

Whistling “Dixie” for the Union (Nation, Anthem, Revision)

Coleman Hutchison

In *Behind the Scenes, or, Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House* (1868), Elizabeth Keckley, former slave and modiste to Mary Todd Lincoln, shares a provocative anecdote about President Lincoln and the Confederate anthem “Dixie”. Writing of Robert E. Lee’s imminent surrender, Keckley records an exhausted Lincoln’s speech from early April 1865: “‘And now, by way of parting from the brave soldiers of our gallant army, I call upon the band to play Dixie. It has always been a favorite of mine, and since we have captured it, we have a perfect right to enjoy it.’ On taking his seat the band at once struck up with ‘Dixie,’ that sweet, inspiring air” (172).¹ Here Dixie denotes both a musical interlude and the Confederate South as a whole. In a scene to be repeated with absurd regularity, Dixie-as-location comes to signify Dixie-as-location.

Latent in such a confusion of Dixie’s is the commodification of both: Dixie is an object (“it”) that can be physically taken and occupied (“captured”). Like all commodities, Dixie demands an almost juridical discourse to tie up its ownership and possession (“a perfect right”). And, as with any “favorite,” Dixie elicits great feeling from both Abraham Lincoln (“a favorite of mine”) and his interlocutor, Elizabeth Keckley (“that sweet and inspiring air”). Given the various “manifestations of applause” the song provokes, these reactions betray how the strains of a purportedly southern song can elicit emotion from a northern audience.

Taking Keckley’s anecdote as a departure point, this essay considers the status of Dixie as mid-nineteenth-century cultural and ideological production. What cultural and nationalistic work is Dixie doing here? What boundaries are being crossed in such a

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capture and through such a cathexis of northern feeling? In posing such questions, I argue that the play between these two Dixie’s, between the anthem and the nation, the local and the global, and, crucially, the northern and the southern, reveals the multiplicity of Dixie as cultural artifact. By re-presenting the complex revisionary history of the song, I show that, from the moment of its composition, Dixie was constantly crossing boundaries of nation, allegiance, politics, race, and class. Neither a strictly southern nor a strictly northern cultural property, Dixie was given to various local appropriations and rewritings and engendered a series of hotly contested proprietary claims. By exploring Dixie as a malleable, even promiscuous cultural object, this essay underscores the instability of the song’s circulation and identifies a process of revision that enabled Dixie to fit local, regional, and national agendas.

Throughout, I see *revision* as a social practice in which agents re- and un-write texts in relation to their social worlds. While recent work in bibliographical and editorial theory has yielded a more nuanced understanding of revision as a compositional practice, contemporary criticism has yet to consider fully the *cultural work* of revision.² Therefore, I pursue a reading practice that takes seriously textual differences—an omitted verse here, a shift in pronoun there—and then place such differences in relation to US social and political history. This shuttling between the “micro” level of the text and the “macro” level of society allows me to contend with the broader *culture of revisionism* that, for instance, found the US radically revising its Constitution during and immediately after the Civil War.³ Arguing that processes of complex social and political change find expression in seemingly subtle differences between revised versions of texts—between, for instance, “I Wish I Was in Dixie’s Land” and “Dixie for the Union”—I read the many nationalistic revisions of Keckley’s “sweet and inspiring air” in full view of the transnational nature of this harrowing conflict. In so doing, I want to show how the people of both the United and Confederate States of America used revision to manage the existence of competing nationalisms.

1. Locating Dixie

Dixie’s ubiquity in and importance to the nineteenth-century US cultural imaginary are extraordinary. Particularly during the war years, Dixie enjoyed a fervid, even unparalleled popularity in both the South *and* the North.⁴ Years of revisionist

history and the omnipresence of Lost Cause ideology, however, obscured the northern roots and routes of the song.⁵ Surely the most ironic aspect of Dixie's official compositional history is its birthplace: New York City. Often credited to Ohio native Daniel D. Emmett, and first heard on Broadway on 4 April 1859, the song emerged as a set piece for Bryant's Minstrels in 1859–60.⁶ Originally performed in blackface and published in "Negro dialect," the song was a product of Secession-era anxieties that expressed a bewildering racial politics all its own.

In its earliest performances, Dixie offered a complex image of African-American longing for the plantation South. In lyrics such as these, identification, desire, and affect transgress the increasingly contested Mason–Dixon line:

I wish I was in de land ob cotton,
 Old times dar am not forgotten,
 Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.
 In Dixie Land whar I was born in,
 Early on one frosty mornin,
 Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.

Den I wish I was in Dixie, Hoo-ray! Hoo-ray!
 In Dixie land, I'll took my stand to lib an die in Dixie;
 Away, away, away down south in Dixie,
 Away, away, away down south in Dixie. (Emmett, "I Wish")

Here, the "black" speaker—or the specter of white fantasy embodied in blackface—is betwixt two places. The site of longing is, presumably, the North; the site longed for is, presumably, the South, or Dixie, whose precise location is obscure, *somewhere* "away, away, away down south." This undifferentiated and indeterminate longing is rooted in the past: the "land ob cotton" is narrated only in past tense, as if the speaker is separated from Dixie not simply by space but also by time.

Given this dynamic, the vexed status of North–South circulation in 1859–60, and the increasingly binaristic logic of the period (e.g. abolition–proslavery, North–South, us–them), one might ask where the speaker's allegiance lies. Is this a song of the South or a song of the North? Because the verses remain stubbornly ambivalent, textual evidence for either reading is scarce. Without textual determinacy, one is left only with nineteenth-century responses to the song, a history of reception that aptly registers how Dixie defies or exceeds the logic of a single and simple national allegiance.

Emmett, the song’s purported author, pithily redacts Dixie’s reception: “It made a hit at once, and before the end of the week everybody in New York was whistling it. Then the South took it up and claimed it for its own” (qtd in Spaeth 138). Contemporaneous accounts of Dixie’s emergence support Emmett’s self-congratulatory remark. In the weeks that followed Dixie’s first performance, the song achieved immediate renown. As the *New York Commercial Advertiser* proclaimed, “whenever ‘Dixie’ is produced, the pen drops from the fingers of the plodding clerk, spectacles from the nose and the paper from the hands of the merchant, the needle from the nimble digits of the maid or matron, and all hands go hobbling, bobbling in time with the magical music of ‘Dixie’” (qtd in Nathan 271). In response to this “magical” popularity, sheet music for “I Wish I Was in Dixie’s Land” appeared in June 1860, produced by New York’s Firth, Pond and Co. Following this publication, Dixie’s popularity predictably moved beyond the confines of New York. By July 1860, the song was playing in theaters across the North, including those in Boston, Chicago, and St. Louis.

Contradicting Emmett’s redaction, the South’s “claiming” of Dixie was more or less synchronous with the North’s “whistling” of the song. The first southern printing of Dixie was as a broadside issued by New Orleans printer John Hopkins in late 1859—some six months *before* Firth, Pond, and Co.’s publication of “I Wish I Was in Dixie’s Land” (Spaeth 138–39). Likewise, Dixie first found its way onto the southern stage on 6 March 1860 in New Orleans. A southern version of the song was distributed soon after by New Orleans publisher P. P. Werlein, without any reference to Daniel D. Emmett: “Words by J. Newcomb. Music by J. C. Viereck.”⁷ Henry Hotze, journalist, propagandist, and editor of the London-based pro-Confederate newspaper *The Index*, described Dixie’s immediate ubiquity in the South, writing that the song spread with a “wild-fire rapidity.” Hotze wrote prophetically: “Considered as an intolerable nuisance when first the streets re-echoed it from the repertoire of wandering minstrels, [‘Dixie’] now bids fair to become the musical symbol of a new nationality, and we shall be fortunate if it does not impose its very name on our country” (140). By late 1860, Dixie had become one of the most popular tunes in the southern states. Within weeks of its arrival in New Orleans, the southern Dixie achieved a circulation comparable to, and concomitant with, that of its northern counterpart.

Dixie’s initial emergence in both New York and New Orleans belies a strictly southern association for the song. It would take until at least 18 February 1861 before Dixie achieved its

“southernness.” On that date, in Montgomery, Alabama, band-leader Hermann Arnold changed the tempo of Dixie from a marching tune to a military quickstep in honor of Jefferson Davis’s inauguration as President of the Confederate States of America. As several music critics and historians note, this was *the* moment at which Dixie became associated with Confederate nationalism.⁸ Though never formally declared the Confederate national anthem, Dixie emerged as the de facto battle hymn of the Confederacy through simple force of apposition: the moment of Confederate nationalism became the moment of Dixie. This relatively late date is crucial given the histories it elides or overshadows. Dixie existed in *both* the southern and northern cultural imaginaries well before Arnold and Davis “claimed” the song for the southern nation, well before such a co-existence would have proved politically troublesome.

The profound indeterminacy that attends the song’s inscrutable and charismatic subject, Dixie, exacerbates such confused and confusing claims. What, or better, *where* is this longed-for Dixie?⁹ While scholars have speculated endlessly on the etymology of the word Dixie, many concur that Emmett’s version of the song founded a South-Dixie metonym.¹⁰ Compellingly, the *Oxford English Dictionary* suggests Emmett’s Dixie as the first use of the word to denote “the southern United States; the South.”¹¹ Given the subsequent outpouring of tracts, broadsides, poems, novels, cartoons, newspapers, spellers, songsters, and plays that bore the sign Dixie, the song’s wide dissemination in the context of the Confederate national moment heralded the ascendancy of this metonym. Thus, despite both its geographical indeterminacy and its northern roots, Dixie came very quickly to signify the southern states of the United States of America. In the wake of both Davis’s inauguration and the state secessions that occasioned it, the song’s further dissemination proved bizarre. Though understood to be the de facto Confederate national anthem, Dixie continued to be played throughout the North during the Civil War—even at Abraham Lincoln’s inauguration.¹² Thus, despite a southern-cum-Confederate “claim” to the song, Dixie traveled transgressive and transnational paths throughout the war.

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2. “It Grewed”

Dixie’s doubled emergence in New York and New Orleans proves portentous since multiple, competing Dixie’s circulated before, during, and after the American Civil War. At least 39 versions of the song appeared in print between 1860 and 1866

alone.¹³ Given the ephemeral nature of nineteenth-century sheet music, broadsides, and songsters, this figure seems to be quite conservative. More to the point, any reliance on *printed* material to reconstruct Dixie’s revisionary history belies the fact that the song’s distribution was by no means limited to a print public sphere. Since Civil War songs were sung by dynamic groups of singers in various settings—parlor sing-alongs, slave work sites, military encampments, church gatherings, abolitionist meetings, political rallies, and other publics—there is no material record of the countless versions of Dixie that never found their way into print. In these settings, Dixie achieved a free-flowing circulation in and of revision. These unrecorded, errant Dixie’s—“Dixie’s with their tunes modulated and harmonized, their lyrics forgotten, misremembered, and improvised—certainly number more than 39.

Such a diffuse dissemination cannot be easily reconstructed. It may be asked after, speculated on, theorized, but not recreated. It is possible, however, to reconstruct contemporary accounts of Dixie’s circulation and variation. In terms of its revisionary history, Dixie was one of many Civil War songs subject to such wide circulation and revision, as Brander Matthews’s 1887 essay “The Songs of the War” suggests: “The taking of the air of a jovial college song to use as the setting of a fiery war-lyric may seem strange and curious, but only to those who are not familiar with the adventures and transformations a tune is often made to undergo” (622). In Matthews’s account, revision, in the guise of alteration to “fiery war-lyric,” is unsurprising, even predictable. For instance, Matthews writes enthusiastically of “John Brown’s Body,” a song he dubs “the song of the hour”:

[“John Brown’s Body”] has been called a spontaneous generation of the uprising of the North—a self-made song, which sang itself into being of its own accord. Some have treated it as a sudden evolution from the inner consciousness of the early soldiers all aglow with free-soil enthusiasm; and these speak of it as springing, like Minerva from the head of Jove, full-armed and mature. Others have more happily likened it to Topsy, in that it never was born, it grew; and this latter theory has the support of the facts as far as they can be disentangled from a maze of fiction and legend. (622)

The provocative opposition of these metaphors—“John Brown’s Body”’s compositional history as either Minerva or Topsy—has a hermeneutic density and an ideological depth worth sounding. Whether the song emerged fully formed from the head of its progenitor(s) or was without progenitor, its birth seems less

important than its subsequent growth. Intriguingly, Matthews contrasts an icon of classical wisdom with a precocious and unruly slave child from *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Though the former is a more elegant description, the latter is somehow more evocative, and, Matthews concedes, a much more accurate account of "John Brown's Body."

While neither of these fictive figures experienced a "normal" gestation period—Minerva is, after all, birthed "mature" from her father's forehead—Topsy's non-birth and growth is, in Matthews's terms, particularly "strange and curious." Topsy first appears in Chapter XX of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life among the Lowly* (1852). Interrogated by Miss Ophelia, Topsy describes her origins: "'Never was born,' reiterated the creature, more emphatically, 'never had no father nor mother, nor nothin'" (282). Without father, mother, or author, Topsy is a pitch-perfect metaphor for the circuits of variation that produced Civil War songs. Like Topsy, Civil War songs in revision deny their origins and histories by asserting their immanent qualities (e.g. their *current* lyrics and melody), as well as their propensity for growth. Moreover, Topsy comes to us through a genre (i.e. reform literature) that is adamant about progress. Since the latter chapters of the novel chart a series of forward movements—progress toward abolition, Topsy's progress toward gentility, Miss Ophelia's progress toward sympathy—such a disregard for origin seems apt for the "songs of war" Matthews treats. Like Topsy, these songs obtain in the moment of their performance; they signify only in the present or future tense, never in the past. Matthews's complex metaphoric is urgent for the purposes of this essay, particularly given this admission: "Curiously enough, the history of 'Dixie' is not at all unlike the history of 'John Brown's Body'" (623). His invocation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* also subtly reminds us of the specters of slavery and race that make a phrase like "songs of the Civil War" signify in the first place. In the case of both "John Brown's Body" and Dixie, slavery is clearly in negotiation through, and at stake in, their revisions. Therefore, Matthews's choice of Topsy to allegorize the strange ways of Civil War song circulation seems entirely appropriate.

Before moving to consider specific Dixie revisions, one must approximate the deep structures that may have enabled such revisions in the first place. What is it about Dixie that caused such a proliferation of verses and versions? Speculation on the causes of cultural reception often proves slippery; however, one can easily grasp the structures of signification, ambivalence, and reiterability that allowed Dixie to be revised multiply. Writing on what he calls the "repeatable materiality" of statement, Michel Foucault traces

the ways such structures enable repetition.¹⁴ For Foucault, the presence of “a number of constants—grammatical, semantic, logical—” within the structure of a statement allows that statement to remain recognizable through various reiterations: “The time and place of the enunciation, and the material support that it uses, then become, very largely at least, indifferent: and what stands out is a form that is endlessly repeatable, and which may give rise to the most dispersed enunciations” (101–2). Foucault sees the statement as “a specific and paradoxical object,” one that “enters various fields of use, is subjected to transferences or modifications.” The statement “circulates, is used, disappears, allows or prevents the realization of a desire, serves or resists various interests, participates in challenges and struggle, and becomes a theme of appropriation or rivalry” (105). Dixie might be conceptualized as just such a “statement”: specific yet paradoxical. It entered various fields and was modified multiply. It circulated widely, served and resisted various interests, and participated actively in the challenges and struggle of its period. Dixie became a theme of appropriation and rivalry before, during, and after the American Civil War, as Elizabeth Keckley reminds us.

Considering the grammatical, semantic, and logical “constants” of the song at the level of melody, not lyric, Dixie’s “repeatable materiality” seems to lie in the structures of its tune. Indeed, for at least one contemporary writer, Dixie was very much “about” tune: “‘Dixie’ bears its charms in its music rather than its words. It would seem to be impossible to wed serious poetry to the plantation jingle of its insouciant melody” (Elson 245).¹⁵ While it may not have been “serious poetry,” as one historian suggests, Dixie was “the favorite model for soldier parodies and various propaganda efforts” (Silber 50). It was Dixie’s dynamic, infectious melody, and not its specific lyrical content, that enabled its popularity and ubiquity.¹⁶

Thus, what “stands out” about Dixie is a *melody* “that is endlessly repeatable,” one that seems to have “give[n] rise to the most dispersed enunciations.” Yet Dixie’s lyrics also mark the site of the most politically troublesome aspects of the song: issues of place, region, nation, race, class, gender, and sexuality.¹⁷ In turn, it is at the level of lyric that the cultural work of revision is most intelligible. To suggest then that Dixie’s form trumped its content, that its global structures overshadowed its local meanings, that its melody proved more compelling than its various lyrics is not to claim that the lyrics were in any way unimportant or disposable. Instead, it is to acknowledge the ways in which the formal structures of melody enabled—even encouraged—singers, arrangers, musicians, and poets to rewrite Dixie’s lyrics to fit their specific

ideological, political, and personal agendas. While the melody of the song seems to have been quite “charming,” the mere fact that the lyrics were revised so thoroughly, ardently, and frequently bespeaks a profound and complex cultural investment in what words would be sung over Dixie’s melody.¹⁸

3. Gone with the Dialect: Dixie’s Racial Revisionism

To return to Dixie’s wartime movement, a January 1862 *Harper’s Weekly* political cartoon subtly sends up the proliferating versions of Dixie already in circulation during the first few months of the war (see Figure 1). Of particular note is the cartoon’s final pseudo-stage direction: “[*They part, singing, mournfully, DIXIE, without the Variations.*].” The image is of longing for the

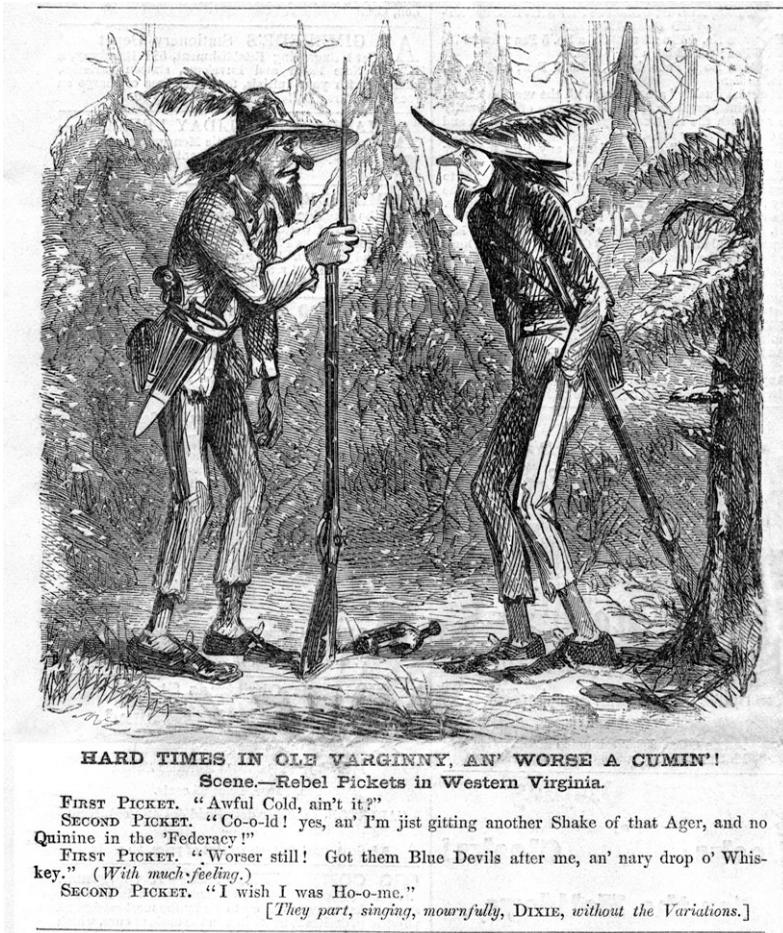


Fig. 1. *Harper’s Weekly* 11 January 1862: 16.

presumably warmer climes of Dixie. The implication that Confederate soldiers, miserable and cold in western Virginia, would long for the comforts of home is unremarkable. The cartoonist's distinction between competing versions of Dixie is, however, extraordinary: there is Dixie and there are its "variations." In turn, the cartoonist's assumption that the audience would "get" the joke, that they would be familiar enough with revisions made to Dixie, is compelling evidence for the wide dissemination of proliferating versions of the song. There seems to be no Dixie "without the variations." That is, amid the acute culture of revisionism that characterized the United and Confederate States of America between 1861 and 1865, there was no single, no authoritative, no definitive Dixie—*only* variations. In manuscript, print, or oral performance forms, the presence of competing Dixie's challenges the authority of any "claim" to the song. When one evoked Dixie during the Civil War, one meant many, multiple, legion.

These proliferating Dixie's pose a daunting methodological challenge. Which Dixie provides the copy-text? The "first" printed version? If so, which "first" version: the Hopkins broadside or the Firth, Pond, and Co. sheet music? While the differences among these Dixie's are important, and while the 1860 Firth, Pond, and Co.'s "I Wish I Was in Dixie's Land" will provide the copy-text for this discussion, these two texts have one crucial element in common: both render their lyrics in "Negro dialect": "I wish I was in de land ob cotton,/Old times dar am not forgotten." While the song opens emphatically in the first person, the peculiar substitutions ("de" for "the," "ob" for "of," "dar" for "there," "am" for "are," "whar" for "where," "mornin" for "morning," "lib" for "live") frustrate readerly expectations of clarity and coherence. Who is speaking here? In fact, the substitutions in this first verse and chorus are so subtle that the reader may make it to the second verse before realizing that she or he is supposed to be reading—or singing—in dialect. There, with the introduction of "Old Missus" and "William," and the clever rhyme of "Will-de-weaver" with "a gay deceaber," the vernacular quality of the speaker's voice is unmistakable.

Such a voice led many members of the southern literati to denounce Dixie's "low," "doggerel" lyrics. Henry Hotze lamented Dixie's "rude, incoherent words, which lend themselves to so many parodies, of which the poorest is an improvement on the original" (140). Hotze suggests that any lyrics would be better than the "original" ones. *Through* revision, Hotze intimates, "improvement" is possible. Hotze also draws his readers' attention to the proliferating "parodies" of the song already in

circulation in 1861. Yet what proved so “rude” to Hotze and his contemporaries? What about the lyrics so offended a specifically southern audience? The first major southern revision of Dixie’s lyrics suggests that the song’s original “Negro dialect” may have been to blame.

In 1860, New Orleans’s P. P. Werlein published “I Wish I Was in Dixie,” credited to “J. C. Viereck,” as sung by “W. H. Peters, Esq.” (Nathan 268). One of many versions of Dixie published before Emmett/Firth, Pond, and Co. secured copyright for the song in 1861, this edition is noteworthy for the revisions made to the voice of Dixie’s speaker. Replacing “Negro dialect” with more “standard” vernacular—“I wish I was in de land ob cotton,” becomes, for instance, “I wish I was in the land of cotton”—Werlein/Viereck’s Dixie “anglicized” Emmett’s lyrics (Abel 32). Dan Emmett “authored” dozens of minstrel songs, and was revered for his ability to capture the purported sounds and rhythms of black vernacular speech. As one contemporary account enthused, Emmett’s “understanding and rendering of the negro dialect were perfect” (Sheerin 958). Given such “perfect[ion],” Werlein/Viereck’s decision to “anglicize” the song demands careful consideration.

It is impossible to reconstruct the intentions that led to any set of revisions; however, one can labor to reconstruct the social worlds in which revisions occurred. Dialect was a particularly vexed phenomenon in Dixie’s many social worlds. In his searching study *Strange Talk: The Politics of Dialect Literature in Gilded Age America* (1999), Gavin Jones underscores the potentially subversive power that dialect wielded. Arguing broadly that the “distinctiveness of late-nineteenth-century American literature lay largely in the generative role of dialect within it” (3), Jones contends that dialect sets into play a more ambiguous set of significations and enacts a more heterogeneous set of political realities than has previously been acknowledged. For Jones, dialect is a purposefully ambivalent textual effect that encodes both dominance and subversion, both constraint and resistance. The resulting *dialectic of dialect* has great pertinence to Dixie’s blackface speaker, since, quoting Jones, “misrepresentation of African-American dialect . . . was a popular means of encoding racist beliefs in black intellectual inferiority. Yet black languages also encompassed the power of cultural contamination. African-American dialect was a sign of black-white intermixture; it was a hybrid form with the force to infiltrate and adulterate the dominant language” (10–11).

Did Dixie’s audiences and readers recognize such power and hybridity? Did they appreciate the dialectical nature of the song’s

dialect? Two aspects of Dixie’s reception and revisionary history suggest that they might have. The hue and cry of critics such as Hotze who lamented the song’s “low pretensions” reveals *something* at stake in Emmett’s lyrics. While there is no “smoking gun,” no anxious contemporaneous expression by Hotze or others that confirms that that something was the song’s dialect, there are several accounts of southerners who especially disliked Dixie’s “original” lyrics.¹⁹ More persuasively, these dialect lyrics were short-lived: the 1860 Firth, Pond, and Co. edition of the song is the last major publication to appear entirely in dialect. After that 1860 edition, both northern and southern Dixie’s overwhelmingly offer “anglicized” lyrics.²⁰ While neither of these aspects fully corroborates Jones’s narrative of cultural agency and anxiety, they do intimate the importance of dialect to Dixie’s initial reception and immediate revision.

Perhaps Dixie’s dialect was un-written because, per Jones, audiences felt uncomfortable with the powers of subversion and significations of intermixture that its dialect enacted—especially while trying to imagine new political communities and traditions. Motivation aside, vanquishing dialect from Dixie obscured the important racialized setting and locution of the song. Gone with the dialect were the traces of blackface performance, Broadway, and “festive dance.” Gone too were the complex semiotics of white bodies performing black caricature and the concomitant dialectics of spectatorial knowingness and implication.²¹ This racial revision also rewrote many of the song’s specifics, shifting Dixie’s significations from the local to the universal, from the particular to the general. The first and most profound of such shifts occurs at the level of voice. In “anglicized” versions, Dixie’s speaker need not be of African descent. If, in turn, the song’s speaker is no longer a slave or former slave, then a desire to be back “in the land of cotton” is not so troubling. That is, given the lyrical indeterminacy outlined above—where is Dixie again?—this racial revision enables a much less ambivalent longing for place.

It might be too easy to suggest that this revision conspired with proto-Lost Cause ideology to exorcise the specters of race and slavery from what was to become the South’s new nationalist anthem; however, one can say that this revision attempted to *whitewash* Dixie, to blot out the traces of a robust culture of racist and racialized performance. No matter how successful such whitewashing proved—in truth, the residue of Dixie’s blackface minstrel origins was acknowledged periodically during and after the Civil War—the fantasy of perfect “angelic” whiteness replacing burnt cork and exaggerated vernacular would have been a

powerful one for the nascent Confederate nation and its many revisers.

This racial revision was radical both in how it broke from previous versions of the song and in what it enabled in subsequent versions. Since the removal of dialect made the song eminently revisable, Werlein/Viereck's attempts to whitewash Dixie informed every revision—southern and northern—that would follow. First, the revision unmoored the already free-floating second, third, fourth, and fifth verses from the mast of the chorus and first verse, making it possible for subsequent editions to jettison these verses entirely. Because it obviated the song's "doggerel" lyrics, this revision rendered Dixie's verses a nearly blank slate onto which subsequent revisers could write and rewrite their own lyrics, agendas, and ideologies. Second, this revision helped unburden the song's weighty baggage of "northern origin." The disappearance of dialect seems to have allowed (white) southerners to claim the song as their own. Finally, in attempting to erase the racialized setting and personae of the song, this revision allowed (white) audiences to make a much broader set of identifications with the first verse and chorus's sense of longing: "*I wish I was in the land of Dixie . . . To live and die in Dixie's land*" (Nathan 260). In this articulation, one need not be either a minstrel or of African descent to participate in such a sense of place. Through the voice of its presumably white speaker, Dixie became a song of explicit rather than ambivalent longing for the South.

4. The Music of Mars

In the wake of Jefferson Davis's inauguration, Hermann Arnold's instrumental Dixie became a wildly popular backdrop for revised Dixie lyrics. To reiterate, Arnold rearranged Dixie as an instrumental quickstep, with new accents and a quicker tempo that forever left behind Dixie's original, "heavy, nonchalant, inelegant strut" (Nathan 247). Dixie became instead something of "a military statement," an up-tempo song that proved well suited to Confederate martial and nationalist ceremony.

Confederate Army Brigadier General Albert Pike, particularly dissatisfied with the "low" pretensions of Dixie's lyrics, wrote eight verses of red-blooded, patriotic bombast to accompany Arnold's quickstep:

Southrons, hear your Country call you!
Up! less worse than death befall you!
To arms! to arms! to arms! In Dixie!

Lo! all the beacon fires are lighted,
 Let all hearts be now united!
 To arms! to arms! to arms! in Dixie!

Pike’s Dixie appeared first in the *Natchez* [Mississippi] *Courier* on 30 May 1861, and was republished one month later in New Orleans as “The War Song of Dixie.” With lyrics credited to Pike and music to J. C. Viereck, “The War Song of Dixie” became an immediate favorite in the new Confederacy, spreading quickly in the tumult that accompanied the fall of Fort Sumter on 13 April 1861.²² This Dixie opens with a full-throated and interpellative cry to the speaker’s newfound countrymen: “Southrons, hear your Country call you!” Throughout, the song is strident and agitated, as witnessed by its numerous exclamation points—19 in the first verse and chorus alone!

Pike’s most significant revision comes in Dixie’s chorus.

I wish I was in Dixie, Hoo-ray! Hoo-ray!
 In Dixie land, I’ll take my stand to live and die in Dixie;
 Away, away, away down south in Dixie,

becomes:

Advance the flag of Dixie! Hurrah! Hurrah!
 For Dixie’s Land we’ll take our stand, and live or
 die for Dixie!
 To arms! to arms! And conquer peace for Dixie!

The shift in pronoun use here is commanding: “I” becomes “we,” “my” becomes “our.” Given the nationalist ends this song seeks, this proliferation of subjects is crucial. In the short space between the first verse and the chorus, the speaker’s interpellation has proved successful: “our” indicates polyvocalism; a chorus of voices sings this chorus. Throughout, Pike’s revisions are slight and yet absolute. For instance, the shift from “And live *and* die *in* Dixie” to “And live *or* die *for* Dixie” elevates Dixie from place to principle. Replacing a preposition of habitation (“in”) with a preposition of allegiance (“for”), and a conjunction of continuity (“and”) with a conjunction of contingency (“or”), Pike’s deft revision transforms Dixie into an ideal. Dixie is now not only a place to live in, but something to die *for*.

Pike’s invocation of death should come as no surprise. As many cultural historians note, death paradoxically helps to embody the nation and the national.²³ Speaking of the *necessary* “fatality” of the imagined community, Benedict Anderson notes, “Dying for

one's country, which usually one does not choose, assumes [in a nationalist context] a moral grandeur" (144). Throughout *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1991) Anderson evinces a recurrent interest in how and why "people are ready to die for these inventions [of their imaginations]" (141). "Why," Anderson asks, do nations "command such profound emotional legitimacy?" (4). Questions about the relationship between fatality and nationality seem to have haunted Walt Whitman as well: "Strange, (is it not?) that battles, martyrs, agonies, blood, even assassination, should so condense—perhaps only really, lastingly condense—a Nationality" (1046). For both Anderson and Whitman, death for one's country is not merely grand but strangely necessary in order for that country to become a viable nation, to be "lastingly condense[d]."

Such necessity was not lost on Pike, whose verses, rendered in a strict tetrameter form made up of three trochees and a spondee, are jingoistic in the extreme. The first verse's ominous directive, "Up, less worse than death befall you!" is an apt example. Though the lyrics remain silent about the specifics of those fates worse than death, such indeterminacy imbues the song with a sense of inception and urgency. Likewise, the refrain "To arms! to arms! to arms! in Dixie!" deftly redirects any accompanying anxiety about these fates. By replacing Dixie's earlier, inchoate "Look away!" refrain with the more proscriptive "To arms!," this revision offers its audience a decisive and clear plan of action. Once Emmett's passive, spectacular "Look away!" becomes Pike's active, martial "To arms!"—that is, once Dixie's audience is duly armed—Pike's Dixie next appeals to the audience's heart: "Let all hearts be now united!" A speech act of sorts, this affective appeal aims to conjure, consolidate, and then reify a quasi-spiritual community of southerners, as does the chorus's evocation of "the flag of Dixie."²⁴ Through both subtle turns such as these and explicit ideological declarations—in one late verse the justification for war is made explicit: "For faith betrayed and pledges broken,/Wrongs inflicted, insults spoken"—Pike's Dixie emerges as the first truly nationalistic anthem of the Confederate States of America.²⁵

5. Dixie Unionized

Revision was not unique to the southern experience of Dixie. By late 1861, as Dixie war songs began populating the South, there seemed to be a growing sense in the North that Dixie's musical charms could be redeemed if its new Confederate

nationalist significations could be vanquished. As one northern writer lamented: “Won’t somebody localize ‘Dixie,’ give it a habitation, a place where it may be hailed from? Set words of Union sentiment to its ‘ta la, ta la’ and ‘rum di di di do’ etc.” (qtd in Nathan 271). In answer to this call for localization, several fascinating Dixie’s emerged in late 1861: “Dixie for the Union,” “Dixie for our Union,” “Dixie Unionized,” and “Union Dixie” among them. In all these versions Emmett’s popular melody was retained, but with new pro-Union lyrics set to the by-then-familiar tune. Taken together, these Union Dixie’s speak to the profoundly nationalistic ends of music during the period, and, in particular, to the urgency of Civil War-era literary nationalism.

The first of these Union Dixie’s, “Dixie for the Union,” appeared in 1861, published by New York’s Firth, Pond, and Co., and credited as “Words by Frances J. Crosby . . . Melody by Dan. D. Emmett.” Printed in vibrant color, the sheet music’s cover shows two rippling US flags with their staffs twined together (see Figure 2). The accompanying lyrics prove remarkable if only for their specificity. Rather than speak in broad, universal rhetorics, the song deploys topical and timely allusions to actual events, places, and people:

On! ye patriots to the battle
 Hear Fort Moultrie’s cannon rattle
 Then away, then away, then away to the fight!
 Go meet those Southern Traitors with iron will
 And should your courage falter boys
 Remember Bunker Hill
 Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!
 The stars and stripes forever!
 Hurrah! Hurrah! Our Union shall not sever!

Specific references to Fort Moultrie’s cannon or, in the second verse, a quatrain such as “Though Beauregard and Wigfall/Their swords may whet/Just tell them Major Anderson/Has not surrendered yet,” work to root this Dixie in time. One can read in these topical allusions a desire to facilitate both readerly recognition and a sense of spectatorial knowingness: “I *get* these references.” While the resulting song may sacrifice some of its universality and permanence, such timeliness likely proved attractive to consumers who desired mementos of the times in which they lived.²⁶

“Dixie for the Union” is similarly invested in lyrics that tie this trial of union to the trials of revolution that preceded—or, some argue, occasioned—it. Particularly through its evocations of

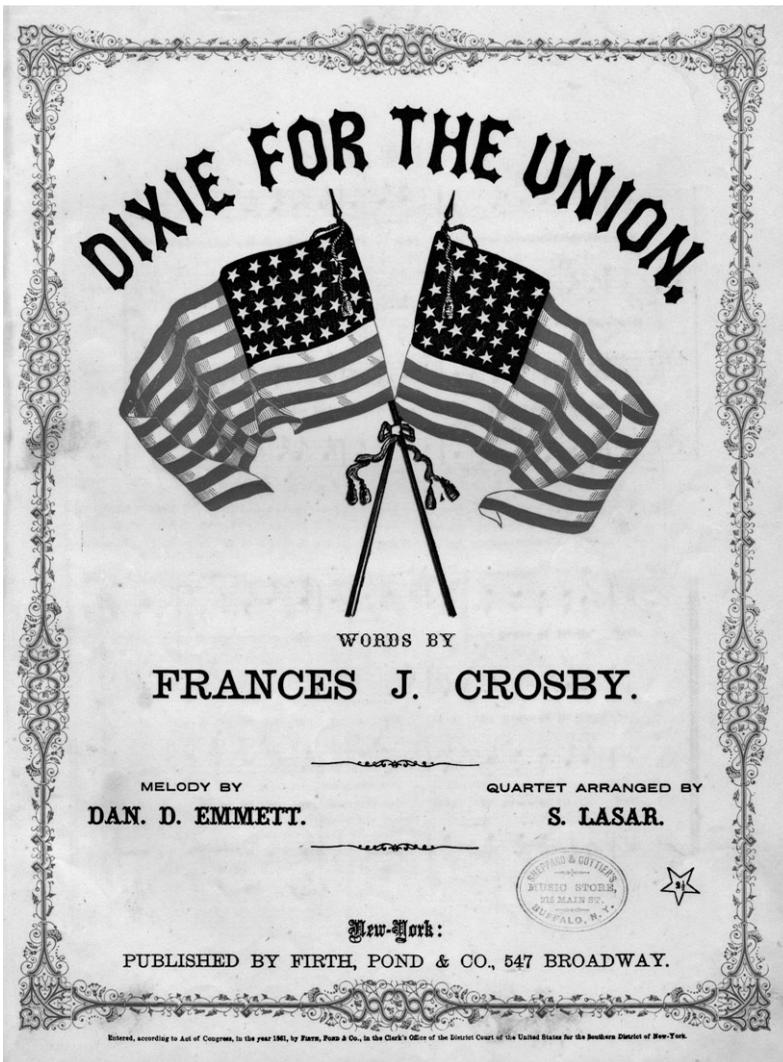


Fig. 2. *Dixie for the Union*. Courtesy of the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

the paternal (e.g. “Your sires, who fought before you/Have led the way/Then follow in their footsteps/And be as brave as they,” or, “As our fathers crushed oppression/Deal with those who breathe Secession”), the song labors to imagine a community with a long tradition of liberty and sacrifice. George Washington, that most paternal and national of figures, is deployed in the third verse as a reminder of the sacred cause of union: “Is Virginia, too, seceding?/Washington’s remains unheeding?” Spurred by the presence of Washington and his namesake city, the song closes with a typically jingoistic invocation of divine order and right: “The star that lights our Union/Shall never set!/Though fierce may be the conflict/We’ll gain the victory yet/Hurrah! Hurrah! Our Union shall

not sever!" The rhetorical hedge, "Though fierce may be the conflict," is itself timely; by late 1861, the war had already proved to be a much bloodier, much more arduous affair than many unionists had anticipated. Nevertheless, these final lyrics evince an unwavering, cocksure assurance that the Union would prevail, that the heavens would continue to shine upon the *United States* indefinitely.

"Dixie for the Union" was wildly popular during the period.²⁷ However, as witnessed by the number of variants and revisions that followed it, one Union Dixie would not do. This proliferation of northern, nationalist Dixie's reflects a strong desire for the Union to "unionize" Dixie—and in so doing, to unionize itself. This call and response for a "local," Union Dixie seems rooted in anxieties about the lack of a proper US national anthem. As Wilbur Zelinsky notes, "the nonexistence of a national anthem was acutely embarrassing for loyal unionists at the outbreak of the Civil War" (172). Intensifying this embarrassment was the fact that, despite its brief tenure, the Union's southern other possessed a wildly popular *de facto* national anthem, Dixie. Such anxiety and embarrassment led to the formation of an 1861 Union "Committee upon a National Hymn," which sought to solicit from the masses an appropriate national anthem.²⁸ The committee, made up of several eminent politicians, writers, critics, and artists, was chaired by the sometime editor and Shakespeare scholar Richard Grant White, who would publish an account of the committee's work entitled *National Hymns: How They are Written and How They are Not Written: A Lyric and National Study for the Times* (1861).

In this charismatic text, White articulates his committee's criteria for selecting a national hymn. He does so in terms that suggest a deep and sinewy understanding of the ways in which communities imagine themselves:

[I]t must of all things proclaim, assert, and exult in the freedom of those who are to sing it. Let this be the expression; let it be brimful of loyalty to the flag, which is our only national symbol, and for that all the dearer; let its allusions be to our fathers' struggle for national existence, and its spirit be that of our nationality; let it have a strong, steady, rhythmical flow; and these points secured as to the words, the air is the most important matter. If that be such a one as all who sing can sing, and as the majority will like, association and habit will accomplish the rest. . . . A song which fulfilled these conditions . . . would pervade and penetrate, and cheer the land like sunlight. (75)

Tellingly, such a criteria elegantly summarizes the various Dixie's—both southern and northern—encountered thus far. These Dixie's are overrun with allusions to the “founding fathers” and their “struggle for national existence.” Through all its revisions, Dixie maintained “a strong, steady, rhythmical flow.” As several contemporary critics note, Dixie's “air” was clearly “the most important matter,” perhaps because it allowed “all who sing [to] sing.” By 1861, Dixie had very much pervaded and penetrated and cheered both the South and the North “like sunlight.” This is not to suggest that the hymn the Committee sought was in fact Dixie. It is, however, to underscore how this *Lyric and National Study for the Times* affirms the nationalistic resonances of all these Dixie's, and to emphasize the sometimes anxious and always provisional nature of American literary nationalism during this period.²⁹

6. “Sovereign and Independent Characters”

In his oft-cited *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson writes evocatively of national anthems:

No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this singing an experience of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: unisonance. Singing the Marseillaise, Waltzing Matilda, and Indonesia Raya provide occasions for unisonality, for the echoed physical realization of the imagined community. . . . How selfless this unisonance feels! If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when and as we are, we have no idea who they may be, or even where, out of earshot, they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound. (145)

Anderson's sense of unisonance is significantly complicated in the case of the promiscuous anthem Dixie, which was always and already evoking at least two unisonances and imagining at least two communities at the same time. If Dixie is to be read as a national anthem, to which nation is it anthemic, and in which of its many forms? What might be said of Dixie's *poly*sonance? In answering these questions, one must contend with Dixie's status as a transnational cultural object, a cultural object engaged with, and revised by, not one but two nations: the United *and* Confederate States of America.³⁰

In a probing essay on nineteenth-century literary transnationalism, Paul Giles reminds us "how unstable the [US's] boundaries were in the earlier part of the nineteenth century and how the conflicts with Britain and Mexico raised the distinct possibility of United States geography being mapped differently from the subsequent sea-to-shining-sea model" (66). Giles's emphasis on alternative mappings of US geography is perceptive and much needed, rendering curious his reluctance to consider the conflict between the United and Confederate States of America in terms of transnationalism. Following Philip Fisher, Giles laments that American cultural criticism of the past 25 years has privileged the American Civil War over all other "international confrontation[s]." For Giles, such a fixation on the Civil War "works implicitly to shore up the nation-building agendas of the United States, since the political and geographical divisions of that internecine struggle always anticipate as their corollary a parallel state of unity and indivisible liberty" (74). "Returning so obsessively to the trauma of the Civil War," Giles suggests, "indirectly asserts the primacy of traditional American ideals of federal unity and freedom" (74).

The opportunity Giles misses here to acknowledge the profound geographical and sociopolitical remapping that the Confederate nationalist moment threatened is significant. Understood in transnational terms, the Civil War emerges as a quite serious challenge to ideals of "indivisible liberty" and "federal unity and freedom." After all, to describe the conflict between the United and Confederate States of America as transnational in nature is to acknowledge that the Confederacy was in fact a nation, one with complex circuits of national feeling and an entire repertoire of nationalist cultural objects—Dixie being but one among many. As several of the Dixie's discussed here suggest, southern nationalism was a sinewy and multifarious phenomenon, one not easily dismissed. Similarly, acknowledging the brief political sovereignty of the Confederate States of America betrays the provisional nature of US federalism during this period. It also re-sets the very terms of Giles's critique. Conceptualized as a sovereign nation at war for its independence, the Confederate States of America emerges as one of many "alternative nationalisms" that competed with, and proved a threat to, US imperial nationalism during the nineteenth century.³¹ This conceptualization, in turn, allows the phrase "international confrontation" to signify in its fullest sense: "Existing, constituted, or carried on between different nations; pertaining to the relations between nations" (*OED*). The American Civil War was an "international confrontation" inasmuch as it was a war between "different nations." While "internecine struggle[s]" such as the American

Civil War may well “anticipate” “parallel state[s]” of federal unity, they also threaten a total dissolution of that unity. Such anticipation and threat are dialectically engaged; neither the achievement nor the failure of such states of unity is an assured outcome of these struggles. If civil wars “shore up” nation-building agendas, it is only under the often-oppressive threat of the breaking apart of a nation.

To understand this bewildering and bloody conflict as a war between sovereign nation-states—not as one between “brothers”—is to travel roads not taken in Confederate and Civil War historiography.³² Although such travels are, finally, outside the purview of this essay, they help to elucidate the complex itineraries that Civil War cultural objects often followed. Dixie’s contentious circulation during and after the Civil War remains unintelligible without an understanding of the song’s transnationalism. Given its legion revisions, the song’s status as both intellectual and national property proves deeply vexed. Dixie was the express property of neither the South nor the North, neither the Confederacy nor the Union. Instead, Dixie constitutes an ethereal and dynamic cultural object, one embedded not in the static forms of the nation-state, but in the free-flowing circulation of a transnational public domain.³³ Despite the increasingly contested lines of allegiance it traversed, Dixie found commerce *in and of revision*. As a “common property,” the song moved fluidly across several orders of social boundaries, particularly those of nation, region, race, and class—the very boundaries that Keckley’s anecdote acknowledges. It is this fluidity—Dixie’s seemingly endless ability to negotiate difference as it crisscrossed heavily contested boundaries—that distinguishes the song’s movement during and immediately after the American Civil War. The specific mechanism by which Dixie negotiated difference, crossed boundaries, and developed and maintained coherence was the same mechanism through which it gained its greatest circulation: *revision*.

As I have suggested, revision proves a particularly apt lens through which to read (and even enact) processes of historical and political change. As a graphic practice, revision emerged as an important alternative to, and yet a constitutive part of, nineteenth-century print culture. More importantly, as a social practice, revision allowed the people of the United and Confederate States of America to make sense of and manage the presence of competing nationalisms. We can see in the history of Dixie, then, the contours of a broader culture of Civil War-era revisionism in which constitutions, civil rights, definitions and practices of citizenship, and the very idea of nation were repeatedly re-imagined and revised. Returning to the Keckley anecdote that opened this essay, we can now think of “that sweet and inspiring air” not as a “captured” property but as a fungible cultural form onto which various

constituencies were cued to project their nationalist fantasies. The history of its restless, seemingly perpetual revision backlights the ways Dixie defied or exceeded the logic of a single and simple nationalism. Thus, Dixie emerges from the “American Civil War” as a transnational cultural object because its revisions bear the palimpsestic traces of two warring nations’ attempts to imagine themselves, and one another, through song.

Notes

1. This anecdote is much loved and oft-repeated in Lincoln lore. Tellingly, even anecdotes about Dixie give rise to variation and revision. See Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, the War Years* IV (1939): 208.
2. See, for instance, John Bryant, *The Fluid Text: A Theory of Revision and Editing for Book and Screen* (2002).
3. I draw this “micro vs. macro” binary from Michael Moon’s pathbreaking study of Whitman’s revisionary practices, *Disseminating Whitman: Revision and Corporeality in Leaves of Grass* (1991), 1–2.
4. See, for instance, Hans Nathan, *Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy* (1962), 266.
5. A series of otherwise trenchant studies have undervalued Dixie’s northern “connections.” See, for instance, E. Lawrence Abel, *Singing the New Nation: How Music Shaped the Confederacy, 1861–1865* (2000), 29.
6. I remain skeptical about this “official” compositional history and songwriting “credit,” given Howard L. Sacks and Judith R. Sacks’s provocative study of an African-American “claim” to the song in *Way up North in Dixie: A Black Family’s Claim to the Confederate Anthem* (1993); Eric Lott’s celebrated explication of an ambivalent culture of “love and theft” at work in blackface minstrelsy in *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (1993); and conflicting contemporary accounts as to the source of Dixie’s melody. See Henry Hotze, “Three Months in the Confederate Army: The Tune of Dixie,” *The Index* 26 June 1862: 140.
7. As early as 1860, Daniel D. Emmett found himself ensnared in a drawn out “war over Dixie,” due in large part to his lack of business savvy and belated concern for copyright. See Nathan 269, 288–89; Daniel D. Emmett, “‘Away Down South in Dixie’: The Story of Its Origin, as Told by Its Author, Dan. Emmett,” *New York Clipper* 6 April 1872. See also Sacks and Sacks; and Lott, *passim*.
8. See, for instance, Abel, 33–39; Nathan, 274; and Irwin Silber and Jerry Silverman, eds., *Songs of the Civil War* (1960), 50.
9. As an index of the inscrutability of Dixie-as-sign, early sheet music for the song included contradictory notes regarding Dixie’s etymology and meaning.

10. Sources proliferate: (1) Dixie as a corruption of Mason–Dixon line; (2) Dixie as a reference to a mythical, kind plantation holder named “Dixy”; (3) Dixie as a nickname drawn from the word “Dix,” a ten-dollar bank note from New Orleans; (4) Dixie as a professional jargon used by minstrel performers to refer to “the Negro.” See Nathan, 265.
11. All dictionary references are to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., CD-ROM.
12. Dixie served as a campaign song for the 1860 Lincoln presidential campaign.
13. See Willard Allison Heaps and Porter Warrington Heaps, *The Singing Sixties* (1960), 48; Harry Dichter and Elliott Shapiro, eds., *Handbook of Early American Sheet Music, 1768–1889* (1977), 48–49.
14. For an important re-reading of “repeatable materiality,” see Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (1994), 22–24.
15. Louis C. Elson may not have been the only mid-nineteenth-century music aficionado to think so. Firth, Pond, and Co. published an instrumental Dixie’s Land, with Brilliant Variations” in 1860.
16. For an explication of Dixie’s formal elements, see Sigmund Gottfried Spaeth, *A History of Popular Music in America* (1948), 142; and Nathan, 248–50. For many musical critics, Dixie’s “universal” appeal lies in its accessibility: almost anyone could—and can—sing Dixie. Spaeth notes that the range of the tune is an octave and a major third, a range generally “comfortable for the average voice” (142).
17. Decrying the political convenience of instrumental versions of the song, Sacks and Sacks have taken Ken Burns to task for featuring a lyric-less Dixie in his film *The Civil War* (1990), 155.
18. Such an investment continued to register after the American Civil War. See *Joint Committee Appointed to Consider and Report on a Selection of New Words for ‘Dixie’* (Opelika, Alabama, 1905); and John A. Simpson, “Shall We Change the Words of ‘Dixie,’” *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 45 (1981): 19–40.
19. For a catalog of such opinions, see *New Words*, 2; and Abel, 34–36. For postwar opinions, see John A. Simpson.
20. *Songs of the South* (1862) and other southern songsters from the period placed “The Original Words” to Dixie’s Land” alongside multiple whitewashed, Confederate Dixie’s (30).
21. Peter Bailey has written productively about cultures of urban Victorian spectatorship and constructions of spectatorial knowingness in *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (1998).
22. See Silber and Silverman, 51; and Abel, 35–36. T. Michael Parrish and Robert M. Willingham, Jr. list four different versions of Pike’s Dixie in

Confederate Imprints: A Bibliography of Southern Publications from Secession to Surrender (1987), 549.

23. See Abel, 36.

24. See Benedict Anderson’s discussion of religious communities in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1991), 12–19; and Lewis P. Simpson’s treatment of the South as a “redemptive community” in *The Man of Letters in New England and the South* (1973), 203. See also Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (1988), 24–26.

25. It was not, however, the only one. H. S. Stanton’s similarly titled “Dixie War Song” (1861) offers an equally swaggering and programmatic imagining of the southern nation, as does Randal M. Weber’s “We’re All in Arms in Dixie” (1861). Though these Dixie’s share a great deal in common, they, like the nation they helped imagine, also represent divergent interests. On the centrality of music to confederate nationalism, see Faust, 18; Caroline Moseley, “Irrepressible Conflict: Differences between Northern and Southern Songs of the Civil War,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 25.2 (1991): 45–56; and Richard Barksdale Harwell, *Confederate Music* (1950), viii, 4–5.

26. For a discussion of popular consumption of wartime media, see Alice Fahs, *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South, 1861–1865* (2001) and Jan Zita Grover, “The First Living Room War: The Civil War in the Illustrated Press,” *Afterimage* 11 (1984): 8–11.

27. See, for instance, Silber and Silverman, 63–64.

28. As the *OED* reminds us, both the English and American national “anthems” are, technically speaking, hymns.

29. After vetting nearly 1200 manuscripts, the Committee, and the nation, still lacked a national hymn. A 16 Nov 1861 *Harper’s Weekly* review of White’s book argued that national hymns cannot be contrived, and that “chance-born melod[ies], like Dixie or Yankee Doodle,” are more likely to become “in a manner national” (722–23).

30. As Donald Pease notes, “Transnational American Studies does not merely refer to the movement but also to the objects taken up for analysis and the means of analyzing them” (James xxx).

31. For John Carlos Rowe, such alternatives are at the heart of transnational cultural criticism, since such criticism “reveals how pervasively other societies, nations, and states were subordinated to the triumphalism of United States nationalism” (87). Rather gingerly, I want to include the Confederate States of America as one such “subordinated” nation, as a form of what Rowe calls “nineteenth-century alternative nationalisms”—no matter how unsavory the politics of such inclusion may prove, and in full view of the Confederacy’s own imperial aspirations.

32. It is also to resist that most persistent of Civil War metaphors: “the house divided.” See Anderson’s too-brief discussion of the American Civil War, 201.

33. On the idiosyncratic models of proprietary authorship that attended Dixie, see Spaeth, 139; Robert Sheerin, "'Dixie' and Its Author," *The Century* 50.6 (1895): 958; Sacks and Sacks, 160; Nathan, 287; and Lott, *passim*.

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