battle Hymn” was the chorus: Glory, glory, hallelujah. Where other religious references were erased, the spirit of praise remained.

The decision to keep the refrain of “Say Brothers” set precedent for the rewritings and parodies that would follow, making “glory, glory, hallelujah” the lyrical identifier for the song. No matter how many times the hymn is rewritten, the chorus remains largely unchanged, always linking it back to the “Battle Hymn” and its religious origins. Though popularized by the spread of “Say Brothers,” “John Brown’s Body,” and the “Battle Hymn,” the lyrics “glory, glory hallelujah” were used in a variety of other religious songs and hymns throughout the years. Where “Say Brothers” refers to a specific vision of the promised land, “John Brown’s Body” strips the song back to generic Christian platitudes that simultaneously make it secular and accessible to non-Christian audiences. While “glory” and “hallelujah” certainly maintain religious tonality, they are not so specifically Christian references that they are unusable outside of religious worship. Rather, they present touchstones for devotion and praise that is not necessarily linked to Christian practices.

The Battle Hymn of the Republic

Once “Say Brothers” was rewritten as “John Brown’s Body,” the new articulation of the song in the “Battle Hymn” recoupled the sacred to the popular song. The

militarization of the song (examined in depth in Chapter Three) and sanctification of military force through the recoupling of God to the song brings the “Battle Hymn” back to its revival roots.

With the decline of revival movements and circuit preachers in the 1840s, the primary venue for song circulation was reproduction in hymnals and various other religious song books. The revival phenomenon had served its purpose, converting most of the South and large portions of the frontiers and Northern parts of the United States to Protestantism by way of Methodist, Episcopal, and Baptist denominations. Abandoning the temporary form of tent meetings for physical, permanent church facilities allowed for formation of more formalized congregational membership, as well as the increased number and variety of paid staff members beyond head pastorships. Soon church programs included associate pastors, education ministers, and music ministers to expand the reach of the church and spiritual enrichment of the congregants themselves. By the end of the Civil War, churches frequently included musical activities for all ages. In particular, youth music programs were viewed as a key component to drawing in children and young people passed over by the revival movement.¹⁹

As the United States education system improved, literacy rates were on the rise, making it easier to spread songs without necessitating hearing the song performed firsthand in order to memorize it and carry it on. With access to hymnbooks, anyone could learn any song, so long as they were able to access the music and lyrics. Thus the circulation shifted from a purely oral tradition to a hybrid of oral and written. Even though the reproduction of hymns in writing contributed to the circulation of the song, a

¹⁹“Arkansas” by Orville W. in *Religion in the Southern States: A Historical Study*, ed. Samuel S. Hill. Taylor. (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983), 52-53.

song is lived out, performed, or enacted through the singing of the hymn in a public setting. This contribution to production and reproduction of song is key for its survival, for songs that are not repeatedly sung quickly fade from public memory and then begin to be omitted from subsequent publications as they fall out of style.

Though the “Battle Hymn” was initially published in the secular *Atlantic Monthly*, Christian audiences quickly adopted it as an element of worship services and began incorporating it in hymnals. The earliest publication of the “Battle Hymn” in hymnals was *The Eolian Harp* in 1862.²⁰ An exact lyrical replica of Howe’s published version, *The Eolian Harp* adds the sheet music alongside the lyrics, cementing the musical accompaniment for Howe’s poem. Though Howe’s version was a rewriting of “John Brown’s Body,” its publication as a poem left the musical adaptations open for interpretation for a short time. *The Eolian Harp* was not the first to publish sheet music and verse together for the “Battle Hymn,” but its hymnal debut is important for establishing strong ties to the secular printing of the song as it transitions to the religious.

The Hymn Itself

Before we can look at the “Battle Hymn” over time, it is first useful to look at religious imagery and biblical references within the “Battle Hymn” itself. There is no doubt that the “Battle Hymn” takes a Christianity-based worldview. But in order to

²⁰ J.W. Dadmun, ed. *The Eolian Harp*, (Boston, MA: J. P. Magee, 1862). Most hymnals do not include page numbers, instead numbering hymns individually which may take up multiple pages or only portions of a page. For purposes of citations for this thesis, hymn numbers will be used instead of page numbers, when available. For hymnals, such as *The Eolian Harp*, that chose not to number hymns or pages, no page reference will be provided.

understand the changes to the song and rhetorical shifts it undergoes, a thorough discussion of its composition is required as a foundation on which to build.

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord:
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;
He hath loosed the fatal lightning of his terrible swift sword:
His truth is marching on.

I have seen Him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps;
They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and damps;
I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps.
His Day is marching on.

I have read a fiery gospel, writ in burnished rows of steel:
“As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace shall deal;
Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel,
Since God is marching on.”

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment-seat:
Oh! be swift, my soul, to answer Him! be jubilant, my feet!
Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me:
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

He is coming like the glory of the morning on the wave,
He is wisdom to the mighty, He is honor to the brave,
So the world shall be His footstool, and the soul of wrong His slave,
Our God is marching on.

The first verse begins with a vision of God’s triumphant return—“Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.” Trampling grapes, destroying stockpiles, and wielding a great sword, the Lord’s return is heralded by his just and righteous entrance to the fray. Nearly every line from this verse is pulled from scripture: “Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord” references Jeremiah 20:30-31; “grapes of wrath” derives from Revelation 14:19; and “terrible, swift sword” comes from Isaiah 27:1.

Familiar references for the Christian audience of Howe's song make the introductory verse to a secularly-written song (like "John Brown's Body") decidedly religious and accessible.

The second verse continues the religious imagery, but superimposes the depiction of Civil War campfires as a continuation of Christian devotion through the contemporary imagery. Though the campfires are Union campfires in 1861, they are presented as altars to God amidst the twilight, similar to the Israelites wandering in the desert for 40 years or any of the various war camps presented in the Old Testament. Here, the biblical reference is general rather than specific, but no less powerful in connecting God's "righteous sentence" and his militaristic might to the Union soldiers portrayed in this second verse.

In the third verse, Howe again brings together the ancient and contemporary imagery. In the verse, written in the fires that are reflected off bayonets, Howe again invokes direct biblical references to fiery gospel (2 Peter 3:7) and "the hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel" (Genesis 3:15, Revelation 12). The most controversial verse for the strictly religious audience, the overt military images portrayed later make this verse somewhat controversial, offering grace in exchange for violence.

The fourth verse returns to direct biblical references in depiction of God's militaristic force. The sounding of trumpets "that shall never call retreat" could reference any of a number of passages, including 1 Corinthians 15:52—"for the trumpet will sound, the dead will be raised"--or Joshua 6:20—"when the trumpets sounded, the army shouted, and at the sound of the trumpet, when the men gave a loud shout, the wall collapsed...and they took the city." Howe's reference to sifting hearts of men before God's judgment-seat refers to 2 Corinthians 5:10: "For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ."

Concluding the verse with a call to swift and decisive action to join forces with those aligned with God, Howe continues to advocate not just physical support, but a whole-hearted, soulful reaction to the song's cry for alliance between God and man.

The fifth verse pulls in the lily as symbolic purity and the sea surrounding God's heavenly throne in Revelation 4:6 and 15:2. Christ's glory transfigures the audience in Ephesians 5:30, through being made members of his body. Howe's third line, as she wrote it, depicts a vision of martyrdom paralleling to the death of Jesus himself and the subsequent tendency of his disciples toward gruesome death for their faith, saying "as he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free." Both specific and abstract, Howe makes a case for everyday martyrdom through just war aligned with the will of God.

The sixth and final verse was not published by Howe in 1862. After the publication of her memoirs in 1901, hymnals began incorporating the final verse from her draft of the song. God's mastery of time and use of earth as a footstool appear in numerous places in the New Testament, including Revelation 1:8, 21:6, and 22:13, Isaiah 66:1, Matthew 5:35, and Acts 7:49. More broadly, much of the fifth verse draws from the abstract, apocryphal imagery of Revelation in the much anticipated Second Coming of Christ.

Early Hymn Variants, 1862 – 1900

Even in the initial hymnal publications of the "Battle Hymn" we begin to see changes made to the lyrics, setting precedent for later, more significant rhetorical shifts to the song over time. The second hymnal publication of the "Battle Hymn" in 1863 by *Water Choral Harp* makes two significant changes: titling the song "Our God is

Marching On” and substituting “our God” for “his truth” in the third verse.²¹ Though these may seem like anomalies in publication, they nonetheless set the stage for future variations of the song.

First, song titles present a brief, encapsulating rhetorical positioning of the tone and aim of a particular hymn. “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” and “Our God is Marching On” both suggest marching, religious war imagery, but with very different casts of rhetorical agents. Where the “Battle Hymn of the Republic” suggests earthly actors and American causes, “Our God is Marching On” expands the scope of rhetorical actors, making it God marching rather than individual humans or armies. Rather than having earthly armies and physical actors who are aligned with God, *Water’s Choral Harp* rhetorically repositions God as the primary military actor, one who is not engaged in battle specifically, but rather an indefinite march onward. Expanded beyond direct references to the Civil War and “John Brown’s Body,” “Our God is Marching On” reframes the song in terms of a crusade for human souls rather than wars between men. Other titles for the hymn over the years include “Marching On,” “The Coming of the Lord,” “His Truth is Marching On,” and by far the most popular alternate title, “Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory.” Each different title highlights a different aspect of the song as the focal point from which to derive spiritual interpretation.

²¹ Horace Waters, ed. *Waters’ Choral Harp: a new and superior collection of choice hymns and tunes, mostly new, written and composed for Sunday schools, missionary, revival, and social meetings, and for church worship.* (New York: Horace Waters, 1863).

Second is the substitution of “our God” for “his truth” in the third verse of the song.²² Throughout publication of the “Battle Hymn” in hymnals, we repeatedly see slight shifts in words that, while not necessarily directly influencing the interpretation of the song or message it conveys, nevertheless destabilizes the concrete structure of the song as an unchanging body, thereby opening it up further for parody and rewriting once it is firmly established as a primarily religious text. Like some of its prior articulations, the “Battle Hymn” is not only the original writing of the song, but simultaneously the variations made over time to the lyrics that subtly change the makeup of the artifact. Rather than a static, unchanging vestige, the repetition and reproduction of songs as a necessary part of its circulation incorporates slight variations as part of the thing itself.

Early 20th Century Variants, 1901-1950

Once firmly established as a religious song, the “Battle Hymn” took off in hymnal publications. Though [hymnary.org](http://www.hymnary.org) indicates the “Battle Hymn” reached the peak of circulation through hymnal publication in the late 1960s, my own research finds that 1920-25 is a more accurate depiction of the heyday of the song.²³ The early 20th century was host to a number of significant events in American history, including the Great

²² When referencing verses throughout this thesis, I will refer to verses based on their initial publication by Julia Ward Howe. Verse 1 begins “Mine eyes have seen the glory”, verse two: “I have seen him in the watchfires,” verse 3: “I have read a fiery gospel,” verse 4: “he has sounded forth the trumpets,” verse 5: “In the beauty of the lilies,” verse 6: “he is coming like the glory.”

²³ See http://www.hymnary.org/text/mine_eyes_have_seen_the_glory for their data on the song. Of the hymnals I collected for this study, 14 versions of the “Battle Hymn” were published between 1965 and 1970. Comparatively, 63 instances of the “Battle Hymn” were published between 1920-25 (See appendix of hymnals referenced for this project). As my own research builds off the hymnary database and incorporates all of their sources in addition to the Baylor collection of hymnals, the hymnary database provides a skewed look at publication frequency of the song when considered by itself.

Depression, Two World Wars, and the ratification of the 19th Amendment. Another less significant event for American history but one of importance to this rhetorical study is the 1931 adoption of “The Star Spangled Banner” as the national anthem. Truly a tumultuous time in American history, the first half of the 20th century set the stage for similarly radical changes to the “Battle Hymn” as a patriotic hymn.

From the religious perspective of the song, the “Battle Hymn” changes very little lyrically. Very few changes are made with respect to word substitutions, lyrical changes, or retitling of the hymn. For the moment, it appears as though the wording of the hymn has reached an accepted form. However, the presentation of the hymn and surrounding material frames the “Battle Hymn” to align it with a patriotic faith community in such a way that patriotism and Christianity are positioned as two sides of the same coin.

The hymns contained in a hymnal are most commonly framed in two significant ways: the branding of the hymnal itself, and the section divisions within each individual hymnal. These two categorical labels, when applied to hymns, create a filter through which audiences see and interpret the “correct” usage of the song. Not all hymns are created equal: some are for Christmas, some for funerals, some for Easter or Lent or tithe or celebration or praise and worship. Some hymns serve as an introductory education for children learning about the religious experience for the first time, some allow for a more nuanced negotiation of theological enactment and embodiment of the Christian experience more suitable for adults--those raised in the faith or recent converts alike.

Section titles. The inclusion of section titles implicitly builds in a rhetorical situation within the very structure of the hymnal. By categorically segmenting the songs, the section labels create an expectation as well as implied constraints. What is not

included under the label functions as a signified of what situations are not appropriate usages for that particular set of songs.²⁴ Sectional divisions rhetorically shape the understanding not only of the “correct” usage of the song, but also the different facets of Christian worship and duty that participants are encouraged to experience.

In the case of the “Battle Hymn,” the proper section for hymnal inclusion is not readily apparent. It is not a song tied to a liturgical season, nor is it closely associated with rites or ceremonies performed within the church. As a secularly created song incorporated within a religious tradition, its enfoldment into the Christian musical body necessitates an assigned “place” or situation to which it responds as a religious text. Section titles provide such signifiers to situate usage within the worship experience. After bouncing around for a short time between sections generically labeled with such Christian platitudes such as “encouragement,”²⁵ “praise,”²⁶ and “Songs of Joy and Praise,”²⁷ a new category emerged encompassing both patriotic duty and religious duty under one heading.

Though there are many variations on the new section title, the “Battle Hymn” was increasingly featured in that part of the hymnal devoted to expressions of national allegiance and devotion to God through patriotic duty. Those section titles ranged widely:

²⁴ Lloyd F. Bitzer, “The Rhetorical Situation,” *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 1(1968): 1-14.

²⁵ Pluma M. Brown, ed. *Song-Hymnal of Praise of Joy, a selection of spiritual songs, old and new*. (Jackson, MN: Pluma M. Brown, 1897).

²⁶ Rev. Elisha A. Hoffman, ed. *Best Hymns from all the Books and New Ones to be Made the Best*. Musical. (Chicago, IL: The Evangelical Publishing Co, 1894).

²⁷ *Jubilant Deo, a Book of Hymns and Tunes for Young and Old*. (Boston, MA: George H. Ellis, 1900).

Christian Citizenship, Patriotic, National, National Occasion, National Days, The Kingdom of God, Our Country, National and Patriotic Songs, Devotional Hymns, Patriotic and Memorial, Patriotic and Temperance, Patriotism and Democracy, National Days, Times and Occasions, The Christian Kingdom, Patriotic Selections, The Life of Brotherhood: Community, Nation, World, The Lord Jesus Christ His Coming to Power, Home and Native Land, His Coming in Power, Fatherland, Community Songs, and Love of Country.²⁸ From this collection of section titles, two themes rise to the surface. First is the interplay between the Promised Land or Return of Christ and American ideals. Second is the articulation of a belief structure in which being considered a good or adequate Christian by religious peers requires an articulation of patriotism as incorporated in the act of worship itself.

The simultaneous structuring of patriotism as a component of Christian duty positions the interconnectivity of the two notions as incontestable for congregants, removing it from public deliberation within Christian education. While religion and politics have always been inseparable, the incorporation of secular music as an aspect of the religious tradition was a distinct move that sparked some controversy. In particular, the alignment of Protestant churches with patriotic celebrations in the 19th and 20th centuries strategically proclaimed “themselves ‘100% Americas’” while attacking “Catholics as a threat to Republican institutions.”²⁹ Fourth of July celebrations were notable in the 19th and 20th centuries and served as defining moments for patriotic

²⁸ See Chapter Five for a fuller explanation of the temperance movement and the “Battle Hymn.”

²⁹ Branham and Hartnett, *Sweet Freedom’s Song*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 61.

hymns in Protestant churches. The Roanoke Association recommended to Baptists that the increasing decadence and impropriety of Fourth of July revelry could be countered by setting aside the day as one of “public thanksgiving, prayer, & praise to Almighty God, for the inestimable blessing of Liberty, and independence,” and encouraging the sentiment that, as true Christians, faith and religious affiliation shapes political and social propriety.³⁰ By making patriotic occasions sacred rather than profane, civic and political life became further removed from temptation of sinful behavior.³¹

While a deliberate move to align patriotism and Protestantism intended to subvert the perceived threat of Catholicism and sin in general, the secondary and potentially more rhetorically powerful move intertwined celebration of patriotic holidays with the Protestant church tradition. By setting forth church services as exemplars of patriotic celebrations, the performance of patriotism through religion (specifically religious music) shifted the standard for Christian duty to encompass displays of love of country.

With the rise of nationalist-type hymnal sections, not only was the “Battle Hymn” more firmly established as a patriotic hymn, but this appropriation and reinterpretation rendered it as distinctly Christian as well. While the “Battle Hymn” is firmly grounded in religious imagery, other songs included in patriotic-religious sections of the hymnal are less established within the realm of Christianity. “America,” “America the Beautiful,” “For Our Country,” and “The Star-Spangled Banner,” all frequently accompanied the “Battle Hymn” in patriotic hymn sections, often alongside more traditional hymns with potential patriotic slants such as “Life Every Voice and Sing,” “God of the Ages, Whose

³⁰ Monica Najar, *Evangelizing the South: A Social History of Church and State in Early America*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 131-133.

³¹ Najar *Evangelizing the South* 133.

Almighty Hand,” and “This is my Song.” The blending of Christian and secular-based songs, as contextualized by their inclusion in religious song books, makes their positioning seem unquestionable and natural.

Hymnal audience targeting. Tailoring hymnals to specific audiences allowed for the spreading of Christianity and increased purchase of hymnals. For the Christian music publication industry, audience-specific hymnals came in four forms: denomination-specific hymnals, youth hymnals, military hymnals, or religiously affiliated social movement hymnals. Each contextual frame positions the songs within each category in a rhetorically different way. The first two audiences will be discussed in-depth in this chapter.

Denominational hymnals. Denomination-specific hymnals are, by far, the most common hymnals created for a specific audience. It is now common practice for each reasonably large denomination to have its own publishing house to produce its publications, foremost among them the denominational hymnal. Even before denomination printing companies were normalized, private printing presses involved themselves in the production and publication of denomination-affiliated hymnals. The Methodist Church, for example, established Abingdon Press as part of the United Methodist Publishing House in the early 1920s specifically to handle “academic, professional, inspiration, and life-affirming religious literature.”³² Though the United Methodist Publishing House has existed since 1789, a denomination-specific hymnal published through the organizational press was not common until the 20th century. Prior

³² Abingdon Press: Growing in Life, Serving in Faith. “About.” <http://www.abingdonpress.com/about/> accessed November 1, 2014.

to that time, the Press was largely concerned with manufacturing school curriculum and Bibles, not music.³³

With regard to the publication of the “Battle Hymn,” the denomination-specific publication reflected, in part, the theological positioning of each faction by who did and who did not include the more militant and warring song within their pages. While mainstream Protestantism seemingly embraced the song and enfolded it into the hymn corpus, other denominations notable for their pacifism or traditional worship styles never embraced the “Battle Hymn” as one of their hymns. Of the hymnals examined for this project, no Amish, Mennonite, Moravian, Quakers, or Reformed Churches included the “Battle Hymn” within their printed pages. Some of these churches, like the Moravian, Amish, and Calvinist Reformed, spurned not only the “Battle Hymn,” but also any music that was not a psalm, choral, or chant that predated even the First Great Awakening. The Dutch Reformed Church split in 1857 partially over disputes about whether to integrate hymns into worship.³⁴

While theological tenets certainly impact the inclusion of hymns for worship, the denominations embracing the “Battle Hymn” and other nationalistic or militaristic hymns reflect an ideological acceptance of the worldview portrayed by the singing of the hymn in congregational worship. Ideally, music in worship services complements the words of the sermon or homily to reinforce the message as well as celebrate the congregants’ Christian devotion. The introduction to the 1989 *United Methodist Hymnal* states:

³³ “The United Methodist Publishing House: History.” The United Methodist Publishing House. www.umph.org/WhoAreWe/History/tabid/469/Default.aspx Accessed November 1, 2014.

³⁴ “The Christian Reformed Church of North America: History.” The Christian Reform Church. <http://www.crcna.org/welcome/history> Accessed November 1, 2014.

The Hymnal Revision Committee has taken a commonsense approach to the preparation of a new hymnal and worship book: seeking the middle ground of evangelical hymnody held in common by the various traditions and constituencies, and identifying and retaining that “traditional core” of hymns that has the strongest potential value and usefulness to most local United Methodist congregations. It has set aside those that are little used by the denomination’s mainstream and made room for new hymns which more fully reflect our continuing concerns for peace, justice, the care of the planet Earth, hunger, and the reconciling ministry of Christ’s church to the world.³⁵

Other denominational hymnals reflect similar sentiments in their own publications, though less eloquently than the United Methodist hymnal. Not only does this statement reflect the ever-changing corpus of hymns for the denomination’s mainstream, but also the intentionality behind the shifts to better reflect the evolving concern for modernization within the framework of tradition. In this view, the hymns may change but the beliefs of the church do not, only how those beliefs are applied to the modern world.

This audience adaptation of hymnals in general, and the inclusion of the “Battle Hymn” specifically, impacts our understanding of the ways in which hymnals rhetorically position the denomination’s values across many churches through the uniform usage of hymnals. Though each church individually is composed of a unique set of people, individual clergy, with different sermons preached in each sanctuary on any given Sunday (though the topic is often standardized), one of the elements to the church that makes it part of a larger belief system, both as a member of a denomination and religion broadly, is its foundation for worship in a standardized hymnal. By singing the same songs that reflect the pillars of the denomination, the audience is constituted on a weekly

³⁵ *United Methodist Hymnal*. (Nashville, TN: The United Methodist Publishing House, 1989), vi.

basis through their singing of hymns that have been deemed by the institutional structures to be a defining element to that particular denomination and its accompanying theology.³⁶

Youth hymnals. Less common than standard denominational hymnals, songbooks targeted at young Christian education flourished in the early 20th century. Typically billed for youths, young people, students, boys or girls, or universities, these hymnals were constructed specifically to be accessible for younger audiences as a continuation of Christian education through song. As J. Martin C. Scott says, “the universal language of music became a point of contact into the mysteries of the faith.”³⁷ Without a more nuanced understanding of theology, music provided an accessible introduction to tenets of Christian faith through repetition and musical association. Much of what made singing a successful component of the revival tradition of the 19th century extended to the 20th century in the form of hymnals meant to attract and sustain young church members.

The practice of using music to aid in learning and absorption of church doctrine dates back to the Bible itself. It was articulated by Plato and Aristotle, and the English Reformation in particular seized this idea in the 16th century and incorporated it into religious pedagogy.³⁸ The pedagogical function of music makes participation in singing an essential element of Christian education. Due to its success, music as religious

³⁶ Maurice Charland, “Constitutive Rhetoric: The Case of the *Peuple Quebecois*,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73 (1987): 133-150.

³⁷ J. Martin C. Scott, “Playing in Tune: Music and Theological Education,” *British Journal of Theological Education* 11(2000): 47.

³⁸ Jonathan Willis, “‘By These Means the Sacred Discourses Sink More Deeply into the minds of Men’: Music and Education in Elizabethan England,” *History* 94(2009): 294.

education became a central component to 20th century strategies to introduce Christianity to an increasingly younger audience.³⁹

The goal for publishers of the hymnals then, was to compile a songbook that was appealing to children or young people and simultaneously provided an easy to digest version of what it means to be a Christian. Take for example, *Jubilant Praise: for young people's societies, Sunday schools, and church prayer meetings* published in 1909 by E. O. Excell and the United Society of Christian Endeavor, a thriving Christian press at that time. This hymnal includes songs such as "The Hour of Prayer," "Loyalty to Christ," "His Love is All I Need," "I Am Not Worthy," "Seek the Savior," "It is Well with My Soul," "Keep the Heart Singing," and, of course, the "Battle Hymn."⁴⁰ Even without delving into the lyrical content of these songs, the titles alone demonstrate an ideological emphasis on prayer, dependence on God, self-deprecation, the importance of internalizing song, among others. Simple and easily comprehensible tenets of Christian faith, the lyrics of these songs serve as an introductory guide to what it means to believe in God and how to enact that belief within daily life.

By including the "Battle Hymn" among the hymns aimed at Christian youth indoctrination, a specific vision of Christian duty is portrayed in which religious duty and patriotic expression are inherently linked. In particular, the vision of love of country as demonstrated in the "Battle Hymn" lyrics incorporates themes of a military-aligned God, martyrdom, swift and decisive justice, refusal to surrender, and inevitable victory for

³⁹ Julian Stern, "Marking Time: Using Music to Create Inclusive Religious Education and Inclusive Schools," *Support for Learning* 19 (2004): 107-113.

⁴⁰ E. O. Excell, editor. *Jubilant Praise: for young people's societies, Sunday schools, and church prayer meetings*. (Boston, MA: United Society of Christian Endeavor, 1909).

God's people. This rhetorical perspective on God and this Christian vision of patriotism and military strength is not only a religious education for the young, but also a form of civic indoctrination.

Late 20th Century Variants and Early 21st Century

The second half of the twentieth century and early twenty-first century hymnal publications of the "Battle Hymn" build on the early twentieth century's repositioning of the song by structurally altering the "Battle Hymn" to reorient it in the face of shifting attitudes within America itself. Most notable for this study are the exclusion of the third and (to a lesser extent) second verses from most publications, the reincorporation of Howe's previously unpublished sixth verse, and the wording changes made to the fifth verse that shift toward Christian witness and gender-inclusive language. With these changes to the song's composition, the "Battle Hymn" rhetorically alters the religious and patriotic education taught through Christian hymns.

Verse inclusion and exclusion. Perhaps the most foundational changes made to the "Battle Hymn" over time are the structural adjustments made to the hymn. While the first, fourth and fifth verses are essential components of the "Battle Hymn," the second, third and sixth verses appear and disappear from publication over time, fundamentally changing the composition and message of the song by rhetorically shifting what is and is not considered to be part of the "Battle Hymn." Though these changes to the "Battle Hymn" are not restricted to the latter half of the 20th century, most of the decisive shifts in verse publication happen en masse from 1950 onward.

The inclusion of the sixth verse, for instance, begins in 1929 with the publication of *Scottish Psalter and Church Hymnary* by Oxford University Press in London for the

Church of Scotland and United Free Church of Scotland.⁴¹ Though Howe's *Reminiscences* had been published 30 years earlier, and with it the draft of the unpublished verse, it was not until the Scottish church added the verse into its publication that it entered circulation for the first time as a component of the "Battle Hymn." Subsequently published by other hymnals released by Oxford University Press in 1931⁴² and the New York branch of the press in 1938,⁴³ the sixth verse is introduced as a component of the American-based hymn first by an international audience before spreading via the publication industry back to the song's original audience in the United States.

In this initial American presentation of the hymn, it is worth noting the way in which the verses are printed on the hymn page itself. On the primary page of the "Battle Hymn," *Songs of Praise for America* prints the first, second, fourth, and sixth verses within the sheet music, presenting these four verses as the core composition of the song itself. The third and fifth verses are included on the subsequent page unaccompanied by musical notation. By positioning the verses thusly, the editors of the volume place emphasis on verses one, two, four, and six as the important part of the "Battle Hymn," while minimizing the third and fifth verses. Through the positioning of verses, editors are able to spotlight aspects of the song they deem more important to the "Battle Hymn's"

⁴¹ *Scottish Psalter and Church Hymnary*. London: Oxford University Press, 1929. 155.

⁴² *Songs of Praise*, ed. Percy Dearmer. London: Oxford University Press, 1931. 578.

⁴³ *Songs of Praise for America*, ed. L. E. Daniels. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938.

message, while pulling away from the militaristic and self-sacrificing elements of the third and fifth verses.

By the 1970s, the sixth verse of the “Battle Hymn” is fully incorporated as part of the song itself. Due partially to space restrictions, only in rare instances are all six verses published together as the “Battle Hymn.” Increasingly in the late twentieth century we see publishers taking an a la carte approach to the hymn, picking and choosing which verses they want to include in their publication’s version of the “Battle Hymn.” In taking this approach to dealing with space restrictions, the deliberate exclusion of verses that could be considered offensive, violent, sexist, or militaristic is justified through editing decisions. The 1905 Methodist Episcopal Church hymnal states: “some stanzas have been wholly excluded on the ground that they contain imagery offensive to modern taste, and others have been omitted to secure desirable brevity,” thus covering both grounds of offense and space limitations as license for trimming established hymns.⁴⁴ Such practices in editing present slices of the initial publication of the “Battle Hymn” tailored to contemporary audiences and changing views of Christian duty in relation to war.

Just as publication of the third verse came into publications of the “Battle Hymn,” other verses also faded from hymnals as relics of a bygone, militant religious view of Christianity. The third verse is by far the most affected by this fluctuation in verse publications, largely fading from view entirely by the 1970s. Its references to bayonets and heroic Christ-figure crushing serpents under his heel present both an outdated view of warfare and an over-the-top depiction of a militant Christ that conflicts with shifting attitudes toward a more peace-loving God. To a lesser extent, the second verse falls

⁴⁴ *The Methodist Hymnal: official hymnal of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1905), iiv.

victim to a similar decline in popularity with its view of military campfires and righteous sentences written in the fires' reflected light. An announcement in *America* magazine in August 1989 states that "the first official hymnal of the new Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) will not include some familiar hymns containing rousing military imagery, such as 'Onward Christian Soldiers' and 'Battle Hymn of the Republic.'" ...These choices were made following a series of open meetings around the country during a four-year revision of the hymnal."⁴⁵ "God Rest Ye Merry, Gentlemen" was excluded from the new Presbyterian hymnal as well for sexist overtones following discussions conducted across America within the Presbyterian church body. Clearly, the hymnal selections were seen as a venue for reflecting changing attitudes within the religious communities around the United States. The hymnal itself serves a dual purpose simultaneously: initiating a different portrayal of Christian duty and reflecting changing attitudes within the church body as expressed by the members themselves.

Lyrical changes. While the omission or inclusion of entire verses affects the larger structure of the song, the micro-structural changes implemented through word substitution and individual lyric changes shifts the individual components of the hymn to implement big changes. Through the manipulation of the particular words and phrases, significant changes are made to the message depictions of the "Battle Hymn." Some of these changes are more important to the rhetorical message of the "Battle Hymn" than others.

Not all of the lyrical changes are rhetorically significant. For example, early misprints of the fourth verse change "he has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never

⁴⁵ "Hymnal to Exclude Bellicose and Sexist Hymns." *America*. 161 (1989): 53.

call retreat” to “that shall never *sound* retreat” (emphasis added).⁴⁶ Aside from making the line somewhat redundant, the meaning of the line or implications of the change are not significant. A similar substitution is made in the first verse, with a terrible *quick* sword substituted for “terrible *swift* sword.” Of greater importance are the more deliberate changes made to the lyrics that make the song more accessible to audiences and shift portrayals of discipleship.

One significant shift in the lyrics of the “Battle Hymn” occurs in the latter half of the twentieth century and continues to be in the process of changing across hymnal publication in the beginning of the twenty first century--the substitution of gender-neutral nouns and pronouns for specific references to “men.” Particularly in the fourth and fifth verses, hymnals substitute “all” or “us” for “men.” Rather than “sifting out the hearts of *men*,” lyrical changes make it “sifting out the hearts of *all*,” or “sifting out *all human hearts*.”⁴⁷ Similarly, the fourth verse becomes “As he died to make *us* holy, let us die to make *us/all* free.” Though these are the most common changes made, others modify the verse to say similar things, including “let us *strive to holy be*”⁴⁸ or “let us *live to set them*

⁴⁶ Change first appears in *The Good Templar Songster for Temperance Meetings and the Home Circle, 2nd ed.* (Toledo, OH: Harry B. White, 1888). This version of the fourth verse was picked up by E. O. Excell and the Christian Board of Publication in 1901 and used for all of their publications of the “Battle Hymn” through the early 20th century. As the Christian Board of Publications was one of the most prolific publishers of the “Battle Hymn” during this time period, “sound retreat” instead of “call retreat” became the new norm for a significant period of time.

⁴⁷ For example, see: Kelly Dobbs Mickus, Kathryn R. Cuddy, Diana Macalintal, and Dominic Trumfio, eds. *Gather*, 3rd edition. (Chicago, IL: GIA Publications, Inc., 2011), 985.

⁴⁸ Asa Hull, ed. *Wreath of Praise*. (New York, NY: Daniel W. Knowles, 1879), 178.

free.”⁴⁹ Many of these changes begin early in the publication of the “Battle Hymn,” but fail to catch on until the twentieth century when attitudes become less hostile to feminism, particular within the church institutions. Those who can lyrically be saved and, more importantly, can be a cause of salvation and set an example for Christ-like behavior, become extended to include women as well as men.

By far the most decisive change in the lyrics to the “Battle Hymn” is the shift that takes place in the fifth verse between 1965 and 1975, changing “as he *died* to make men holy, let us *die* to make men free” into “as he *died* to make men holy, let us *live* to make men free.” Though these changes are seen in isolated publications as early as 1897,⁵⁰ the trend in publication of the revised fifth verse hits in full force in the late sixties and early seventies. This shift from dying for freedom to living for freedom, combined with the abandonment of militant verses, changes the song’s vision of Christianity from a sanctioning of martyrdom to one of Christian witness through example. Though this weakens the abolitionist and violent imagery in the “Battle Hymn” as Howe wrote it, the change reflects evolving attitudes within Christianity and the American public away from senseless death and toward living for Christ.

The shift in the verse comes through the change in the analogy set up within the lyrics. As he (Christ) died to make men holy through his sacrifice and crucifixion for the salvation of mankind, so should followers of Christ sacrifice themselves for the freedom of others. This emphasis on selflessness and implied advocacy of martyrdom through war

⁴⁹ F.E. Belden, ed. *Songs for the King’s Business*. (Chicago, IL: Sunday School Supply House, 1909).

⁵⁰ Pluma M. Brown, ed. *Song-Hymnal of Praise of Joy, a selection of spiritual songs, old and new*. (Jackson, MN: Pluma M. Brown, 1897).

described in the rest of the song paints a picture of Christian duty where the good of many overrules the life of a few.

By changing the self-sacrifice of Christ from teaching that Christians should sacrifice themselves for their fellow men, to a lyrical teaching that it is more important to live as a Christian rather than to die nobly as one, the song takes on an entirely different hue. Rather than focusing on the death of Christ, the lyrical change to “live to make men free” refocuses on the life of Christ and his living achievements. Life, not death, is the focal point of Christ’s example through this rhetorical shift. The parallel set up by the simile, then, says to live like Christ, rather than simply die like he did. In combination with the abandonment of other militant verses, the “Battle Hymn” changes to downplay the militant, violent and morbid aspects of the song despite retaining, in most editions, the title of “Battle Hymn of the Republic.” The fight being fought becomes internal to the individual and institutions, not external on battlefields or around the campfires of old.

“It Is God Who Holds the Nations”

Finally, a more recent articulation of the “Battle Hymn” arises from a rewriting of Howe’s song by Fred Pratt Green entitled “It Is God Who Holds the Nations.”⁵¹ To a larger extent than Howe’s “Battle Hymn,” Green’s hymn places a revised “Battle Hymn” firmly within a patriotic Christian frame. The text of the song is as followed:

It is God who holds the nations in the hollow of his hand,
it is God whose light is shining in the darkness of the land,
it is God who builds the city on the Rock and not the sand,
may the living God be praised!

⁵¹ Hymnary entry for “It Is God Who Holds the Nations in the Hollow of his Hand.” http://www.hymnary.org/text/it_is_god_who_holds_the_nations. accessed November 6, 2014.

It is God whose purpose summons us to use the present hour,
who recalls us to our senses when a nation's life turns sour,
in the discipline of freedom we shall know his saving power,
may the living God be praised!

When a thankful nation, looking back, has cause to celebrate,
those who win our admiration by their service to the state,
when self-giving is a measure of the greatness of the great,
may the living God be praised!

God reminds us every sunrise that the world is ours on lease,
for the sake of life tomorrow may our love for it increase,
may all peoples live together, share its riches, be at peace,
may the living God be praised!⁵²

Green's hymn does not concern itself with church bodies or audience identification in the same ways that the "Battle Hymn" and "Say Brothers" do. Rather, it asserts a worldview that is explicitly America-centric without mentioning America specifically. The most overtly patriotic verse is the third in its attribution of present and past military victory (those who serve the state) to God as a reason to praise him further. All victory, then, is achieved through the grace of God, much as Howe frames the divine guidance around the Union campfires. Similar protectionary interventions from heaven are implied in the title of the song, the first lines of each verse, and lines sprinkled throughout the rest of the song as a continuation of the focus on praising an active, involved God.

In many ways, Green offers an updated but concentrated version of Howe's original "Battle Hymn." As a Methodist minister and hymn writer, Green was "somebody who...was grounded in... the tradition and liturgy of the church."⁵³ Green still focused on

⁵² Hymnary entry for "It is God Who Holds the Nations"

⁵³ Charles Royden. *A Short Study of the Life and Hymns of Fred Pratt Green*. Partnership Lent Course, 2004 Great Hymn Writers.10.

a militant patriotism commanded by God, but refocuses the agency of militancy and human success on divine will rather than the actions of human agents. The fourth verse points to the fleeting existence of each individual on earth, reminding that days on earth are numbered and unification through Christian worship is the goal, not fighting amongst each individual. Where Howe offers abolition as the solution to God-sanctioned violence, Green offers a nation saved by God and a temporal perspective shift to focus on life in heaven and life through God there, rather than dwelling on the fights among men.

Still significantly less popular than Howe's "Battle Hymn," Green nevertheless offers a different perspective on the depths to which patriotism, military identity, and Christianity are tied together within hymns. His third verse in particular solidly situates God holding the nation up and the military supporting that nation elevated to a position of nearly equal worth for praise.

Conclusions

When considered individually, none of these aspects of or changes to the "Battle Hymn" constitutes a particularly compelling case for the rhetorical coupling of God and salvation as significant. However, when considered together as pieces within a larger framework--the context within which the lyrical shifts are made and the shifts themselves within the context of the song--they present a case for rhetorically joining militant patriotism and religious devotion as a Christian duty.

Despite the conservative invocation of the "Battle Hymn" to intertwine patriotic and religious duty as both civic and religious education, its later shifts away from

http://www.thischurch.com/christian_teaching/sermon/fredprattgreen.pdf. Accessed November 7, 2014.

violence and martyrdom toward gender-neutral and pacifist tonality demonstrate the ability of hymns to work within their institutions to both reflect and enact social change. Simultaneously passive and active, the functionality of the hymn as civil and religious education assists as a vehicle for change from within sometimes stagnant and traditionally conservative institutions.

CHAPTER THREE

The War Battle Hymn

While the “Battle Hymn” is founded in the United States religious tradition, it has been critically shaped and forged through interplay with the American military. War stands at the heart of the formation and circulation of the “Battle Hymn” over the years. The violent conflicts of American history fueled rewrite and parody of lyrics to constantly contemporize the song to the conflict at hand. As different wars shifted the enemy identity from one group to the next, the rhetorical construction of how Americans as a whole and the United States soldiers in particular situated themselves within the conflict change.

This chapter analyzes the circulation and variations of the “Battle Hymn” as it intersects with the war history of the United States. Starting with the Union troop’s use of “John Brown’s Body” as their signature marching tune, Julia Ward Howe’s rewriting of the tune into the “Battle Hymn” formed the song as we largely know it today. Even during the Civil War, parodies of both “John Brown’s Body” and the “Battle Hymn” began popping up --namely “Brave McClellan is our Leader Now” and “War Song of the Blenker Division.” In the Philippine-American War, Mark Twain’s parody “Battle Hymn of the Republic brought down to date” protested the imperialist bent in American foreign policy at the turn of the century. In World War I, the troop entertainment song performed by Elsie Janis “All We Do is Sign the Payroll” elevates the significance of the soldier’s service during the Great War. During World War II, “Blood on the Risers” confronted the fear of death for paratroopers. In the Korean War, “Air Corps Lament” mourned the

implementation of regulations restricting the free flight of Air Force pilots. From the Vietnam War, the “Battle Hymn of Lt. Calley” protested scapegoating of one officer in the face of an increasingly unpopular war, offering an alternative and increasingly patriotic narrative.

Each of these parodies/rewrites is unique and offers a different perspective of the military critic expressing approval, disapproval, or mockery of the circumstances. The violence, fear, and uncertainty inherent to war is confronted in some capacity by the song, inviting unified community sentiment, whether that be a sentiment of support for the war, soldier opposition to their presence in the region, rejection of justification for the use of military force, or something else entirely. This invitation to identification as a group helps combat the sense of helplessness brought on by war. By using a song with religious roots that is intertwined with national identity, the rewriting and parody of the “Battle Hymn” further couples the song with civil duty and nationalist pride particularly when faced with narratives of violent threat to the nation or national ideals.

War Culture and Music

Much has been said about the function of war rhetoric in shaping national identity. Primary to the exercise of war is the role of fear both in starting conflicts and as the measure of success or failure as the war persists. Robert Ivie characterizes war as “an expression of fear, misgiving, and self-doubt, and not so much a manifestation of self-assurance or demonstration of confidence in the nation’s cause, promise, and prospect.”¹ War, then, creates a culture of war distinct from political culture in which fear and self-

¹ Robert Ivie, “Fighting Terror by Rite of Redemption and Reconciliation” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 10 (2007):240.

doubt play a vital role. In turn, war culture then reflects these fears and doubts by elevating the violence being inflicted “and imagin[ing] that such aggression is the condition of national belonging.”² Understanding and participating in war culture is an integral part of national identity that has to be balanced with the consequences of war-- “the ruin of body, mind and spirit.”³ By engaging in war culture, we balance between insulating from the harsh realities of war and cutting ourselves off entirely from reacting to the conditions war creates.

Music is a vehicle for political participation, including interaction with the condition of national belonging created by the violence of war culture. As John Street argues, music helps move beyond talk as the only means of political participation to include music as a legitimate voice and emotional expression, reacting to events and conditions like war to participate in the larger discussion of war culture.⁴ The Civil War in particular catapulted music to a new level of cultural significance as a way for Americans to respond to the war as it evolved.⁵ While earlier American wars certainly featured marching tunes for the military and popular songs surrounding the war, the Civil War was the first time in American history that songs influenced soldiers, civilians,

² Franny Nudelman, *John Brown's Body: Slavery, Violence, & the Culture of War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 2.

³ Nudelman, *John Brown's Body*, 2.

⁴ John Street, *Music & Politics*. (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2012), 62-74.

⁵ Christian McWhirter, *Battle Hymns: The Power and Popularity of Music in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 1, 12-26.

slaves and politicians in how they conceptualized the war and their place within the changing narratives.⁶

The Civil War

To succeed as a popular Civil War song, a catchy tune with a good marching rhythm was vital, as well as lyrics (emphasis on verses over chorus) that resonated emotionally with the audience.⁷ Of the thousands of songs that came out of the Civil War, “Dixie” and the “Battle Hymn” sustained the greatest popularity after the end of the war-- each representative of their own respective armies. While the Confederate soldiers adopted “Dixie” as their anthem, the Union took up “John Brown’s Body” as their hallmark marching song. The earlier iteration that would inspire Julia Ward Howe to write the “Battle Hymn” later in the war was a product of the military and popularized by the Union soldiers as the war spread. Responding in part to the success or failure of their “side” of the war, “as Americans experienced the exhilaration and despondency of battles won and lost along with the inevitable vicissitudes of morale, they grafted layers of emotional and intellectual meaning onto their favorite songs” by rewriting the words to reflect their wartime experiences.⁸ For the Union, “John Brown’s Body” sparked other variations: “Marching Song of the First of Arkansas,” “Brave McClellan is our Leader Now” and “War Song of the Blenker Division.” Each of these songs took the common melody and theme of “John Brown’s Body” and altered it to tell their own experiences interacting with the war.

⁶ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 1.

⁷ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 18.

⁸ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 3.

For the soldiers themselves, songs functioned emotionally, physically, and intellectually to create and reinforce the war culture. Emotionally, music could inspire soldiers “to acts of bravery but also reduced them to tears”--at times creating an effect similar to intoxication.⁹ Physically, the rhythm kept soldiers’ bodies marching in unison--an experience in uniform expression through synchronic movement repeated over hours and hours of marching. Intellectually, the songs reinforced and/or modified ideologies central to each side’s culture, or describe events, prominent people, or the conditions of life as a soldier.¹⁰ Soldiers would continue to use songs to fulfill these functions to cope with war culture far beyond the Civil War, but the war between the North and South set the trend in motion.

John Brown’s Body to the Battle Hymn of the Republic

Within this framework of Civil War music entered the song “John Brown’s Body.” Evolving out of “Say Brothers,” “John Brown’s Body” was purely military in origin. Written by the Massachusetts 2nd and spread through the Union troops with the start of the Civil War, it became the signature marching song of the Northern military. The lyrical analysis of “John Brown’s Body” and its influence on the Union military ideology will be examined in Chapter Four as part of the discussion of John Brown’s legacy and the evolving discussion on race in America. For the purposes of this chapter, we will pick up with the “Battle Hymn” as it evolves from “John Brown’s Body” during the second year of the Civil War.

⁹ McWhirter. *Battle Hymns*. 19.

¹⁰ McWhirter. *Battle Hymns*. 18-19.

By late 1861, “John Brown’s Body” was the accepted marching song of the Union infantry. On November 8th of that year, Julia Ward Howe joined Governor John Andrews, his wife, and Reverend James Freeman Clarke to review the Union troops in Bailey’s Crossroads, Virginia. To pass the time during the review, the soldiers and observers joined to sing popular songs of the day, including “John Brown’s Body.” According to Howe’s journals, Clarke suggested to Howe that she should “write some good words for that stirring tune,” to which she responded that she had considered doing so but had not found the right inspiration yet.¹¹ That night, she awoke in the middle of the night as the words to the poem “twine[d] themselves in [her] mind.” She wrote them down on a nearby piece of paper before returning to sleep.¹² Though there is some mythology around the sudden inspiration as a message from God, the reality was that such midnight inspirations were not uncommon for Howe, who often wrote while awake in the middle of the night to tend to one of her six children.¹³

Howe’s song, then in poem form, was published as the cover of *Atlantic Monthly* in February 1862--a venue with which she had a long history of publication.¹⁴ While “John Brown’s Body,” enjoyed huge popularity among Northern military and civilians alike, Howe’s “Battle Hymn” began circulating as sheet music to the melody “Glory,

¹¹ Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901) 270-272.

¹² Howe, *Reminiscences*, 272.

¹³ John Stauffer and Benjamin Soskis, *The Battle Hymn of the Republic: A Biography of the Song that Marches On* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), 83-84.

¹⁴ “Battle Hymn of the Republic” *Atlantic Monthly*, February 1862, Vol. 9, No. 52. See also Deborah Pickman Clifford, *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Biography of Julia Ward Howe* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1978), 127-128.

Hallelujah”--erasing direct reference to John Brown.¹⁵ For much of the war, the “Battle Hymn” remained simply another variation on “John Brown’s Body,” along with tens of others. The song was most prominently championed by the “Singing Chaplain” C. C. McCabe of the 122nd Ohio who was sent to Libby Prison in Richmond upon his capture by the Confederates. Upon his release from prison at the end of 1863, McCabe began touring for the North for Christian Commission fundraisers where he told the tale of the prisoners’ reception of the news of Gettysburg and their performance of the “Battle Hymn” in response to the news of the battle. McCabe ended his speech by singing Howe’s song, a rendition that began attracting spectators just to hear him sing the song and that gave it wider recognition.¹⁶ While the lyrics were too complex to be adopted by the rank and file military, the “Battle Hymn” was largely accepted and remembered as a prevalent song of the Union military by the Battle of Appomattox in the spring of 1865.

Brave McClellan is our Leader Now

On July 21, 1861, George B. McClellan was summoned to Washington D.C. after an apparent victory at Bull Run. Lincoln installed McClellan as the commander of the Military Division of the Potomac, making him responsible for the defense of the capitol. McClellan acted quickly to reorganize the military units under his command into the Army of the Potomac--boosting morale and inspiring much confidence in his men.¹⁷

¹⁵ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 48.

¹⁶ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 49-50. See also Stauffer and Soskis, *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*, 92-93.

¹⁷ Ethan S. Rafuse, *McClellan’s War: The Failure of Moderation in the Struggle for the Union* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005), 50-66.

When General Winfield Scott retired in November of 1861, McClellan followed him as general-in-chief of the Union armies and army commander for a brief time.¹⁸

To celebrate his installation as commander of the Army of the Potomac, numerous songs were written or reinvented in his honor. While McClellan did not enjoy a pleasant relationship with Lincoln and many Washington politicians, he remained quite popular with his men even when removed from command.¹⁹ Among the songs celebrating McClellan's new posts was a rewrite of "John Brown's Body," titled "Brave McClellan is our Leader Now."

Brave McClellan is our Leader now,
Brave McClellan is our Leader now,
Brave McClellan is our Leader now,
With him we're marching on!

Chorus:
Glory, Glory Hallelujah!
Glory, Glory Hallelujah!
Glory, Glory Hallelujah!
With him we're marching on!

We are bound for Dixie's Land, my boys,
We are bound for Dixie's Land, my boys,
Firmly by our Flag we'll stand my boys,
For we are marching on!

We have had our last retreat, my boys,
We have had our last retreat, my boys,
Northern pluck is hard to beat, my boys,
McClellan's marching on!

We have heard his words so firm and true,
We have heard his words so firm and true:
"If you stand by me, I'll stand by you,
While we are marching on!"

¹⁸ See Stephen W. Sears, *George B. McClellan: The Young Napoleon* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1999), 125-146.

¹⁹ Rafuse, *McClellan's War*, 334-336.

Abra'm's looking with a smile, my boys,
Abra'm's looking with a smile, my boys,
He is thinking, all the while, my boys,
How firm we're marching on!

We are going into Dixie's Land,
We are going into Dixie's Land,
Crushing treason with a dauntless hand,
While we are marching on!

Johnny Bull is showing fight, my boys,
Johnny Bull is showing fight, my boys,
Let him come, we'll set him right, my boys,
McClellan's marching on!

Soon our Flag shall float o'er land and sea,
Soon our Flag shall float o'er land and sea,
Emblem of a Nation's Liberty,
While she is marching on!

Now three cheers for Uncle Sam, my boys,
Now three cheers for Uncle Sam, my boys,
Now three cheers for Uncle Sam, my boys,
The Union's marching on!²⁰

Their rewrite of “John Brown’s Body” exudes the optimism characterizing the Union troops early in the war. Starting with a celebration of McClellan’s new appointment, the commander is characterized as brave and supported by the men who march with him. The second verse puts action behind their support, articulating their optimism for marching through Dixieland in support of their flag--a metonym for the united country, the Union, and the army as a whole. Optimism continues through the third and fourth verses, declaring the Union will never be defeated again because of McClellan’s command and his faith in his men, expressed by his declaration to the troops

²⁰ “Brave McClellan is our Leader No, or Glory hallelujah and John Brown’s Song” arr. by Augustus Cull (New York, NY: Horace Waters, 1868).
<http://blogs.loc.gov/music/2011/08/sheet-music-of-the-week-brave-mcclellan-is-our-leader-now/>

“if you stand by me, I’ll stand by you.” Their confidence in McClellan was further boosted by Lincoln’s appointment of their new commander--the “Abra’m” who looks on with a smile--and further supported by the army’s backing of Uncle Sam, whom they cheer for in the final verse. Despite the potential international support for the Confederacy (as represented by Johnny Bull), the inevitable victory of the Union will quickly set right any possibility of foreign support for the Southern rebels.²¹ The Union soldiers had something to prove to the British who looked on with interest and showed no indication of doubt that they might lose the war.

Their confidence boosted, the “northern pluck” and faith in their new commander set high hope for “crushing treason with a dauntless hand” at the start of what would become a long war. “Brave McClellan is our Leader Now” displays the confidence Union troops had in their military commander, their country, and the assurance of victory from the early days of the Civil War. The continued inclusion of the “glory, glory hallelujah” chorus connects the parody with the religious implications of the song as well as the righteous justice of John Brown that was supported more widely by the Union army through the use of “John Brown’s Body.”

²¹ The British were in a tough spot in picking sides in the American Civil War. Having abolished slavery in 1783 and ended the Slave Trade in 1807, they did not support the slavery aspects of the Confederacy. However, they relied heavily on southern states to supply them with cotton for their own citizens. The Johnny Bull figure referenced in the song originated in John Arbuthnot’s *The History of John Bull*. A cartoon figure widely used during the middle and late nineteenth century, John Bull is the British version of Uncle Sam--a popular culture referential figure used to stand in for the British government, United Kingdom foreign policy, and British interference in the United States through the nineteenth and early twentieth century. See “John Bull and Uncle Sam: Four Centuries of British-American Relations” Library of Congress. <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/british/britintr.html> Accessed January 31, 2015.

While McClellan quickly became a disappointing military appointment by refusing to use the army offensively, he remained popular with the troops he inspired even when removed from command.²² The Army of the Potomac's rewrite failed to catch on through the rest of the Union army, partially due to the short and unsuccessful leadership of McClellan. No other leader of the Union army inspired a parody of "John Brown's Body" through the remainder of the Civil War, but others wrote versions of their own accomplishments in battle.

War Song of the Blenker Division

One portion of the Army of the Potomac was a division composed entirely of recent immigrants to the United States after the European revolutions in the late 1840s. Most were German soldiers, though there were also Italians, Poles, Hungarians, and some others, hailing largely from New York regiments. Under the command of Brigadier General Louis Blenker, the division was simultaneously valued for their European military experience and discriminated against for their foreign accents and uniforms.²³

Many of Blenker's soldiers (and Blenker himself) fled Germany after the German revolutions of 1848 and immigrated to the Northern United States. Referred to as "Forty-Eighters," most were recruited by Blenker from New York as experienced military men who fought in the German revolutions for the unification of the German people,

²² See Stephen W. Sears, *George B. McClellan: The Young Napoleon* (New York, NY: Ticknor & Fields, 1988)

²³ David G. Martin, *Jackson's Valley Campaign: November 1861 - June 1862*. (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 1994), 76-77.

democratic government, and government guarantees of human rights.²⁴ When the revolutions failed, many started new lives abroad in the United States, England, and Australia as educated, politically engaged, and militarily experienced individuals. Some of those who moved to the United States were taken with the Union cause at the start of the Civil War and enlisted, still wearing their German uniforms over the Union.²⁵ From a manpower perspective, the Blenker division was an experienced force that could provide additional support at the beginning of the war. As immigrants though, they were mistrusted and faced discrimination similar to that of the African American soldiers later in the Civil War. Due to the distrust of the foreign Union soldiers, in the spring of 1862, the Blenker division (also known as the Forty-Eighters) was sent to the mountains of western Virginia where there was a higher population of German-Americans who were less hostile to the foreign soldiers and where they could reinforce Major General John C. Fremont.²⁶ In the transition between divisions, Blenker's troops were not provided with provision for their journey, forcing them to forage and pillage for the better part of three months. By the time they reached Fremont, "Blenker's men were...in such bad shape they were unable to function at anything near full capacity during the upcoming campaign" and did not return to battle until June.²⁷ They fought some of the deadliest battles of the Civil War: defeated at Second Bull Run, many died at the Battle of Gettysburg before

²⁴ Frank Moore. *Heroes and Martyrs: Notable Men of the Time. Biographical Sketches of the Military and Naval Heroes, Statesmen and Orators Distinguished in the American Crisis of 1861-62.* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1862), 63-65.

²⁵ Moore, *Heroes and Martyrs*, 65.

²⁶ Moore, *Heroes and Martyrs*, 66-67.

²⁷ Martin, *Jackson's Valley Campaign*, 77.

being sent to South Carolina to assist in the siege of Charleston--losing nearly all of their 10,000 men over the course of the war.²⁸

Merging their identification as Germans and American soldiers, the Blenker division wrote their own version of “John Brown’s Body” in German to sing as they marched with the Union army as a sign of solidarity. Though the other Union soldiers may not have understood the words they sang in German, they understood the solidarity expressed by adopting the signature song and the appropriation of the “Forty-Eighters” through their rewriting and performance of the “War Song of the Blenker Division.”

We are Germans and we're fighting
For the Freedom of the Union
True in faith for the Union
As we were in "48",
Yankee-Doodle on our lips
And justice is our reward
For the banner of the Union!

Chorus:

Rally for Lincoln and for Liberty
Rally for Lincoln and for Liberty
Rally for Lincoln and for Liberty
For the Banner of the Union!

Whether with Blenker or with Küster
Doesn't matter to our flag
We are marching to the South
Toppling the tyrants' kingdom.
If the enemy, mischievously,
does afflict us a defeat,
Our flag will never retreat!

²⁸ Martin, *Jackson's Valley Campaign*, 70, 77.

Once we fought against dukes
and feudal tyranny
Now we rally against foes
Whose war will separate the land
The rebels don't care
About our cause
Therefore sounds our battle-cry:

Look at the long blue line
Hear the drums a-sounding
From near and from the distance
Proudly bugles call
We are marching to the South
And every man knows
Our enemy cannot win!²⁹

Since the song was performed in German, the meter and rhyme do not translate smoothly to English. Nevertheless, the sentiment expressed in the lyrics parallels those displayed in “John Brown’s Body” and the various Civil War parodies, including the “Battle Hymn” and “Brave McClellan is our Leader Now,” showing the Forty-Eighters understood the cause for which they fought and could successfully contextualized the Civil War with their earlier struggles in Germany.

The first verse asserts the goals of the Germans themselves who choose to fight for the Union. As they did in 1848, so they still fight for the freedom of the Union with patriotic intentions and seeking no reward but justice. Connecting their present experience of fighting for freedom through the Union to their defeat in the German revolutions places their unfulfilled drive for justice behind the reunification of the United States. Though they may have lost in Germany, starting over in America only to be faced

²⁹ Brent Hugh, “Texts Sung to the Tune of “Battle Hymn of the Republic” and “John Brown’s Body”” <http://brenthugh.com/piano/john-brown2.html>. Accessed February 3, 2015. Translation of “Kriegslied der Division Blenker” provided by Geschichtstheatergesellschaft “1848” - a German Living History Society study of the role of the “Forty-Eighters” in the American Civil War.

with similar fights for freedom and democracy gives the Forty-Eighters another chance to uphold their values through military victory.

The chorus disregards the traditional “glory, glory hallelujah” in favor of lyrics tailored to their experiences. Where “glory, glory hallelujah” praises God and aligns the military with a divine plan, the Blenker Division instead aligns itself with Lincoln and trusts in the president’s divine plan for Liberty. Further ingratiating themselves with the Union military and the causes for which they fight, by adjusting the chorus to reference the president and the Union banner, the Blenker Division analogizes faith in God with faith in Lincoln, for it is in him that they trust. As a whole, the Blenker Division’s song is notably secular, making no reference to God or divine plan. The usage of the melody and patterning though, when translated or sung in context, imagines Lincoln as God on earth and executor of His “divine” plan. This elevation of Lincoln to a holy figure recenters the fight for freedom in America and further aligns the Confederacy as perpetrators of evil and injustice.

The rest of the song clarifies loyalties and goals, noting that their allegiance is not to their immediate German commander (Blenker or Küster) but to the United States flag. Marching against the South to oppose the tyranny and rebellion is what matters to the Blenker division. Referring to the South as “tyrants’ kingdom” simultaneously connects it back to the German revolutions and subverts any justifiable reason for secession. As they once fought against royalty and “feudal tyranny,” so they now fight against similarly biased systems of slavery and elitism based in the South. Rhetorically, the Blenker Division aligns itself with the Union under the cause of opposing the same sort of

problems they opposed in Germany. Their allegiance, then, is determined by continuing the fight against tyranny itself--not just in opposing the Confederacy.

All of the “John Brown’s Body” variations to come out of the Civil War solidify the melody and political tonality of the song as an important facet to American identity formation. “John Brown’s Body’s” connection to the Union army cements the song as an articulation of patriotic allegiance in a time of national disunity. The subsequent success of the “Battle Hymn” as a patriotic hymn is determined in part from its connection to the Union identity formation and the Union’s victory in the war. Rewrites of “Dixie” certainly existed in the South but none thrived quite as readily, in part because of the fall of the Confederacy and subsequent suppression of the ideals advocated by the uprising. During the Civil War, we see the prevalence of “John Brown’s Body’s” ideals upheld by the very act of parody--in using the song as a point of divergence on which to build new ideas, the original song (“John Brown’s Body”) is reinforced as an accepted piece of the dominant ideology. That piece of patriotism is expanded upon to include support for a new commander or inclusion of German immigrant soldiers in the Union army through invocation of the same thematic elements that allow identification and acceptance of changing circumstances.

The Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars

As the Civil War ended, “John Brown’s Body” began to fade from the popularity it enjoyed during the conflict, in part overtaken by its more popular rewrite in the “Battle Hymn.” The Spanish-American War and subsequent Philippine-American War helped further the transition away from the still controversial memory of John Brown and toward a more palatable and patriotic “Battle Hymn.”

In 1895, the Cuban colonists rebelled against Spanish rule. The Spanish responded to the rebellion by creating concentration camps for farmers and laborers and decimating the land to starve out the rebels, creating an international outcry for humanitarian intervention. For the United States, European colonial powers in the Western Hemisphere were not entirely attractive to a still young nation. Coupled with humanitarian crisis and the geographic proximity of Cuba to the United States, tensions between Spain and the United States rose significantly over the course of three years, culminating in President William McKinley dispatching the *Maine* battleship to Havana Harbor to protect Americans living on the island.³⁰ When the *Maine* exploded and sank “under mysterious circumstances on February 15, 1898, U.S. military intervention in Cuba became likely.”³¹ By the end of April, President McKinley had received congressional authorization to use any military force he felt necessary to secure independence for Cuba. Immediately after passing a resolution authorizing force in Cuba, fifty House representatives gathered in the congressional lobby to sing the “Battle Hymn,” followed by ex-Confederate congressmen raising a chorus of “Dixie;” then both Northern and Southern representatives joined to sing a variation of “John Brown’s Body” that publicly exorcised “the ghost of John Brown through a gesture of sectional amity, as America’s latest arch-fiend took Jefferson Davis’s place in the noose.”³²

³⁰ “The Spanish-American War, 1898” Office of the Historian, United States Department of State. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/spanish-american-war>. Accessed February 5, 2015. See also Stauffer and Soskis, “The Battle Hymn” 127-132.

³¹ “The Spanish-American War” Office of the Historian.

³² Stauffer and Soskis, “Battle Hymn” 129.

A “splendid little war,” as future Secretary of State John Hay characterized it, resulted in a decided victory for the Americans’ intervention.³³ On August 12th, a cease-fire was signed, followed by the United States and Spanish governments signing the Treaty of Paris on December 10th. The treaty not only gave Cuba independence, but also forfeited Guam and Puerto Rico to the United States and sold the Philippines for \$20 million. McKinley also used the war as a pretext for the annexation of Hawaii as a strategic base for the growing United States’ interest in Asia. The islands were made a United States’ territory August 12th, 1898. Two days before the U.S. Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris, fighting between American troops and Filipino nationalists broke out in the Philippines when it became clear the United States did not intend to grant them the same independence that had just been won for Cuba. Rather than changing colonial rulers, Filipino nationalists under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo sought their own independence from the United States. The conflict quickly turned violent, resulting in the Philippine-American War from 1899-1902, 4,200 American casualties, 20,000 Filipino combatant deaths, and as many as 200,000 Filipino citizen deaths from violence, famine, and disease during the conflict.³⁴

Domestic support for the Philippine-American War was mixed. Pro-imperialists advocated keeping the Philippines as a strategic foothold in the burgeoning Asian economy and as a source of cheap labor moving forward. Imperialists also used the

³³ “The Spanish-American War” Office of the Historian.

³⁴ “The Philippine-American War, 1899-1902” Office of the Historian. U.S. Department of State. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1899-1913/war>. Accessed February 6, 2015. For the American treatment of Filipinos during the war, see Marouf Hasian, Jr. “The Philippine-American War and the American Debates about the Necessity and Legality of the ‘Water Cure,’ 1901-1903,” *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication* 5 (2012): 106-123.

familiar Christianization and civilizing the savages' arguments that so often had been used to justify imperialism for ages.³⁵ Those opposing the annexation of the Philippines, designating themselves the American Anti-Imperialist League, believed imperialism fundamentally conflicted with the republican governmental notion of "consent of the governed" that is foundational to the United States government. Supported by notable persons such as William Jennings Bryan, Andrew Carnegie, Grover Cleveland, and Mark Twain, the Anti-Imperialist League produced and published pamphlets, broadsides, and newspaper pieces that drew attention to the contradictions between foundational elements of American democratic government and the increasingly imperialist American activities.³⁶

Of these anti-imperialist writings, Twain in particular took up the mantle of writing satirical essays and pamphlets denouncing the hypocrisy of imperialism in America.³⁷ Most of these writings were published during his life, but one notable parody was not widely circulated until after his death. His rewriting of the "Battle Hymn" -- Retitled "Battle Hymn of the Republic Brought Down to Date"-- presents another take on his opposition to imperialism that is consistent with his publications during his lifetime. It has been speculated by Twain scholars that he chose not to publish his parody out of

³⁵ See Jeff D. Bass. "The Pervasion of Empire: Edmund Burke and the Nature of Imperial Responsibility" *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 81 (1995): 208-228 and Jeff D. Bass and Richard A. Cherwitz, "Imperial Mission and Manifest Destiny: A Case Study of Political Myth in Rhetorical Discourse" *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 43 (1978): 213-232.

³⁶ See Robert L. Beisner, *Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists, 1898-1900* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1968).

³⁷ Mark Twain, *Mark Twain's Weapons of Satire: Anti-imperialist Writings on the Philippine-American War*, ed. Jim Zwick (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1992).

deference for his friendship with Howe, for Twain was a “devout admirer” of the “Battle Hymn” through much of his life.³⁸

Battle Hymn of the Republic (Brought Down to Date)

Mine eyes have seen the orgy of the launching of the Sword;
he is searching out the hoardings where the stranger’s wealth is stored;
he hath loosed his fateful lightnings, and with woe and death has scored,
His lust is marching on.

I have seen him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps,
They have builded him an altar in the Eastern dews and damps;
I have read his doomful mission by the dim and flaring lamps--
His night is marching on.

I have read his bandit gospel writ in burnished rows of steel:
“As you deal with my pretensions, so with you my wrath shall deal;
Let the faithless son of Freedom crush the patriot with his heel;
Lo, Greed is marching on!”

We have legalized the strumpet and are guarding her retreat;
Greed is seeking out commercial souls before his judgment seat;
O, be swift, ye clods, to answer him! be jubilant my feet!
Our god is marching on!

In a sordid slime harmonious, Greed was born in yonder ditch,
With a longing in his bosom--and for others’ goods an itch--
As Christ died to make men holy, let me die to make us rich--
Our god is marching on.

Twain’s rewrite takes the patriotism of the “Battle Hymn” and tribute to God as the source of blessing to position the United States as a pillaging dictator motivated solely by greed. The animalistic bloodlust Twain creates in the song by substituting bright and unequivocally negative words for the patriotic and religious tonality of Howe’s hymn situates the United States as a perpetuator of imperialist evil rather than a benevolent power. He starts by characterizing the Philippine-American War as an “orgy of the launching of the Sword” bringing “woe and death,” not for God, but for lust--one

³⁸ Stauffer and Soskis, “The Battle Hymn” 136.

of the seven deadly sins. Sin, then, is the motivation behind this imperialist ambition, and Greed their God. Twain leaves the pronoun “he” that originally refers to God as a divine actor behind the march to war, with the implication in Twain’s rewrite that the personification of imperialism in American political actors is the driving force behind the violence of the Philippine-American War.

Twain refocuses the song on the civil religion of economics, positioning the worship of greed and money as the “god” directing the military to action. The final verse points to this irony best--”As Christ died to make men holy, let me die to make us rich.” In this line, Twain discounts the arguments for imperialism as a way of civilizing, Christianizing, or elevating the Filipinos; instead he squarely points to greed and self-interest as the only real justification for going to war. The second verse talks of building an altar to greed in the East, calling it a “doomful mission” amidst the war imagery of the verse. These “pretensions” of spreading Christianity and civilizing the savages are not passive; Greed actively is “seeking out commercial souls before his judgment seat.” The use of “judgment seat” further points to how integral greed is to the justification for this war, as it has been elevated so high to be able to judge and direct legal and military action. Greed acts of its own accord through the political actors. Where other song parodies during war point to one person or a group of individuals as the source of power, Twain makes it more complicated and less contained by making greed--a deadly sin--pervasive and imaging it as spreading a sickness through the country as a whole.

That American greed for the Filipino industrial, commercial, and raw goods is being actively pursued under the guise of a just war is not only wrong, but harmful to the values on which America is built. Twain characterizes the war as a “doomful mission,”

created “in a sordid slime harmonious,” supported and sustained by a legalized “bandit gospel,” and enacted by the “faithless son of Freedom” who “crush[es] the patriot with his heel”--an allusion to the woman crushing the serpent in the garden of Eden.³⁹ This war, the imperialist actions of the United States government and those who support those actions, then, are not only bad in this particular instance of war, but are harmful to the United States as a whole by crushing what the United States should be standing for: that which is good, righteous, selflessly motivated, and does not come at the expense of others.

Perhaps Twain’s portrayal of the Philippine-American War in the “Battle Hymn, brought down to date” is a bit exaggerated, but his point is nonetheless clear: imperialism perpetuates greed, and greed will corrupt the United States. These kinds of arguments were the primary talking points of the Anti-Imperialist League. Though Twain and other Anti-Imperialists were often derided as idealist, those opposing the Philippine-American War succeeded in starting a conversation that questioned whether imperialism was supported by the founding ideals of the United States and if it was a moral good for the country to elevate itself at the expense of other nations.⁴⁰ The Philippines would eventually work their way toward independence from the United States on July 4, 1946, but the debate over America as an imperialist power would continue through much of the early 20th century.

³⁹ Genesis 3:15.

⁴⁰ Stephen Rendahl, “The Rhetoric of Imperialism: William Jennings Bryan and Theodore Roosevelt on the Philippine War,” *North Dakota Journal of Speech & Theatre* 12 (1999): 57-54. See also Robert Phillipson, “The Linguistic Imperialism of Neoliberal Empire,” *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies* 5 (2008): 1-43. Tony Smith, *The Patterns of Imperialism: The United States, Great Britain, and the Late-Industrializing World Since 1815* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

World War I

The “Battle Hymn” had little intersection with the United States involvement in World War I very little, in part due to the particular brand of patriotism advocated by Woodrow Wilson to delay U.S. involvement overseas. In the face of increasingly fractured identities (women, African Americans, immigrants, organized labor), Wilson insisted on a basic, fundamental unity that the nation as a whole stood for and embodied.⁴¹ As Jason Flanagan argues, this national unity shifts through Wilson’s rhetoric, first focusing on distance, friendship, and duty to maintain neutrality and keep the United States out of war initially, but then moving to a different moral plane as the United States became a defender of liberty obligated to intervene rather than eager to do so.⁴² As such, the prevailing sentiment was not one that celebrated war in a way similar to that expressed by the “Battle Hymn” lyrics. The reluctance to enter the Great War and some resentment of the treatment of soldiers during the war, as well as flagging morale faced by the troops overseas, comes out through parodies of songs celebrating war, as with the rewrite of the “Battle Hymn” titled “We Were Only Fooling.”

When we leave the Army we will all enlist again.
When we leave the Army we will all enlist again.
When we leave the Army we will all enlist again.
Like Hell! Like hell! Like hell!

⁴¹ Mary Stuckey. *Defining Americans* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 152.

⁴² Jason C. Flanagan, “Woodrow Wilson’s ‘Rhetorical Restructuring’: The Transformation of the American Self and the Construction of the German Enemy,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 7 (2004): 115-148.

Chorus:
We were only, only fooling.
We were only, only fooling.
We were only, only fooling.
like hell we were, like hell!

When we Leave Miami we will all sit down and cry.
When we Leave Miami we will all sit down and cry.
When we Leave Miami we will all sit down and cry.
Like hell! Like hell! Like hell!

Chorus:
All we do is sign the payroll.
All we do is sign the payroll.
All we do is sign the payroll,
But we never get a cent.⁴³

Clearly reflecting what Les Cleveland characterizes as the “reluctant warrior,” the use of ironic comedy “institutionalizes the doubts and fears of the reluctant warrior by allowing him a degree of furtive, ambiguous expression.”⁴⁴ The simple structure of the song juxtaposes the support for the army expressed in the opening line--“when we leave the Army we will all enlist again”--by turning it on its head in the final line with an ironic turn of “like hell!”--repeated and emphatically rejecting their willingness to voluntarily continue their military service. Presumably due to slights such as not being paid on time and being sent overseas, the idea of voluntarily re-enlisting is laughable to the soldiers. The use of “we” extends this resentment for their treatment to most of the soldiers, implying that resentment of their treatment and unwillingness to continue serving is a

⁴³ C. W. ‘Bill’ Getz, ed. *The Wild Blue Yonder: Songs of the Air Force*. Vol. 1. (San Mateo, CA: The Redwood Press, 1981), W - 6.

⁴⁴ Les Cleveland, *Dark Laughter: War in Song and Popular Culture* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 59.

common sentiment. In particular, the pilots stationed and training in Miami added their verse to underscore that they will not miss their service in Miami.⁴⁵

Several variations of this song exist in fragments written down throughout the war and used in different contexts. The payroll chorus was picked up as a particularly salient protest by civilians and the media, and used to advocate for better treatment of soldiers both during their service and after the war ended. The “sweetheart of the AEF,” Elise Janis, performed for the troops during the war to raise morale, doing her one-woman show that included impersonations, dancing, and songs--including leading the audience in familiar songs such as “All We Do Is Sign the Payroll,” sung in unison as part of the entertainment.⁴⁶ Incorporating the songs of the troops became part of the efforts of the entertainers charged with raising the low spirits as a point of identification and camaraderie for the soldiers as directed by the entertainers like Janis. Even feeling like they were miserable in the war together was better than the feelings of isolation and homesickness that plagued many of the troops in 1917 and 1918.⁴⁷

Years later, in an article titled “All He Didn’t Was Sign the Payroll,” John J. Noll references the song, saying:

The dignified “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” with its lilting “Glory, Glory, Hallelujah” refrain sort of took it on the chin when some master mind fitted to its melody the lyrics of the Payroll Song, but it’s one service song that will never be forgotten. Remember?--“All we do is sign the payroll,” followed by a recital of deadly deductions for allotments, Liberty Bonds, insurance, company funds and so on from our comparatively meager basic dollar-a-day pay. Civilians back home

⁴⁵ *The Wild Blue Yonder*, W - 6.

⁴⁶ Byron Farwell, *Over There: The United States in the Great War, 1917-1918* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company), 138.

⁴⁷ Jennifer D. Keene, *World War I* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press), 62.

who considered themselves martyrs to heatless and wheatless and sweetless days should have encountered some payless paydays!⁴⁸

Noll goes on to detail the poor treatment of A.E.F. forces even in the twenty years since Armistice Day as a continuation of the neglect of active service members and veterans throughout their service.⁴⁹ The dignity of the “Battle Hymn,” and with it the patriotic sentiment it represents, are discounted by such neglect for the service members who uphold, in large part, that militant patriotism. Noll argues that the protest in the Payroll Song should not be necessary because patriotic duty to the members of the military demands that we treat them better both during their service and after.⁵⁰ From their perspective, the civilians should sacrifice some for their national goals rather than further mistreating the soldiers who already have sacrificed so much. Though the magazine in which the article is published, *American Legion*, was published by A.E.F. veterans and circulated to the public to raise awareness for current and former military members, taking up an old familiar song as a point of identification and awakening memories of suffering to spark activism helps both veterans and the civilians interacting with these ideas advocate for change. The protest in the Payroll parody then succeeds, at least in part, by extending their protest for poor treatment and not being paid beyond the confines of military conversations and to the general public, presumably in the hopes of initiating change.

⁴⁸ John J. Noll, “All He Didn’t Was Sign the Payroll,” *The American Legion Magazine*, June 1938, 32.

⁴⁹ Noll, “All He Didn’t” 32.

⁵⁰ Noll, “All He Didn’t” 32.

World War II

Gallows humor became a key component to “Battle Hymn” parodies in World War II, particularly in juxtaposing the religious and patriotic devotion of the “Battle Hymn” with the harsh and bloody imagery that constructed the reality of a brutal war. The parody, “Blood on the Risers,” flourished in multiple variations throughout the military, all detailing the gory, bloody mortal elements that compose the harsh possibility of death for a soldier. Mocking their mortal reality by replacing the religious elements of the “Battle Hymn” with the grim death awaiting each soldier rhetorically shifts the conversation from fear of the unknown to mocking embrace of the inevitable and uncontrollable.

Unlike some of the other “Battle Hymn” parodies, this version tells a detailed narrative of failed paratrooper practice jumps. Parachutes were a recent introduction to the U.S. military at the start of World War II, making training accidents and failed jumps a reasonably common occurrence.⁵¹ The protagonist is an unnamed rookie soldier that could be anyone--his anonymity makes the song not about an isolated incident but something that could happen to any paratrooper without warning. But by participating in singing the song, they show they are not dead (for the dead cannot sing), and celebrating their escape from a death they are incapable of stopping. Referencing the protagonist as “hero” interjects irony to the uncontrollable situation.

Blood on the Risers (Gory, Gory)

He was just a rookie trooper, and he surely shook with fright
As he checked all his equipment, and made sure his pack was tight
He had to sit and listen to those awful engines roar,
“You ain’t gonna jump no more!”

⁵¹ See Carl Smith, *US Paratroopers 1941-45* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing Ltd., 2000), 1-10.

chorus:

Gory, Gory, what a helluva way to die,
Gory, Gory, what a helluva way to die,
Gory, Gory, what a helluva way to die,
He ain't gonna jump no more.

"Is everybody happy?" cried the sergeant, looking up,
Our hero feebly answered, "Yes!" and then they stood him up,
He leaped into the blast, his static line unhooked,
He ain't gonna jump no more!

He counted long, he counted loud, he waited for the shock,
He felt the wind, he felt the clouds, he felt the awful drop,
He jerked his cord, the silk spilled out and wrapped around his legs.
He ain't gonna jump no more!

The risers wrapped around his neck, connectors cracked his dome
The lines were snarled and tied in knots, around his skinny bones,
The canopy became his shroud, he hurtled to the ground,
He ain't gonna jump no more!

The ambulance was on the spot, the jeeps were running wild,
The medics jumped and screamed with glee,
They rolled their sleeves and smiled
For it had been a week or more since the last chute had failed
He ain't gonna jump no more!

He hit the ground, the sound was "SPLAT," the blood went spurting high,
His comrades then were heard to say "A Helluva way to die!";
He lay there rolling' round in the welter of his gore.
He ain't gonna jump no more!

There was blood upon the risers, there were brains upon the chute,
Intestines were a-dangling from his paratrooper's boots,
They picked him up still in his chute and poured him from his boots
He ain't gonna jump no more!

The lyrics focus on the particularly gruesome elements of the few moments between equipment malfunction and the death of the unnamed soldier. Verses four, six, seven, and eight detail the death from the pieces of equipment failure wrapping around the doomed soldier and breaking his bones to the impact of the body on the ground, to a description of the gory scene and the cleanup of the body. For a song sung by living

soldiers, it spends nearly half the song on the physical description of being torn to bits, fully fleshing out the process. Other parts of the song in between deal with the hypothetical last thoughts of the soldier when he realizes he is about to die--flashbacks to his childhood, his girlfriend and his comrades dealing with the aftermath of his death. The detail of this incidental death articulated in the song shows how frequently soldiers thought about their own mortality, running through the hypotheticals of what could happen if their equipment fails. Singing about that death, though, confronts that reality and brings it out into the open rather than hiding it as an unspoken fear. Participating in the conversation about potential death, rather than stewing individually, makes the potential death part of war culture experienced by the soldiers and lets the fear circulate among the soldiers as a part of shared war experience.

In similar ways, the song separates the harsh reality of death from religious ritual.⁵² Replacing the “Battle Hymn” chorus of “glory, glory hallelujah” with “gory, gory, what a helluva way to die” centers the soldiers’ death not as an act of God but as a routine part of military life. The mock celebration of God is replaced with a mocking enjoyment of the unpredictability of death even by something as minor and mundane as equipment malfunction. The death of the anonymous soldier is not mourned; instead, it is treated as a grim reality that they all have to come to terms with as part of their military life. Removing God as an agent in the paratrooper’s death separates any intentionality or divine plan from the death of soldiers, making it a random chance rather than something that is God’s will. By ending each verse with “He ain’t gonna jump no more!,” the soldiers anticipate the day when they will not have to jump anymore, celebrate their

⁵² Cleveland, *Dark Laughter*, 109.

ability to jump and live, and have some measure of control over their own fate amidst the warscape plagued with death. Mocking the uncontrollable death through song recovers some small amount of control by not allowing it to paralyze them with fear or determine their actions.⁵³

Though born out of World War II, “Blood Upon the Risers” would continue to be a popular song for many military personnel through the end of Vietnam.⁵⁴ The fear of death, particularly for the soldiers, never goes away. In order to cope with the fear of something over which they have no control, laughing in the face of death is as close as they can come to gaining some kind of grip on their possible fate. Within the structure of the patriotic hymn and the camaraderie of singing it together, the paratroopers stand united in controlled mockery of their own mortality.

Korean War

Other parodies, over time, protested the systemic and bureaucratic frustrations of soldiers who felt unnecessarily restrained by their own side. For the Korean War, the enforcement of a no-fly zone over Korea in World War II era planes led to many veteran U.S. pilots losing their lives.⁵⁵ Chinese pilots equipped with Soviet made MiG-15 fighters outmaneuvered the United Nations pilots, most of whom were flying old, war-torn

⁵³ Carol Burke, “Marching to Vietnam,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 102 (1989): 434.

⁵⁴ Jonathan R. Pieslak, “Sound Targets: Music and the War in Iraq,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 26 (2007): 133-134.

⁵⁵ Fred H. Allison, “Black Sheep in Korea: A Reflection of Mission Transformation” in *Coalition Air Warfare in the Korean War, 1950-1953*. ed. Jacob Neufeld and George M. Watson, Jr.(Andrews AFB, MD: Air Force Historical Foundation, 2005), 82-92.

bombers that survived World War II.⁵⁶ The American pilots who enjoyed great success during the World Wars suddenly found themselves facing constant defeat, due largely to the military's failure to equip them better while still expecting spectacular results. Until the North American Sabre (F-86) was introduced in 1953, the Korean War fought in the sky was dominated by the Soviet fighters.⁵⁷

Building off the tradition of military song variations, Korean War pilots composed the "Air Corps Lament" that narrated the lackluster performance of the Air Force under new flight regulations, honored the fallen pilots, and placed the blame for their death squarely on the heads of those who set them up for failure and wasted the experienced pilots' lives.

Air Corps Lament

Mine eyes have seen the days of men who ruled the fighting sky
With hearts that laughed at death and lived for nothing but to fly
But now those hearts are grounded and those days are long gone by
The force is shot to hell!

Chorus:

Glory flying regulations,
have them read at every station
crucify the man who breaks one
The force is shot to hell!

My bones have felt their pounding throb a hundred thousand strong
A mighty airborne legion sent to right the deadly wrong
But now it's only memory, it only lives in song
The force is shot to hell!

I have seen them in their T-bolts when their eyes were dancing flame
I've seen their screaming power dives that blasted Goering's name

⁵⁶ See Xiaoming Zhang, "China and the Air War in Korea, 1950-1953" *The Journal of Military History* 62 (1998): 335-370 and Wayne Thompson and Bernard C. Nalty, *Within Limits: The U.S. Air Force and the Korean War* (Wright-Patterson AFB, OH: Air Force History and Museums Program, 1996).

⁵⁷ Zhang, "China and the Air War," 349.

But now they fly like sissies and they hang their heads in shame
Their spirit's shot to hell!

They flew B-26's through a living hell of flak
And bloody, dying pilots gave their lives to bring them back
But now they all play ping pong in the operations shack
Their technique's gone to hell!

Yes, the lordly Flying Fortress and the Liberator too
Once wrote the doom of Germany with contrails in the blue
But now the skies are empty and our planes are wet with dew
And we can't fly for hell!

One day I buzzed an airfield with another happy chap
We flew a hot formation with his wingtip in my lap
But there's a new directive and we'll have no more of THAT!
Or you both will burn in Hell!

Hap Arnold built a fighting team that sang a fighting song
About the wild blue yonder in the days when men were strong
But now we're closely supervised for fear we may do wrong
The force is shot to hell!

Final chorus:
Glory! No more regulations!
Rip them down at every station!
Ground the guy that tries to make one!
And LET US FLY LIKE HELL!⁵⁸

Many variations of this song exist, substituting squadrons, planes, and World War II memories for the ones included in Getz's version as shown above. The sentiment, though, remains the same and the multiple variations speak to the prevalence of the contempt expressed in the song through the Korean War pilots. Aptly titled a lament, the song mourns the loss of the fighter pilot's glory days--juxtaposing a time when they "wrote the doom of Germany with contrails in the blue" as a "mighty airborne legion sent to right the deadly wrong" with their current predicament of grounded planes, veteran pilots forced to "fly like sissies" and "hang their heads in shame." The song bemoans the

⁵⁸ Getz, "The Wild Blue Yonder" A-8.

lack of proper equipment, noting the formerly superior B-26s used by the notorious Thunderbolts are “wet with dew” under the restrictions.⁵⁹ When they are allowed to fly, the planes are only shot down, leading to “bloody, dying pilots.” Even the survivors are suffering under stifling regulations. Their complains, in total, can be summed up by the last line of each verse: the force is shot to hell, their spirit’s shot to hell, their technique’s gone to hell, and we can’t fly for hell. The solution is also provided in these concluding lines: let us fly like hell, or you both will burn in hell.

The chorus is highly sarcastic, praising the flying regulations that have been publicized and strictly enforced to keep the pilots from aiding in winning the war. One version of the song leaves an optimistic ending chorus:

Glory, no more regulations,
Rip them down at every station.
Ground the guy that tries to make one,
And let us fly like hell!⁶⁰

The frustration from the chorus shifts from the tradition established in “Say Brothers” of using the chorus to praise, instead continuing the pessimism by turning the chorus into one that places blame. The regulations, and those that enforce them, are the enemy of the fighter pilots--not the Communists the war was being fought against. The verses and chorus internalize the conflict so that the soldiers are not concerned with the enemy of

⁵⁹ The Thunderbolts was the nickname for the 389th Air Force Squadron, part of the 366th Fighter Wing that flew combat in the European Theater of Operations in late-World War II. Charged with bombing German forces through France, Belgium, and Germany from March 1943 to the end of the war, the pilots enjoyed elite status in the military due to their superior performance and flying skill. See Nicholas A. Veronico, *Bloody Skies: U.S. Eighth Air Force Battle Damage in World War II* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2014.) xv, 1, 19-21. See also Jeffrey L. Ethell, *Air Command: Fighters and Bombers of World War II* (Osceola, WI: MBI Publishing, 1998).

⁶⁰ Getz, *The Wild Blue Yonder*, A-8.

war, but rather concerned with their own inability to aid in the war effort due to constraints placed upon them by the system. Without the right equipment and license to use their training and skills, they were of no use to anyone and just waiting to be shot down, signaling a return to the sentiment expressed in “Blood on the Risers” as a way to cope with unpreventable death.

Moreover, “Air Corps Lament” expresses the restricted agency of soldiers who are capable of preventing their death through use of their skills, but unable to do so because of their own bureaucratic structures. Paired together, “Air Corps Lament” and “Blood on the Risers” depict the helplessness and anonymity experienced by the individuals who compose and act out the larger battles and strategies that make up the war as a whole. They speak to the day-to-day experiences of the soldiers themselves interacting with the larger strategies and battles that will be remembered, even if the individual soldiers themselves are not. Singing together to voice their war stories and grievances through variations of well-known songs allows the chance of impacting the dominant narrative that largely determines how the war will be remembered.

Vietnam War

Rewrites of the “Battle Hymn” were also used by civilian and popular media to make arguments about soldiers during the war. Protest songs were rampant during the Vietnam War, in large part due to divided public opinion over the purpose and ethics of U.S. involvement in Vietnam.⁶¹ While most of the songs we remember today were against the war, some songs countered the protest narrative of popular music by

⁶¹ George W. Chilcoat, “Popular Music Goes to War: Songs About Vietnam,” *International Journal of Instructional Media* 19 (1992): 171-182.

reframing narrative structures around controversial events to align patriotism and duty to the country with the actions of soldiers serving in the war. One such reframing, recorded by Terry Nelson and the C-Company, combines a rewrite of the “Battle Hymn” with spoken word narration to come to the defense of Lieutenant William Calley--a soldier convicted of massacring Vietnamese civilians in the My Lai Massacre on March 16, 1968. The song was written by Julian Wilson and James M. Smith, produced by the Plantation label, and released in March of 1971 as a single. The single sold over a million copies in the first four days and over two million copies total before being certified gold by the Recording Industry Association of America in April of 1971.⁶² On the radio, the “Battle Hymn of Lt. Calley” peaked at 37th on the U.S. Billboard Hot 100 for 1971--showing the song circulated among the public to present a compelling retelling of the events of the My Lai massacre as Calley’s trial was coming to a close in the spring of 1971.

On March 16th, 1968, the Charlie Company of the U.S. Army massacred the village of My Lai 4, killing men, women and children nearly indiscriminately. They had been charged with pressuring the Viet Cong in the Quang Ngai Province, specifically focusing on an area of the region the army referred to as “Pinkville” that included My Lai and the surrounding villages.⁶³ The Charlie Company was split into three platoons, one led by Lieutenant William Calley under the command of Captain Ernest Medina. The company came to Vietnam in December of 1967 and was forced to adjust to the new

⁶² Joseph Murrells, *The Book of Golden Discs*, 2nd edition (London: Barrie and Jenkins Ltd., 1978), 299.

⁶³ James S. Olson and Randy Roberts, *My Lai: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston, MA: Bedford Books, 1998), 3.

landscape, including guerilla-style attacks by the Viet Cong and the struggle to distinguish civilians from enemies in a foreign land.⁶⁴ The soldiers' reports of enemy deaths often did not distinguish between civilian and enemy casualties, inspiring the men to joke "Anything that's dead and isn't white is a VC."⁶⁵ Leading up to the My Lai Massacre, the company had faced increased contact with mines and booby traps, many of which were placed by women and children, and careless behavior when under attack that resulted in increasing casualties in the company. Paranoia of constantly being potentially attacked inspired harsh violence within the men of Charlie Company--at least two members began assaulting and abusing Vietnamese women they encountered, and the men generally chose to shoot anyone rather than face the possibility they could aid the Viet Cong.⁶⁶ By the middle of March 1968, "many in the company had given in to an easy pattern of violence"--beating and murdering civilians, burning villages, poisoning wells, raping women, and stealing anything they coveted.⁶⁷

On March 15th, Charlie Company held a brief funeral service for a popular soldier killed by a booby trap. Following the service, Captain Medina discussed the following morning's mission: a search and destroy mission on the village of My Lai.⁶⁸ The plan was that by 7 a.m. the women and children should have left the village for the market in Quang Ngai City, leaving only Viet Cong left within the hamlet. Accounts

⁶⁴ Seymour M. Hersh, "My Lai 4: a Report on the Massacre and its Aftermath," *Harper's Magazine*, May 1970, 56-58.

⁶⁵ Hersh, "My Lai 4," 56.

⁶⁶ Hersh, "My Lai 4," 60-62.

⁶⁷ Hersh, "My Lai 4," 58.

⁶⁸ Hersh, "My Lai 4," 62.

differ as to what Medina's exact orders were: some thought the captain "had ordered them to kill every person in the hamlet" while others interpreted his statements as routine search-and-destroy mission that was a bit more emotional than usual due to the funeral.

Calley, however, recalled the following exchange in the meeting:

"We musn't let anyone get behind us," Medina said, as I remember it. "Alpha and Bravo got messed up because they let the VC get behind them. And took heavy casualties and lost their momentum, and it was their downfall. Our job," Medina said, "is to go in rapidly and to neutralize everything. To kill everything."
Captain Medina? Do you mean women and children, too?
"I mean everything."⁶⁹

When the raid occurred the next day, the men of Charlie Company, by most accounts led and encouraged by Lt. Calley, rounded up and shot everyone they encountered in the village: men, women and children indiscriminately. Over the course of five hours, "babies were bayoneted, teenage girls were raped and forced to their knees to perform sexual acts before being mutilated and killed - [as they] watched parents and grandparents were summarily shot as they begged for mercy."⁷⁰ There were no civilian prisoners taken that day. Buildings in the village were torn down and burned to the ground, the well for the village poisoned, all while the few Viet Cong that stayed near the village hid safely at a distance and watched the carnage.⁷¹ By the end of the morning, the military reported 347 Viet Cong dead (all civilian casualties).⁷² Some estimates made

⁶⁹ John Sack, *Lieutenant Calley: His Own Story* (New York: The Viking Press, 1971), 89.

⁷⁰ "Found: The Monster of the My Lai Massacre," *The Daily Mail*. October 6, 2007. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-485983/Found-The-monster-My-Lai-masacre.html#ixzz3S7pcBiWK> accessed February 15, 2015.

⁷¹ Hersh, "My Lai 4," 65.

⁷² Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975), 103.

during the investigation place the body count closer to 500.⁷³ At no point during the three hour massacre were the American soldiers under fire, nor did they encounter any hostile military forces at any point on March 16th.⁷⁴

The events in My Lai did not become public knowledge until November 12, 1969, when journalist Seymour Hersh broke the story, aided by army photographer Sergeant Ron Haeberle's photographs of the massacre that were published in Life magazine.⁷⁵ Of the 22 members of Charlie Company tried for war crimes stemming from their part in the My Lai massacre, only Lt. Calley was convicted and sentenced for killing "no less than 22 Vietnamese civilians of undetermined age and sex and assault with intent to murder one Vietnamese child."⁷⁶ Calley's defense centered on his claim that he was simply following Medina's orders.⁷⁷ On March 29, 1971 Calley was sentenced to life in prison. President Richard Nixon decided two days later to have him released from Fort Benning to serve out his sentence under house arrest. In sum, he would serve three and a half years of his sentence before being released.

⁷³ "Murder in the Name of War - My Lai" BBC News. March 16, 1998. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/64344.stm>. (Accessed February 21, 2015.)

⁷⁴ Hersh, "My Lai 4," 67.

⁷⁵ Hersh, "My Lai 4" and "American Atrocity: Remembering My Lai," *Life* magazine. December 5, 1969. <http://life.time.com/history/my-lai-remembering-an-american-atrocity-in-vietnam-march-1968/#1>. Accessed February 10, 2015.

⁷⁶ Robert Mackey, "An Apology for My Lai, Four Decades Later," *New York Times*, August 24, 2009. [Http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/08/24/an-apology-for-my-lai-four-decades-later/](http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/08/24/an-apology-for-my-lai-four-decades-later/). (Accessed February 25, 2015).

⁷⁷ "Lt. William Calley, Witness for the Defense" transcript. *Testimony of William Calley*. http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/mylai/myl_Calltest.html. (Accessed February 21, 2015).

In response to the court martial of Calley, disc jockey Terry Nelson and an impromptu band recorded and promoted the "Battle Hymn of Lt. Calley," defending Calley as a patriotic war hero doing his duty rather than the criminal he was made out to be during the trial.

Battle Hymn of Lt. Calley

(Spoken) Once upon a time there was a little boy who wanted to grow up
And be a soldier and serve his country in whatever way he could
He would parade around the house with a sauce pan on his head
For a helmet, a wooden sword in one hand and the American flag in the other
As he grew up, he put away the things of a child but he never let go of the flag

(sung) My name is William Calley, I'm a soldier of this land
I've tried to do my duty and to gain the upper hand
But they've made me out a villain they have stamped me with a brand
As we go marching on

I'm just another soldier from the shores of U.S.A.
Forgotten on a battle field then thousand miles away
While life goes on as usual from New York to Santa Fe
As we go marching on

I've seen my buddies ambushed on the left and on the right
And their youthful bodies riddled by the bullets of the night
Where all the rules are broken and the only law is might
As we go marching on

While we're fighting in the jungles they were marching in the street
While we're dying in the rice fields they were helping our defeat
While we're facing V.C. bullets they were sounding a retreat
As we go marching on

With our sweat we took the bunkers, with our tears we took the plain
With our blood we took the mountains and they gave it back again
Still all of us are soldiers, we're too busy to complain
As we go marching on

(spoken) When I reach my final campground in that land beyond the sun
And the great commander asks me, "Did you fight or did you run?"
I'll stand both straight and tall stripped of medals, rank and gun
And this is what I'll say:

Sir, I followed all my orders and I did the best I could
It's hard to judge the enemy and hard to tell the good
Yet there's not a man among us would not have understood

We took the jungle village exactly like they said
We responded to their rifle fire with everything we had
And when the smoke had cleared away a hundred souls lay dead

Sir, the soldier that's alive is the only one can fight
There's no other way to wage a war when the only one in sight
That you're sure is not a VC is your buddy on your right

When all the wars are over and the battle's finally won
Count me only as a soldier who never left his gun
With the right to serve my country as the only prize I've won
As we go marching on

(Sung) Glory, glory hallelujah
glory, glory hallelujah
glory, glory hallelujah
As we go marching on.
As we go marching on.

This “Battle Hymn” variation uses the full patriotic force of the song to defend not only Calley, but also all soldiers who face harsh criticism for their actions during war times when returning to the states. Anything less than full support for the military is unacceptable in the eyes of Nelson and the C Company. The song begins with a fictionalized narrative of Calley’s childhood, one where the boy plays at being a soldier to “serve his country in whatever way he could.” The constructed persona of Calley paints a picture of someone who has only ever dreamed of protecting the nation, which distances Calley from the accusations made during the trial that he was only out for blood. Calley, then, is just another ordinary soldier made a scapegoat by being “stamped...with a brand” of “villain”--but the narrative of the song makes him out to be no different than any other soldier in Vietnam.

Described in the song as “a soldier from the shores of U.S.A.” who was only trying to “do my duty to gain the upper hand,” the song shifts from initially identifying Calley as an individual to referencing the “we” of American soldiers in Vietnam generally. He is no different than any other soldier, creating Calley as a synecdoche for all American soldiers. Calley, then, is rhetorically cloaked in the protective mantle that all soldiers are patriotic and just doing their best to fight for the country. Two verses focus on constructing the soldiers in Vietnam, describing the torment of being constantly ambushed by guerrilla fighters, watching “their youthful bodies riddled by bullets” and dying in jungles and rice fields of a foreign land. While soldiers were fighting, “they” (war protestors) aided the Viet Cong merely by the act of opposing the war thousands of miles away. The enemy, then, is not only the Viet Cong, but also the traitors at home who fail to appreciate the soldiers who are dying to save them.⁷⁸ The soldiers gave all--blood, tears, blood, and their lives--as martyrs who are too busy fighting to complain.

Described as such, the soldiers are elevated to a holy position where they are exempted from critique. They are accountable not to any governmental, civilian, or earthly authority, only answering to “the Great Commander” in the “final campground.” The trials back home of accounting for their actions during war are simply a continuation of the foreign war and any punishment rendered by courts or the public do not matter in the grand scheme of things. Judgment by God for their actions during war is the only judgment that matters. The role as a soldier and fighting for freedom and democracy is in and of itself a holy act, worthy of salvation and justified in the eyes of God. The final spoken word section poses a hypothetical conversation between Calley and God, with

⁷⁸ Robert Ivie, “Fighting Terror by Rite of Redemption and Reconciliation,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 10 (2007): 221-248.

Calley justifying that following orders and killing “a hundred souls” was defensible when you are sure that your fellow American soldier is the only person guaranteed to not be your enemy. Continuing the self-sacrificing martyr, Calley tells God “count me only as a soldier who never left his gun with the right to serve my country as the only prize I’ve won” as his final defense. Serving American is a holy cause and worth admission to heaven, as signaled, at the end of the song, by the recitation of the familiar “glory, glory hallelujah” chorus. The audience anticipates the chorus as part of the tradition of the “Battle Hymn” invocation. By restricting the praise for God to the end of the song following the assertion that God supports the military and Calley, the songwriter solidifies the song’s message.

While the “Battle Hymn of Lt. Calley” does not succeed in fully recentering the memory of Calley as a war hero and painting all those who oppose the war as unpatriotic and unchristian, it does serve as a counter to the narrative put in place by the prevalence of Vietnam protest music. Songs like “War,” “Fortunate Son,” and “I Ain’t Marching Anymore” dominated the airwaves and resonated with the anti-war protests throughout the United States. The “Battle Hymn of Lt. Calley” allowed for oppositional voices that represented support for the war within the popularly circulating anti-war music. The “Battle Hymn” functions as an easy and popular vehicle for expressing patriotic sentiment that, when combined with spoken word narration of specific circumstances, presents a modern telling of an old patriotic tale that invokes the religious sentiment that already saturates the memory of the song.

Conclusions

Variations of songs created during war serve a wide variety of functions. For soldiers serving in the military, songs can help to grapple with the death of their comrades and their own potential demise or to protest policies within the military to challenge power structures. Other times, songs can help bolster their collective spirits or unite behind particular commanding figures or causes. For citizens interacting with wars, familiar patriotic hymns can serve as a point of divergence for creating their own commentary on the war: be it in protest or in support. As a whole, these variations on the “Battle Hymn” demonstrate the malleable form of the patriotic hymn for reappropriation as commentary during war. As a vehicle for critiquing and/or supporting war or aspects of war life, the “Battle Hymn” is aligned with patriotism, making it an established point for safely critiquing or leveraging support moving forward.

CHAPTER FOUR

The African American Battle Hymn

As a song, the “Battle Hymn” circulates and is rearticulated by African Americans throughout history as an appropriation of patriotic and religious sentiment. It is aligned with social equality and functions to challenge hegemonic notions of American culture and identity. Through analysis of “John Brown’s Body,” the “Battle Hymn” usage during the Freedom Rides and Black Power protests at Howard University in 1964, this chapter shows how the “Battle Hymn” assists in negotiating and challenging the positioning of African American interests as central to America as a whole. Starting with the impact of “John Brown’s Body” on the legacy of John Brown, the arguments of how the abolitionist should be remembered played into the larger narrative of African American freedom and the alignment of abolitionists with the Union cause during the Civil War. The usage of the “Battle Hymn” variations by the First Arkansas African American regiment helps align the newly formed regiment assimilate with the Union cause as a whole while asserting their own brand of patriotism that is unequivocally abolitionist in tone. The “Battle Hymn” is then taken up during the civil rights movement in numerous ways: variations of the song sung by the Freedom Riders in Parchman Prisons that both mocked the conditions of their internment and reaffirmed their belief in the civil rights cause. Finally, analysis of another “Battle Hymn” variation by members of the Black Power movement demonstrates how they used the “Battle Hymn” to negotiate African American interests as central to American identity through engagement of the patriotic hymn.

John Brown's Body

As “John Brown's Body,” the song had participated in the ongoing struggle over how history will remember John Brown and the attack he led on the arsenal at Harpers' Ferry. Was he to be Brown the Hero or Brown the Madman? A white, abolitionist, war veteran, leader in the Bleeding Kansas crisis, and advocate of violent overthrow of the slave system, Brown represented a small but important branch of militant abolitionists that made southern slave owners particularly nervous. The events of Harpers' Ferry shook the South and contributed to the destabilization of the Union leading up to the outbreak of the Civil War.

Brown did not act alone at Harpers' Ferry. Howe's husband, Samuel Howe, was one of the Secret Six: the financial backers and loyal supporters of Brown's raid--Howe, Parker, George L. Stearns, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Gerrit Smith, and Franklin Sanborn.¹ They first met in January of 1857, where Samuel Howe judged Brown to be a figure out of the Old Testament, both admirable and of good character.² He offered Brown money, guns, and ammunition for raids in Kansas and Missouri, though Brown intended his raid to be much closer to the heart of southern slavery.³ By February 1858, Brown informed Gerrit Smith that he planned to strike somewhere in slaveholding country with the intention of starting a slave insurrection. At least three of the six

¹ R. Blakeslee Gilpin, “Battle Hymn of John Brown,” *The New York Times* November 11, 2011.

² Deborah Pickman Clifford, *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), 132.

³ James W. Trent Jr. *The Manliest Man: Samuel G. Howe and the Contours of Nineteenth-Century American Reform* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012).

(including Samuel Howe) tried to persuade Brown to reconsider. By September, Brown arrived in Harper's Ferry and rented a small farmhouse as a base of operations using the alias Isaac Smith. Accompanied by 22 men (17 of whom were white), Brown entered the town on the night of October 16th, cut telegraph wires and captured the armory, taking hostages from nearby farms and spreading the news to local slaves that their freedom was at hand. The hope was for slaves to hear of Brown's raid and join them in the fight as it expanded through Virginia thus sparking the collapse of the southern slave system.

They held the town for two days with heavy casualties among Brown's men, including two of his sons. On October 18th, U.S. Marines arrived led by Colonel Robert E. Lee. When Brown refused to surrender, the Marines broke into the engine room and within three minutes the raid had ended. Of Brown's men, ten died, five escaped, and seven were captured in addition to Brown. Brown's men had succeeded in killing four individuals and wounding nine others. On November 2, after 45 minutes of deliberation by the jury, Brown was found guilty of five counts of murder, conspiring with slaves to rebel, and treason against the state of Virginia.⁴ One month later Brown was hanged. Northerners and abolitionist sympathizers were run out of town before the execution, leaving a crowd of locals, law enforcement, and several notable future Confederates, including Stonewall Jackson, John Wilkes Booth, and Lee.

Even before his death, how Brown's raid and death would be remembered were thrown into competing narratives. Much of Brown's legacy is still contested today. Would he be a hero and martyr, or a madman and traitor, or worse yet, forgotten entirely by history. W. E. B. Du Bois asked the rhetorical question: if Brown was an episode—

⁴ For more on the trial, see Brian McGinty, *John Brown's Trial* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

ephemeral and isolated—or an eternal truth.⁵ As noted by Jeffrey B. Kurtz, “at a minimum, Brown's life and legacy compel us to weigh whether violence should be viewed as a justifiable rhetorical response to moral justice.”⁶ Even at the centennial commemoration of Brown’s raid notions of white supremacy and tense race relations were still a central element to understanding what occurred at Harpers’ Ferry.⁷ For most of his contemporaries though, how they understood Brown’s actions at Harpers’ Ferry contributed to a larger national conversation on slavery and race relations within the United States. Though a consensus has never truly been reached, the controversy surrounding how to interpret Harpers’ Ferry helped focus the looming Civil War around slavery as the central tension within the country.

For many who supported the abolitionist cause or sympathized with the plight of slaves, Brown represented a hero, a savior, or a martyr who served a higher purpose. Brown himself initiated the martyr narrative, saying from the gallows “[The Bible] teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. ...If it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel,

⁵ Quoted in Evan Carton, *Patriotic Treason: John Brown and the Soul of America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 1.

⁶ Jeffrey B. Kurtz, “Saving John Brown: Religious Fanaticism and the Dilemma for Rhetorical Scholarship,” *Southern Communication Journal* 76 (2011): 369-388.

⁷ Anna C. Kretsinger-Harries, “Commemoration Controversy: The Harpers Ferry Raid Centennial as a Challenge to Dominant Public Memories of the U. S. Civil War,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 17 (2014): 67-103.

and unjust enactments, I submit; so let it be done!”⁸ In this pronouncement, Brown parallels himself with Christ in his self-sacrifice for others. He is the biblical figure Howe and others saw him as in their initial meeting, aligned with God in the fight against slavery. For others, Brown’s actions were a model to which others could aspire. Henry David Thoreau declared that Brown’s death gave those contemplating suicide “something to live for!”⁹ Even those who wished for their own death could make use of their lives by acting as Brown did to die for a cause.

For white southerners and slave owners, Brown's death signaled a minor success in the growing wave threatening the southern way of life. To them, Brown was a madman and a terrorist, the embodiment of their fears--a white man willing to die to end slavery. He was fearlessly committed to abolitionism, capable of leading militant attacks, unafraid of using violence and procuring arms for himself and others (specifically slaves) to obtain freedom for all. Some, for simplicity, chose to write Brown off as “mad.” As Charles J. G. Griffin shows, Brown’s “madness” invites rhetorical interpretations of him as a pariah, a pawn, and a prophet.¹⁰ In declaring Brown mad, his actions were silenced so his words died with him rather than taken up to further destabilize the republic. As a prophet though, Brown merely appeared mad while acting out a divine plan ordained by God, thereby making Brown and his actions holy and righteous in memory. If he was to be

⁸ “John Brown’s Last Speech” History is a Weapon. <http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/johnbrown.html>. Accessed February 2, 2015.

⁹ Sarah Vowell, “John Brown’s Body” in *The Rose & The Briar: Death, Love and Liberty in the American Ballad*, ed. Sean Wilentz and Greil Marcus. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005).

¹⁰ Charles J. G. Griffin, “John Brown’s ‘Madness’,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 12 (2009): 369-388.

remembered as mad then, the raid's lasting effect was most efficiently minimized of Brown.¹¹ For others, Brown was a violent criminal or a crazed fanatic, as described in the *Richmond Daily Enquirer* editorial: "Violated laws and murdered citizens demand a victim at the hand of justice, if Brown is a crazed fanatic, irresponsible either in morals or law...he is then the agent of wicked principles."¹² By acting out in violence against the system upheld in the South, some southerners saw Brown's actions not as those of a savior, but as a demon or force of wickedness. The threat he posed to their stable society and way of life made the failed slave insurrection a direct assault on the system of slavery that had been justified and supported by biblical texts and church teachings for more than 150 years. Brown was not a prophet or hero, but an agent of the devil. God was not aligned with Brown, but instead with the God-fearing Christian slave owners populating the American South.

Even rewritten as the "Battle Hymn" and widely accepted as a national hymn, some still held that "buried inside the melody of the song was the rotting corpse of an American terrorist."¹³

"John Brown's Body" in Song

Amidst this contestation of Brown's memory entered the song "John Brown's Body." As noted in the introduction, the song originated from the Massachusetts 2nd in

¹¹ Griffin "John Brown's Madness" 382-384.

¹² "A Suggestion for Governor Wise" *Richmond Daily Enquirer*, November 2, 1859.
www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/activelearning/explorations/brown/public_richmonddaily.cfm. Accessed Jan. 2, 2015.

¹³ Vowell, "John Brown's Body," 83.

the lead up to the Civil War as a regimental jest toward their fellow soldier. Due to the catchiness of the song and the integral position John Brown occupied in sparking the Civil War, “John Brown’s Body” quickly spread beyond the Massachusetts 2nd to the entire Union army. Though John Brown of the Massachusetts 2nd lost his connection to the song, “John Brown’s Body” became the unofficial anthem of the Union as “Dixie” was to the Confederacy.

John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave;
John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave;
John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave;
His soul's marching on!

(Chorus)

Glory, glory, hallelujah! Glory, glory, hallelujah!
Glory, glory, hallelujah! his soul's marching on!

He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord!
He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord!
He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord!
His soul's marching on!

John Brown's knapsack is strapped upon his back!
John Brown's knapsack is strapped upon his back!
John Brown's knapsack is strapped upon his back!
His soul's marching on!

His pet lambs will meet him on the way
His pet lambs will meet him on the way
His pet lambs will meet him on the way
They go marching on!

They will hang Jeff Davis to a sour apple tree!
They will hang Jeff Davis to a sour apple tree!
They will hang Jeff Davis to a sour apple tree!
As they march along!

Now, three rousing cheers for the Union
Now, three rousing cheers for the Union
Now, three rousing cheers for the Union
As we are marching on!

The song itself served to align the Union army with the abolitionists through usage of the militant, martyr, hero, savior portray of John Brown. Each individual within the Union army was acting in the footsteps and shadows of Brown and continuing the legacy he left in order to serve the greater good by enacting God's divine will to free the slaves. Though Brown was dead, his legacy as hero and martyr lived on through the Union soldiers who carried the spirit of Brown's corpse as they marched on to inevitable victory. By adopting "John Brown's Body" as their anthem, "soldiers celebrated the process of decomposition through which Brown's actual body was transformed into a diffuse, inspiring presence. In this way, the popular tune exemplifies the tendency of nationalist culture to abstract the effects of violence."¹⁴ Embracing the violence perpetuated by Brown and the rhetorical canonization of the man then empowers each individual soldier as one acting in the footsteps of Brown.

The words to "John Brown's Body" are simplistic, making them easy to remember and repeat: to march with upbeat tempos and countless miles of walking is a key function for military marching songs. The first verse, points to the continuing legacy of John Brown. Though he may be physically dead and buried, killed by the state, his soul lives on. Despite the physical decay of Brown's body, his actions and legacy cannot be killed in the same way. His soul--the essence of his being--not only lives but marches on in continued, disciplined, organized, and deliberate ways through the constantly marching Union soldiers. While some may have classified Brown's raid as sloppy or misguided, the intention behind Brown's sacrifice is carried on through the organized movement of Union soldiers. And just as Brown was the epitome of the South's fears

¹⁴ Franny Nudelman, *John Brown's Body: Slavery, Violence, & the Culture of War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 2.

leading up to the Civil War, by taking up Brown's mantle they too would be feared by the South as instruments dedicated to finishing what Brown had started.

The second verse asserts "he's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord," countering the narratives asserting Brown was mad or an agent of the devil. The second verse not only places Brown in Heaven, but as an agent of God who himself commands an army of countless other righteous warriors. Reinforced by the fourth verse's reference to Brown's pet lambs, Brown becomes a shepherd guiding a flock as frequently referenced throughout the Bible. He stands symbolically as Jesus the good shepherd.¹⁵ Just as many of the soldiers in the Union army were recruited to take up the mantle and fight, so was Brown recruited by God even after death to continue to fight for what is right. Not only does this elevate Brown to a continually acting and righteous warrior, but it also elevates the Union soldiers to an equally high and righteous position as foot soldiers of the Lord. If they should die during the war, they too could do as Brown did and join the invisible army of the Lord to continue fighting for God.

The third verse is less explicitly about John Brown of Harpers' Ferry, but nevertheless is retained as the song expands meaning beyond the Massachusetts 2nd. As soldiers marched, they carried with them most of their belonging in knapsacks strapped to their backs. The verse thus constructs Brown as a soldier and nomad similar to Union soldiers. Referencing Brown of the Massachusetts 2nd makes a bit more sense in the context of this verse, but it is nevertheless maintained as the song spreads beyond the regiment and through the Union army.

¹⁵ See Psalms 23:1-3, 95:7, 100:3, Ezekiel 34:31, Luke 12:32, Acts 20:28-29. Isaiah 40:11, Jeremiah 31:10 for a brief set of examples.

Verses five and six were not included in the original Massachusetts 2nd version of “John Brown’s Body.” Added later by various Union soldiers, they tailored the song directly to the Civil War and military history as discussed in Chapter Three. These verses create linkage between the legacy of Brown and the Union army by reinforcing Jeff Davis as the enemy and the Union as Davis’s antithesis. In threatening to lynch Davis, the song continues Brown’s violent approach to righting wrongs by turning a form of vigilante justice frequently used to keep African Americans “in their place” back on Davis and the rebel South. The Union army, then, in opposition to Davis and the Confederacy, rally support to continue what Brown started.

As the song became increasingly intertwined with the identity of the Union troops as their unofficial anthem, the favorable legacy of Brown and the success of the Union became one. Though Brown died without successfully initiating a slave insurrection to destabilize the South, Union soldiers picked up his mantle as their own as a way to increase the value of the lives lost in the midst of the Civil War. In the face of staggering casualties for both the Union and Confederacy, to die a martyr for national causes aligned with God made the death valuable rather than a senseless loss of life. Violence, particularly death, “breeds national unity” that allows citizens and communities to “elevate the violence they inflict on others” as a condition of national identification and historical narrative building.¹⁶ The continuing prevalence of “John Brown’s Body” and subsequent parodies of the song by Union troops reflects the ideology of the soldiers through the violence advocated by Brown and the song. By singing “John Brown’s

¹⁶ Nudelman, *John Brown’s Body*, 2.

Body,” they reassure themselves that violence is justified and righteous because it is being used for a larger cause: both for God and for country.

Marching Song of the First Arkansas

On July 17, 1862, Congress passed two acts allowing African American soldiers to serve in the military as enlisted men. Many white military commanders, including President Lincoln, had severe reservations about the change, particularly concerned with how the command structure would be affected, how effective African American fighters could be, and how border states such as Maryland would respond to colored troops. Official enrollment of African American troops officially began after Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in January of the following year, but many militias had already begun organizing African American forces in the fall of 1862. By the end of the war, African American soldiers composed approximately ten percent of the Union Army despite suffering much higher casualty rates and significantly lower pay and low quality supplies. Commanding officers were white, and for many the assignment to oversee African American troops was perceived as a slight or insult.

One such regiment was the 46th Regiment of the United States Colored Infantry--more commonly known as the First Arkansas Volunteer Infantry. Recruited from former slaves residing in and around Helena, Arkansas, the First Arkansas regiment would spend most of the Civil War in Mississippi and Louisiana in the very heart of the South. Unlike many of the commanding officers for African American troops, Lindley Miller requested assignment with the newly formed Colored Troops. Since Miller’s father was a former U.S. senator, lawyer, orator, and poet, he left the elite 7th Regiment of the New York State Militia (known as the “Silk Stocking Regiment”) after the death of his wife and

infant son to be commissioned as captain of the First Arkansas. An ardent abolitionist himself, Miller wrote the “Marching Song” for his men as a parody rewrite of “John Brown’s Body.”¹⁷ Later published by the Supervisory Committee for Recruiting Colored Regiments, broadsides of the “Marching Song” helped recruit African American troops to the Union cause to show solidarity for abolitionist dimensions of the Civil War.¹⁸

The performance of the “Marching Song” by African American Union troops transfers ownership of the words and ideas behind them from Miller to those participating in singing and circulating the song. Moreover, the song uses “we” to speak as the soldiers of the “First of Arkansas,” expressing themselves through their marching song that is then taken up for recruitment as a demonstration of pride, performance, and purpose within the African American troops.

Oh we’re the bully soldiers of the ‘First of Arkansas,’
We are fighting for the Union, we are fighting for the law,
We can hit a Rebel further than a white man ever saw,
As we go marching on!

Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
As we go marching on!

See, there above the center, where the flag is waving bright,
We are going out of slavery; we’re bound for freedom’s light;
We mean to show Jeff Davis how the Africans can fight,
As we go marching on! (Chorus)

We have done with hoeing cotton, we have done with hoeing corn,
We are colored Yankee soldiers, now, as sure as you are born;
When the masters hear us yelling, they’ll think it’s Gabriel’s horn,
As we go marching on. (Chorus)

¹⁷ David Walls. “Marching Song of the First Arkansas Colored Regiment: A Contested Attribution” *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 66 (2007): 405.

¹⁸ Walls “Marching Song” 407.

They will have to pay us wages, the wages of their sin,
They will have to bow their foreheads to their colored kith and kin,
They will have to give us house-room, or the roof shall tumble in!
As we go marching on. (Chorus)

We heard the Proclamation, master hush it as he will,
The bird he sing it to us, hoppin' on the cotton hill,
And the possum up the gum tree, he couldn't keep it still,
As he went climbing on. (Chorus)

They said, "Now colored brethren, you shall be forever free,
From the first of January, Eighteen hundred sixty-three."
We heard it in the river going rushing to the sea,
As it went sounding on. (Chorus)

Father Abraham has spoken and the message has been sent,
The prison doors he opened, and out the pris'ners went,
To join the sable army of "African descent,"
As we go marching on. (Chorus)

Then fall in, colored brethren, you'd better do it soon,
Don't you hear the drum a-beating the Yankee Doodle tune?
We are with you now this morning, we'll be far away at noon,
As we go marching on. (Chorus)¹⁹

The first verse showcases best why the song of one regiment would be used to garner African American soldiers. As David Walls notes, "the first verse showcases the pride and ferocity of the regiment." The soldiers act "as co-authors of their own freedom."²⁰ Rejoicing in their freedom to fight for a cause that affects them personally further aligns the Union with abolitionism, particularly after Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation. Not only are they acting as masters of their own fate in the fight for freedom, but they claim pride in their fighting skills that are superior to the expectations white men generally (not just in the South) had of African American

¹⁹ All verse quotations taken from "Song of the First of Arkansas" broadside at "American Memory" Library of Congress. <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html>.

²⁰ Walls, "Marching Song," 410.

soldiers. Just as John Brown threatened the southern lifestyle by attempting to arm slaves for an insurrection, so the men of the First Arkansas fulfilled that threat and took it up as a rallying cry using the melody that glorified Brown.

The second and third verses escalate their claims of valor and hope by laying out what they intend to accomplish through service in the Union military. Addressing both where they came from as former slaves and where they hoped to be (freedom's light), the soldiers show precisely what they hope to gain as colored Yankee soldiers. Rather than fighting against the South as a whole, the verse addresses Jeff Davis as the head of the Confederacy. In doing so, the African American soldiers assert their own fighting prowess that has been enabled through becoming soldiers, making them a physical and institutional threat to the Confederacy. Their performance of the fears of the South through state authorized violence makes the former slaves a threat to the highest level of the Confederacy structure by subverting the hierarchy of master/slave relations. Davis, then, stands for all the slave owners and masters whose power is removed as slaves for the uprising they so feared--the cry of which they will hear as Gabriel's horn, the signal for God's return to Earth as popularly referenced in African American spirituals. Not only are they a threat, but they are righteous and God is on their side; furthermore, the masters know it to be true because they recognize Gabriel's horn heralding the Second Coming of Christ through the war cry of African American soldiers.

The fourth verse pushes even further by not just asserting rights and privileges, but by openly demanding equality and reparations. As a vehicle for doing so, the verse pulls from Romans 6:23 in referencing "the wages of their sins" to strengthen their contention that those who profited from enslavement should have to pay back what is

owed from their ill-gotten gains. The threat is taken further in the conclusion of the verse, as they sing about how the consequences of not doing so will result in the destruction of property (“the roof shall tumble in”) or other equally retaliatory measures. Having rhetorically established themselves as fighting forces capable of toppling Jeff Davis, the demand of equality or decimation of the southern way of life pushes beyond freedom to reparations by violence if necessary. Envisioning the destruction of foundational buildings such as houses showcases the might of the former slaves should the Union win.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh verses express more tempered celebration of the gains made up to this point in the Civil War for African Americans. The fifth verse notes the powerful influence of the Emancipation Proclamation despite the efforts of southern slave owners to keep it from reaching slave ears. As the Proclamation only freed slaves in the South (a territory over which Lincoln had little, if any control during the war) the only real impact it stood to have was for word to reach the southern slaves that they were now free and inspire them either to leave or to rebel as a result. In addition to rallying the northern African American communities to drum up support for the new colored regiments, the Proclamation only worked if those still enslaved heard about the Proclamation, believed it to be true, and acted upon it as newly freed persons. The verse celebrates the powerlessness of slave owners to contain the Proclamation and declares that the word will spread even through birds and possums, if necessary, to erode the power of the masters. The sixth verse expresses similar sentiment, expanding to rivers and seas as vehicles for spreading word of the Proclamation. This verse also quotes the Proclamation as freeing all “colored brethren” forever--rhetorically uniting both free and enslaved African Americans as a united front. The seventh verse describes Lincoln as

“Father Abraham,” analogizing him to the biblical patriarch and elevating the president to mythic status. Just as Abraham had many descendants, the song positions the “sable army of African descent” as adopted sons of Lincoln whose loyalty had been earned by freeing them from bondage. This move tightens the linkage between Lincoln and divine guidance, and the Union soldiers and fighting for righteous causes, especially the sacred cause of emancipation.

As actors in the holy war guided by God’s hand, the now freed African Americans had an obligation to join the fight by enlisting in the Union army. The eighth and final verse drives this point home: that freedom does nothing if it is not supported by those it benefits most. Internally referencing another Union marching song, “Don’t you hear the drum a-beating the Yankee Doodle tune?” the urgent call for enlistment brings back the tenuous nature of progress: if the war is not won then all the change made by Lincoln and the Union soldiers disappears, and things go back to the way they were or worse. The men of the First of Arkansas are acting as men of conviction, fighting for the cause they believe in, but “we are with you now this morning, we’ll be far away by noon” drives home the immediate need for action to fulfill the hopes and dreams of those it impacts most.

Performed throughout the later parts of the Civil War, the “Marching Song” contributed to efforts of African American soldiers to assimilate with the Union army. By the end of the Civil War, African American soldiers comprised approximately one tenth of the Union Army. Of those African American soldiers, it is estimated that one in three

died during the war--suffering much higher mortality rates than white Union soldiers.²¹ Despite pay gaps (white soldiers received \$13 per month plus clothing allowance; African American soldiers received \$10 per month from which \$3 was deducted for clothing), assignments to primarily support duties rather than combat roles, and much harsher punishment by Confederate troops if captured in battle. Even so, African American soldiers strove to distinguish themselves in battle and display their pride in their work.²²

Sojourner Truth encountered the Arkansas marching song in late 1863 or early 1864.²³ Seeking to expand its circulation in hopes of wider resonance, she altered the first verse:

We are the valiant soldiers who've 'listed for the war;
We are fighting for the Union, we are fighting for the law;
We can shoot a rebel farther than a white man ever saw,
As we go marching on.

In addition, Truth changed the title to “The Valiant Soldiers” and removed the sixth and eighth verses to make it easier to memorize. Though “The Valiant Soldiers” is sometimes considered the standard version over the “Marching Song,” Miller’s authorship and circulation of the song for recruitment purposes predates that of Truth’s. Both versions of the song resonated with African Americans during the war by portraying it as “a

²¹ “Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861-1877: African American Soldiers During the Civil War.” Library of Congress.
<http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/civilwar/aasoldrs/>

²² “Civil War and Reconstruction” Library of Congress.

²³ John Stauffer and Benjamin Soskis, *The Battle Hymn of the Republic: A Biography of the Song that Marches On* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 62.

millennial conflict, with racial justice as its underlying issue.”²⁴ Though Union soldiers may have fought the early war for the preservation of the Union, by the end of the war slavery had become a central issue, assisted by songs like “John Brown’s Body” and the “Marching Song of the First Arkansas.”

Civil Rights Movement

The success found by abolitionists in repositioning slavery as a central issue to the Civil War helped perpetuate the use of song in social movements as a rhetorical force capable of recentering concepts as central to the controversies at hand. Just as the “Marching Song” assisted in giving African American soldiers voice, the civil rights movement used songs--including variations of the “Battle Hymn”--to reposition equality for all, including African Americans, as an issue affecting all Americans. Stauffer and Soskis note African Americans shared a special connection to the “Battle Hymn” and it’s variations: “together they celebrated a tradition of struggle for racial and economic justice that ran from the abolitionism of the nineteenth century to the twentieth-century civil rights movement, a tradition nourished by both the black church (where the “Battle Hymn” was often sung) and the labor movement.”²⁵ That connection to the “Battle Hymn” carried through to the modern civil rights movement of the twentieth century.

Loosely conceived, the civil rights movement as discussed in this chapter is composed of a series of events, groups, and initiatives for changing race relations from 1930 to 1970 in the United States. Though most commonly used to reference the southern civil rights initiative of the late 1950s through the late 1960s, the advocacy for equality

²⁴ Stauffer and Soskis, “The Battle Hymn,” 62.

²⁵ Stauffer and Soskis, “The Battle Hymn,” 239.

regardless of skin color or ethnic identification was a constant struggle to end racial segregation and discrimination against black Americans who were systematically denied legal citizenships and protections guaranteed by the Constitution. Beginning with an overview of music's role in the civil rights movement, I will then move to two examples of the "Battle Hymn" rewrites: the freedom riders in Parchman Prisons and protests at Hunter College by members of the Black Panther Party. Each usage demonstrates similar but distinct strategies for repositioning the "Battle Hymn" to align with civil rights causes by strategically engaging the cultural memory evoked by the song.

Music in the Movement

Part of the legacy of the civil rights movement was the extent to which songs were integrated into the acts of protest. "We Shall Overcome" is perhaps the most iconic song engaged in the movement even from its earliest days.²⁶ Sung at marches, protests, sit-ins, and other events, the freedom songs of the civil rights movement helped articulate the issues of central concern to the protestors collectively through the voices of those singing in unison while perpetuating the peaceful tone that characterized much of the civil rights movement. Music helped communicate the words and emotion behind the protest to those who might encounter the songs in their own lives as an intersection with the protests instead of listening to speeches or reading petitions that require a much higher threshold of involvement.²⁷ Groups like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating

²⁶ See Troy A. Murphy, "Rhetorical Invention and the Transformation of 'We Shall Overcome'," *Qualitative Research Reports in Communication* 4 (2003): 1-8.

²⁷ Leslie Paige Rose, "The Freedom Singers of the Civil Rights Movement: Music Functioning for Freedom" *Applications of Research in Music Education* 25 (2007): 59-68.

Committee (SNCC) Freedom Singers were noted for singing that not only helped spread the message of the civil rights movement, but also helped raise money from concerts and organized performances to support travel and education.

Singing also worked internally within the civil rights movement to boost morale and create a collective voice despite violence and arrest. Bernice Johnson Reagon described her experience in the Albany, Georgia jail as part of the civil rights protest:

Songs helped...because in the songs you could just name the people who were trying to use this against you--Asa Kelley, who was the mayor; Chief Pritchett, who was the police. This behavior is new for black people in the United States of America. You would every once in a while have a crazy black person go up against some white person and they would hang him. But this time, with a song, there was nothing they could do to block what we were saying. Not only did you call their names and say what you wanted to say, but they could not stop your sound. Singing is different than talking, because no matter what they do, they would have to kill me to stop me from singing, if they were arresting me. Sometimes they would plead and say, "Please stop singing." And you would just know that your word is being heard. There was a real sense of platformness and clearly empowerment, and it was like just saying, "put me in jail, that's not an issue of power. My freedom has nothing to do with putting me in jail." And so there was this joy.²⁸

Singing circumvented the established power structure and enabled the ability to speak even without a physical platform to stand on. Anyone could sing, and the more voices that joined in singing the more powerful a statement it made. The easy adaptability of songs to changing circumstances allowed actors in the civil rights movement to name the specific bodies that hampered their progress: be it local politicians or law enforcement officers or nationally recognized ones. One individual can be quickly silenced but a crowd singing in unison creates a united, emotional voice that presents both a united front and a passionate zeal that is much harder to overcome.

²⁸ Henry Hampton and Steve Fayer, *Voices of Freedom: An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement from the 1950s through the 1980s* (New York: Bantam Books, 1990), 109.

The success of “John Brown’s Body” and the “Marching Song” proved the parody of popular songs like the “Battle Hymn” could be used to change minds. Though the “Battle Hymn” itself was abandoned early in the civil rights movement, rewritings of the song and references to the hymn peppered the movement. Songs like the “Battle Hymn” and “Onward Christian Soldiers” quickly faded from the movement due to the insinuation that young activists were acting as the foot soldiers in the songs--being manipulated by movement elders and having a violent or martial approach to protest. Variations on the songs, however, offered the benefit of familiarity with the original version while being tailored to the circumstances at hand. These “freedom songs” combined the best of the old with the new because “the old resonances...did not disappear. Freedom songs were at once political and spiritual, fueling a quest to have one’s God-given humanity recognized by fellow citizens.”²⁹ By being adaptable to specific circumstances while still maintaining broad appeal and recognition, songs allowed for collective performance of tailored and simultaneously universal protest.

It is little wonder then that several “Battle Hymn” parodies came out of the civil rights movement. Guy and Candie Carawan compiled and edited songs of the movement, including parodies used throughout the country. They documented the songs throughout the course of the movement, producing LPs, two songbooks, and a book that helped to contextualize the songs and parodies with the events and places in which they were engaged.³⁰ Amongst their collection are two rewritings of the “Battle Hymn,” both

²⁹ Stauffer and Soskis, “The Battle Hymn,” 242.

³⁰ See Kristen Meyers Turner. “Guy and Candie Carawan: Mediating the Music of the Civil Rights Movement” (PhD diss, University of North Carolina, 2011).

stemming from the Freedom Riders imprisonment at Parchman Prisons in Mississippi during 1961.

The Freedom Rides

The Freedom Rides started in May of 1961 as a joint venture by Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), SNCC, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to test the *Boynton v. Virginia* decision to desegregate public transportation under the Interstate Commerce Act. Thirteen CORE volunteers--seven black and six white--rode public buses from Washington D.C. through the South with African American participants sitting at the front of the bus and white volunteers at the back, ignoring white and colored signs in restrooms, restaurants, and waiting rooms as allowed by the Boynton decision. James Farmer coordinated the ride, which quickly faced violence as the freedom riders approached the deep South. Starting in Rock Hill, North Carolina, John Lewis was beaten for attempting to enter a white waiting room, and Albert Bigelow was further abused for trying to stop the violence.³¹ On May 14th in Anniston, Alabama, the freedom riders were greeted by a mob of 200 who proceeded to dent the sides of the bus, smash the windows, and slash the tires. Someone hurled a bomb through the window, forcing the riders to evacuate and face the mob who nearly killed the riders, including Henry Thomas--the first off the bus.³² They were saved from lynching by an undercover Alabama State patrolman brandishing his gun and badge, threatening to kill anyone who further harmed the riders.

³¹ Bruce J. Dierenfield, *The Civil Rights Movement* (New York, NY: Pearson Education Limited, 2004), 61-63.

³² Dierenfield, *The Civil Rights Movement*, 63.

Despite extensive injuries, twenty-one riders continued on to Montgomery where they faced similar mobs bolstered by commissioner of public safety Theophilus Eugene “Bull” Connor and the Ku Klux Klan of Alabama. As the bus approached the Montgomery bus station, the police escort disappeared, leaving the bus defenseless. The mob had been told neither local police nor the FBI would involve themselves in defense of the riders for the first fifteen minutes. The mob first attacked the news media present, then unleashed brutal beatings on the riders and those who defended them until police arrived. Thanks in large part to the media presence in Montgomery and their subsequent broadcast of the mob violence faced by the freedom riders, President Kennedy, Governor Patterson, and Attorney General Kennedy urged the riders to desist for a cooling off period. Refusing this advice, the freedom rides continued as more riders joined the busses into Mississippi. Attorney General Kennedy struck a “Faustian bargain” with James Eastland (D-MS), Chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee to have the riders arrested in Jackson, Mississippi for disorderly conduct--temporarily ending the rides and pacifying the mobs.³³ Those riders who could not pay the \$200 fine for their arrest were taken to Parchman penitentiary for three weeks of jail time.

On June 15, 1961, the first batch of freedom riders arrived at Parchman. Initially 45 in number, approximately 300 freedom riders would eventually serve time in the prison over the course of the summer. The men were confined to small cells with two people each. Walls between the cells and the prison’s “U” shape made it impossible to see anyone other than their cellmate over the course of their imprisonment. White and black riders were segregated within the jail, with white prisoners occasionally being

³³ Dierenfield, *The Civil Rights Movement*, 67.

moved to more favorable and lower security cells as the prison became increasingly crowded. The women faced similar accommodations, though their cell block allowed them to see and speak to each other. Just like the revivals of the 1800s separated men from women, black from white, so the prison divided the freedom riders. Taking advantage of their time together, the women organized nonviolent workshops, political seminars, dance and language lessons, and lectures on history and mythology based on the expertise of their fellow freedom riders.³⁴ Though they faced sexual intimidation from the male guards who watched them dress and shower and conducted invasive vaginal examinations on a regular basis, many of the female freedom riders stuck to the “jail, not bail” mantra that perpetuated the stubborn resistance of the Parchman prisoners.³⁵

Despite much verbal and physical abuse from their jailers, the riders occupied their time by participating in one of the only community acts available to them: singing. Much to the annoyance of the jailers, the riders constantly engaged in exuberant singing and preaching, eventually escalating into a so-called “Mattress War.”³⁶ Sick of the constant noise, Deputy Tyson (head of the maximum security unit) threatened to remove the mattresses from the riders’ cells if they refused to stop singing. The prisoners had very few luxuries in their cell: a cell mate, a mattress, a Bible, and the ability to write one letter a week. Losing a mattress to sleep on the concrete floor or bed springs meant forfeiting one of the last comforts that remained in a seemingly indefinite imprisonment. Jim Bevel, a Southern Christian Leadership Conference leader and freedom rider, yelled

³⁴ Raymond Arsenault, *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2006), 361.

³⁵ Arsenault, *Freedom Riders*, 360-361.

³⁶ Arsenault, *Freedom Rides*, 362-364

out for all to hear: “What they’re trying to do is take your soul away. It’s not the mattress, it’s your soul.... Satan put us in here for forty days and forty nights. To tempt us with the flesh. He’s sayin’ to us, ‘If you’ll just stop your singin’ and bail outta there, I’ll give you anything you want--soft, thick cotton mattresses and down pillows and everything. Be good boys and I’ll let you keep your mattresses.’”³⁷ Hank Thomas responded, calling to the jailers “Come get my mattress, I’ll keep my soul,” voluntarily forfeiting his last comfort for the ability to continue singing as a collective. The other riders followed suit, handing over their mattresses as they joined in a rousing medley of freedom songs. Their mattresses were not returned until the day before an inspection by the Human Rights Commission.³⁸

In the meantime, the riders sang. Marilyn Eisenberg, one of the female riders, recorded some of the songs and shared them with the Caraways for their compilation. Amongst the parodies adapted to the Parchman prison were two versions of the “Battle Hymn.” Each addressed different aspects of the freedom rides and life in Parchman.

Version 1

Mine eyes have seen the coming of equality for all
And as the Freedom Riders we are answering the call
Even though we shall be placed behind Old Parchman’s wall
Segregation has to fall.

Black and white shall ride together
Black and white shall ride together
Black and white shall ride together
Integration is for all.

³⁷ Quoted in Arsenault, *Freedom Riders*, 353.

³⁸ Arsenault, *Freedom Riders*, 357.

Black and white shall sit together
Black and white shall learn together
Black and white shall vote together
Integration is for all.³⁹

Version One of the “Battle Hymn” parody speaks to the overarching aims of the Freedom Riders as a morale boost for those imprisoned in Parchman Prison. Despite their imprisonment, the movement is larger than the members confined to the jail cells; the momentum of the movement will continue without them. The inevitability asserted in the chorus, black and white *SHALL* ride together, parallels the goals of the movement with praising God, as done in the “Battle Hymn” refrain. As others have argued, “shall” instead of “will” offers a more open and accessible sound in singing, and with it an invitation to the audience to participate with those singing it.⁴⁰ “Shall” evokes a biblical tone as well as a determined inevitability to the mission though it may presently be unfinished. Where most parodies leave the “Glory, glory hallelujah” refrain untouched, the Parchman parodies choose to position racial equality as analogous to praise for God.

This parody distinguishes itself from the average “Battle Hymn” rewrite by taking the references to God and inserting the freedom riders as agents of God’s will. Instead of the “coming of the lord,” they sing “coming of equality for all”; instead of “he is trampling out the vintage” they sing “and as the Freedom Riders we are answering the call”; instead of “he has loosed the fateful lightning,” they sing “even though we shall be placed behind Old Parchman’s wall”; and instead of “his truth is marching on,” they sing

³⁹ Guy and Candie Carawan, *Singing for Freedom: The Story of the Civil Rights Movement Through Its Songs* (Montgomery, AL: NewSouth Books, 2007), 49.

⁴⁰ Murphy, *Rhetorical Invention and Transformation*. 3-4. See also David King Dunaway, *How I Keep from Singing: Pete Seeger* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1981), 222.

“segregation has to fall.” Each of these substitutions positions the freedom riders as agents of God’s divine will and with it the determined inevitability of marching on rhetorically positions the movement as still moving despite the riders’ temporary imprisonment. In singing as a collective, the riders transcend the walls of the prison as merely temporary impediments to a much larger picture that is not halted by Parchman Prison. The hope that this rhetorical invocation provides for the riders helps internally to bolster commitment to the cause and communicates to the opponents of the movement the hopelessness of opposing God’s will. And it worked, in part, as demonstrated by the Mattress War.

Not all of the parodies spoke to the overarching mission of the movement. Version two of the “Battle Hymn” parody from Parchman Prison sought to raise spirits within the jail by making light of prison conditions that strove to wear down the resolve of the riders as punishment for insubordination. Just as war parodies took seemingly serious songs and turned them to mock the less glorious but more human aspects of war, so the prisoners at Parchman satirized their living conditions through song.

Version 2

Mine eyes have seen the disintegration of my underwear
Every time I put them on I seem to find another tear
pretty soon I’ll be walking around with my bottom bare
It’s the Parchman fashion flair.

Grab the sheets, the men are coming
Grab the sheets, the men are coming
Grab the sheets, the men are coming,
It’s the Parchman fashion flair.⁴¹

A complete turn from Version 1 of the “Battle Hymn” to come from Parchman Prison, this version made light of one element of the Parchman treatment intended to

⁴¹ Carawan, *Singing for Freedom*, 50.

break the spirits of the Riders. When Farmer went before the prison superintendent and director of prisons to protest the treatment of the Riders, his undershorts, which would not button, fell from his body and he was forced to argue their case nearly naked.⁴²

Disintegrating clothing sought to shame the prisoners into better behavior or submission. By declaring the shoddy clothing as the “Parchman fashion flair,” the prisoners turn what was intended to create shame into a fashion--something trendy and for others to aspire to as a community. Though no one would mistake nudity and disintegrating clothing as a fashion statement, singing about the condition turns it into a mockingly humorous condition rather than one of shame. The use of a marching song as the point from which to diverge offered a driving and upbeat melody that contributed to the hopeful irony of the lyrics. Rather than letting the intentionally harsh conditions of Parchman prison drag the Freedom Riders down, turning the efforts into an object of mockery diminished the impact of the slights on their spirits and contributed to the resilience of the movement.

These two parodies are but a small sampling of the songs used by the Freedom Riders during their tenure in Parchman. Nevertheless, they contributed to the durable reputation of the Riders as more than a temporary uprising. Beyond the Freedom Riders, the songs changed the power dynamic between the prisoners and prison staff. Eisenberg recalled the songs effect on the matron for the female Freedom Riders in Parchman, a woman who started out despising the Riders. By the end of Eisenberg’s time in Parchman, the matron “was singing for us on our make-believe radio programs and was often heard humming our freedom songs,” showing the human connection the prisoners

⁴² Derek Charles Catsam, *Freedom’s Main Line: The Journey of Reconciliation and the Freedom Rides* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2009), 284.

were able to forge with some of the staff.⁴³ The infectious nature of the songs and familiar melodies helped spread beyond the walls of Parchman through the remainder of the civil rights movement. The use of music as peaceful argument continued as a tool throughout the movement, becoming one of the signature elements to its success and later commemoration.

Black Power and Hunter College Parody

While the southern civil rights movement was characterized by the actions of groups like SNCC, SCLC, CORE, and NAACP, the urban and northern African American populations who shared interests in civil rights goals manifested in slightly different ways as exemplified by the Black Power movement. Primarily concerned with self-determination for African Americans, the Black Power movement emphasized investment in black institutions as a venue for promoting black interests and racial pride.⁴⁴ For many, these black institutions served as outlets for organizing defenses against racial oppression and circumventing inherently racist institutions by having specific organizations with primarily African American interests.

Many of the leaders of the Black Power movement overlapped with the southern civil rights movement. Stokely Carmichael was one of the Freedom Riders imprisoned at Parchman.⁴⁵ Rosa Parks, Maya Angelou, and many SNCC members participated in both

⁴³ Carawan, *Singing for Freedom*, 49.

⁴⁴ Robert D. Brooks. "Black Power: The Dimensions of a Slogan" *Western Speech* 34 (1970): 108-114.

⁴⁵ See Charles J. Stewart, "The Evolution of a Revolution: Stokely Carmichael and the Rhetoric of Black Power," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 83 (1997): 429-446.

outlets of the civil rights movement.⁴⁶ Though less of a feature in Black Power, some still engaged song as a venue of protest particularly as a means for distinguishing the ideology of Black Power from southern civil rights activism. More frequently associated with funk, rap, and soul genres, it is unsurprising that overlaps between the freedom songs (based in southern gospel) and the parody of black power music are few.

Bridging this gap was Len Chandler, an African American musical prodigy associated with multiple groups within the civil rights movement.⁴⁷ Chandler wrote numerous songs and parodies, many of them aimed at racial equality and drawing attention to continuing systematic disenfranchisement of African Americans throughout the United States. For Hunter College's commemoration of John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in 1964, Chandler wrote "The Movement's Moving On" to the tune of the "Battle Hymn." Addressing both the memory of John Brown and the contemporary racial landscape in America, Chandler's song brings the African American experience into conversation with the history of the "Battle Hymn" to argue for a change in tactics to achieve equality in America.

The Movement's Moving On

Mine eyes have seen injustice in each city, town and state
Your jails are filled with black men and your courts are white with hate
And with every bid for freedom someone whispers to us, "Wait."
That's why we keep marching on.

⁴⁶ See Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Stokely Carmichael, Charles V. Hamilton and Kwame Ture, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York, NY: Vintage Press, 1967); and *Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America*. ed. Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2005).

⁴⁷ Bob Dylan, *Chronicles, Vol. 1*. (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2004) 127. See also Carawan, *Singing for Freedom*, 215-216.

Move on over or we'll move on over you
Move on over or we'll move on over you
Move on over or we'll move on over you
And the movement's moving on.

You conspire to keep us silent in the field and in the slum
You promise us the vote and sing us, "We Shall Overcome,"
But John Brown knew what freedom was and died to win us some
That's why we keep marching on.

Your dove of peace with bloody beak sinks talons in a child
You bend the olive branch to make a bow, then with a smile
You string it with the lynch rope you've been hiding all the while
That's why we keep marching on.

It is you who are subversive, you're the killers of the dream
In a savage world of bandits it is you who are extreme
You never take your earmuffs off nor listen when we scream
That's why we keep marching on.

I declare my independence from the fool and from the knave
I declare my independence from the coward and the slave
I declare that I will fight for right and fear no jail nor grave
That's why we keep marching on.

Many noble dreams are dreamed by small and voiceless men
Many noble deeds are done the righteous to defend
We're here today, John Brown, to say we'll triumph in the end
That's why we keep marching on.

Where the Parchman Prison parodies used analogy and religious references to confront their conditions and reposition themselves as right, Chandler's parody directly confronts the systemic injustice and places blame squarely on white oppressors. The first verse speaks to the systemic injustice and unequal power in the institutions that encourage African Americans to wait for justice amidst oppression. Continuing the sentiment throughout, the second verse expands to position the present civil rights struggle as a continuation of the fight started by John Brown at Harpers Ferry, a struggle antithetical to the sentiment expressed in "We Shall Overcome" and constant empty

promises.⁴⁸ The final verse promises to continue fighting for John Brown and the noble dreams and noble deeds for which civil rights activists will triumph in the end. As with most activist “Battle Hymn” parodies, victory in the end is assured. Verses three and four point to the irony and hypocrisy of white America at large whose violence against African Americans throughout history is evil and wrong--not the African American fighting for their rights. The fifth and sixth verses then proceed to declare independence from the systemic racism and institutions of suppression, no longer fearing “jail nor grave” as a consequence of progress. Clearly articulating the inevitability of social change, the chorus threatens that resistance is futile--the movement is more powerful than those who wish to suppress or ignore it.

Versions of “The Movement’s Moving On” circulated beyond the event at Hunter College through SNCC workers and the Black Panther Party as the Black Power movement continued to pick up steam.⁴⁹ They engaged Chandler’s song primarily as a voting activism song in the South following the Voting Rights Act of 1964. Rallies in Dallas and Lowndes County, Alabama, encouraged black voters to vote in the Black Panther Party nominating convention rather than the Democratic primary to support African American institutions.⁵⁰ The rallies featured songs such as “The Movement’s Moving On” to exemplify the shift in power resulting from the Voting Rights Act. The crowd joined together to sing the chorus, though the tone was not one of celebration. As

⁴⁸ John Michael Spencer, *Protest & Praise: Sacred Music of Black Religion* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990), 97.

⁴⁹ Susan Youngblood Ashmore. *Carry It On: The War on Poverty and the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008).

⁵⁰ Ashmore, *Carry It On*, 179-181.

one observer noted “although this was a political rally, the mood was not jovial or lighthearted. Instead, this was a day for serious action.”⁵¹ Even in counties like Dallas and Lowndes that had a black majority, victory was not guaranteed for the African American candidates on the ballot whether in primaries or the November elections. There was still significant progress yet to be made.

Conclusions

By engaging popular songs through parodies, the civil rights movement and abolitionists in the Civil War were able to shift public understanding of the struggles of African Americans from a secular, individual issue to one of a sacred crusade in which everyone had a stake. Circulating through time and numerous articulations of the song, the use of the “Battle Hymn” started as a glorification of John Brown’s raid as heroism rather than terrorism. Taken up by the First of Arkansas, the rewritten song allowed the newly formed African American regiments to take the patriotic sentiment inherent to the “Battle Hymn” and align it with their own military service and the abolitionist cause through their actions. By circulating this version of the “Battle Hymn” to recruit African American troops for the Union, the Union absorbed part of this alignment into their own stance on abolition, aligning the Union as a whole behind African American military service and the cause of abolition. When revised by the Freedom Riders, the “Battle Hymn” parody both mocked the attempted humiliation of Parchman Prison to subvert power structures and it boosted morale by rhetorically situating the prisoners as agents of God’s will. The Black Power movement’s usage of the song brings the negotiation of power and belonging full circle by reintroducing the legacy of John Brown to reference

⁵¹ Ashmore, *Carry It On*, 181.

the incomplete nature of racial progress in America. Though things had changed, as shown by the differing engagements of the “Battle Hymn,” there was a long way to go.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

As demonstrated in this thesis, the “Battle Hymn” enjoys a rich rhetorical legacy spanning from the 19th century tent revivals as “Say Brothers” to “John Brown’s Body” and through countless variations, performances, and parodies at the intersection of nearly every major event in United States history. The extent to which the “Battle Hymn” is intertwined with American culture goes far beyond the few cases examined in this thesis, touching countless facets of American life and circulating through social and political discourse. Though songs like the “Battle Hymn” engage in argumentation more subtly than other forms of discourse, it is no less powerful for tailoring arguments to exact change or maintains stasis.

As shown in Chapter Two, the “Battle Hymn” evolved out of tent revivals and through Christian publications to link together civil and religious duty through education within the institution of the church. The ways in which the “Battle Hymn” changes over time as it shifts away from violence and martyrdom, and repositions itself toward pacifist language and more gender-neutral language, shows that even within traditionally conservative institutions like the church, change can still be implemented. The editing process for hymnals in particular reveals how the notion of patriotism as part of Christian duty can reflect the shifting sentiments within the church body. In making those changes, the songwriters help to reinforce the shift as a cultural norm.

Chapter Three looked at the “Battle Hymn’s” intersection with war and the ways in which soldiers and the public at large can engage war culture on their own terms. For

soldiers serving during wartime, variation of popular songs like the “Battle Hymn” can reappropriate patriotic sentiment in support of protest against military policy or a particular superior; or such variations can function internally to grapple with mortality and the loss of comrades. For the citizen, war culture affects their everyday existence but they interact with it in different ways. As citizens, then, creating and circulating variations of songs can foster connections to the war effort by making it personal, and then critique or support elements of the war that they find particularly compelling. In times of war, the patriotic sentiment and religious duty established as part of the cultural function of the “Battle Hymn” are manipulated and reformed to make particular arguments about the war as it is happening and impact the ways in which the war will be remembered.

The fourth chapter examined the appropriation of patriotic and religious sentiment of the “Battle Hymn” as engaged by African Americans as a vehicle for changing minds. The use of “John Brown’s Body” as heroism rather than terrorism by abolitionists reappropriated the memory of the Harpers Ferry raid as a rational, deliberate act rather than the act of a madman. Similarly, African American soldiers and civil rights activists rewrote and performed their take on the “Battle Hymn” or “John Brown’s Body” to align patriotic and religious sentiment with the need for change. Rather than using the song to maintain a utopian picture of America, engaging the song through rewritings forced the audiences to reconsider how cultural hegemony interacts with the fight for social justice by groups that are discriminated against.

These chapters represent but a slice of how the “Battle Hymn” has been reworked in American popular culture over the last 200 years. Temperance hymnals and songbooks

published in the 1870s and 80s were seldom considered complete without including the “Battle Hymn” in their pages, aligning patriotism and religious duty with the crusade against alcohol.¹ Later, the Prohibition advocates would continue the tradition of publishing the “Battle Hymn” in their songbooks in addition to creating their own variations of the “Battle Hymn.” For example, *Pro-Songs* published in 1911 added the fifth verse:

mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the day,
when the stains of black intemperance shall all be washed away,
and queenly prohibition shall her scepter o'er us sway
as we go marching on.²

By engaging the “Battle Hymn” for a specific cause (as we saw in Chapter Four) the temperance and prohibition advocates were able to engage religious and patriotic sentiments simultaneously in support of their cause, thereby eliminating any religious arguments for alcohol.

Similarly, during the rise of unions and the Industrial Workers of the World, Ralph Chaplin composed and performed “Solidarity Forever” as a union rally cry. The song quickly spread through other union movements like the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations and inspiring other movement songs like “The Battle Hymn of Cooperation.”³ A song Chaplin composed for grassroots advocacy of

¹ See Asa Hull, ed. *Temperance Glee Book* (Boston, MA: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1877), Asa Hull, ed. *Temperance Rally Songs* (New York, NY: Asa Hull, 1888), and Harry B. White, ed. *The Good Templar Songster for Temperance Meetings and the Home Circle*. 2nd ed. (Toledo, OH: Harry B. White, 1888) for a small example of temperance songbooks and their usage of the “Battle Hymn.”

² *Pro-Songs*. J. T. Franklin, ed. (Ft. Worth, TX: Brown Franklin, 1911) 3.

³ Ralph Camplin, *Wobbly* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948) 165-167. See also *Little Red Song Book* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Co., 1923), 148.

fair labor, he later denounced the popular usage of the song, saying: “I didn’t write ‘Solidarity Forever’; for ambitious politicians or for job-hungry labor fakirs seeking a ride on the gravy train...[and I] deeply resent seeing a song that was uniquely our own used as a singing commercial for the soft-boiled type of post-Wagner Act industrial unionism. ...when the labor movement ceased to be a Cause and became a business, the end product can hardly be called progress.”⁴ But by the time Chaplin denounced his creation it was too late: “Solidarity Forever” had circulated beyond his control and out of his unique voice to become part of the larger culture as a whole.

Beyond the political invocation of the song, universities and sports teams took up the “Battle Hymn” as an inspiration for celebration in athletics. The 1994 FIFA World Cup theme, “Gloryland,” used parts of the “Battle Hymn” that reached an international audience in celebration of the soccer championship.⁵ The University of Georgia has used “Glory, Glory to Ole Georgia” as their rally song during sporting events from 1915 onward.⁶ When the University of Mississippi got in some trouble for playing “Dixie” too much at sporting events in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the university contracted a medley composition that combined “Dixie” and the “Battle Hymn” to ease critiques of racism at the university.⁷ By embracing patriotic songs as part of the experience of

⁴ Ralph Chaplin, “Why I Wrote Solidarity Forever,” *American West*, January 1968, 23-24.

⁵ See “Gloryland” *Daryl Hall and John Oates* <http://www.hallandoates.de/Lyrics/Gloryland.htm> (accessed February 20, 2015).

⁶ William E. Studwell and Bruce R. Schueneman, *College Fight Songs: An Annotated Anthology* (New York, NY: The Haworth Press, Inc, 2011), 24.

⁷ “Chancellor wants song halted” Associate Press, published on ESPN.com November 10, 2009. <http://sports.espn.go.com/ncf/news/story?id=4643111> (accessed February 23, 2015).

sporting events and associating them with team loyalty and public displays of emotional allegiance to a cause, participation in displays of patriotism become part of the game of sports.

State funerals serve as one of the primary public performance sites for the “Battle Hymn” even to this day. Funerals present another opportunity for engagement of the “Battle Hymn” and its rich history. Rosa Parks, Abraham Lincoln, Winston Churchill, and John F. Kennedy are among a multitude of national figures whose funeral or memorial services featured the “Battle Hymn” to speak to the triumph over death and the lasting legacy these figures leave behind. Like the memory of John Brown, these figures continue to live on and thrive in our history books and living memory as ideals of what it means to stand up for beliefs and take decisive action that can change the course of American history. Rather than being posed as isolated incidents of conviction, the engagement of the “Battle Hymn” at the final celebration of such lives connects them to a larger narrative strung through the course of the nation’s development that makes them greater than themselves alone.

Inaugurations signal the beginning of a new presidency, new leadership, and a new direction for the country. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson describe inaugurations as “part of a rite of passage, of investiture, a ritual at a singular moment in the democratic process that establishes a special relationship between speaker and audience.”⁸ The ceremony sets the tone for the new presidency (or continuation of the presidency in the case of an incumbent) and while most rhetorical analysis examines the inaugural address, the choice in music also sets the tone for what is to come in much

⁸ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Presidents Creating the Presidency: Deeds Done in Words* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 53.

subtler ways. President Johnson came to office amidst great national turmoil upon the assassination of his predecessor. The “Battle Hymn,” as one of the songs played at his inauguration, speaks not only to the guiding presence of God in the new presidency, but when considering the rhetorical history of the song, also brings a dimension of the inevitable victory, despite times of trial and uncertainty, because the outcome already has been decided. The comfort of the “Battle Hymn” recalls the memory of victory and hope of a united country despite adversity.

These examples could continue indefinitely, but only serve to further strengthen the rhetorical legacy of the “Battle Hymn” as it circulates through American discourse and history. Linking people together through shared patriotism, patriotic hymns serves as a point of identification and shared American experiences.

APPENDIX

Hymnals Used for Analysis

APPENDIX

Hymnal Title	Year	Editor (if available); Publisher; City
The Eolian Harp	1862	J. W. Dadmun; J. P. Magee; Boston, MA
Waters' Choral Harp: a new and superior collection of choice hymns and tunes, mostly new, written and composed for Sunday schools, missionary, revival, and social meetings, and for church worship	1863	Horace Waters; Horace Waters; New York, NY
The Children's Progressive Lyceum: a manual with directions for the organization and management of Sunday schools, adapted to the bodies and minds of the young, and containing rules...hymns...(4th ed)	1865	Andrew Jackson Davis; Bela Marsh; Boston, MA
Choral Harp for Sunday Schools	1865	H. Waters, publishing info unknown
Hymns of the Ages (3rd series)	1865	C. S. Guild, Anne E. Guild; Ticknor and Fields; Boston, MA
The New Christian Harp. 10th ed.	1866	B. F. Carter; B. F. Carter; Newburyport, MA
Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver	1867	E. Roberts, Mason Bros., New York, NY
Musical Leaves for Sabbath Schools	1867	P. Phillips; Philips Phillips & Co.; Cincinnati, OH
The Church Hymn Book	1867	William Salter; Anson D. F. Randolph; New York, NY
The Silver Spray	1868	W. H. Doane; John Church; Cincinnati, OH
The Casket of Sunday School Melodies, Complete. Compiled from Caskets Nos. 1 and 2 with Several Additional Pieces	1869	Asa Hull; Asa Hull; Philadelphia, PA
Songs of Salvation. Work Songs, welcome songs, prayer songs, faith and hope songs, praise songs, joy songs, festival songs, home songs, pilgrim songs, heaven songs	1870	T. E. Perkins, A. Taylor; Biglow & Main Co.; New York, NY
The Silver Spray: a New and Choice Collection of Popular Sabbath School Music	1871	W. H. Doane; John Church; Cincinnati, OH
The Tabernacle Chorus	1874	A. Taylor; Biglow & Main Co.; New York, NY
The Tabernacle Chorus (Trinity ed.)	1874	Rev. Alfred Taylor, J. B. Simmons, D. D.; Biglow & Main; New York, NY
Apostolic Hymns and Songs: a collection of hymns and songs, both new and old, for the church, protracted meetings, and the Sunday school	1875	D. R. Lucas, Central Book Concern, Oskaloosa, IA
Temperance Glee Book	1877	Asa Hull; Oliver Ditson & Co.; Boston, MA
The Song Victor for the Sunday School and Public School Use	1878	R. A. Glenn; F. W. Helmick; Cincinnati, OH
Wreath of Praise	1879	Asa Hull; Daniel W. Knowles; New York, NY
Select Songs for the Singing Service in the Prayer Meeting and Sunday School	1885	F. N. Peloubet; Biglow & Main Co.; New York, NY
Joy and Praise for Sunday Schools	1886	R. A. Glenn, D. W. Crist; H. L.

		Benham & Co.; Cincinnati, OH
The Highway Hymnal; a choice collection of popular hymns and music, new and old. Arranged for the work in camp, convention, church and home	1886	Rev. Isaiah Reid, Rev. Geo. L. Brown; Highway Office; Nevada, IA
Temperance Rallying Songs: consisting of a large variety of solos, quartettes, and choruses, suited to every phase of the great temperance reformation	1888	Asa Hull; Asa Hull; New York, NY
The Good Templar Songster for Temperance Meetings and the Home Circle. 2nd ed.	1888	Harry B. White; Harry B. White; Toledo, OH
Songs of Praise and Prayer	1889	Charles H. Richards; Taintor Brothers & Co.; New York, NY
The Temperance Crusade	1889	L. O. Emerson, Edwin Moore; Oliver Ditson & Co.; Boston, MA
Good Will Songs: a Compilation of Hymns and Tunes	1890	Stanford Mitchell; Universalist Publishing House; Boston, MA
Poems and Hymns of Dawn	1890	C. T. Russell; Tower Pub. Co.; Allegheny, PA
Billows of Song	1893	S.P. Creasinger, S. P. Creasinger & Co., Cincinnati, OH
Best Hymns from all the books and new ones to be made the best: selections from over one hundred of our best hymn writers	1894	The Evangelical Publishing Co., Chicago, IL (music editor Rev. Elisha A. Hoffman)
Marching Songs for Young Crusaders No. 3	1895	Anna Adams Gordon; Woman's Temperance Publication Association; Chicago, IL
The Treasury of American Sacred Song with Notes Explanatory and Biographical	1896	W. Garrett Horder; Oxford University Press; London, New York, NY
Life-Time Hymns	1896	R. R. McCabe Co.; Chicago, IL
Song-Hymnal of Praise of Joy, a selection of spiritual songs, old and new	1897	Pluma M. Brown; Pluma M. Brown; Jackson, MN
The Praise Hymnary: a collection of sacred song	1898	Thomas J. Morgan, D.D., LL. D., William A. May, Phoebe M. Haynes; Silver Burdett and Co.; New York, NY, Boston, MA, Chicago, IL
Christian Songs: a collection for use in general church services, the Sunday school, young people's meetings [and] song and revival services	1898	Willis Brown, Lake View Press, Chicago, IL
The Sunday School Hymnal: with offices of devotion	1899	Reformed Church in the United States; Heidelberg Press; Philadelphia, PA
New Anti-Saloon Songs	1899	Edmund S. Lorenz; Lorenz & Co.; New York, NY
Peerless Hymns	1899	H. F. Sayles; Evangelical Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL
In Excelsis for School and Chapel	1900	The Century Co.; New York, NY
Jubilant Deo, a Book of Hymns and Tunes for Young and Old	1900	George H. Ellis; Boston, MA
The Sunday School Hymnal: with offices of devotion	1900	Reformed Church in the United States; Heidelberg Press; Philadelphia, PA
Kingdom of Song for the Sunday School	1900	T. M. Bowdish; W. W. Whitney Co.; Toledo, OH
Sacred and Secular Selections: for gentlemen's voices	1900	Peter Philip Bilhorn; Bilhorn Bros.; Chicago, IL

"Praise and Promise" hymns new and old for missionary and revival meetings, sabbath schools and special occasions	1900	J. M. Black, C. C. McCabe; R. R. McCabe & Co., Chicago, IL
Ocean Grove Songs	1900	Bishop J. N. Fitzgerald, Rev. Chase H. Yatman, Tali Esen Morgan: Ocean Grove Association; Ocean Grove, NJ
Great TABernacle Hymns	1900	Meyer & Brother; Chicago, IL
World Wide Revival Songs for the Church, Sunday School and Evangelistic Meetings	1900	C. P. Curry, H. A. Rodeheaver, C. H. Gabriel; Revival Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL
The Endeavor Hymnal: for Young People's Societies, Sunday Schools and Church Prayer Meetings	1901	United Society of Christian Endeavor; Boston, MA
The Century Gospel Songs	1901	P. P. Bilhorn; Bilhorn Bros.; Chicago, IL
Hymns of the Faith	1901	E. O. Excell and A. C. Smither; Christian Board of Publication; St. Louis, MO
Consecrated Hymns	1902	Adam Geibel, R. Frank Leehman, H. C. Lincoln; Geibel & Lehman; Philadelphia, PA
Institute Songs; Selections from the Chapel Hymnal	1902	T. B. Noss; State Normal School; California, PA
International Praise: for the Sunday school and church	1902	E. O. Excell; E. O. Excell; Chicago, IL
Ocean Grove Christian Songs: "The Big Little Book"	1902	Bishop J. A. Fitzgerald, Rev. Chase H. Vatman, Tali Esen Morgan; Tali Esen Morgan, Ocean Grove, NJ
Responsive Vesper Services for use at Chautauqua Assemblies...	1902	Elvin Swarthout; Epworth League Assembly; Ludington, MI
The Church School Hymnal with Tunes	1903	W. Rix ATtwood, Frederic E. J. Lloyd; Church School Hymnal Pub. Co.; Cleveland, OH
Hymn and Tune Book	1903	H. W. Fairbank; H. W. Fairbank Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL
The Pilgrim Hymnal	1904	Charles L. Noyes, Charles L. Ziegler; Pilgrim Press; New York, NY
Songs of Faith and Hope	1905	James M. Black; Jennings & Graham; Cincinnati, OH
International Gospel Hymns and Songs	1905	P. P. Bilhorn; Bilhorn Bros.; Chicago, IL
One Hundred Hymns You Ought to Know	1906	Fleming H. Revell Co.; Chicago, IL
Christian Hymns: for the use of young people's societies, Sunday Schools and Church Services	1908	Eden Publishing House, St. Louis, MO
Hymns and Tunes for Schools	1908	Rev. Herbert B. Turner, D. D.; A. S. Barnes & Co.; New York, NY
Hymns of Worship and Service for Sunday Schools	1908	Century Co.; New York, NY
Christian Hymns and Singet dem herrn combined	1908	A. G. Toennies; Eden Publishing House; St. Louis and Chicago, IL
Heart and Voice	1909	G. H. Ellis Co.; Boston, MA
Deseret Sunday School Songs	1909	Deseret Sunday School Union; Salt Lake City, UT
Cumberland Hymns, a Collection of "Whosoever Will" Songs. Centenary ed.	1909	W. T. Dale, H. A. R. Horton; Cumberland Presbyterian Depository; Nashville TN

Voices of praise: prepared with especial reference to the needs of the Sunday school	1909	William B. Olmstead, William B. Rose, Emma L. Hogue, Mary L. Coleman, David S. Warner; W. B. Rose; Chicago, IL
Treasured Hymns	1909	R. F. Lehman, E. O. Excell, R. Miller; Heidelberg Press; Philadelphia, PA
New Songs of the Gospel (Nos. 1, 2, and 3 combined)	1909	J. Lincoln Hall, C. Austin Miles, C. Harold Lowden; Hall-Mack Co.; Philadelphia, PA
Jubilant Praise: for young people's societies, Sunday Schools, and Church Prayer Meetings	1909	compier: William Shaw, editor: E. O. Excell; United Socie ty of Christian Endeavor; Boston, MA
Songs for the King's Business	1909	F. E. Belden; Sunday School Supply House; Chicago, IL
Epworth Praises: A Collection of Popular Sacred Songs New and Old	1909	C. H. Gabriel; Epworth League of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Chicago, IL
Manly Songs for Christian Men: A Collection of Sacred Songs Adapted to the needs of Male Singers	1910	Tullar-Meredith Co.; New York, NY and Chicago, IL
Songs for Sunday Schools and How to Use Them	1910	Louis D. Eichhorn; A. S. Barnes Co.; New York, NY
The Wesleyan Methodist Hymnal	1910	Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association; New York, NY
Northfield Hymns for Young People	1910	Claire Chapman, Elsie E. McCartee; H. W. Gray Co.; New York, NY
Victory Songs	1910	H. A. Rodeheaver; Rodeheaver Co.; Chicago, IL
Hymns of Heavenly Harmony	1910	Bilhorn Bros.; Chicago, IL
Hymns of the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ	1911	Bailie Brown, P. P. Bilhorn; Bilhorn Bros.; Chicago, IL
The New Evangel	1911	Robert H. Coleman; Robert H. Coleman; Dallas, TX
Great Revival Hymns	1911	Homer Rodeheaver, B. D. Ackley, W. E. Biederwolf, J. B. Herbert; Rodeheaver-Ackley Co.; unknown
Pro-Songs	1911	J. T. Franklin; Brown Franklin; Ft. Worth, TX
Gospel Hosannas: for church and Sabbath school, young people's services and evangelistic meeting	1911	C. B. Strouse, J. B. Herbert, Ralph E. Mitchell; Glad Tidings Pub Co.; Chicago, IL
Greatest Hymns for use in the Churches	1911	John A. Lee; John A. Lee; Glencoe, KY
The Methodist Sunday School Hymnal	1911	John R. Van Pelt, PhD, Peter C. Lutkin, Mus. D.; Eaton & Mains; New York, NY
Sunday School Hymnal	1912	Mrs. L. Weston Attwood; Universalist Publishing House; Boston, MA
Hymns of the Church: new and old	1912	William Vail Wilson Davis, D. D.; Raymond Calkins, D. D.; A. S. Barnes Co.; New York, NY
The Pilgrim Hymnal: with responsive readings and other aids to worship	1912	Charles L. Ziegler, Charles L. Noyes; Pilgrim Press; Boston, MA
The Council Hymnal: a selection of hymns and tunes chosen from the Pilgrim Hymnal for the use of the National Council of Congregational Churches	1912	Pilgrim Press, Boston, MA

The Students' Hymnal	1912	Charles H. Levermore; Ginn & Company; Boston, MA, New York, NY, Chicago, IL, London
The University Hymn Book	1912	W. S. Milner, Alexander MacMillan; Oxford University Press; Toronto, Ont.
Make Christ King: a selection of high class gospel music for use in general worship and special evangelistic meetings	1912	E. O. Excell, William Edward Biederwolf; Glad Tidings Co.; Chicago, IL
Hymns of Worship and Service: for the Sunday School	1913	Century Co.; New York, NY
Hymns of the Centuries: Sunday School Edition	1913	B. Shepard; A. S. Barnes & Co.; New York, NY
Voices of Victory	1913	P. P. Bilhorn; Bilhorn Bros.; Chicago, IL
Crowns of Rejoicing	1913	C. R. Scoville, E. O. Excell; Carles Reign Scoville; Chicago, IL
Great Revival Hymns No. 2	1913	H. A. Rodeheaver, B. D. Ackerly; Rodeheaver Co.; Chicago, IL
The Boys' Hymnal	1913	I. H. Meredith; Tullar Meredith Co.; New York, NY
The World Evangel	1913	Robert H. Coleman; Robert H. Coleman; Dallas, TX
The Assembly Hymn and Song Collection: designed for use in chapel, assembly, convocation, or general exercises of schools, normals, colleges and universities. (3rd ed.)	1914	C. Guy Hoover; Educational Pub. Co.; Pittsburg, KS
The New Hymn and Tune Book	1914	American Unitarian Association; Boston, MA
Inspiring Hymns	1914	E. O. Excell; E. O. Excell Co.; Chicago, IL
Songs of Power. Rev.	1914	L. C. Hall; L. C. Hall; Zion City, IL
Crown Him King	1914	S. W. Beazley; Ruebush Kieffer; Dayton, VA
The New Make Christ King	1914	E. O. Excell; Glad Tidings Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL
Services for Congregational Worship	1914	American Unitarian Association; Boston, MA
Joy to the World: for the Church and Sunday School	1915	E. O. Excell; Hope Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL
Calvary Hymns	1915	R. H. Cornelius, R. H. Cornelius, Ft. Worth, TX
Laymens' Missionary Movement Convention Hymnal	1915	Laymen's Missionary Movement; New York, NY
Free Methodist Hymnal	1915	Free Methodist Publishing House; Chicago, IL
The Anti-Saloon League Song Book	1915	Edwin O. Excell; American Issue Pub. Co.; Westerville, OH
The Song Harvest, a book of gospel songs	1915	Emmett S. Dean; Trio Music Co.; Waco, TX
The Hymnal: as authorized and approved by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America in the year of our Lord 1916	1916	Peter Irvine; Church Pension Fund; New York, NY
The New Praiseworthy for the Church and Sunday	1916	E. O. Excell; E. O. Excell Publisher;

School		Chicago, IL
Make Christ King: combined: a selection of high class gospel hymns for use in general worship and special evangelistic meetings	1916	E. O. Excell; The Glad Tidings Co.; Chicago, IL
Glory Songs	1916	John T. Benson, John T Benson; Pentecostal Mission Pub. Co.; Nashville, TN
Songs of the New Crusade: a collection of stirring twentieth century temperance songs	1916	Rev. Elisha A. Hoffman; Hope Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL
The Golden Sheaf No. 2: a collection of gospel hymns, new and old, responsive readings, hymns for the Sunday school, young people's societies, male voices, choruses, and general worship	1916	Advent Christian Publication Society; Boston, MA
The New Canadian Hymnal: a collection of hymns and music for Sunday schools, young people's societies, prayer & praise meetings, family circles	1916	J. M. Sherlock; William Briggs; Toronto, Ont.
Gloria: a hymnal for use in Sunday schools, young people's societies, and devotional meetings	1916	Benjamin Shepard; A. S. Barnes & Co.; New York, NY
Hymns of Blessing for the Living Church: the best of the old and latest of the new, suited to the church and home, the Sunday school, the brotherhoods, the young peoples' meetings	1916	Bentley D. Ackley; Hall-Mack Co.; Philadelphia, PA
Worship and Service	1916	H. R. Christie; The Standard Publishing Company; Cincinnati, OH
Tidings of Glory	1916	Emmett S. Dean; Trio Music Co.; Waco, TX
Songs of Salvation and Service	1916	Homer M. Cummings; M. Homer Cummings; Wheeling, WV
Hymns of the Church: with services and chants	1917	The Murray Press; Boston, MA
Hymns with Tunes to accompany Hymns and Prayers for the use of the Army and Navy	1917	Boston, MA
Songs of Help: for the Sunday school, evangelistic and church services	1917	James M. Black; Abingdon Press; New York, NY
The Hymnal: Published in 1895 and revised in 1911 by authority of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: with the supplement of 1917	1917	The Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work; Philadelphia, PA
The Service Song Book	1917	C. A. Barbour; Association Press; New York, NY
Eternal Praise for the Church and Sunday School	1917	Marion Lawrance, E. O. Excell; Hope Publishing Company; Chicago IL
Conference Hymnal	1917	Charles C. M. Alexander, Sterling Music Co., Philadelphia, PA
Heart and Voice	1917	C. W. Wendte; George H. Ellis; Boston, MA
Herald of Praise	1917	W. E. Biederwolf, E. O. Excell; Glad Tidings Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL
Hymns and Prayers for the Use of the Army and Navy	1917	Houghton Mifflin Co.; Boston, MA
Williston Hymns	1917	Homer A. Rodeheaver, A. J. Shartle; Music editor-Charles H. Gabriel; United Society of Christian Endeavor; Boston, MA
Hymn of the Faith	1917	E. O. Excell, A. C. Smither; Christian Board of Publication; St. Louis, MO

Willston Hymns	1917	Homer A. Rodeheaver and A.J. Shartle; United Society of Christian Endeavor; Boston, Chicago
Awakening Songs for the Church, Sunday School and Evangelistic Services	1917	Homer A. Rodeheaver, Rodeheaver Co., Chicago, IL (music editor Chas. H. Gabriel)
Songs of Peace and Power	1917	P. P. Bilhorn; Bilhorn Bros.; Chicago, IL
Hymns and Sacred Songs	1918	E. O. Excell, G. H. Shorney, F. G. Kingsbury; Hope Publishing Co.; Chicago, IL
For God and Country: Hymns for use in War Time	1918	Louis F. Benson, D.D.; Presbyterian Board of Publication; Philadelphia, PA
Convention Hymnal	1918	Laymen's Missionary Movement; Chicago, IL.
Gospel Hymns and Songs for the Church, Sunday School and Evangelistic Services	1918	H. A. Rodeheaver, C. H. Gabriel; Rodeheaver Co; Chicago, IL
New Songs of Pentecost No. 3	1918	J. L. Hall, C. A. Miles, A. Geibel; Hall Mack Co.; Philadelphia, PA
Northfield Hymnal No. 3	1918	Charles M. Alexander, May Whittle Moody; The Bookstore; East Northfield, MA
Songs of Grace and Glory: A New and Inspiring Selection of Sacred Songs for Evangelical Use and General Worship	1918	A. L. Byers, B. E. Warren; Gospel Trumpet Pub. Co.; Anderson, IN
The Songs of Zion	1918	Zion's Printing and Pub. Co.; Independence, MO
War-Time Hymns	1918	Fleming H. Revell Co.; New York, NY
Songs for Service	1918	H. A. Rodeheaver (compiler), C. H. Gabriel (music editor); Rodeheaver Co.; Chicago, IL
The Popular Hymnal	1918	Robert H. Coleman; Robert H. Coleman; Dallas, TX
Songs of Great Salvation	1918	W. M. Runyan, D. B. Towner; Runyan Music Pub. Co.; Wichita, KS
Worship in Song	1918	E. O. Excell, W. C. Everett; Smith & Lamar; Nashville, TN
Songs of Hope for the Church and Sunday School	1919	E. O. Excell; Hope Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL
Songs of Devotion and Praise	1919	J. M. Harris; God's Revivalist Press; Cincinnati, OH
The Excelsior Hymnal	1919	I. H. Meredith, G. C. Tullar; Tullar Meredith Co.; New York, NY
Hymnal for American Youth	1920	H. Augustine Smith, A.M.; The Century Co.; New York, NY
Hymns for Today	1920	J. H. Fillmore; Fillmore Music House; Cincinnati, OH
Songs of Salvation and Service Rev.	1920	M. H. Cummings; M. H. Cummings; Wheeling, WV
The Church Hymnal Revised: containing hymns approved and set forth by the general conventions of 1892 and 1916; together with hymns for the use of guilds and brotherhoods, and for special occasions	1920	Rev. Charles L. Hutchins, D. D.; Parish Choir; Boston, MA

The Hill School Hymnal and Service Book	1920	M. Meigs, M. Randall; A. S. Barnes & Co.; New York, NY
The School Hymnal: a book of worship for young people	1920	Milton S. Littlefield, Luella Gardner Littlefield; A. S. Barnes & Co.; New York, NY
The Annex: Evangelical Hymns Translated and Original. 2nd ed.	1920	Danish Lutheran Publishing House; Blair, NE
Songs of Redemption	1920	W. P. Martin, J. W. Jelks; Home Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention; Atlanta, GA
Elmhurst Hymnal: and orders of worship for the Sunday school, young people's meetings and church service	1921	Paul N. Crusius; unknown; unknown
The Century Hymnal	1921	H. Augustine Smith; Century Co.; New York, NY
Songs for the Sunday School	1921	E. B. Chappell, Music editor Samuel W. Beazley; Publishing House, Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Nashville, TN
The Army and Navy Hymnal	1921	Century Co.; New York, NY
Glad Tidings in Song	1921	W. E. Biederwolf, Bob Jones, E. C. Miller, H. W. Stough, John S. Hamilton; Glad Tidings Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL
Gospel Pearls	1921	W. A. Townsend; Sunday School Pub. Board; National Baptist Convention of America; Nashville, TN
The Evangelical Hymnal	1921	Board of Publication of the Evangelical Church; Cleveland, OH
Worship and Song (Rev. ed)	1921	Benjamin S. Winchester, Grace Wilbur Conant; Pilgrim Press; Boston, MA
Columbia University Hymnal	1921	H. W. Gray Co., New York, NY
Songs of Life	1921	Carl Fowler Price; Abingdon Press; New York, NY
The Victor	1921	E. M. Bartlett, Henson Moore; Hartford Music Co.; Hartford, AR
Waves of Glory, No. 2	1921	W. J. Kirkpatrick, D. L. Wallace, C. J. Kinne; Lillenas Publishing Company; Kansas City, MO
World Wide Revival Songs No. 2	1921	James G. Garth; Federation Pub. Co.; Siloam Springs, AR
Hymns of the Millennial Dawn, with Music: a Choice Collection of Psalms sand Hymns and Spiritual Songs	1921	International Bible Students Association; New York, NY
Hymns of Praise for the Church and Sunday School	1922	F. G. Kingsbury; Hope Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL
Rodeheaver's Gospel Songs for church, Sunday Schools and evangelistic services	1922	Homer A. Rodeheaver; the Rodeheaver Company; Chicago, IL (music editor Chase H. Gabriel)
New Songs of Praise and Power 1-2-3 Combined	1922	J. Lincoln Hall, Adam Geibel, C. Austin Miles, B. D. Ackley; Hall Mack Company; Philadelphia, PA
The American Hymnal for Chapel Service	1922	Century Co.; New York, NY
The Church School Hymnal	1922	C. Harold Lowden; Heidelberg Press; Philadelphia, PA

The Junior Song and Service Book: for Sunday schools and young people's societies	1922	I. H. Meredith, Grant Colfax Tullar; Tullar Meredith Co.; New York, NY
The Pilot	1922	Robert H. Coleman; Robert H. Coleman; Dallas, TX
The American Hymnal for Chapel Service	1922	Century Co.; New York, NY
Selected Hymns	1922	E. C. Schirmer; Boston, MA
Convention Hymnal	1922	H. A. Smith; Century Co.; New York, NY
Hymns of the Living Gospel No. 1	1923	J. L. Hall, A. Geibel; Hall Mack Co.; Philadelphia, PA
Chapel Hymns and Services	1923	Beacon Press, Boston, MA
Services and Songs for use in the Junior Department of the Church School	1923	Josephine L. Baldwin; Abingdon Press; New York, NY
The Cokesbury Hymnal	1923	Harold Hart Todd; Cokesbury Press; Nashville, TN
Hymns for the Living Age	1923	H. Augustine Smith; Century Co.; New York, NY
Living Hymns	1923	W. E. Chalmers, S. W. Beazley; Judson Press; Philadelphia, PA
Progressive Sunday School Songs	1923	H. A. Rodeheaver, C. H. Gabriel; Rodeheaver Co; Chicago, IL
Hosanna in the Highest, Gypsy Smith's Campaign Song Book	1923	William McEwa; Hosanna Pub Co.; New York, NY
Selected Sunday School Songs	1923	F. G. Kingsbury; Hope Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL
Songs of Work and Worship	1923	S. M. Cushing, J. Moore; Universalist Publishing House; Boston, MA
Songs of Conquest	1923	Bishop Joseph F. Berry; Jennings & Graham / Eaton & Mains; Cincinnati and New York, NY
The Chapel Hymnal	1923	T. B. Noss; Mrs. Theodore B. Noss; Athens, OH
The Concord Hymnal for Day School, Sunday School and Home	1923	K. Huntington, E. M. Robinson; E. C. Schirmer; Boston, MA
Hymns and Prayers for Church Societies and Assemblies	1923	Board of Publication; United Lutheran Church in America; Philadelphia, PA
Golden Bells	1923	Homer A. Rodeheaver; The Rodeheaver Company; Chicago, IL (music editor Chase H. Gabriel)
The Baptist Standard Hymnal with Responsive Readings	1924	A. M. Townsend; Sunday School Publishing Board, National Baptist Convention; Nashville, TN
Songs of the Cross	1924	R. H. Cornelius, R. H. Cornelius, Ft. Worth, TX
The Beacon Hymnal	1924	F. Buck; Beacon Press; Boston, MA
Harvest Hymns	1924	Robert H. Coleman; Robert H. Coleman; Dallas, TX
Inspirational Songs for Sunday School, Social Worship, Missionary and Evangelistic Work	1924	N. W. Fink, J. B. Lutz, W. B. Rose; Light and Life Press; Chicago, IL
Praises	1924	R. H. Cornelius, R. H. Cornelius, Ft. Worth, TX
Service Hymnal	1925	Samuel W. Beazley; Samuel W. Beazley & Son; Chicago, IL
The Excell Hymnal	1925	Hamp Sewell, Edwin O. Excell, W. E.

		M. Hackleman; E. O. Excell Company; Indianapolis, IN
Choice Collections	1925	J. T. Benson, M. H. Cummings, M. Homer Cummings, Wheeling, WV
Hymns of the Living Gospel No. 3	1925	J. L. Hall; Hall Mack Co.; Philadelphia, PA
Jehovah's Praise	1925	Isham Emmanuel Reynolds; Southwestern Press; Ft. Worth, TX
Victorious Service Songs	1925	The Rodeheaver Company; Chicago and Philadelphia
Faith Inspiring Songs	1925	The Standard Publishing Co; Cincinnati, OH
Coleman's New Quartet Book	1925	Robert H. Coleman; Dallas, TX
St. Francis Hymnal and Choir Manual	1925	Franciscan Sisters of the ATonement; Graymoor, Garrison; New York, NY
The Complete Church Hymnal	1925	A. R. Walton, H. F. Morris, J. M. Henson; Southern Music Place Co.; Atlanta, GA
The King's Highway No. 2	1925	Charles Forbes Taylor; Tabernacle Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL
The New Church Hymnal	1926	George C. Stebbins; Hope Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL
The Modern Hymnal	1926	Robert H. Coleman; Robert H. Coleman; Dallas, TX
The New Baptist Hymnal	1926	American Baptist Publication Society; American Baptist Publication Society / Broadman Press; Valley Forge, PA and Nashville, TN
New Soul Winning Songs	1926	P. P. Bilhorn; Bilhorn Bros.; Chicago, IL
Sacred Songs for Church and Home	1926	Juliette Alexander; A. S. Barnes & Co.; New York, NY
Melodies of Zion	1926	A. L. Byers, B. E. Warren; Gospel Trumpet Pub. Co.; Anderson, IN
A Hymnal for Joyous Youth	1927	Fillmore Music House, Cincinnati, OH
American Church and Church School Hymnal	1927	W.E.M. Hackleman, E.O. Excell Co., Chicago, IL
The Northfield Hymnal #4	1927	M. W. Moody; The Bookstore; East Northfield, MA
The Church Hymnary	1927	Oxford University Press; London, New York
Wonderful Jesus and Other Songs	1927	Rodney Smith; Romany Publishing Co.; Chicago, IL
The Bible Songs Hymnal: a Selection of Psalms and Hymns...	1927	United Presbyterian Board of Publication and Bible School Work; Pittsburgh, PA
American Student Hymnal	1928	H. Augustine Smith, Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, NY
The Hymnal for Young People	1928	M. S. Littlefield, M. Slattery; A. S. Barnes & Co.; New York, NY
The Church School Hymnal for Youth	1928	Calvin Laufer; Westminster Press; Philadelphia PA
The Smaller Hymnal	1928	Louisi F. Benson; Westminster Press; Philadelphia, PA

The Abingdon Hymnal: a Book of Worship for Youth	1928	Earl Enyeart Harper; Abingdon Press; New York, NY
Jehovah's Praise	1928	I. H. Meredith; Tullar Meredith Co.; New York, NY
Gospel Melodies	1928	Robert H. Coleman; Robert H. Coleman; Dallas, TX
The Voice of Thanksgiving No. 4	1928	Bible Institute Colportage Association; Chicago, IL
The Silver Trumpet	1929	Bishop Alma White and Rev. Arthur K. White; Pillar of Fire; Zarephath, NJ
Scottish Psalter and Church Hymnary	1929	Oxford University Press; London, New York
Songs of Praises, a General Purpose Evangelistic Song Book	1929	Arthur W. McKee, J. E. Sturgis; Standard Pub. Co.; Cincinnati, OH
Praise Him	1929	Samuel W. Beazley; Samuel W. Beazley & Son; Chicago, IL
Singing Glory	1929	A. E. Bartlett; Hope Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL
Inter-Church Hymnal	1930	Katharine Howard Ward; Biglow & Main Co.; Chicago, IL
The New Hymnal for American Youth	1930	J. Augustine Smith; Fleming H. Revell Co.; New York, NY
Seth Parker's Hymnal	1930	Phillips H. Lord; Carl Fischer; New York, NY
The Hymnal	1930	The Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work; Philadelphia, PA
Majestic Hymns	1930	Robert H. Coleman; Robert H. Coleman; Dallas, TX
The Chautauqua Hymnal, a Collection of Hymns for Gatherings...and Young Peoples Organizations	1930	Book Concern; Columbus, OH
The Christian Witness Songs	1930	Christian Witness Co.; Chicago, IL
Seth Parker's Hymnal. 5th ed.	1931	Phillips H. Lord; C. Fischer, Inc.; New York, NY
New Hymnal for Christian Youth	1931	the international society of christian endeavor; Boston, MA
Songs of Praise	1931	Percy Dearmer; Oxford University Press; London
Glorious Gospel Hymns	1931	Haldor Lillenas; Nazarene Publishing House; Kansas City, MO
The Evangelical Church School Hymnal	1931	Evangelical Publishing House; Cleveland, OH
Praise and Service: hymns with tunes for christian worship	1932	H. Augustine Smith; The Century Co.; New York, London
The American Hymnal for English Speaking People Everywhere	1933	R. H. Coleman; Robert H. Coleman; Dallas, TX
Favorite Hymns	1933	J.E. Sturgis; The Standard Publishing Company; Cincinnati, OH
Songs of Faith	1933	Broadman Press; Nashville, TN
The Singing Choir	1933	O. Wheeler, H. DeLong; C. C. Birchard & Co.; Boston, MA
Warrior Songs for the White Cavalry. 2nd ed.	1933	Frank W. Sandford; "The Kingdom" Pub. Co.; Boston, MA
Hymns of Faith and Life	1934	Bishop Wilbur P. Thirfield; A.S.

		Barnes and Company; New York, NY
Greatest and Lasting Hymns	1934	John A. Lee; John A. Lee; Glencoe, KY
Youth Hymnal	1935	Joseph Rodeheaver; Rodeheaver, Hall Mack Co.; Winona Lake, IN
Pilgrim Hymnal	1935	James W. Lenhart; Pilgrim Press; Boston, MA
Junior Youth Hymnal	1935	Joseph Rodeheaver; Rodeheaver Co.; Chicago, IL
Church Hymns and Services, Published under License of the Church Pension Fund	1936	Parish Press, Fond Du Lac, WI
The Hymnal	1936	Stanhope Press; Boston, MA
The Hymnal for Boys and Girls	1936	Caroline Bird Parker, G. Darlington Richards; D. Appleton-Century Company; New York, NY
Hymns for Christian Service	1936	Hope Publishing Co; Chicago IL
Gospel Hour Song Book	1936	G. V. Bateman, E. L. Bateman; Old Fashion Gospel Hour; Irvington, NJ
Exalt His Name	1936	I. H. Meredith; Tullar Meredith Co.; New York, NY
American Church and Church School Hymnal	1937	Biglow-main-Excell Co., Chicago, IL
Hymns of the Spirit for Use in the Free Churches of America	1937	Peacon Press; Boston, MA
Songs of Praise for America	1938	L. E. Daniels; Oxford Univ. Press; New York, NY
Let Everybody Sing	1938	M. Homer Cummings; M. Homer Cummings; Wheeling, WV
Favorite Hymns	1938	Frederic J. Haskin; Hall & McCreary; Chicago, IL
Favorite Songs and Hymns	1939	Stamped-Baxter Music & Printing Co; Dallas, Tx Pangburn, AR, Chattanooga, TN
Everybody's Hymn Book for Church and Home	1939	A. S. Barnes & Co.; New York, NY
The Canadian Youth Hymnal	1939	United Church Publishing House; Toronto, Ont.
The Hymnal: Army and Navy	1942	Ivan L. Bennett; U.S. Government Printing Office; Washington D. C.
The Best Loved Hymns and Prayers of the American People	1942	Harold Vincent Milligan; Halcyon House; New York, NY
Choice Hymns: a Collection of Hymns from the Free Methodist Hymnal	1942	W. Pearce, R. Cochrane, Free Methodist Publishing House, Winona Lake, IN
New Worship and Song, with Worship Services and Source Materials	1942	Pilgrim Press, Boston, MA
Old Time Power	1945	Delanco Camp Meeting Association; Fletcher Grove-Delanco, NJ
The Richard Allen A.M.E. Hymnal, with Responsive Scripture Readings. Rev.	1946	A.M.E. Book Concern; Philadelphia, PA
The Voice of Thanksgiving No. 5	1946	Moody Press; Chicago, IL
Universal Hymns	1946	Hugo Frey; Robbins Music Corp.; Mew York, NY
Hymns of Praise Numbers One and Two Combined	1947	F. G. Kingsbury; Hope Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL

The Saints' Hymnal	1947	Herald Publishing House; Independence, MO
Cross and Crown Hymnal (Church of the Pillar of Fire) Chapel Services, Cadet Hymns and Songs	1949	Pillar of Fire; Zarephath, NJ
Universal Songs and Hymns, a complete hymnal	1949	Valley Forge Military Academy, Wayne, PA
The Family Book of Favorite Hymns	1950	A. E. Brumley, W. O. Cooper, R. S. Arnold; Albert E. Brumley & Sons; Powell, MO
Old Time Revival Songs	1950	Arthur Austin; Funk & Wagnalls Company; New York, NY
Songs for Christian Worship	1950	Alfred E. Smith; Alfred E. Smith; Wheaton, IL
The Hymnal of the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America	1950	Board of Christian Education of the United Presbyterian Church of North America; Pittsburgh, PA
Praise and Worship (the Nazarene Hymnal)	1951	Covenant Book Concern; Chicago, IL
The Pioneer Hymnal	1952	Nazarene Publishing House; Kansas City, MO
A Treasury of Hymns, the Best-Loved Hymns, Carols, Anthems, Children's Hymns, and Gospel Songs	1953	General Conference of German Evangelical Congregational Church; Pioneer Press; Yankton, SD
Songs for Juniors	1953	Maria Leiper, Simon & Schuster, New York, NY
Hymnal of the Church of God	1953	Broadman Press; Nashville, TN
The Chapel Hymnal	1953	Robert A. Nicholson; Warner Press; Anderson, IN
Pocket Songster	1954	A. C. Sly; Harcourt, Brace & Co.; New York, NY
Worship at Kirkridge	1954	Singspiration; Grand Rapids, MI
AMEC Hymnal	1954	Kirkridge; Bangor, PA
Power and Praise	1954	The A.M.E. Sunday School Union; unknown
Songs of Salvation	1955	John T. Benson; John T Benson Publishing Co; Nashville, TN
Chapel Conference Songbook	1955	Harry D. Clarke; Fellowship Press; Lexington, KY
Mirfield Mission Hymn Book	1955	Chaplains' Office, US Air Force, Cooperative Recreation Service, Delaware, OH
New Songs of Inspiration No. 2	1955	A.R. Mowbray; London
Baptist Hymnal	1956	John T. Benson; Old Time Faith Publishers; Nashville, TN
The Hymnal	1956	Walter Hines Sims, Convention Press, Nashville, TN
All-American Church Hymnal	1957	Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; Herald Pub. House; Independence, MO
Sunday School Sings	1957	John T. Benson Publishing Company; Nashville, TN
		C. N. Nelson; Praise Book Publications; Mound, MN

The Chancel Choir	1957	C. Barrows; Walfred Publishing Co.; Philadelphia, PA
Foursquare Hymnal	1957	Homer Hummel, James Boersma; International Church of the Foursquare Gospel; Los Angeles, CA
Service Book and Hymnal, authorized by the Churches Cooperating in the Commission on the Liturgy and Hymnal	1958	Augsburg/ Fortress; Minneapolis, MN and Philadelphia, PA
New Songs of Inspiration Number 3	1958	John T. Benson; John T. Benson Pub. Co.; Nashville, TN
American Baptist Hymnal	1960	American Baptist Association; Texarkana, Ark/Tx
1-2-3 Gospel Message Combined	1960	Hall-Mack Company; Philadelphia, PA
Family Album of Favorite Hymns	1960	Don McNeill; Grosset & Dunlap; New York, NY
Songs for Men, the Salvation Army Official Song Book	1961	Territorial Headquarters; New York, NY
New Songs of Inspiration No. 4	1961	John T. Benson; John T. Benson Pub. Co.; Nashville, TN
The Junior Hymnal and suggested orders of worship for informal occasions	1961	Augustana Press; Rock Island, IL
Hymns of the Christian Life. Rev. ed.	1962	A. B. Simpson; Christian Publications; Harrisburg, PA
Hymns and Songs for Church Schools	1962	R. Olson; Augsburg; Minneapolis, MN
New Songs of Inspiration Book Five	1963	John T. Benson; John T. Benson Pub. Co.; Nashville, TN
Christian Praise	1964	Broadman Press, Nashville, TN
Junior Hymnal	1964	Bill F. Leach, Paul Bobbitt; Broadman Press; Nashville, TN
Inspiring Hymns	1965	Alfred B. Smith; Singspiration, Inc; Grand Rapids, MI
The Book of Hymns	1966	The United Methodist Publishing House; Nashville, TN
The Methodist Hymnal, Official Hymnal of the Methodist Church	1966	Methodist Publishing House; Nashville, TN
Crusader Hymns and Stories	1966	Cliff Barrows, Donald Hustad; Hope Pub. Co.; Chicago, IL
Congregational Praise	1967	Independent Press Ltd; London
The Advent Christian Hymnal	1967	Advent Christian Publication Society; Concord NH
Great Hymns of the Faith	1968	John W. Peterson; Singspiration, INC; Grand Rapids, MI
Hymns of Grace: a Choice Collection of Hymns Honoring and Promoting the Reigning Grace of God	1968	Primitive Baptist Foundation; Roswell, GA
Hymns of Glorious Praise	1969	Gospel Publishing House; Springfield, MO
Favorite Hymns of Praise	1969	Hope Publishing Company; Wheaton, IL
Hymns of the Spirit	1969	Connor B. Hall; Pathway Press; Cleveland, TN
Making Melody	1969	Bible Memory ASsocation Inter.; St. Louis, MO
Singing Youth	1969	J. W. Peterson; Zondervan Pub.

		House; Grand Rapids, MI
New Catholic Hymnal	1971	St. Martin's Press; New York, NY
Worship, a Complete Hymnal and Mass Book for Parishes	1971	Robert Batastini; G. I. A. Publications; Chicago, IL
The Book of Praise	1972	Presbyterian Church in Canada; Don Mills, Ont.
The Worshipbook, Services and Hymns	1972	Westminster Press; Philadelphia, PA
Worship in Song	1972	Lillenas Publishing Co.; Kansas City, MO
Baptist Standard Hymnal	1973	Sunday School Publishing Board, National Baptist Convention; Nashville, TN
The Church Hymnary	1973	Oxford University Press; London, New York
The Covenant Hymnal, authorized by the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America	1973	Covenant Book Concern; Chicago, IL
Hymns for the Living Church	1974	Don Hustad; Hope Publishing Company; Carol Stream, IL
Book of Worship for United States Forces	1974	The Armed Forces Chaplains Board; Washington, DC
The Hymn Book of the Anglican Church of Canada and the United Church of Canada	1974	Anglican Church of Canada; Toronto, Ont.
The Hymnal of the United Church of Christ	1974	William Nelson, John Ferguson; United Church Press; Philadelphia, PA
Peoples Mass Book	1975	World Library Publications; Cincinnati, OH
The New Church Hymnal	1976	Lexicon Music, Inc; unknown
Hymns for the Family of God	1976	Fred Bock; Paragon Associates, Inc.; Nashville, TN
Church Service Hymns	1976	G. W. Sanville, Rodeheavers, Hall Mack Co., Winona Lake, IN
We Celebrate with Song	1976	Charles Frischmann; J. S. Paluch Co.; Chicago, IL
Australian Hymn Book (entry 205i)	1978	unknown
the Australian hymn book: with catholic supplement (entry 205ii)	1978	unknown
Lutheran Book of Worship	1978	Augsburg Fortress Press; Minneapolis, MN
Praise and Worship: hymnal	1978	Lillenas Publishing Co.; Kansas City, MO
Praise! Our Songs and Hymns	1979	John W. Peterson and Norman Johnson; Singspiration; Grand Rapids, MI
With One Voice a hymn book for all the churches	1979	Collins Liturgical Publications; Bungay, Suffolk
American Hymns old and new	1980	Albert Christ-Janer, Charles W. Hughes, Carleton Sprague Smith; Columbia University Press; New York, NY
The Illustrated Family Hymn Book	1980	Tony Jasper; Seabury Press; NY, NY
ICEL Resource Collection	1981	GIA Publications, INC; Chicago, IL
The New National Baptist Hymnal	1981	National Baptist Publishing Board;

		Nashville, TN
Lift Every Voice and Sing: A Collection of Afro-American Spirituals and Other Songs	1981	The Church Hymnal Corporation; New York, NY
Songs of Zion	1981	William B. McClain, J. Jefferson Cleveland; Verolga Nix; Abingdon Press; Nashville, TN
Hymnal for Worship	1982	National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; New York, NY
Hymns & Psalms	1983	Methodist Publishing House; London
Hymns Old & New	1984	
The Chapel Hymnbook	1984	Clarion Call Music, Inc.; Keene, TX
Peoples Mass Book	1984	World Library Publications, Inc.; Schiller Park, IL
Wings of Song	1984	Unity Books; Unity Village, MO
Hymns of Faith	1984	Tabernacle Publishing Company; Carol Stream, IL
The Singing Church	1985	Hope Publishing Company; Carol Stream, IL
Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints	1985	The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; Salt Lake City, UT
Seventh-day Adventist Hymnal	1985	Review and Herald Publishing Association; Washington DC and Hagerston, MD
The Hymnal for Worship and Celebration	1986	Tom Fettke, Ken Barker; Word Music; Nashville, TN
Worship His Majesty	1987	Gaither Music Company; Alexandria, IN
Lead Me, Guide Me	1987	Robert J. Batastini; GIA Publications, Inc.; Chicago, IL
The Free Will Baptist Hymn Book: Rejoice	1988	The National Association of Free Will Baptists; Nashville, TN
Best of New Songs of Inspiration	1989	W. Elmo Mercer; The Benson Company; Nashville, TN
The United Methodist Hymnal	1989	The United Methodist Publishing House
Sing Joyfully	1989	Jack Schrader; Tabernacle Pub. Co.; Carol Stream, IL
Hymns of Faith & Inspiration	1990	Pamela J. Kennedy; Ideals Publications Inc.; Nashville, TN
Baptist Hymnal	1991	Convention Press, Nashville, TN
The Baptist Hymnal	1991	Convention Press, Nashville, TN
A New Hymnal for Colleges and School	1992	Jeffery Rowthorn and Russell Schulz-Widmar, Yale University Press, New Haven & London
Praise for the Lord	1992	John P. Wiegand; Praise Press; Nashville, TN
The Sounding Joy	1992	Westminster Presbyterian Church; Gilfport, MS
Lift Every Voice and Sing II: an African American hymnal	1993	Horace Clarence Boyer; Church Publishing Inc.; New York, NY
Sing to the Lord	1993	Lillenas Publishing Company; Kansas City, MO
Old Time Appalachian Tent Meetin' Songs	1994	Rock S. Wilson; Little Pink Pig

		Publishing; Harrisville, WV
Hymns Old and New: New Anglican	1994	Kevin Mayhew Ltd.; Buxhall, Stowmarket UK
Chalice Hymnal	1995	Daniel B. Merrick & David P. Polk, Chalice Press, St. Louis, MO
Ritual Song	1996	GIA Publications, Inc., Chicago, IL
The Worshiping Church	1996	Hope Publishing Company; Carol Stream, IL
Celebration Hymnal	1997	Word Music, Nashville, TN
Our Growing Years: a hymnal	1998	GIA Publications, Inc., Chicago, IL
Hymns of Truth and Light	1998	First Congregational Church of Houston, TX; Houston, TX
Catholic Community Hymnal	1999	GIA Publications, Inc., Chicago, IL
Together in Song: Australian Hymn Book II	1999	Australian Hymn Book Company
Ocean Grove Sings	2000	Providence Publishing Co; Franklin, TN
Complete Anglican Hymns Old & New	2000	Geoffrey Moore, Kevin Mayhew Ltd., Suffolk, England
African American Heritage Hymnal	2001	GIA Publications, Inc., Chicago, IL
Worship and Rejoice	2001	Hope Publishing Company; Carol Stream, IL
Then Sings My Soul: 150 of the World's Greatest Hymn Stories	2003	Robert J. Morgan; Thomas Nelson, Inc.; Nashville, TN
The Harvard University Hymn Book, Fourth edition	2007	Harvard University Press; Cambridge, MA
Baptist Hymnal	2008	LifeWay Worship, Nashville, TN
Celebrating Grace Hymnal	2010	Celebrating Grace, Inc., Macon, GA
Gather (3rd edition)	2011	Kelly Dobbs Mickus, Kathryn R. Cuddy, Diana Macalintal, Dominic Trumfio; GIA Publications, Inc.; Chicago, IL
Glory to God: the Presbyterian Hymnal	2013	David Eicher; Presbyterian Publishing Co.; Louisville, KY
Anti-Saloon campaign songs	unknown	Elisha Albright Hoffman; unknown

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