

HOLD THE FORT!

The Story of a Song from the Sawdust Trail to the Picket Line



by

PAUL J. SCHEIPS

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Preface

This is a history of a gospel song, which I first learned about a decade and a half ago while a historian in the Department of the Army's old Signal Corps Historical Division. I have been occupied with the song's history off and on ever since. Even as I concluded this account—to illustrate how the history of the song marches on—I heard from my friend John I. White of Brielle, New Jersey, that cowboys used to sing not only lullabies and ribald range songs to their herds but also “Hold the Fort” and other gospel songs. He said he had learned this interesting piece of information from the book *Cattle* by Will Croft Barnes (an old Signal Corpsman, by the way) and William McLeod Raines. About the time that White wrote to me, *The New Yorker* published a Weber cartoon in which a middle-aged man tells his stolid wife, who is seated before the family television set: “I’m going out to get a paper. Hold the fort.” As my friends will attest, I have been saying much the same thing for as long as they can remember.

Numerous thanks for assistance rendered me in this undertaking are scattered through the footnotes, but I would like to give special thanks to the following persons for their specialized and generous help and encouragement: Fred E. Brown of Houston, Texas; Joe Glazer of the United States Information Agency; Walter Rundell, Jr., chairman of the history faculty at Iowa State University; Alice Cole Scheips of the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO; Annie L. Seely of the United States Army Photographic Agency; Irwin Silber of New York City; Vincent H. Demma and Loretto C. Stevens of the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army; and the members of the staff, past and present, of the Music Division, Library of Congress.

PAUL J. SCHEIPS
Washington, D.C.
January 1971

COVER: Signal Corpsman sends message from Kennesaw Mountain, 5 October 1864, as General Sherman points to beleaguered Allatoona in the distance. (Library of Congress photo of color illustration by H. A. Ogden in Benson J. Lossing, *History of the Civil War*, 1912.)

HOLD THE FORT!

THE STORY OF A SONG FROM THE SAWDUST TRAIL TO THE PICKET LINE

For a hundred years hearts have quickened to the martial strains and words of "Hold the Fort." As a gospel song it has sent sinners down the sawdust trail to redemption in many a revival meeting, and in other guises it has stirred Republican voters, Populists, Prohibitionists, Suffragettes, workers, and Ghanaian nationalists. It is as a labor union song, however, that its popularity has rivaled that of its gospel beginnings, for it has inspired countless workers to face down boss and deputy sheriff alike with courage and religious fervor.

THE AUTHOR: Paul J. Scheips is a historian in the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, where he has been devoting much of his time to the history of the United States Army's role in civil disturbances. From 1952 to 1962 he was a historian in the United States Army Signal Corps Historical Division, and it was there he became interested in "Hold the Fort."

The Talking Flag of Kennesaw

"HOLD THE FORT" grew out of the Civil War Battle of Allatoona on 5 October 1864, the last action in the vicinity of Atlanta.¹ More particularly, it grew out of a report of one or more messages wigwagged from Kennesaw Mountain, north of Atlanta, as Confederate forces of Lieutenant General John B. Hood moved to cut the communications of Major General William T. Sherman along the line of the Western & Atlantic Railroad at Allatoona Pass, a fortified railroad cut.² (See cover illustration.)

Actually, there were at least three Signal Corps wigwag messages to the Allatoona garrison that separately or together could have inspired "Hold the Fort." Brigadier General William Vandever, Sherman's subordinate, signed and dispatched two of these messages on 4 October. One of them read: "Sherman is moving in force. Hold out." The second one read: "General Sherman says hold fast. We are coming."³ The third message, unsigned in the official published version, bore the initial of the signal officer on Kennesaw Mountain, according to the recollection of John Q. Adams, who as a second lieutenant had been in charge of the signal station where it was received on 5 October "before it became too hot for signaling." As published, this third message read: "Tell Allatoona hold on. General Sherman says he is working hard for you."⁴

Later, Allen D. Frankenberg, who had been on Kennesaw in October 1864 as a second-class private of the Signal Corps, claimed that "Hold the Fort" was inspired by the message that Sherman sent to Brigadier General John N. Corse at Rome, Georgia, ordering him to reinforce Allatoona. According to Frankenberg, this message, which he may have flagged, read: "Move your command to Allatoona. Hold the place. I will help you. Sherman."⁵ Actually, however, Sherman's message to Corse to reinforce Allatoona, which Vandever sent on 4 October, was quite different: "Sherman directs you to move forward and join Smith's division with your entire command, using cars, if to be had, and burn provisions rather than lose them."⁶ Another message on the same date, signed by Sherman, advised Corse and other commanding officers that the enemy was "moving on Allatoona" and "thence to Rome." Corse evidently received this message in due time, although its transmission was delayed by fog. In any case, because of related instructions and his knowledge of troop dispositions, the Vandever message was perfectly clear to Corse.⁷

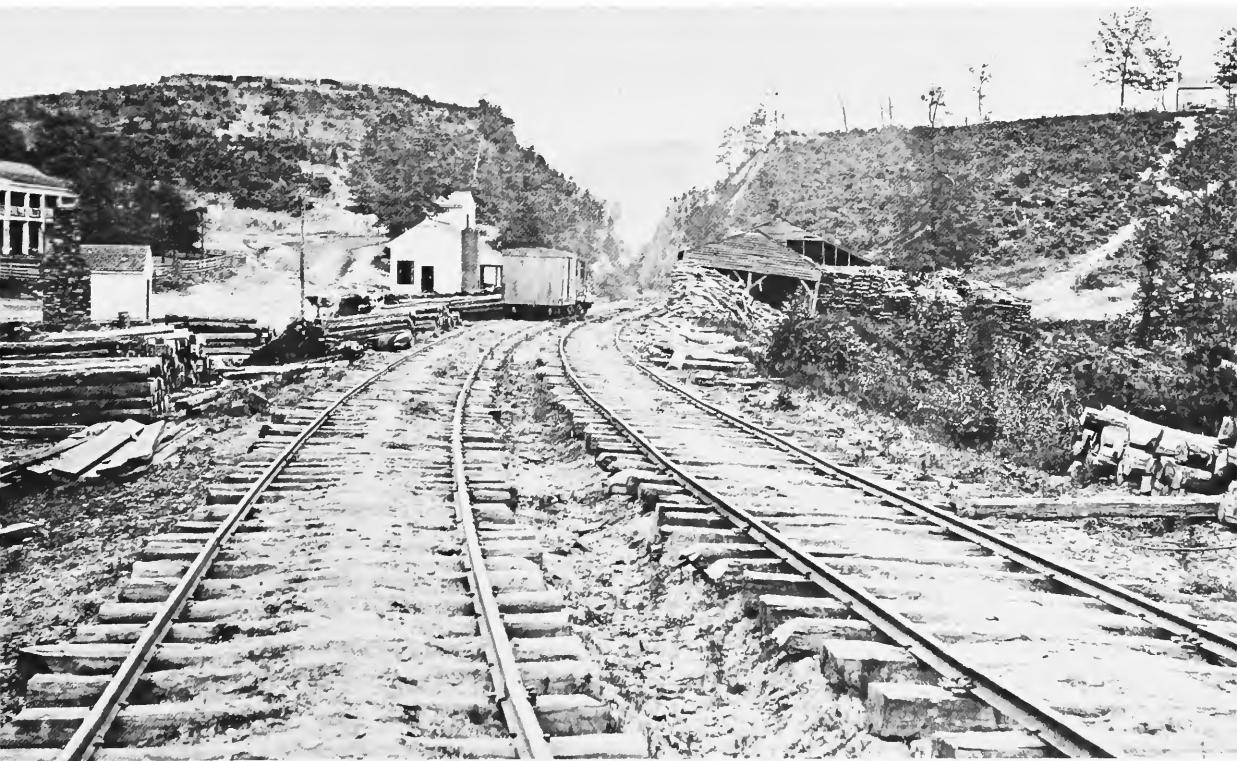


Major General William Tecumseh Sherman. (Photo from United States Army Signal Corps negative in National Archives.)

In 1895 Frankenberry returned to Kennesaw Mountain with other old signalmen to send once again, for old time's sake, the historic message to hold the fort. With him he had what he believed was the same signal flag that had been used to send the original message, the recollections of which were perhaps the most singular of his life.⁸

Still later, on 13 September 1913, George Carr Round, who had been a signal officer during the Civil War and was then president of the

Allatoona Pass on the Western & Atlantic Railroad, looking north, as it was in the old days. Most of the fighting on 5 October 1864 took place around the high ground to the left. (National Archives photo from United States War Department General Staff negative in National Archives.)





George Carr Round (second from right) with friends on Kennesaw Mountain, 1913. The large signal flag on the left may have been the one used here in 1864. (Photo by United States Army Photographic Agency from print in the George Carr Round papers. Courtesy of Emily R. Lewis, Manassas, Virginia.)

United States Veteran Signal Corps Association, visited Kennesaw Mountain while on a Civil War jubilee campaign in Georgia and Tennessee. There, on the site of the old signal station, from whence went out, as he put it, “the most important signal message ever sent in the history of war,” he evidently repeated the message and had one of his companions sound “the trumpet of the Jubilee.” He used what may have been Frankenberry’s old signal flag (after borrowing it from the Adjutant General of Pennsylvania), perhaps the very one that got Corse on the road to Allatoona or that encouraged the garrison to hang on. Round also had with him a small flag that he had used while standing on the dome of the state capitol at Raleigh, North Carolina, and sending what he believed was the last message of the Civil War: “Peace on earth, good will to men.” When he transmitted some of the old messages with the Allatoona

flag during the jubilee campaign in Chattanooga his audience rose and, led by a choir, “sang ‘Hold the Fort’ with great spirit.”⁹

The Battle of Allatoona was a brief but desperate struggle. With the retreat of the Confederates on the afternoon of 5 October it was accounted a Union victory, and Corse, summoning what humility he could, signaled Sherman: “I am short a cheek bone and one ear, but am able to whip all hell yet.”¹⁰ It is said, however, that in after years “no one dared twit” Corse “because his famous cheekbone and one ear were not missing, as his immortal signals had indicated in more strenuous times.”¹¹ Major General Samuel G. French, Corse’s opposite number at Allatoona, gave vent in his memoirs to an abiding frustration by denouncing both General Hood, who was his superior, and his Union opponent with fine impartiality. He was so bitter, in fact, that his publishers made him tone down his manuscript before publication because they were “ashamed of the language used” and fearful of seventeen possibly libelous passages.¹²

Sherman held Allatoona up to his armies as a model defense of a fortified place,¹³ and the signaling between Kennesaw Mountain and Allatoona went into Signal Corps annals as perhaps the most famous of all Civil War signaling. Subsequently, Albert James Myer, the Army’s first signal officer, was made a brigadier general by brevet “for distinguished service in organizing, instructing and commanding the Signal Corps . . . and for its especial service on October 5, 1864,” that is, for its service at Allatoona, even though by the time of the battle Myer’s appointment as colonel and chief signal officer had been revoked because of a dispute with the Secretary of War.¹⁴ Frank A. West, a signalman at Allatoona, was so impressed with what happened there that he is said to have named a son Allatoona Pass West.

“Hold the Fort” was not the first artistic by-product of the Battle of Allatoona, but it was the only one that was to attain anything approximating folk status. It was preceded in 1866 by Caroline Stickney’s long narrative poem, “The Flag that Talks,” of which the following are representative verses:

O Talking Flag, thy worth if ever proving,
We hailed the distant glass;
Atlanta heard: “The foe at Acworth, moving
On Allatoona Pass.”

Quick came the answer—“Signal for assistance
To General Corse at Rome;
Let the Pass garrison show firm resistance
Till reinforcements come—”¹⁵

“In the railroad cut there’s a lonely grave,” runs the first line of another poem, “The Soldier’s Grave,” by Joseph M. Brown, an official of the Western & Atlantic Railroad.¹⁶ Paul Dresser—presumably the famous songsmith who was Theodore Dreiser’s brother and who wrote, among other songs, “On the Banks of the Wabash Far Away” and “My Gal Sal”—wrote a poem or song about “The Lone Grave.” Its words bear an interesting comparison with “The Blue and the Gray,” a popular Dresser song written during the Spanish-American War.¹⁷

Inevitably, Allatoona was the subject of at least two “dramas.” One of these, *Allatoona, an Historical and Military Drama in Five Acts* (the omission of the first act of which would in “no way interfere with the plot”), was written by Brevet Major General Judson Kilpatrick, who had commanded one of Sherman’s cavalry divisions at the time of the Battle of Allatoona, and J. Owen Moore. Samuel French & Company, better known for its *Ten Nights in a Bar Room*, published the play in 1875. As the battle is about to begin—three pages before the final curtain—Corse (to whom the work is dedicated) asks Miss Helen Dunbar, the heroine, to retire at once. She does so and the battle is on. When Corse is wounded, the hero asks if the general is dead, to which Corse responds: “No. I am worth a hundred dead men yet, and I’ll defend this post.” At this juncture, Corse’s signal officer reads a signal on Kennesaw Mountain by which Sherman tells Allatoona to “hold on” and “not give up, [for] we are coming to your aid.” To this Corse replies: “We have repulsed them twice. Half my head is gone, but we will hold this place or die.”¹⁸ In 1930 Christopher Morley “revised and edified” an adaptation of *Allatoona* under the title *The Blue and the Gray, or, War Is Hell*.

In *Allatoona, a Play in Four Acts*, by Samuel H. M. Byers, the heroine, Miss Laura Gillford, who has learned signaling with her “berry girls,” substitutes for Sherman’s signal officer, who is “dead at his post.” Calling Allatoona for Sherman, Laura receives the message that “Corse—is—here!” The battle rages fiercely with the enemy’s 5,000 men (there were actually only somewhat more than three-fifths of this number) pressing Corse from all sides. The situation being critical, Sherman commands Laura to send a message to Allatoona that the fort must be held, that reinforcements—“ten thousand under Howard”—are coming. As a consequence of this message Corse holds out, and the first half of the play comes to an end. In its last half, Laura’s dear love, Private Eldred Marshall, performs such great feats of bravery that just before the curtain falls (to the tune of “Marching through Georgia”) Sherman kisses

Laura, joins her hands with those of Eldred, and tells the happy twain: "Two gold medals are being made—one for the soldier who spiked the guns at Gordon Pass, and one for the girl who saved Allatoona."¹⁹

The Sawdust Trail: Beginnings in Winnebago County

The scene now shifts from the footboards to real life, and from Georgia in the fall of 1864 to Illinois in April 1870. There, at the Winnebago County Sunday School Convention, in Rockford, on Thursday and Friday, 28–29 April, Major Daniel Webster Whittle, an official of the Elgin Watch Company and a guest speaker at the convention, related a version of the fateful events at Allatoona in October 1864. To Whittle, who recalled that Sherman had signaled "Hold the Fort; I am coming," the events at Allatoona were "an illustration of the inspiration derived by the Christian from the thoughts of Christ as our commander and of His coming to our relief."²⁰



Daniel Webster Whittle.
(Library of Congress photo.)

In the audience was 32-year-old Philip Paul Bliss,²¹ who had just met Whittle and traveled to Rockford to sing at the latter's request.²² *The Rockford Register* carried a report of the convention in its edition of Saturday, 30 April 1870, but it did not, alas, report Whittle's remarks on Allatoona, although it stated that he spoke several times. The *Register* did report, however, that both Bliss and his wife attended the convention. This was the beginning of a close relationship between Bliss and Whittle that was to last until Bliss's sudden death not quite seven years later.

Whittle was a Civil War veteran who had been cited "in terms of high commendation" in the Vicksburg campaign, in which he received a wound in the right forearm. Later, in the Atlanta campaign, he was on Major General Oliver O. Howard's staff in the Army of the Tennessee and won his majority by brevet promotion at the close of the war.²³

Although Howard recalled in 1899 that Whittle "stood beside General Sherman as my representative on the top of Kennesaw" during the



Philip Paul Bliss. (Library of Congress photo.)

signaling to Corse at Allatoona,²⁴ he could have been mistaken, for Whittle did not claim in his published life of Bliss that he himself was there.²⁵ He was probably in the vicinity of Kennesaw on 5 October at Howard's headquarters near Marietta (hard by the mountain), where he was the assistant provost marshal.²⁶ In his account of the engagement, Whittle was wrong not only about the message signaled, which is not surprising, but, as any old soldier might have done, he understated the Union strength at Allatoona, putting it at "about 1,500 men" as against the 1,944 claimed by Corse (who was comparatively accurate), and overstated the Confederate strength, giving the Rebels 6,000 men rather than the 3,276 that they claimed.²⁷ Historical truth, however, was of little moment in an epic tale with a point about The Eternal Verity.

Whatever its imperfections, Whittle's account so inspired Bliss that he wrote "Hold the Fort" and dedicated it to the major. According to Whittle, Bliss wrote the song in Whittle's Chicago home at 43 South May Street, where Bliss and his wife moved in order to be near the First Congregational Church, of which Bliss became the choirmaster in July 1870.²⁸ Ira D. Sankey, another of Bliss's friends, said that the day following the convention Bliss and Whittle conducted a meeting in the Chicago Y.M.C.A., where Bliss wrote the words of the chorus on a blackboard and sang the song for the first time, with the audience joining him in the chorus.²⁹

"Hold the Fort" was first published in 1870 as sheet music³⁰ by the famous Chicago firm of Root & Cady.³¹ Both at home and abroad people soon were singing:

Ho! my comrades, see the signal
 Waving in the sky!
 Reinforcements now appearing,
 Victory is nigh!

*"Hold the fort, for I am coming,"
 Jesus signals still
 Wave the answer back to heaven,
 "By thy grace, we will."*

See the mighty host advancing,
 Satan leading on;
 Mighty men around us falling,
 Courage almost gone:

See the glorious banner waving,
 Hear the bugle blow;
 In our Leader's name we'll triumph
 Over every foe.

Fierce and long the battle rages,
 But our Help is near;
 Onward comes our Great Commander,
 Cheer, my comrades, cheer!³²

Bliss's inspiration for some of his other songs also came from events he heard about or experienced. The title and sense of "Let the Lower Lights Be Burning," for example, came from Dwight L. Moody's moralizing upon a shipwreck said to have occurred near Cleveland, while "Roll on, O Billow of Fire!" was a product of the great Chicago conflagration in which Moody lost his home and two churches with which he was associated.³³

When he wrote "Hold the Fort" in 1870 Bliss was engaged in holding song conventions and in composing and teaching music. The same year he contributed to a music book for Sunday schools, one of several such books he contributed to or edited in the next few years. He was professionally and financially successful, earning as much as \$100 for a four-day convention engagement. After only two weeks in the army at the end of the Civil War, he went to Chicago as a member of a quartet called the Yankee Boys to sing for the music publishers Root & Cady at patriotic meetings. The Yankee Boys failed, but the firm kept Bliss on. For four years he engaged in convention work under an arrangement with his employers, and then he struck out on his own.³⁴ As suggested by the Yankee Boys interlude, Bliss's first interest was secular music. His first composition was the sad tale of poor departed "Lora Vale," a song which George F. Root arranged and Root & Cady published in 1864:

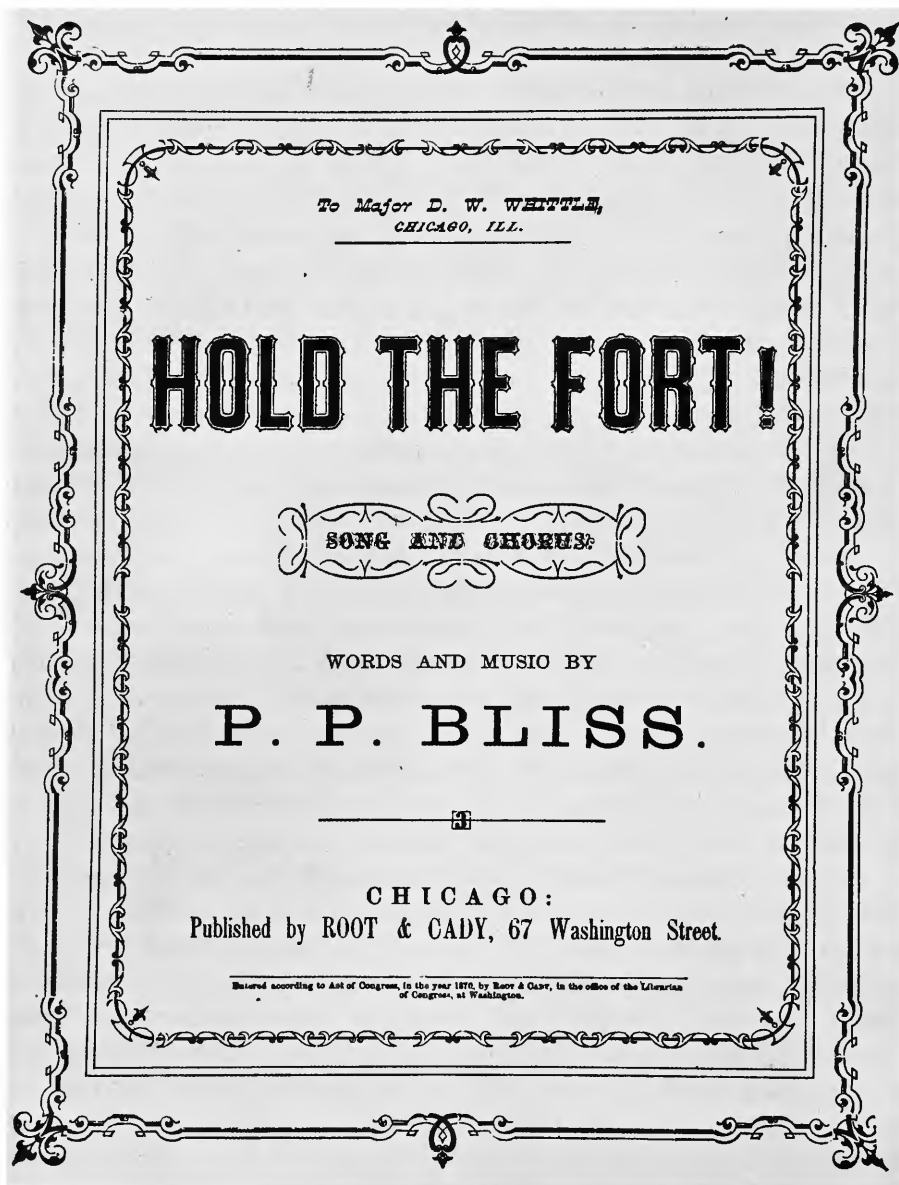
Calmly fell the silver moonlight
 Over hill and over dale,
 As with mournful hearts we lingered
 By the couch of Lora Vale.

Lora, Lora still we love thee,
 Though we see thy form no more,
 And we know thou'lt come to meet us,
 When we reach the mystic shore.³⁵

In the last years of his life Bliss put secular music aside for his all-absorbing gospel music.³⁶

In 1869 Bliss met Dwight L. Moody,³⁷ who would soon become the center and driving force of evangelism in the United States. Indeed, in the 1930s Herbert W. Schneider described him as “the greatest of all the evangelists,” whose “campaigns in the United States, Great Britain, and Ireland between 1857 and 1899 not only influenced millions but also raised revivalistic methods to a somewhat higher plane.”³⁸ In 1870 Bliss met Whittle, with whom he developed a lasting friendship. At first there was simply a period of close association, but after appeals from Moody and encouraging meetings in Waukegan, Illinois, in March 1874 they decided to devote themselves completely to the gospel, Whittle preaching it and Bliss singing it.³⁹ For both men this decision meant a financial sacrifice. Bliss relinquished a financially rewarding career and in the next year or so gave over to benevolences his share of the considerable royalties he earned in collaboration with Ira D. Sankey. The royalties on *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs*, which Bliss and Sankey issued in 1875, ran to \$60,000 almost immediately, but neither author took a cent for himself.⁴⁰ Whittle gave up his position as treasurer of the Elgin Watch Company, in which he was earning the substantial salary of \$5,000 a year.⁴¹ A *Chicago Tribune* writer who liked Whittle’s preaching better than that of the learned ministers of the day declared that the evangelist “has a clear ringing voice, and, like all . . . evangelists of the school to which he belongs, he knows how to handle a Bible. . . .”⁴²

From Illinois, Bliss and Whittle carried their evangelism to other states in the Middle West, with a penetration of Pennsylvania in 1874, and then of the South. In 1876 they were in Georgia, where they were at special pains to visit Kennesaw Mountain, to which they journeyed “on a beautiful April morning.” On top of the mountain they found “part of the framework of the signal station” from which Allatoona had been signaled in 1864. It was a Confederate platform which Union signalmen had first used in July 1864, abandoned, reoccupied, and put to use in October. From the mountain, Bliss and Whittle could see Allatoona and were much inspired. After kneeling in prayer they “sang ‘Hold the Fort,’ looking out upon the distant . . . [Allatoona], looking up to the clear blue sky, and hoping and almost expecting that Jesus might then appear, so near He seemed to us that April day.” Bliss, his friend said, “reckoned it, while he lived, as one of his blessed days, and the memory of it to me . . . will continue to be while life lasts, a transfiguration scene.”⁴³



Cover of original sheet music edition (1870) of "Hold the Fort!" Other sheets are reproduced on the following three pages. (Library of Congress photos of the copyright deposit.)

HOLD THE FORT.

Song and Chorus.

WORDS AND MUSIC BY P. P. BLISS.

MAJOR WHITTLE RELATES THE FOLLOWING INCIDENT, UPON WHICH THE SONG IS FOUNDED:

During October, 1864, just before General Sherman commenced his famous march to the sea, while his army lay camped in the neighborhood of Atlanta, the army of Hood, in a carefully prepared movement, passed the right flank of Sherman's army, and gaining his rear, commenced the destruction of the railroad leading north, burning block houses and capturing the small garrisons along the line. Sherman's army was put in rapid motion, following Hood, to save the supplies and larger posts, the principal of which was located at Altoona Pass, a defile in the Altoona range of mountains, through which ran the railroad. General Corse, of Illinois, was stationed here with a Brigade of troops, composed of Minnesota and Illinois regiments, in all about 1,500 men; Col. Tourtelotte being Second in Command. A million and a half of rations were stored here, and it was highly important that the earthworks commanding the Pass and protecting the supplies should be held. Six thousand men, under command of Gen. French, were detailed by Hood to take the position. The works were completely surrounded and summoned to surrender. Corse refused, and sharp fighting commenced. The defenders were slowly driven into a small fort upon the crest of the hill. Many had fallen, and the result seemed to render a prolongation of the fight hopeless. At this moment an officer caught sight of a white signal flag, far away across the valley, fifteen miles distant, upon the top of Kennesaw Mountain. The signal was answered, and soon the message was waved across from mountain to mountain: "Hold the fort; I am coming. W. T. SHERMAN." Cheers went up; every man was nerved to the full appreciation of the position; and, under a murderous fire, which killed or wounded more than half the men in the fort—Corse himself being shot three times through the head, Col. Tourtelotte taking command, though himself badly wounded, they held the fort for three hours, until the advance guard of Sherman's army came up, and French was obliged to retreat.

No incident of the war illustrates more thrillingly the inspiration imparted by the knowledge of the presence of the Commander; and that he is cognizant of our position; and that, doing our utmost, he will supply our weakness by speedy reinforcements. So, the message of Sherman to the soldiers of Altoona becomes the message of the Great Commander, who signals ever to all who fight life's battle, "Hold the Fort."

Con Spirito.

The musical score is written for piano and features two systems of music. The first system consists of a treble clef staff with a melody and a bass clef staff with accompaniment. The second system continues the melody and accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The score includes dynamic markings such as 'f' and 'fz'. A page number '8' is centered below the second system.

Before the year was out, on 29 December, Bliss and his wife, both still under 40, met sudden death on a wild and snowy winter night when the iron bridge at Ashtabula, Ohio, on the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad, collapsed and dropped the "Pacific Express" into Ashtabula Creek where it caught fire from its stoves and kerosene lamps. Horror was added to horror by bungled rescue operations and by the robbing of helpless survivors. Absolutely nothing that could be identified

1. Ho! my com - rades, see the sig - nal Wav - ing in the sky!
2. See the might y host ad - vance - ing, Sa - tan lead ing on;

Re in - force - ments now ap - pear ing, Vic - to ry is nigh!
Might y men a round us fall ing, Cour age al most gone:

3.
See the glorious banner waving,
Hear the bugle blow;
In our Leader's name we'll triumph
Over every foe.

4
Fierce and long the battle rages,
But our Help is near;
Onward comes our Great Commander,
Cheer, my comrades, cheer!

as Bliss and his wife, or as belonging to them, was ever discovered. As George Root put it, they disappeared “from the earth as completely as did Elijah in his flaming chariot.” They were survived by two sons, Phillip Paul and George Goodwin.⁴⁴

George F. Root, who was in a position to make a professional estimate of Bliss, observed in 1891 that Bliss’s “musical training and experience were too limited to permit safe flight on his part beyond simple harmonies, although it was easily seen that he had a natural vein of true melody. What a wonderful use his songs have performed now for more

CHORUS.

The image shows a musical score for a chorus. It consists of two systems of music. Each system includes four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment consisting of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are: "Hold the fort, for I am com - ing," Je - sus sig - nals still, Wave the an - swer back to heav - en, - "By thy grace, we will." The music is in a key with two sharps (D major) and a 4/4 time signature. The piano accompaniment features a steady, rhythmic pattern in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand.

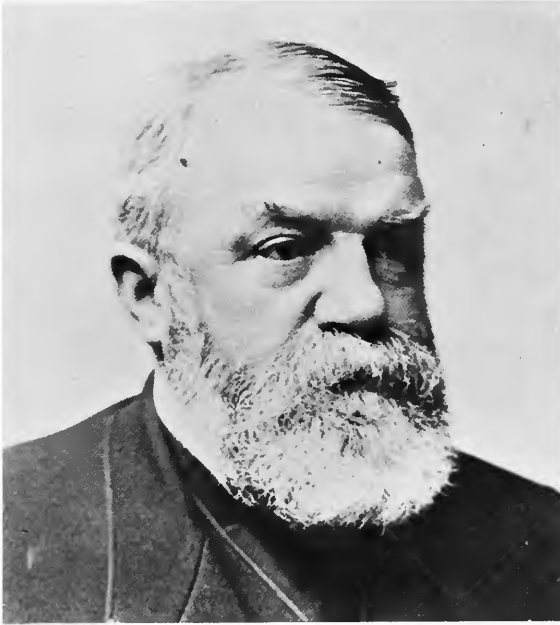
"Hold the fort, for I am com - ing," Je - sus sig - nals still,

Wave the an - swer back to heav - en, - "By thy grace, we will."

Wave the an - swer back to heav - en, - "By thy grace, we will."

than a score of years." Root added that Bliss's "unselfish devotion to his work made for him such friends while he lived and such mourners when he died as few men have ever had."⁴⁵

Another and later evaluation would have it that Bliss's songs, when "judged by the standards of art," were "decidedly inferior, but the masses could understand and sing them, and their melody, martial note, joyousness, and hope produced the religious exhilaration desired." An even more



Dwight Lyman Moody in 1900. (Library of Congress photo.)

recent description calls Bliss's songs "homey" and has it that they sounded "very much like the ballads of the music-hall stage," which is to say that they had a wide appeal.⁴⁶ The popularity of "Hold the Fort" sustains these views, for by the time of Bliss's death it was said to have been translated into "nearly all the European languages . . . into Chinese and the native languages of India," and was, in short, "popular beyond any other Sabbath School song of the age."⁴⁷

After Bliss's death, Whittle continued his evangelism, with James McGranahan replacing his old friend Bliss as the major's gospel singer.⁴⁸ Whittle also continued his relationship with Moody, under whose auspices he had begun his evangelistic work. For some years he maintained his home in Northfield, Massachusetts, where Moody founded the Northfield Seminary and the Mount Hermon School for boys and held annual religious conferences. In addition to his preaching, Whittle wrote a number of gospel songs, generally under the pseudonym "El Nathan." His friend George Stebbins thought these songs put him "well in the front rank" of the gospel song writers. One of them, set to music by his daughter May, was "Moment by Moment," which he wrote during the 1893 World's

Ira David Sankey in 1895.
(Library of Congress photo.)



Columbian Exposition in Chicago. For the last year or two of his life he lived with May, who was married to Dwight L. Moody's eldest son, William R. Moody. These years were tragic for Whittle and a measure of the personal sacrifice he had made for his religion. Working and living with troops during the Spanish-American War led to a complete breakdown of his health⁴⁹ and, finally, to the old soldier's first application for a Civil War pension. Although a claim based upon his wound at Vicksburg was approved in 1900, efforts to persuade a tightfisted and coldhearted Pension Bureau to approve payments at a higher rate were apparently fruitless, despite the efforts of such influential friends as President William McKinley, Major General Howard, and John Wanamaker, the Philadelphia merchant. Poor in worldly goods, the major went to his reward the next year.⁵⁰

Bliss, Whittle, and Moody were now dead, and Ira Sankey, who had made "Hold the Fort" as popular in the British Isles as in the United States, was in broken health and would join his friends in the heavenly chorus in 1908.⁵¹

Six Acres of Irishmen

After Bliss published "Hold the Fort" in sheet music, he brought it out as one of the numbers in *Gospel Songs*, which he published in 1874.⁵² Meanwhile, in 1873, Sankey had taken it abroad when he and Moody carried the gospel to the mother country with perhaps little to go on other than faith, hope, and charity. Edgar J. Goodspeed states that they went to London upon the invitation of three English sponsors, two of whom died before the evangelists reached their destination.⁵³ On the other hand, *The New York Times* reports that "Moody and Sankey were sent to England by Mr. Barnum as a . . . speculation."⁵⁴ In any case, their revivalistic sweep through England, Scotland, and Ireland, lasting into the summer of 1875, is famous in the annals of evangelism. Indeed, it has been said that they were "the instruments in a religious awakening comparable only to that under the preaching of Wesley and Whitefield."⁵⁵ In 1875, in London alone, according to one report, they held 285 meetings that were attended "by fully 2,500,000 people," but perhaps 1,500,000 Londoners is a better estimate, for Bernard A. Weisberger says that "the attendance figures were not exactly marvels of statistical accuracy."⁵⁶

Wherever they went, whether to Liverpool, Glasgow, Dublin, Belfast, or London, "Hold the Fort" was immensely popular. A Glasgow commentator, seeking to explain the popularity of "Hold the Fort" and of other songs in Sankey's repertory, said of Sankey's music that only

a small portion of it has any claim to originality. Much of it is so Scottish and Irish in its construction that to our people familiar with such music, it is sometimes difficult to realize that what we hear is sacred song. Usually short turns and strains remind us irresistibly of something we know, but cannot recall. In some of the melodies the effect is more marked. Who does not feel the sweetness of Irish melody in "Sweet by-and-by" and the thorough Scottish ring in such songs as "Hold the Fort," "Sweet Hour of Prayer" . . . and many others. It takes us by surprise to hear gospel truth wafted in the strains of our national music; but is it not possible that this may be the true though unexpected reason why these simple songs have found such a direct and wonderful entrance to the Scottish heart?⁵⁷

The same critic observed that Sankey used his organ or harmonium "as a mere accessory" and sometimes completely drowned it out with his voice,⁵⁸ which a friend once described as "a high baritone of exceptional volume, purity and sympathy."⁵⁹ To Edgar Johnson Goodspeed, however, David's harp itself was "the prototype" of Sankey's harmonium.⁶⁰

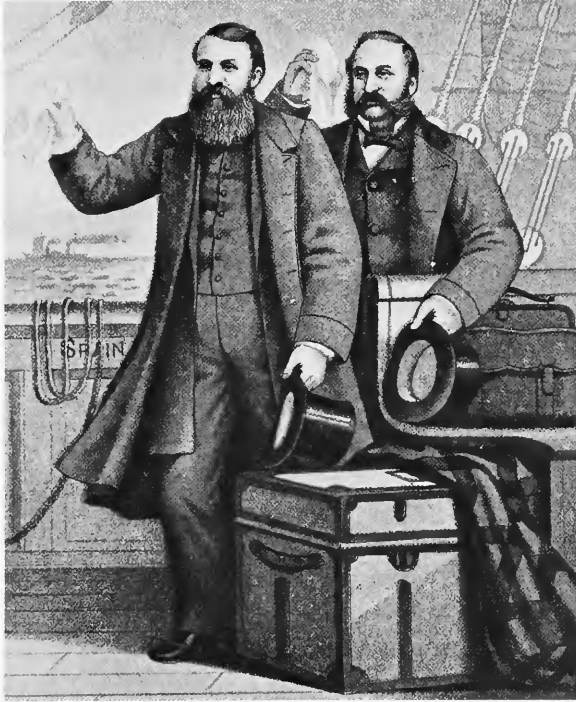
Scotland had been approached by the evangelists in 1873 with considerable misgivings, for organs and "human hymns" long had been forbidden in Scottish churches. The Presbyterians were assured, however, that Sankey's harmonium was quite small, and it was admitted along with the musician. At the first meeting in Edinburgh, Sankey had to appear alone because Moody had a severe cold. Everything considered, the singer was understandably fearful when he suggested at the end of the service that the packed house join him in the chorus of "Hold the Fort." What followed "sounded like the clans a'ganging' to war!"⁶¹ Apparently, Edinburgh approved.

Describing a meeting in Dublin in 1874, for which between four and five thousand persons assembled in the Free Trade Hall at eight o'clock one "frosty" December morning, a reporter remarked that as Sankey began to play "Hold the Fort," which was "a tune well known at these meetings," the congregation struck into it "with one mighty voice. . . . The words have a martial, inspiriting sound, and as the verse rolled forth, filling the great hall with a mighty and musical noise, one could see the eyes of strong men fill with tears."⁶²

The names of Moody and Sankey seemed to be on almost everyone's lips. Sankey recalled that a clown in a Dublin circus said to his partner: "I am rather Moody tonight; how do you feel?" To this the second clown replied: "I feel rather Sankey-monious." According to Sankey, "this by-play was not only met with hisses, but the whole audience arose and joined with tremendous effect in singing . . . 'Hold the fort, for I am coming.'"⁶³ Apparently Sankey and his admirers who repeated the story were not much more amused by it than the Irishmen who found in Bliss's song an eloquent reproof of a couple of waggish clowns who, if not of a Catholic persuasion, were just plain put out because the revival had interfered earlier with circus attendance.⁶⁴

It was also in Dublin that a body of Catholic priests heard the revivalists. Although we have not found it recorded that they sang "Hold the Fort," they are said to have expressed the view that if Moody and Sankey stayed a little longer St. Patrick surely would be displaced by a Yankee.⁶⁵ As a matter of fact, the hierarchy finally took notice. "Cardinal Cullen, seeing his flock straying in such large numbers . . . published an interdict forbidding such conduct," which, however, "did not prevent the conversion of sinners of Romish proclivities."⁶⁶

In Belfast, Moody "spoke to six acres of Irishmen,"⁶⁷ and Sankey was later told that a prisoner in the local gaol heard "Hold the Fort"



Moody and Sankey bid farewell to England from the deck of the *Spain* at Liverpool, 1875. (Library of Congress photo.)

through an open window as Sankey sang it in another building and, probably without ever seeing the singer, reformed to become one of the most enthusiastic revival helpers in town.⁶⁸

Finally, in 1875, Moody and Sankey sailed from Liverpool for home aboard the *Spain*. As the ship passed down the Mersey, the people in the tender who had come to see them off sang “Hold the Fort” and “Work, for the Night is Coming” while the evangelists stood at the ship’s rail, bowing and waving their handkerchiefs.

Years later Sankey recollected that the famous philanthropist Lord Shaftesbury “said at our farewell meeting in London: ‘If Mr. Sankey has done no more than teach the people to sing “Hold the Fort,” he has conferred an inestimable blessing on the British Empire.’ ”⁶⁹ As Elias Nason put it:

It was a pleasure never to be forgotten, to hear ten thousand Londoners singing heartily “Hold the Fort,” and other familiar songs. Everybody seemed to know them; and in the cars, the homes of the people, as well as in the churches, they were heard. It was almost impossible to get out of the reach of these holy, heavenly melodies. The hearts of the old and young were filled with them.⁷⁰

In Canada, about the time that Moody and Sankey returned to America, Tommy Dodd, "the greatest drunkard and wife-beater in Yorkville," was persuaded to leave the saloon for the church by hearing a carpenter and his apprentice sing "Hold the Fort." The song may have reached Canada only a short time before, with the first (1875) edition of *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs*. On a brief trip to England in 1879, Sankey appropriately sang "Hold the Fort" at a London meeting at which the famous British evangelist Charles H. Spurgeon delivered a sermon on a pending army bill at the behest of "a Christian gentleman, a member of . . . parliament." When the congregation joined in the chorus "it was heard blocks away." At that time Sankey was en route to Switzerland where, "ascending the Rigi," he "sang 'Hold the Fort,' much to the interest of the Swiss peasants." Presumably he did not sing this song when he visited Turkey in 1898, for he reported that the Sultan had banned both "Hold the Fort" and "Dare to Be a Daniel," another of Bliss's songs.⁷¹

"Hold the Fort" thus became a part of the popular church music of the British Isles and was not unknown in other foreign places. Not surprisingly, it also came to serve the secular cause of the British trade-union movement, as it did the cause of labor in the United States. Meanwhile, the old song continued to make gospel history in its native land.

In the Athens of America

Bliss no doubt sang "Hold the Fort" countless times as he went up and down the land in his last years, although Sankey recalled that his friend "hoped that he would not be known to posterity only as the author of 'Hold the Fort,' for he believed that he had written many better songs."⁷² As fate would have it, of course, when Bliss's commemorative monument was erected in 1877 in Rome, Pennsylvania—with contributions from thirty-six states and territories, and from England, Ireland, Scotland, Canada, India, and the West Indies—there was inscribed on its front, facing the road, these words: "Erected by the Sunday Schools of the United States and Great Britain in response to the invitation of D. L. Moody as a memorial to Philip P. Bliss, author of Hold the Fort and other gospel songs." When Sankey sang "Hold the Fort" at the unveiling ceremony, the choir and congregation joined in the chorus.⁷³

Head-Quarters Army of the United States.
St. Louis CCo. June 22, 1875.

My Dear Sir,

I am just back from Boston and find your letter of June 12, and was glad to know for the first time that one of hymns of Misses Moody & Sankey was founded on the defence of Alatoona Ga.

You will find the incident described in full in the "Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman", "Pursuit of Johnston: Oct." 1864. Alatoona was held by a small garrison - it was an important point and I was marching to its relief. The enemy were there first with a superior force and had cut all of the telegraph lines. I got on the top of Kenesaw some eighteen miles distant from which we could faintly see the assault but were still too far off to be felt; but I telegraphed the fact of our coming by signal flags. I do not think I used the words - "Hold the Fort"; that however was the duty of the garrison and they did it nobly manfully.

Truly your friend -
 W. T. Sherman
 Maj. Genl.

Hon. William E. Dodge.

Letter from Major General William T. Sherman to William E. Dodge commenting on "Hold the Fort." (Photo courtesy of Fred E. Brown, Houston, Texas.)

Ira Sankey continued to sing "Hold the Fort," although his friend Fanny Crosby, the famous blind singer, thought that "The Ninety and Nine," for which Elizabeth C. Clephane wrote the words and Sankey composed the music, was the most popular of the songs he sang.⁷⁴ As the leading gospel singer of his day he undoubtedly did more than any of his contemporaries to popularize Bliss's songs, as well as those of other writers. At the same time, according to Richard Ellsworth Day, Bliss's music "was the very foundation of Sankey's great career."⁷⁵ It is not surprising, in any case, that the songs he sang in Moody's services should have become known as "the Moody and Sankey hymns,"⁷⁶ and so it was by that name that William Tecumseh Sherman knew them.

Sherman did not hear about "Hold the Fort" until June 1875, when the song was already five years old. He learned about it from William E. Dodge, who probably was a friend of Moody's and was a member of a committee that administered the income from the various editions of *Gospel Hymns*, as later editions of *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs* were known.⁷⁷ Writing Dodge, Sherman remarked that he "was glad to know for the first time that one of [the] hymns of Messrs Moody & Sankey was founded on the defence of Alatoona [sic] Ga." In signaling "the fact of our coming," he added, "I do not think I used the words—'Hold the Fort'; that however was the duty of the garrison and they did it nobly—Manfully." French, the Confederate commander at Allatoona, also came to know "Hold the Fort," observing it was sung "wherever the cross is seen and Christianity prevails." As Fred Brown points out, it evidently escaped French that he could be taken for the prototype of Satan in Bliss's second verse: "See the mighty host advancing, Satan leading on."⁷⁸

In 1876 Moody and Sankey held revival meetings in the Hippodrome in New York City.⁷⁹ Early in 1877, shortly after the death of Bliss, the revivalists, refusing to be intimidated by Bostonian culture, carried their evangelism to the Athens of America. Actually, they had been invited by representatives of a number of Boston churches, and a brick tabernacle—said to be "much the smallest, though one of the pleasantest, of the series of great buildings erected for the Moody and Sankey revival meetings"—was built to receive them.⁸⁰ Frances E. Willard, the temperance advocate, conducted women's meetings, which were a feature of the Moody services.⁸¹ During one tabernacle meeting at which Sankey sang "Hold the Fort," Phillips Brooks came over from Trinity Church and "pronounced the benediction."⁸²



Moody preaching at the Hippodrome in New York City, 1876. Sankey is behind the organ at right; Dodge is second from left. (Library of Congress photo of illustration by C. S. Reinhart in *Harper's Weekly*, vol. 20, 11 March 1876.)

The meetings in Boston, which went on for weeks, were a great success. There was, however, a somewhat profane Boston journalist—I. A. M. Cumming, as he styled himself—who covered the revival meetings for “the spiciest paper in New England,” the *Boston Sunday Times* (circulation 60,000), and then published a collection of his revival pieces under the title *Tabernacle Sketches*, with illustrations by an equally irreverent artist named Haskell.⁸³ Cumming claimed that Sankey had first realized his powers of song one night on the western prairies when he frightened off a band of Apaches, who were about to attack his party, by striking up “What Shall the Harvest Be?” According to Cumming, the braves “thought they had been surprised by at least five thousand Sioux warriors.”⁸⁴

“Hold the Fort,” of course, was more than Cumming and Haskell could resist. Early in the meetings, commenting upon the choir’s rendition of “Hold the Fort,” Cumming thought he ought not speak of Bliss’s earthly melodies since the author was now departed, but Haskell nevertheless sketched some of the choir members in the front row, mouths open,

TABERNACLE SKETCHES.

The newspapers have Moody and Sankey all over them.

The peripatetic peller intimidates the way-faring man with portraits of Moody and Sankey—five cents each.

An inventive toy-man on Tremout street cries daily to sinners, "Here's yer Moody and Sankey spiders—two cents each."

The lunatic asylums are all having Moody and Sankey wards put up.

The saloons have all got the Moody and Sankey bitters.

And all creation groaneth together under Moody and Sankey.

Have you been to the Tabernacle yet? If not go at once and see the scramble at the door.



Doors open at 6.45
TRYING TO GET IN.

There has been nothing like it in Boston for a long time.

Perhaps you had better make an exception in favor of the Græco-Roman wrestling matches at Music Hall—the crush is about as great at one of those delightful entertainments.

And is not unlike it in general character. The revival is a big thing! Do you ask why it is a big thing? As well ask why is a barn-door a big thing. As Tupper, the immortal, in his paean of praise, written in honor of Sankey, says:

Who at any time hath heard the midnight music of the dejected dog?
Or who hath heard the sweet and syrupy song of the belated and cataleptic cat?



Mr. Sankey at rest

O! the melodious, mellifluous and marvelous Sankey.

When I behold him night after night treating out a wild, weird and majestic accompaniment to that wilder, more weird and more majestic voice, I do not doubt any more his devotion to humanity.

And when I see humanity, Boston humanity—most musical of all humanity—sit and be tortured with this astounding discord, I do not doubt humanity's devotion to the gospel. Talk about the early Christian martyrs!



What did they suffer, compared with the musical Bostonian who has to sit and listen while Sankey howls about "harvest sheaves." Speaking of the singing, Dr. Tourjee's chorus does well.

They do a good deal to cover up Mr. Sankey's awkward attempts at melody.

Your artist tried to sketch the front row of the choir one night, but from his unfortunate position in the reporter's box he failed to get more than a sectional view, as above.

I hope this sectional view will provoke no sectional feeling among the ladies whose faces are here artistically concealed.

Unhappy Tourjee! His fate is hard.



Mr. Sankey in action.

I know exactly why Sankey has been a success. He told me all about it himself.

He first began to sing somewhere out West.

The first intuition he had of his great powers was one night on the prairies. A band of Apache braves was about to attack the party of which Sankey was a member. Believing his time had come he struck up

"What shall the harvest be?"

When he got to the end of the first line and swooped around on to the second with his usual magnificent effect—so sweetly, so softly, so unlike a foghorn or a locomotive whistle—the entire tribe took to its heels and bolted.

One of the band taken prisoner admitted that they thought they had been surprised by at least five thousand Sioux warriors, and mistook Sankey's shout for the war-whoop of the whole camp.

Sankey recognized his mission at once, and today Boston, the home of Theodore Thomas, the place that knew Jubilee Gilmore in his palmy days, the home of the Handel and Haydn Society, the Starland Chorus, the Apollo Club and the Orpheus Club, bows in homage to his genius as a minstrel.

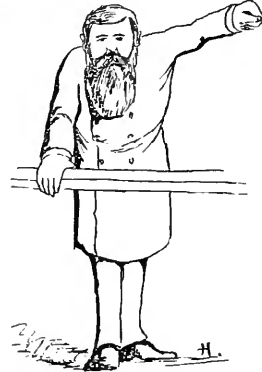
While Luke Scholcraft and Harry Bloodgood weep with envy.

And all the newspapers are crying out "beautiful" in chorus.

Verily, man never howled as this man howleth.

No wonder that beads of perspiration have bedecked the angry brow of the bronze Beethoven in Music Hall.

Thomas might as well disband his orchestra and understand that the day of high art has come and that we are all going to patronize Sankey's music of the future



Mr. Moody— from the South

Moody has made a very favorable impression upon me.

As a showman I regard him as only rivaled by the great Phoenix T. Barnum.

He understands his business.

He came and looked over the Tabernacle with the eye of an expert in stage properties.

He heard of Brother Webb's little envelope trick, and said peremptorily, "Stop it!"

A page from *Tabernacle Sketches*, which satirized the Moody and Sankey revival meetings in Boston, 1877. (Library of Congress photo.)

singing Bliss's song. He also contributed several rather unflattering drawings of Moody and Sankey themselves.⁶⁵ In one piece Cumming claimed that he heard "the enterprising gamins of the gutter" sing a new version of "Hold the Fort" around the tabernacle every night, and Haskell sketched a gamin so engaged. This latest version, according to Cumming, was:

Hold the forks, the knives are coming,
The plates are on the way,
Shout the chorus to your neighbor,
Sling the hash this way.⁸⁶

As the reporter entered the tabernacle one Sunday, according to a Haskell sketch, Dr. Eben Tourjée, the choirmaster,⁸⁷ requested "the entire audience to sing 'Hold the Fort for I.A.M. Cumming.'" ⁸⁸

Some there were, of course, who were unamused by Cumming and Haskell. One writer, referring to "Hold the Forks," declared that Cumming was "a particularly vicious writer," some of whose "columns were as bitter as a man could write." Another referred to "the sensational and even impious attacks of the enemies of evangelical truth, who treat the revivalists and their labors as objects for caricature and derision." A recent writer finds that Cumming's satires "are funny," although "some-what unfair."⁸⁹

In 1877 a gift edition of Bliss's song came out as a small book under the title *Hold the Fort* and inscribed to General W. T. Sherman. On the cover is a gilt angel carrying in one hand a waving banner bearing the title and in the other a crown; the background shows a branch from the tree of life with a serpent intertwined. The book itself consists of the words and music of the song, embellished with many illustrations.⁹⁰ The same year a Swedish version, a free translation of "Hold the Fort," came out in Chicago under the title "Hållen Fästet." It begins, "Upp! kamrater, se banaret Fladdrande framgår!" and the chorus runs: "'Hållen fästet, tills jag kommer,' Jesus manar än: 'Herre, med din nåd wi wilja,' Swarom Frälsaren."⁹¹

"Hållen Fästet" should not be confused with the song "Hold Fast Till I Come," whose chorus runs:

*Hold fast till I come,
Hold fast till I come;
A bright crown awaits thee;
Hold fast till I come.*⁹²



Drawing by Haskell in *Tabernacle Sketches* depicting boy singing a parody of "Hold the Fort!" outside the Boston Tabernacle. (Library of Congress photo.)

"Hold the Fort!"

Bliss wrote the music for this song, but the words were by a Chicago woman named Griswold, whose *nom de plume*, Paulina, sometimes caused her to be mistaken for Mrs. Bliss. Whittle thought that this song "probably" was the last one that Bliss sang on earth.⁹³ It is interesting that one of the Kennesaw-Allatoona messages of 4 October 1864 read: "General Sherman says hold fast. We are coming." The language of this message is reminiscent of *Revelations* 2:25 ("But that which ye have *already* hold fast till I come"), which sometimes appears as a text for "Hold the Fort."

William R. Moody, son of the great evangelist and Whittle's son-in-law, observed in 1930 that many of the old gospel songs "were of little permanent value" and that "many Moody himself outgrew." Indeed, he recalled that his father would say: "We have been singing 'Hold the Fort'

HOLD THE FORT.

CHORUS.

“Hold the fort, for I am coming,”

Je - sus signals still, Wave the answer

back to heaven, “By thy grace we will.”

Chorus of “Hold the Fort” in an ornate hardcover edition of the sheet music, 1877.
(Library of Congress photo.)

too long,” for “it is not a question of keeping a stronghold, but of aggressive warfare.”⁹⁴ Although the elder Moody may have tired of it, others certainly did not. When Billy Sunday, Moody’s famous successor,⁹⁵ planned a day for old soldiers in Jacksonville, Illinois, in 1908, he did not forget Bliss’s song. It was reported that he wanted “a choir of 500 cultured voices to sing that revival song, ‘Hold the Fort,’ which was based on the battle of Allatoona,” as well as somebody “to explain the salient points of that battle of all battles . . . the inspiration of that song.”⁹⁶ Probably he was told to expect some Allatoona veterans in his audience, since men from several Illinois regiments had fought at Allatoona Pass.

In 1931 Homer A. Rodeheaver, a longtime colleague of Sunday’s, published a little book containing historical notes on and suggestions for using gospel songs, one of which was “Hold the Fort” or, as he (and others) called it, “Ho! My Comrades.” “Because of its appeal to the bravery of the human race,” he said, “men love to sing this song. It is very effective as a challenge song, but in regular congregational singing it is good for men.” It would make “for a bit of unusual use of this song,” he thought, if a soloist or a choir sang the first part of the chorus and the congregation, while “waving their hands or their handkerchiefs,” sang in response: “Wave the answer back to heaven. ‘By Thy grace we will.’”⁹⁷

One of the most memorable events of the author’s school days was a chapel program presented by Sunday and Rodeheaver at Central High School, Evansville, Indiana, sometime between the fall of 1927 and the spring of 1931. Billy Sunday, his natty attire accented by spats, drove home an evangelical point by leaping onto a table while Rodeheaver made the rafters ring with his sliding trombone.

The 1940 edition of *The Broadman Hymnal*, widely used in Southern Baptist churches, carries “Hold the Fort.”⁹⁸ In a biographical sketch of Bliss, Charles A. Kent calls it a “deathless song,” although he does not list it among his *Fifty Great Songs of the Church*.⁹⁹ As recently as 1956 one or more copies of the last edition of *Gospel Hymns*—this being *Gospel Hymns 1–6*—could still be purchased from the Theodore Presser Company of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, successor to the old John Church Company. By the spring of 1959, however, that grand old book had gone “permanently out of print” and no copy was to be had.¹⁰⁰

A representative of the Billy Graham Crusade remarked in 1960 that despite *The Broadman Hymnal* the Southern Baptist churches no longer sang “Hold the Fort” very often. He thought it was not a good

song to use today, anyhow, because people outside the United States might misunderstand the reference in the first line to "comrades."¹⁰¹ Yet, the old gospel song remained alive and refused to disappear from the scene. The very next year, speaking on the morning radio program "Look to this Day," the Reverend Mr. Robert Sutt, pastor of the Temple Baptist Church, Washington, D.C., took as part of his text a quotation from the chorus.¹⁰² Indeed, as recently as 1966 the Gospel Publishing House of Springfield, Missouri, published Ramona Crabtree's choral arrangement of "Hold the Fort" in the "Melody Choral Series." It was not a best seller, "just an old time song . . . loved by a lot of people"; even so, its sales were "average for choral arrangements."¹⁰³

Such is the history of the 100-year-old gospel song as sacred music. But "Hold the Fort" attained such popularity that it inevitably achieved a secular life as well.

Hold the Fort Until November

In the years 1876 to 1884 (and very possibly at other times) "Hold the Fort" was adapted to the secular if not downright profane uses of presidential politics. In the campaigns of those years in which Rutherford B. Hayes, James A. Garfield, and James G. Blaine ran on the Republican ticket against, respectively, Samuel J. Tilden, Winfield Scott Hancock, and Grover Cleveland, there were at least eight Republican campaign songs inspired by and sung to the tune of "Hold the Fort." These songs, of course, celebrated not only the presidential candidates but also their running mates—William A. Wheeler, Chester A. Arthur, and John A. Logan. Their rhyming and originality often left much to be desired and there was not much subtlety in them, but they had a tune that could be used by evangelists of the hustings as well as of the cloth. One of them, vintage 1876, was James Nicholson's "Our Watchword," the third verse and refrain of which ran:

Rebels call for reformation,
Thieves for honest men,
Till the Treasury of the nation,
They can rob again.

*Loyal men throughout the nation,
Strike for Liberty!*

*Now the names of HAYES and WHEELER
Shall our watchword be.¹⁰⁴*

Another song of the same campaign, but with something more of a lilt, clearly showed its musical inspiration:

Rally round the flag again!
 The flag that Lincoln bore!
 Rally round the stars and stripes,
 Brothers as of yore!
 Hold the fort until November;
 Victory is sure!
 Hold the fort for Hayes and Wheeler;
 Never men were truer!¹⁰⁵

Not showing much originality in either songs or issues, the Republican Congressional Committee used the same song, under the title “Victory Is Sure,” during the Garfield campaign of 1880 by merely substituting “Garfield-Arthur” for “Hayes and Wheeler.”¹⁰⁶ Similarly, it also used “Round Our Banner,” another song to the tune of “Hold the Fort” from the 1876 campaign.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, some of the same verses to the same tune appeared in Peter Maithre’s “Boys in Blue,” which the Republican National Committee used (with necessary changes) in the Blaine campaign of 1884.¹⁰⁸ “Hurrah for General Garfield” was another Republican song of the 1880 campaign, published anonymously, to the tune of “Hold the Fort.”¹⁰⁹ In 1884 the Republican Campaign Committee published “Hold the Helm,” which was sung to the same tune, as anybody could have guessed from its chorus if not from its title:

*Hold the helm! The pilot's coming!
 See his white sail dip;
 Logan lights the danger signal!
 Blaine will guide the ship!*¹¹⁰

Grog, Sex, and the People’s Party

At the same time that the Republicans were giving their Democratic opponents the “what-for” to the tune of “Hold the Fort,” the Prohibitionists, whose roots went back to the colonial period, were trying to dry up the country to the same tune. In so doing they perhaps sought to confuse the opposition—if they were not themselves confused—by singing two anonymously published versions of the same song. One was entitled “Hold the Fort for Prohibition” and the other “Storm the Fort for Pro-

hibition," the latter probably inspired by a Knights of Labor version of Bliss's song. In the first of these the third verse and chorus urged:

By the God who freedom gave us,
 With immortal souls!
 Crush the foe who dare enslave us—
 Forward to the polls!
"Hold the fort for prohibition!"
Freedom signals still;
Answer back to her petition,
*"By our vote we will!"*¹¹¹

In the other version the last verse and chorus exhorted:

Face the grog-shops' bold defiance,
 Never fear or quail.
 Coward foes will soon surrender;
 Voters! do not fail.
Storm the fort for Prohibition
Captives signal still,
Answer back to their petition,
*"By our votes we will."*¹¹²

Also seeking to influence affairs as the nineteenth century advanced were the militant ladies of the woman's-rights movement, who particularly urged woman suffrage but who also pressed temperance and other radical ideas upon reluctant male politicians, some of whom professed to fear that the vote would unsex womanhood. Or so it was said during the 1890 debates over the admission of Wyoming, which had had woman suffrage since 1869.¹¹³ Under the circumstances, the ladies turned to song to keep their spirits up and to plead their case. One song, sung to the tune of "Hold the Fort" and variously called "Columbia's Daughters" and "Hark! The Sound of Myriad Voices," appears in at least three different collections of suffrage songs and under the title "Columbia's Daughters" in a record album of several years ago.¹¹⁴ The first verse and the chorus of this song, which was written for the first annual meeting of the National Woman Suffrage Association of Massachusetts, are enough to give its flavor:

Hark! the sound of myriad voices
 Rising in their might;
 'Tis the daughters of Columbia
 Pleading for the right.

*Raise the flag and plant the standard,
Wave the signal still;
Brother, we must share your freedom,
Help us, and we will.*¹¹⁵

There are at least two other woman-suffrage songs to the tune of "Hold the Fort." One of these has the not very original title "Our Suffrage Song," while the other has the equally unoriginal title "Hold the Fort!"¹¹⁶

Of all the reform movements in the United States in the late nineteenth century none was more remarkable than the Populist movement that spawned the People's Party. This grew, primarily, out of severe agrarian discontent that first manifested itself organizationally in alliances of farmers who united against the railroads, bankers, manufacturers, and merchants. By 1890 much of the strength of the movement lay in the great wheat-growing sections of Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, and Minnesota. The party itself disintegrated after a few years because it lost its leading issue of free silver to the Democrats and suffered from racism, xenophobia, and a largely rhetorical support of labor.

Among the more colorful and effective Populist leaders was Mary Elizabeth (some called her Mary Ellen or Mary Yellin') Lease, who once urged an audience of Kansas farmers to "raise less corn and more hell." Populists marched and, crying a plague on both major parties, sang "Good-bye, My Party, Good-bye" to the tune of "Good-bye, My Lover, Good-bye." They also sang "Toilers Unite," "Where Will the Farmer Be?"¹¹⁷ and, at least in Nebraska, "Man the Pumps." The last, by Mrs. J. T. Kellie, was a cleverly rhymed song of thirteen verses and a chorus set to the tune of "Hold the Fort." Consider the first and ninth verses and the chorus:

At the railroad's late convention
They observed at last
The G.O.P. with spoils o'er laden
Now was sinking fast.

*"Man the pumps, our ship is sinking,"
Howe in terror cries;
"We're exhausted, hands are blistered,"
Banker crew replies.*

Pump; Oh do not mind the blisters
Keep stiff upper lip;
We can no more enslave labor
If we lose the ship.¹¹⁸

Look My People, Folk of Ghana

Remote though Nebraska of the 1890s was from Ghana of the 1950s, "Hold the Fort" managed to bridge the continents and the centuries to give its music and some of its words to the Ghanaian song of independence. Missionaries, it seems, had carried the original gospel song to Africa in the decade of its composition.¹¹⁹ Teddy Schwartz learned the African song from Joe Lamotey, a Ghanaian social worker at the New York Guild for the Jewish Blind, and translated it into English:

Look my people, folk of Ghana,
 See our banner high.
 Here they come, our loyal soldiers,
 Victory is nigh.
 Oh, my people, folk of Ghana,
 Raise your mighty voice,
 Let us greet our new-found freedom,
 Ghaneans rejoice!¹²⁰

Union Hall and Picket Line

Just as the political and other adaptations of "Hold the Fort" were a measure of its great popularity, so also was its adaptation to the songs of labor, which carried Bliss's old hymn into a period of labor history that saw the workingman achieve a new dignity in the land. It is not known when "Hold the Fort" became a labor song, but it is likely that in the United States a labor version appeared sometime during the troubled 1870s, probably during the middle or latter part of the decade. These were years of a great depression in which an army of unemployed battled the New York police; railroad strikes brought out federal troops and subsequently set some members of the military to writing dreary articles about the control of mobs; and the Knights of Labor organized (in 1878) their first general assembly.

The 1870s were a yeasty time in which men gave thought to bettering the earthly order of things, and followed thought by action. To some men, at least, it made more sense to be militant about wages and working conditions than about a religion that, in its emphasis upon another world, seemed to care little if at all about what happened to men in their own world of bitter struggle. In turning to the weapons at hand, what

could be more useful for inspiring an organization with a mission than a stirring, militant song that was well known, simple enough to be easily adapted, and could be sung by all? It is not surprising, therefore, that the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor changed both the title and the words of Bliss's song and, leaving its origin unmistakable, helped raise it to at least a modest folk status.

According to Philip S. Foner, "Storm the Fort, Ye Knights of Labor" became the Knights' most famous song and was widely translated and sung by workers of various nationalities. Foner puts it graphically and with eloquent sensitivity: "Out of the misery in America's coal mines and railroads, the oppression in the textile mills, the degradation of the men and women in the sweatshops rose the militant cry in English, German, Polish, Italian, French, Jewish, and other tongues":

Toiling millions now are waking,
See them marching on;
All the tyrants now are shaking,
Ere their power is gone.

*Storm the fort, Ye Knights of Labor,
Battle for your cause;
Equal rights for every neighbor,
Down with tyrant laws!*¹²¹

Perhaps, as Edith Fowke and Joe Glazer suggest, this version found its way to England,¹²² where the Knights were established by 1884. The Knights also had assemblies in Australia and New Zealand, and there was "at least one" assembly in Ireland.¹²³ It seems most likely, however, that the British labor movement adapted to its own uses the original version of the song after picking it up from the Salvation Army.

By 1 July 1886, at the height of their power, the Knights of Labor had 729,677 members, with 702,924 in good standing. The total fell to 548,239 the next year, and thereafter the decline was rapid. By 1893 there were only 74,635. This decline coincided with the rise of the national unions, which joined together in the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Descriptions of the mid-Victorian luxury of the Knights' new headquarters in an old Philadelphia brownstone mansion created hostility in the membership and helped grease the skids. "The General Executive Board has squandered the funds of the Order in a reckless purchase of a palace among capitalists and nabobs' was one of the mildest expressions of this hostile feeling." As an effective organization, the Knights of Labor died before the turn of the century, although the body

was not buried until 1917, when John W. Hayes, the last master workman, retired what was left of the Knights' records and furnishings to a leaky shed in Washington, D.C.¹²⁴

Dissatisfaction with craft unionism and the conservative policies of the American Federation of Labor meanwhile led to the organization in 1905 of the Industrial Workers of the World, commonly called the IWW or the Wobblies. While accepting the Knights' idea of organizing all workers, including the unskilled, the Wobblies repudiated the middle class ideology of the Knights and looked toward "abolition of the wage system" and, therefore, of capitalism. Many among them dreamed of the organization of One Big Union (the OBU) to which all workers everywhere would belong. For their efforts they suffered brutal treatment at the hands of both mobs and officials who cared for neither individual nor constitutional rights.

Trouble, not surprisingly, led the Wobblies to song. Their most famous songwriter was a Swedish immigrant, who evidently was born Joel Emanuel Hägglund but who called himself Joseph Hillstrom and, later, just plain Joe Hill. While awaiting execution before a Utah firing squad in 1915 for a murder he may not have committed, he wired his friend Bill Haywood: "Goodbye, Bill. I die a true blue rebel. Don't waste time in mourning. Organize." After his death he became a legendary figure, a true folk hero of labor. "Casey Jones, the Union Scab," written in 1911, was the first of many songs that he wrote. "Joe Hill," for which Alfred Hayes wrote the words in 1925 and Earl Robinson later wrote the music, has become one of the most famous labor songs of the twentieth century. It was no accident that Hank Ghant of the United Auto Workers sang it in a last goodbye to Walter P. Reuther and his wife at the Reuther funeral in Detroit on 15 May 1970, and that a week later Joe Glazer sang it in Washington at the Reuther memorial service in the National Cathedral.¹²⁵

During World War I the Wobblies, although antimilitaristic, did not take an official stand against the war. They continued to strike, however, despite an opposite policy of the American Federation of Labor, and were accused of trying to hinder the war. This situation led to the indictment of 166 Wobblies, of whom 101 were finally tried in 1918 in a months-long trial in the Chicago federal district court, principally on charges of sabotage and conspiracy to obstruct the war. There were similar trials in Sacramento, California, and Wichita, Kansas. The Chicago trial was presided over by the famous judge and future baseball commissioner, Kene-

saw Mountain Landis, who was named after Kennesaw Mountain where his father, a Union surgeon, had lost a leg in June 1864 in the fighting that preceded the fall of Atlanta.¹²⁶ Although individuals were before the bar, the trial was really a trial of the IWW, or, as Patrick Renshaw says, of “a philosophy.” The 101 Wobblies tried in Chicago were all convicted and sentenced to prison, some for twenty years. One of them was Ralph Hosea Chaplin (the editor of *Solidarity*, the official Wobbly paper), whose sentence was commuted in 1923. Among the others were the Englishman George Hardy; Harrison George, another writer; and William D. (Big Bill) Haywood, the secretary-treasurer of the IWW. Haywood subsequently jumped bail after unsuccessful appeals of the sentences and headed for Moscow, where he died in 1928. In addition to the prison sentences, the court imposed fines totaling over \$2.5 million. The great trial of 1918 and the unsympathetic post-World War I years brought about the rapid decline of the IWW, which is barely alive today. In the 1930s, and afterward, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) would succeed in industrial unionism where the IWW had failed.¹²⁷

Of the Wobblies who went to prison following the trial of 1918, Ralph Chaplin was especially remarkable. An artist and a poet of no little ability, while in prison he wrote a number of poems which he published in 1922 as *Bars and Shadows: The Prison Poems of Ralph Chaplin*.¹²⁸ Subsequently he differed with Harrison George and the Wobblies who pursued Communism, and afterward, in World War II, he edited the *Labor Advocate*, published by the Central Labor Council of Tacoma, Washington. With a grant from the Newberry Library in Chicago he later wrote—and in 1948 the University of Chicago Press published—his fascinating autobiography, *Wobbly, the Rough and Tumble Story of an American Radical*.

These two young Wobblies, Ralph Chaplin and Harrison George, added a brief chapter to the history of “Hold the Fort,” finding Bliss’s militant tune useful as they broke into troubled song in the days of their arrest and imprisonment. In October 1917, while in the Cook County jail pending trial and conviction, George wrote “Remember,” which was sung to the tune of “Hold the Fort.” The first and fourth verses and the chorus of this song evoke memories of an old radicalism:

We speak to you from jail today
Two hundred union men,
We’re here because the bosses’ laws
Bring slavery again.

*In Chicago's darkened dungeons
 For the O.B.U.
 Remember you're outside for us
 While we're in here for you.*

We make a pledge—no tyrant might
 Can make us bend a knee,
 Come on you workers, organize
 and fight for Liberty.¹²⁹

Upton Sinclair, astonished by his arrest for attempting to read the United States Constitution while standing on private property with the permission of the owner during the IWW's Marine Transport Workers' strike at San Pedro in 1923, wrote a four-act play called *Singing Jailbirds*. In it he portrayed prisoners and their friends singing, among other songs, "Remember," adapting it to their own locale by substituting "California" for "Chicago." In a postscript Sinclair described his own arrest and contributed some historical notes on conditions in the country's jails and prisons. He also quoted a San Pedro police captain who, after the Wobblies were freed, was reported to have complained that "somebody has been making holy asses of us policemen."¹³⁰

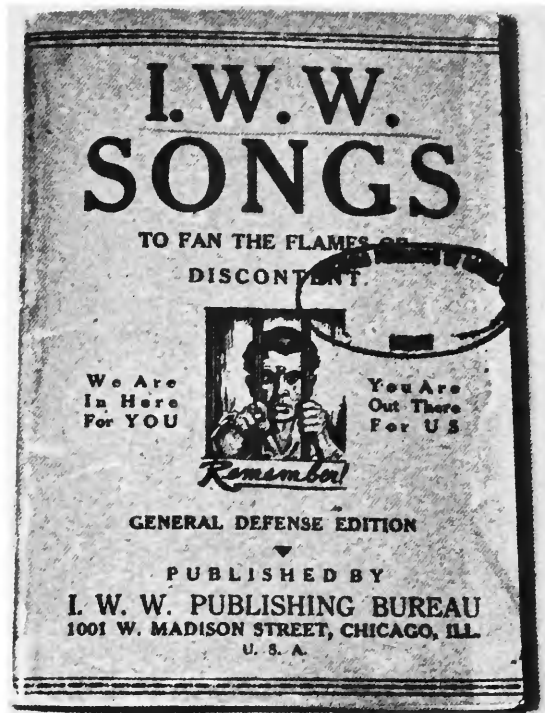
While in Leavenworth Penitentiary, Chaplin wrote "All Hell Can't Stop Us!" but it was not published among his prison poems. This song also was to the tune of "Hold the Fort," and it appeared in the 1919 edition of "The Little Red Song Book," or, as the cover title has it, with typical Wobbly humor, *I.W.W. Songs to Fan the Flames of Discontent*.¹³¹ The first verse and the chorus of "All Hell Can't Stop Us" indicate its no-nonsense character:

Now the final battle rages;
 Tyrants quake with fear.
 Rulers of the New Dark Ages
 Know THEIR end is near.

*Scorn to take the crumbs they drop us;
 All is ours by right!
 Onward, men! All Hell can't stop us!
 Crush the Parasite!*¹³²

A Sunday afternoon program arranged by the IWW "class war prisoners" in the Cook County jail in December 1917 opened with the IWW chorus singing a version of "Hold the Fort" and ended with it singing "The Red Flag." Doubtless, the version of "Hold the Fort" sung then was that of the British Transport Workers. As the "English Trans-

“The Little Red Song Book” of the Industrial Workers of the World as published in 1918. (Photo by John Burwell of copy of book in AFL-CIO Library.)



port Workers' Strike Song," it appeared in the first (1909) edition and in the 1918, 1919, 1945, and 1964 editions of "The Little Red Song Book" and probably in other editions as well.¹³³ In the 1964 edition there appears, following the song, the declaration that "the working class will never be free until it can blow the whistle for the parasites to go to work. . . ." The four verses and chorus of the song show a striking resemblance to the words that Bliss wrote in 1870:

We meet today in Freedom's cause
 And raise our voices high;
 We'll join our hands in union strong,
 To battle or to die.

*Hold the fort for we are coming—
 Union men, be strong.
 Side by side we battle onward,
 Victory will come.*

Look my Comrades, see the union
 Banners waving high.
 Reinforcements now appearing
 Victory is nigh.
 See our numbers still increasing;
 Hear the bugles blow.
 By our union we shall triumph
 Over every foe.
 Fierce and long the battle rages,
 But we will not fear,
 Help will come whene'er it's needed,
 Cheer, my Comrades, cheer.¹³⁴

It is clear, of course, that there was a musical connection between revivalism and the labor movement, but it also is probably true that there was a more fundamental connection. In one view, at least, John Wesley—with whom revivalism began in England in 1743—gave to “the English urban proletariat a democratic religion and an effective emotional outlet.” In turn, this “religious experience of mass emotion and collective action by working men contributed indirectly to the labor movement, although in its inception it had no economic program or application.”¹³⁵ Ellen McCulloch, of the British Transport and General Workers Union, seems to affirm this in saying that religious nonconformism influenced many local and national trade union leaders in Great Britain in the early days.¹³⁶

Certainly American revivalism as practiced by Moody was a departure from the forms of the established church, although one student of the subject claims that in Great Britain and Ireland Moody's revivalism had “little if any effect on the labor movement” because it had its “chief stronghold in the middle classes.”¹³⁷ The record is clear, however, that between 1873 and 1875 Moody took his message to “the poorer classes” in such great industrial cities as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Belfast, Manchester, and London (where one of the revival centers was in Bow Road Hall in the poor and grimy East End).¹³⁸

With Moody, of course, was Sankey, and many a workingman in the great cities they visited must have heard “Hold the Fort.” No doubt, the song's continued popularity induced the Salvation Army, organized by General William Booth in 1878, to use it and thereby to popularize it still further. Arthur Deakin, who became general secretary of the British Transport Workers,¹³⁹ recalled that “in the early days of the dockers' struggles Ben Tillett and James Sexton ‘borrowed’ the song from our Sal-

vation Army, and sometimes used it at strike meetings or on picket lines.”¹⁴⁰ If Deakin’s memory served him well, the borrowed or, rather, adapted song could have been used by the dockers at least by 1889, the year of the first and most famous of the dock strikes that Tillett led. Very likely, then, it was the dockers who took the song into the Transport Workers; but a mystery remains as to who adapted it and when and by whom it was carried to the United States. It may have been brought in through the IWW’s connections in Great Britain.

Here the story takes a curious turn. Although the modern labor version of “Hold the Fort” is known as a song of the British Transport Workers, and has been sung as such in union meetings in both the United States and Australia, the Transport Workers appear not to have sung it for a long time. Indeed, Ellen McCullough first heard it in the United States more than a decade ago. It was this experience that interested her in the song and led her, upon her return to England, to query Deakin about it on behalf of her friend Joe Glazer.¹⁴¹ As a consequence, Glazer observed that it “has obviously been lost in England,” where the English sing it only “as something imported from the United States.” In England, in fact, he once saw a song sheet curiously describing “Hold the Fort” as a “British Transport Workers Song (sung in the United States).” Evidently there has been no change in the music, for the union song “sounds the same as the old hymn.”¹⁴²

Labor’s modern version of “Hold the Fort” thus achieved a place among the labor songs of the United States and continued to be published and heard despite the mortal illness of the Wobblies. It is said that the song was popularized (or perhaps repopularized) during the Paterson silk strike in 1928.¹⁴³ Its words and music appeared in the *Rebel Song Book*, which the Rand School Press published in 1935. About four years later several verses and the chorus came out in a songbook published by the Southeastern Regional Office of the Textile Workers Union of America.¹⁴⁴ Parts of it also appeared in 1941 in a songbook of the United Auto Workers (UAW), and about the same time in various songbooks of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union (ILGWU). All of the words were in the 1945 edition and, more recently, in the 1964 edition of “The Little Red Song Book” of the Wobblies, who would not give up.¹⁴⁵ Sometime before Philip Murray’s death in 1952, Tom Glazer recorded “Hold the Fort” for a CIO album of *Favorite American Union Songs*.¹⁴⁶ The song was also recorded by the Almanac Singers in *The Original “Talking Union”*; by Gene and Francesca Raskin in *We Work*

and Sing, an album of the ILGWU; and by the Union Boys in *Songs for Victory*.¹⁴⁷

Words from "Hold the Fort" appeared in a CIO songbook in 1954, in a songbook of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America about 1958, and, recently, in a song collection of the AFL-CIO that has gone through at least six printings.¹⁴⁸ Official union publications have thus brought the old strike song into the present era of the merger of the two great labor organizations under the presidency of George Meany. In 1954 Barrie Stavis published the words and music of the chorus in his dramatic and biographical work on Joe Hill titled *The Man Who Never Died*, and in 1960 Edith Fowke and Joe Glazer published the entire song, words and music, together with historical notes, in their *Songs of Work and Freedom*. Here was a song, they indicated, that should be sung "with determination."¹⁴⁹

With the coming of respectability and even affluence to much of the labor force in the United States, workers do not sing as much as they used to. As Joe Glazer observed several years ago: "When six guys get killed

Joe Glazer, with Cesar Chavez, singing at the 1967 Texas state convention of the AFL-CIO. (Photo by Bill Rich; courtesy of Joe Glazer, Washington, D.C.)



on the job, you may get a song. But there's no song from a signed labor contract." With lumberjacks, Joe says, it is much the same; they used to sing about the hazards of rolling logs, but they now sometimes fly to work and worry whether their steaks are thick enough.¹⁵⁰

In recent years, many if not most of the new workers' songs have come out of the South where the labor unions have not been strong, or from the migratory workers in the Southwest and West who, several years ago, formed the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, under Cesar Chavez. Under the leadership of Chavez the Farm Workers are carrying on the tradition of the Knights of Labor, the British dockers, the Wobblies, and the older AFL-CIO unions, all of whom have told in song of their struggles and hopes for a better life. Such are the songs used by the grape pickers in their successful strike against the growers of Delano, California. They were heard at Howard University, Washington, D.C., in July 1967 when Luis M. Valdez of the Farm Workers led his troupe—between the skits of *El Teatro Campesino*, the Farm Workers' propaganda theater—in songs that were "strongly reminiscent" of the strike songs of the troubled 1930s.¹⁵¹

Probably the most dramatic use of song by and on behalf of the underprivileged in recent years has been in connection with interracial sit-ins and marches. No one who was present at the great March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963 can ever forget the moving experience of hearing the hopeful multitude sing "We Shall Overcome":

We shall overcome, we shall overcome,
We shall overcome some day.
Oh, oh, deep in my heart I do believe
That we shall overcome some day.*

This, like the labor version of "Hold the Fort," is based upon a religious song whose antecedents lie far in the undocumented past. In its present form it owes much to several persons, including Pete Seeger who learned the labor version, "We Will Overcome," from Zilphia Horton who had learned it in 1947 at the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee, from members of the CIO Food, Tobacco, Agricultural, and Allied Workers Union. It had been adapted by these workers from an old church

*WE SHALL OVERCOME. New words and music arrangement by Zilphia Horton, Frank Hamilton, Guy Carawan, and Pete Seeger. Copyright 1960 and 1963 LUDLOW MUSIC, INC., New York, N.Y. Used by Permission. Royalties derived from this composition are being contributed to The Freedom Movement under the trusteeship of the writers.

song, "I'll Be All Right Someday," during a strike in Charleston, South Carolina, in late 1945 and early 1946.¹⁵²

But what about "Hold the Fort," given the changing times? Even though it is still found in current union songbooks, does anyone really sing it anymore?

When the Rubber Workers struck the O'Sullivan Rubber Corporation in Winchester, Virginia, in 1956 in a latter-day battle of Winchester that dragged on for several years, there were at least some occasions when as many as a hundred strikers sang "Hold the Fort." In those years, as Joe Glazer wrote in 1959, it was "still current, very useful and a good rousing song." It was heard now and then at union summer schools and on picket lines, but it was not as popular as "We Shall Not Be Moved," "Roll the Union On," or Ralph Chaplin's great Wobbly song, "Solidarity Forever."¹⁵³ In 1961 New Yorkers heard it in Washington Square when a noisy crowd of about 2,500 students grabbed and tore up copies of *The Worker* that were being distributed by the Labor and People's Committee for May Day. As the fur began to fly, according to a reporter who was there, "the chorus on the platform moved strongly into 'Hold the fort for we are coming; Side by side we battle onward.'" Soon, however, a counterpoint was heard in the crowd below: "We are poor little lambs who have lost our way, baaa, baaa, baaa."¹⁵⁴

Joe Glazer probably has done more than anyone else in his time to popularize the modern labor version of "Hold the Fort," for he has been singing it, together with other labor songs, since he was with the Textile Workers Union of America in the years 1944–1950, when he pioneered in modern group singing among union workers. A talented composer as well as a singer of labor songs, he has written about a dozen altogether, including "The Mill Was Made of Marble."¹⁵⁵ He sang "Hold the Fort" for and with a group of Rubber Workers at the December 1967 convention of the AFL–CIO at Bal Harbour, Florida. Union members, Joe Glazer has observed, may not remember all the words but they always can and do sing the chorus.¹⁵⁶

"Hold the Fort" has a fixed place in the musical firmament. In the opinion of Edith Fowke and Joe Glazer, the surviving labor version is "much better" than the version of the old Knights of Labor and is one of only a handful of complete songs of its genre that have survived from the previous century.¹⁵⁷ Its survival, perhaps the result of a kind of musical Darwinism, surely will please those who take satisfaction from the con-

tinua of history, for the modern labor version of the old song is as faithful to Bliss's gospel original as the original was—in its defensive posture—to historical fact.

Notes

1. The best published account of the battle is Fred E. Brown's "The Battle of Allatoona," *Civil War History*, vol. 6 (September 1960), pp. 277–297; more attention to signaling is given, however, in Paul J. Scheips, "The Battle of Allatoona: A Preliminary Draft" (unpublished).

2. The railway, still owned by the state of Georgia but leased to the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, had to be relocated in 1948 because of a dam and reservoir project that created Allatoona Lake on the site of the old railroad pass. Letters: A. C. Randall, secretary, Georgia Public Service Commission, Atlanta, to Paul J. Scheips, 30 January 1956; and D. S. Huggins, secretary-treasurer, Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway, Nashville, Tennessee [a former lessee], to Scheips, 1 February 1956. See also *Moody's Transportation Manual* (1966, 1968, 1969), pp. 251, 268, 591, respectively.

3. These two messages are in United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (1880–1901) [hereafter cited as *OR*, all references being to series 1], vol. 39, pt. 3, p. 78.

4. *OR*, vol. 39, pt. 3, p. 97. On the several messages, see John Q. Adams, "Hold the Fort!" in *War Sketches and Incidents as Related by the Companions of the Iowa Commandery, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States* (1898), vol. 2, pp. 167–168 [texts of two of the messages slightly different from the official published versions]; Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman: Fighting Prophet* (1958), pp. 426, 427; J. Willard Brown, *The Signal Corps, U.S.A., in the War of the Rebellion* (1896), p. 547; and Alonzo L. Brown, *History of the Fourth Regiment of Minnesota Infantry Volunteers During the Great Rebellion 1861–1865* (1892), pp. 593–594. *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations* (14th edition, 1968), p. 705a, describes "Hold the fort! I am coming!" (or "Hold the fort, for I am coming!" [p. 777b]) as the "popular version" of what Sherman signaled from Kennesaw on 5 October 1864, but asserts that he actually signaled: "Hold out. Relief is coming." Earlier, on 3 October, Sherman advised Lieutenant Colonel John E. Tourtellotte at Allatoona that if Hood "moves up toward Allatoona I will surely come in force" (*OR*, vol. 39, pt. 3, p. 53).

5. On Frankenberry, see Alfred M. Claybaugh, "'Hold the Fort—I am coming,'" in *Out West*, new series, vol. 1 (April 1911), pp. 305–309; A. D. Frankenberry, "Visiting War Scenes," *National Tribune* (Washington, D.C.), 16 January 1896, p. 2; Frankenberry's records of service in Company K, 15th Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry, and in the Signal Corps, Record Group [RG] 94, National Archives; Mrs. Mary A. Frankenberry's pension file, Widow Certificate [WC] 685711, RG 15, National Archives; J. Willard Brown, *The Signal Corps*, p. 773 and plate opposite p. 496 [Brown, p. 773, gives Kennesaw Mountain as Frankenberry's station in September

and October 1864, whereas the muster rolls for those two months give Atlanta]; and *Proceedings of the Reunions Held in 1900 by the Association of Survivors Seventh Regiment Illinois Veteran Infantry Volunteers Held at Chicago and Springfield, Ill.* [hereafter cited as *Seventh Illinois Reunion Proceedings*, with particular year added] (1901), pp. 28–29.

6. *OR*, vol. 39, pt. 3, p. 75.

7. Message from Sherman to Commanding Officers at Allatoona, Kingston, and Rome, 4 October 1864 (*OR*, vol. 39, pt. 3, p. 75). On Corse's instructions and actions prior to the Battle of Allatoona, see his report to Dayton, Sherman's aide-de-camp, 27 October 1864 (*OR*, vol. 39, pt. 1, pp. 761–762) and the following messages (*OR*, vol. 39, pt. 3, pp. 8–9, 31, 53): Sherman to Corse, 1 October 1864; Sherman to Smith, 1 October 1864; Corse to Sherman, 1 October 1864; Corse to Smith, 2 October 1864; Corse to Sherman, 2 October 1864; Sherman to Corse, 3 October 1864; and Sherman to Commanding Officer, Allatoona [Tourtellotte], 3 October 1864.

8. Frankenberry, "Visiting War Scenes."

9. Photographic descriptions and historical statement by George Carr Round, together with General Order No. 1, United States Veteran Signal Corps Association, 21 July 1914 (George Carr Round papers, in possession of Round's daughter, Mrs. Emily R. Lewis, Manassas, Virginia). See also "Tattered Signal Flags Are Used," *Sunday Star* (Washington, D.C.), 12 October 1913, p. 18. Claybaugh (p. 307) claims that the flag pictured in his "Hold the Fort—I am Coming" is the one that Frankenberry gave to the adjutant general of Pennsylvania. Compare Claybaugh's illustration with the picture of the flag that accompanies Frankenberry's "Visiting War Scenes" and with the one of the large flag which Round borrowed from the Pennsylvania authorities and subsequently returned. Efforts by the author to locate the flag in Harrisburg have been unsuccessful. See J. Willard Brown, *The Signal Corps*, p. 116, for colored illustrations of United States Army signal flags of the Civil War period. There are some authentic Union signal flags from that conflict among the Myer memorabilia in the Signal Corps Museum, Fort Monmouth, New Jersey.

10. *OR*, vol. 39, pt. 3, p. 113.

11. Lewis, *Sherman: Fighting Prophet*, pp. 599–600.

12. Samuel G. French, *Two Wars: An Autobiography of General Samuel G. French* . . . (1901); and letter from French to Julius L. Brown, 20 June 1901, in Joseph M. Brown papers, Atlanta Historical Society. [A copy of French's letter was obtained through the kindness of Fred E. Brown of Houston, Texas.]

13. Headquarters, Military Division of the Mississippi, Special Field Order 86 (*OR*, vol. 39, pt. 1, pp. 771–772).

14. The West story is from an item by J. L. Eby, a veteran of the 7th Illinois, in *National Tribune* (no date) as reprinted in the *Seventh Illinois Reunion Proceedings* (1903), p. 32. On Myer's brevet commission, see letter from J. C. Kelton to Myer, 16 June 1868, enclosing commission of 10 June 1868 (rank dating from 13 March 1865) (Albert James Myer papers, Fort Monmouth, New Jersey); and Paul J. Scheips, "Union Signal Communications: Innovation and Conflict," *Civil War History*, vol. 9 (December 1963), pp. 414–415.

15. "The Flag that Talks" was published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*,

vol. 32 (May 1866), pp. 733–737, and reprinted in J. Willard Brown, *The Signal Corps*, pp. 553–558 [verses quoted here are from p. 554].

16. Joseph M. Brown, *The Battle of Allatoona, October 5, 1864 . . .* (1890), pp. 15–16, 23.

17. J. M. Brown, *Battle of Allatoona*, pp. 24–25. “The Lone Grave” does not appear in *The Songs of Paul Dresser* (1927), but compare therein, pp. 28–32, “He Fought for the Cause He Thought Was Right.”

18. Judson Kilpatrick and J. Owen Moore, *Allatoona, an Historical and Military Drama in Five Acts* (acting edition; “French’s Standard Drama,” No. 376 [1875]), p. 46.

19. Samuel H. M. Byers, *Allatoona, a Play in Four Acts* (1905), p. 62 and following pages.

20. *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, edited by D. W. Whittle (1877), pp. 68–70. Substantially the same account has been published in a number of places; see, for example, the historical note on the sheet music cited in note 30, below, and Ira D. Sankey, *My Life and the Story of the Gospel Hymns and of Sacred Songs and Solos* (1907), pp. 168–170. None of these accounts is quite accurate. [The author is indebted to William H. Klusmeier, general manager of the Rockford Newspapers, Inc., for locating the report of the convention in *The Rockford Register* (30 April 1870, p. 4) and thereby correctly fixing the date of the convention.]

21. There is some difference of opinion as to what Bliss’s first two initials stood for, although the principal accounts accept Whittle’s conclusion—based upon a Bliss family genealogy signed “P. P. Bliss, 1861,” which Whittle found among Bliss’s papers—that they stood for Philip Paul (*Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, pp. 15, 16).

22. *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, pp. 42, 70.

23. Information on Whittle’s military service can be found in his pension file in the National Archives, Soldier Certificate [SC] 995511, RG 15, and in *OR* as follows: vol. 24, pt. 2, pp. 298, 682, and pt. 3, p. 537; vol. 38, pt. 4, p. 461; vol. 39, pt. 3, p. 96; vol. 44, pp. 74–75, 603–604; and vol. 47, pt. 2, pp. 25–26. The citation is quoted from Brigadier General Thomas E. G. Ransom’s report, Near Vicksburg, 26 May 1863 (*OR*, vol. 24, pt. 2, p. 298). Whittle’s brevet majority was for “faithful and meritorious service during the campaign against the city of Mobile and its defences” (War Department General Order 148, 14 October 1865, Section III, p. 58).

24. Letter, Howard to H. Clay Evans, commissioner of pensions, 9 September 1899, in Whittle’s pension file, SC 995511, RG 15, National Archives.

25. *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, pp. 68–70.

26. Unaddressed communication concerning a Confederate deserter that was prepared by Captain and Assistant Provost Marshal General D. W. Whittle at Headquarters, Department and Army of the Tennessee, near Marietta, Georgia, 5 October 1864 (*OR*, vol. 39, pt. 3, pp. 95–96).

27. Scheips, “Battle of Allatoona,” p. 39.

28. *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, p. 43; Victor Charles Detty, *P P Bliss, July 9, 1838–December 29, 1876, a Centennial Sketch of His Life and Work, 1838–1938, with Selected Gospel Hymns* [hereinafter cited as *Centennial Sketch*] (1938), p. 16.

29. Sankey, *My Life*, p. 170.

30. A copy of the original sheet music edition of Bliss's "Hold the Fort!" (Sheet Music Copyright No. 4736, 10 December 1870), as reproduced here, is in the Music Division, Library of Congress, as is an 1898 edition copyrighted 1898 (No. 41751-2) by Bliss's sons and heirs, P. P. and G. G. Bliss. The latter is in "Our National War Songs" series published by The John Church Co., Cincinnati, Ohio. The title of the song was printed with an exclamation mark on the cover sheet of the original sheet music, but was printed generally thereafter without the mark, as, indeed, was the case on the very first page of the original itself. Accordingly, unless called for by a quotation or some other reason, the title "Hold the Fort" appears in these pages without the exclamation mark.

31. For an excellent history of Root & Cady which (with one exception) lists all the registered sheet music the firm published for Bliss, see Dena J. Epstein, "Music Publishing in Chicago Prior to 1871: The Firm of Root & Cady, 1858-1871" (M.A. thesis in library science, University of Illinois, 1943), published serially under the general title of "Music Publishing in Chicago before 1871," *Music Library Association Notes* (series 2), vol. 1 (June 1944), pp. 3-11, September 1944, pp. 43-59; vol. 2 (December 1944), pp. 16-26, March 1945, pp. 124-148, June 1945, pp. 201-226, September 1945, pp. 310-314, 317-324; and vol. 3 (December 1945), pp. 80-98, 101-109. Also, see George F. Root, *The Story of a Musical Life* (1891). Root was the author of the well-known Civil War songs "Just before the Battle Mother" and "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp."

32. These words, with their capitalization and punctuation, are quoted from the original sheet music edition cited in note 30, above.

33. See *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, p. 114; Sankey, *My Life*; Nicholas Smith, *Hymns Historically Famous* (1901), pp. 260-262; Elias Nason, *The American Evangelists, Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey, with an Account of Their Work in England and America; and a Sketch of the Lives of P. P. Bliss and Dr. Eben Tourjée* (1877), pp. 269-273; Richard Ellsworth Day, *Bush Aglow: The Life Story of Dwight Lyman Moody, Commoner of Northfield* (1936), pp. 133-134; and Theron Brown and Hezekiah Butterworth, *The Story of Hymns and Tunes* (1907), pp. 431-432.

34. *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss and Detty's Centennial Sketch* are the principal sources for biographical information on Bliss. Among other sources, several of which are cited above, George C. Stebbins, *Reminiscences and Gospel Hymn Stories* (1924) is especially good. A brief biographical sketch, not otherwise mentioned in these pages, appears in the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 8, pp. 443-444. See also Root, *Story of a Musical Life*, pp. 138-139, 162; and Ernest K. Emurian, *Living Stories of Famous Hymns* (1955), pp. 66-68, 80-82. Willard A. Heaps and Porter W. Heaps, in *The Singing Sixties: The Spirit of Civil War Days Drawn from the Music of the Times* (1960), p. 347, quote lines from the Civil War song "Good-bye, Jeff" [Jeff, of course, being Jefferson Davis], for which Bliss wrote the words and music.

35. The first verse and chorus as found in *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, pp. 30-31. Charles Harris arranged this song for the guitar.

36. *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, p. 51.

37. *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, p. 41.

38. On Moody, see, among other references, Day, *Bush Aglow*, and the two editions of the biography by his son William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody* (1900); and *D. L. Moody* (1930). For scholarly accounts, see Luther Allan Weigle in *Dictionary of American Biography* [hereafter cited as *DAB*], vol. 13, pp. 103–106; Herbert W. Schneider's article on religious revivals in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 13, pp. 365, 366; and Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact upon Religion in America* (1958), *passim*.

39. *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, pp. 49–52.

40. On the royalties from Bliss's and Sankey's joint and separate publications and on the famous *Gospel Hymns* (which grew out of their publications and eventually, with different collaborators, went through six principal editions) see *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, p. 332; Day, *Bush Aglow*, pp. 176–177, 178; W. R. Moody, *Dwight L. Moody*, pp. 198–209, 418; *A Dictionary of Hymnology* . . . edited by John Julian (2 vols., 1957), vol. 1, p. 150; and Brown and Butterworth, *Story of Hymns and Tunes*, p. 418. Harris E. Starr's sketch of Bliss (in *DAB*, vol. 2, p. 376) incorrectly attributes Bliss's book *Gospel Songs* (1874) to both Bliss and Sankey, and attaches the royalties of \$60,000 to that book instead of to *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs* (1875), which Bliss and Sankey jointly compiled.

41. Detty, *Centennial Sketch*, p. 17; and Stebbins, *Reminiscences*, p. 268.

42. Quoted in Moody: *His Words, Work, and Workers* . . . *Sketches of His Co-Workers, Messrs. Sankey, Bliss, Whittle, Sawyer, and Others; and an Account of the Gospel Temperance Revival, with Thrilling Experiences of Converted Inebriates*, edited by William H. Daniels (1877), p. 497.

43. *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, pp. 52, 67–68.

44. On Bliss's last days and the accident, see *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, pp. 90–94, 290–296; Root, *Story of a Musical Life*, p. 162; and Stephen D. Peet, *The Ashtabula Disaster* (1877). The spelling of young Phillip Paul Bliss's name with two l's is from a photograph of him in the frontispiece in *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*.

45. Root, *Story of a Musical Life*, pp. 139, 162.

46. Starr, in *DAB*, vol. 2, p. 376; and Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River*, p. 232.

47. From an editorial in the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* (no date) as quoted in *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, p. 298.

48. *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, p. 30; Detty, *Centennial Sketch*, p. 14; and Stebbins, *Reminiscences*, pp. 221–230. Stebbins succeeded McGranahan as Whittle's associate (Stebbins, *Reminiscences*, pp. 268–269).

49. Stebbins, *Reminiscences*, pp. 263–271; David J. Beattie, *The Romance of Sacred Song* (1931), pp. 161–164; and Day, *Bush Aglow*, pp. 175–176.

50. See Whittle's pension file, SC 995511, RG 15, National Archives.

51. On Moody's colleague Sankey, probably the most famous of the gospel singers, see Sankey, *My Life*; Stebbins, *Reminiscences*, pp. 201–220; Charles Ludwig, *Sankey Still Sings* (1947); *The Ira D. Sankey Centenary: Proceedings of the Centenary Celebration of the Birth of Ira D. Sankey together with some Hitherto Unpublished Correspondence* (1941); Helen F. Rothwell, *Ira D. Sankey: A Great Song*

Leader (1946) ; and Starr's sketch of Sankey's life in *DAB*, vol. 16, pp. 352–353. There are relatively few references to Sankey in W. R. Moody, *D. L. Moody* (although there are more than the five indicated by the index) and they are not all complimentary, although Ludwig (pp. 142–147) states that Moody and Sankey got along “on the best of terms,” but perhaps the same was not true of their families.

52. Philip P. Bliss, *Gospel Songs: A Choice Collection of Hymns and Tunes, New and Old, for Gospel Meetings, Prayer Meetings, Sunday Schools, Etc.* (1874), p. 79.

53. Edgar J. Goodspeed, *A Full History of the Wonderful Career of Moody and Sankey, in Great Britain and America . . .* (1876), p. 60.

54. As quoted from the issue of 22 June 1875, in W. R. Moody, *D. L. Moody*, p. 215.

55. Weigle, in *DAB*, vol. 13, p. 104.

56. *Dwight Lyman Moody's Life Work and Gospel Sermons as Delivered by the Great Evangelist in . . . Great Britain and America. Together with a Biography of His Co-Laborer Ira David Sankey*, edited by Richard S. Rhodes (1900), p. xxii. Day (*Bush Aglow*, p. 190) reports that “with four revival centers” the “total attendance” was 2,330,000. Weigle (in *DAB*, vol. 13, p. 104) puts the attendance at 2,530,000, and Weisberger (*They Gathered at the River*, p. 201) puts it at 1,500,000.

57. *Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, with Eleven Addresses and Lectures . . .*, edited by Anson D. F. Randolph (new edition, 1875), pp. 10–11 [this work compiled from material in the *British Evangelist* and *The Christian*, two weekly journals published in London]. Beattie (*Romance of Sacred Song*, p. 146) claims that the American singer Philip Phillips, the “Singing Pilgrim,” introduced the new type of gospel songs into England prior to Moody's and Sankey's work in that country.

58. Randolph, *Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 11.

59. Stebbins, *Reminiscences*, p. 211.

60. Goodspeed, *History of the Wonderful Career of Moody and Sankey*, p. 58.

61. Day, *Bush Aglow*, pp. 167–168, 171.

62. *Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Labors in Scotland and Ireland; Also in Manchester, Sheffield, and Birmingham, England*, edited by Anson D. F. Randolph (1875), p. 93. [This work, like that cited in note 57, above, was compiled from the *British Evangelist* and *The Christian*.]

63. Sankey, *My Life*, pp. 73–74. This story is also in Beattie, *Romance of Sacred Song*, p. 147; Ludwig, *Sankey Still Sings*, p. 86; and Stebbins, *Reminiscences*, p. 218; and it is referred to in Smith, *Hymns Historically Famous*, p. 263.

64. The story that the clowns were put out with Moody and Sankey for having “interfered with . . . attendance at the Royal Circus” a few weeks before appears in Smith, *Hymns Historically Famous*, p. 263.

65. Day, *Bush Aglow*, p. 190.

66. Daniels, *Moody*, p. 45.

67. As quoted by Day in *Bush Aglow*, p. 190.

68. Sankey, *My Life*, p. 175.

69. Goodspeed, *History of the Wonderful Career of Moody and Sankey*, p. 225; and Sankey, *My Life*, p. 170.

70. Nason, *American Evangelists*, p. 122.

71. Sankey, *My Life*, pp. 150, 173–175.

72. Sankey, *My Life*, p. 170.

73. Detty (*Centennial Sketch*, pp. 24–28) gives an account of the unveiling ceremony and a photograph of the monument or cenotaph.

74. See Fanny J. Crosby, *Memories of Eighty Years: The Story of Her Life . . . History of Her Songs and Hymns* (1906), p. 128; and Stebbins, *Reminiscences*, p. 210.

75. Day, *Bush Aglow*, p. 177.

76. Thus did Fanny Crosby (*Memories*, p. 128) refer to them, but in England, according to Sankey (*My Life*, p. 77) and Ludwig (*Sankey Still Sings*, p. 14), a penny edition of his *Sacred Songs and Solos* was known as “little Sankey’s.” William R. Moody, however, gave his father such credit for the publication of *Sacred Songs and Solos* and for Bliss’s and Sankey’s *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs* that he referred to them collectively as the “Moody and Sankey Hymnbook” (W. R. Moody, *Life of Dwight L. Moody*, pp. 170–181, and *D. L. Moody*, pp. 198–209). Compare Sankey’s different account of the origin of *Sacred Songs and Solos* in his *My Life*, pp. 47, 53–54. Day (*Bush Aglow*, p. 178) combines W. R. Moody’s account with Sankey’s.

77. The correspondent probably was William Earl Dodge, the elder, who was very close to Moody, but it could have been his son, whose interests were similar to his father’s. On the elder Dodge (1805–1883), see William B. Shaw’s biographical sketch in *DAB* (vol. 3, pp. 352–353) and the unsigned sketch in the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (vol. 3, pp. 174–175). On the younger Dodge (1832–1903), see *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 13, p. 352; Day, *Bush Aglow*, pp. 178–179; and W. R. Moody, *Life of Dwight L. Moody*, pp. 173–175, 572–575; and *D. L. Moody*, pp. 202–204.

78. Letter, Sherman to Dodge, 22 June 1875, in reply to a letter of 12 June. French, *Two Wars*, p. 262; and Fred E. Brown, “The Battle of Allatoona,” p. 297.

79. See “The Great Revival,” *Harper’s Weekly*, vol. 20 (11 March 1876), pp. 201, 210.

80. Daniels, *Moody*, pp. 60–61. Exterior and interior views of the Boston Tabernacle are in Nason, *American Evangelists*, pp. 206, 208.

81. Daniels, *Moody*, p. 510.

82. Nason, *American Evangelists*, p. 211.

83. See I. A. M. Cumming, *Tabernacle Sketches* (1877); and Ludwig, *Sankey Still Sings*, p. 111.

84. Cumming, *Tabernacle Sketches*, p. 11. The words of this song, also known as “Sowing the Seed” and sometimes attributed to Bliss, were by Emily Sullivan Oakey, although Bliss wrote the music. See Sankey, *My Life*, p. 336, and *Hymns Historically Famous*, p. 245; *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, pp. 63–64 [where Mrs. Oakey is referred to as Emily L. Oakey]; and *Appleton’s Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (revised edition, 1898), vol. 4, p. 548.

85. Cumming, *Tabernacle Sketches*, p. 11.

86. Cumming, *Tabernacle Sketches*, pp. 18–19.

87. On Tourjée, see Nason, *American Evangelists*, pp. 291–300.

88. Cumming, *Tabernacle Sketches*, pp. 76–77.

89. Ludwig, *Sankey Still Sings*, p. 111; Daniels, *Moody*, p. 63; and Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River*, p. 319, note 69.

90. P. P. Bliss, "*Hold the Fort*," illustrated by L. B. Humphrey and Robert Lewis (1877), unpagged. [A perfect copy of this book in the general collections of the Library of Congress was called to the author's attention by Colonel Albert F. Moe, USMC (retired); a somewhat mutilated copy is among the Albert James Myer papers in the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.]

91. See *Sånger till Lammets lof. Sånger sjungna af Ira D. Sankey* (1877), no. 6. The song's melody is given as that of "Ho! my comrades, see the signal," which is, of course, the first line of "Hold the Fort." [James S. Beddie, formerly of the Department of State, has verified for the author that "Hållen Fästet" is a free translation of "Hold the Fort," which he knows.]

92. *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, p. 331, as quoted from E. P. Goodwin's memorial address on Bliss.

93. *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, pp. 63, 92. Compare with Nason, *American Evangelists*, p. 275.

94. W. R. Moody, *D. L. Moody*, p. 205.

95. For a brief biographical sketch of William Ashley (Billy) Sunday, see *Who Was Who in America* (1897–1942), vol. 1, p. 1206.

96. *Seventh Illinois Reunion Proceedings* (1908), p. 18.

97. Homer A. Rodeheaver, *Hymnal Handbook for Standard Hymns and Gospel Songs* (1931), p. 150. [Copyright 1959, Renewal. The Rodeheaver Co., Owner. Used by Permission.] On Rodeheaver, see *Who Was Who in America* (1951–1960), vol. 3, p. 737. Rodeheaver participated in the 1938 centennial commemoration in Rome, Pennsylvania (Detty, *Centennial Sketch*, p. 3).

98. See *The Broadman Hymnal; Great Standard Hymns and Choice Gospel Songs New and Old . . .*, edited by B. B. McKinney (1940), no. 303. [Fred E. Brown called this hymnal to the writer's attention.]

99. *Fifty Great Songs of the Church*, compiled by Charles A. Kent (1942), pp. viii–ix.

100. Letters: Dorothy C. Higgins, Theodore Presser Co., Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, to Scheips, 22 May 1956; and John W. Hottenson, Theodore Presser Co., to Scheips, 16 April 1959.

101. Alden Todd, personal communication, 17 June 1960, regarding telephone conversation with a representative of the Billy Graham Crusade in Washington, D.C.

102. Radio Station WRC, Washington, D.C., 19 April 1961.

103. Unsigned and undated comment from Gospel Publishing House in response to a letter of inquiry from Scheips dated 10 November 1967.

104. *Hayes and Wheeler Song Book*, [compiled by] Union Republican Congressional Committee (1876), p. 9. [Copy in Yale University Library.] For this and various other references to secular uses of "Hold the Fort" the author is indebted to Irwin Silber of New York City, who has been very generous with his time and knowledge.

105. "Republican Campaign Song" (first verse), *Hayes and Wheeler Song Book*, p. 46. Other 1876 Republican campaign songs sung to the tune of "Hold the

Fort" were "Hayes, Wheeler and Victory," "Victory in the Air," and "Round Our Banner," for which see, respectively: *Hayes and Wheeler Campaign Song Book, for the Centennial Year . . .* (1876), pp. 20–21, *Hayes & Wheeler Campaign Songster Including Biographical Sketches & Constitution for Campaign Clubs* (1876), p. 39 [a copy of each of these two books is in Library of Congress]; and the text and citations, below, at note 107.

106. *Garfield and Arthur Campaign Song Book, 1880*, [compiled by] Republican Congressional Committee, 1879–1881 (1880), p. 15. [Copy in Library of Congress.]

107. *Garfield and Arthur Campaign Book*, p. 7; *Hayes and Wheeler Song Book*, p. 11; and *Hayes & Wheeler Campaign Song Book*, pp. 38–39.

108. *Blaine and Logan Campaign Song-Book, 1884*, compiled and edited by F. Widdows (1884), p. 16. [Copy in Library of Congress.]

109. *Garfield and Arthur Campaign Song Book*, p. 11.

110. *Blaine and Logan Campaign Song-Book*, p. 12.

111. *The Prohibition Songster, Words and Music for Prohibition Campaign Clubs, Temperance Organizations, Glee Clubs, Camp-Meetings, Etc., Etc.*, compiled by J. N. Stearns (1884), no. 28. [Copy in Library of Congress.]

112. *Prohibition Songster*, no. 55. Other temperance songs of the time and to the tune of "Hold the Fort" were "The Temperance Standard" and J. B. Vinton's and W. Warren Bentley's "Storm the Fort," of which there were two printings with very slight differences. Entire lines in both of these songs were lifted from "Hold the Fort" without acknowledgment. See *Band of Hope Songster: A Collection of Temperance Songs . . .*, compiled by J. N. Stearns (1885), pp. 7, 62 [copy in Library of Congress]; and *Prohibition Songster*, no. 10.

113. National American Woman Suffrage Association, *Victory—How Women Won It: A Centennial Symposium, 1840–1940* (1940), p. 66. This work contains chapters by Carrie Chapman Catt and others.

114. "Songs of the Suffragettes." Sung by Elizabeth Knight accompanied on the guitar by Sol Julty, Folkways Record Album No. FH 5281 (1958), with notes by Irwin Silber on "A Brief History of the Woman's Suffrage Movement."

115. Compare "Columbia's Daughters" in "Songs of the Suffragettes" with "Hark! The Sound of Myriad Voices" in *Booklet of Song, A Collection of Suffrage and Temperance Melodies*, compiled by L. May Wheeler (1884), no. 1, pp. 20–21, from which the first verse and chorus are quoted.

116. *Booklet of Song*, pp. 21–22; and Henry W. Roby, *The Suffrage Song Book: Original Songs, Parodies and Paraphrases Adapted to Popular Melodies* (1909), p. 10.

117. On Populist songs and Mrs. Lease, see Elizabeth N. Barr, "The Populist Uprising," in William E. Connelley, *History of Kansas State and People* (5 vols., 1928), vol. 2, pp. 1165–1167; John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party* (1961; a reprint of Hicks's 1931 study), pp. 159–160, 167–170; John Greenway, *American Folksongs of Protest* (Perpetua edition, 1960), pp. 57–63, 210–211; W. G. Clugston, *Rascals in Democracy* (1940),

pp. 91–95; and C. S. White, *The People's Songster for Campaign Purposes and a Jolly Time Generally* (1892), p. 16.

118. Quoted from Federal Writers' Project, *More Farmers' Alliance Songs of the 1890's* ("Nebraska Folklore," 30 pamphlets in 2 vols., 1937–1940), no. 20, p. 16. [Typewritten copy provided through courtesy of Mrs. Thelma I. Kuhl, assistant librarian, State Library of Nebraska. Since Mrs. Kuhl's death in 1967, the folklore pamphlets, together with the other historical materials in the state library, have been transferred to the Nebraska State Historical Society in Lincoln.] The "Howe" referred to in the chorus was undoubtedly Edgar Watson Howe (1853–1937), the publisher of *The Atchison Globe*. Howe, known as "The Sage of Potato Hill," viewed the Populists as more or less akin to cyclones and grasshoppers, and they returned the compliment. See Calder M. Pickett, *Ed Howe: Country Town Philosopher* (1968), pp. 116, 117, 120, 131, 132–133, 216.

119. Wilbur Fisk Crafts, *Song Victories of "The Bliss and Sankey Hymns"* . . . (1877), p. 153, citing the report in "a missionary letter" that "Hold the Fort" had been heard in the Zulu language.

120. *Sing Out!*, vol. 7 (summer 1957), p. 29. Quoted by permission of *Sing Out!* An earlier article by Alexander Walgren related, with some common errors of fact, "The Story of 'Hold the Fort'" (*Sing Out!*, vol. 5 [spring 1955], pp. 22–23).

121. Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* (4 vols., 1947–1965), vol. 2, pp. 60–61, and p. 443 (note 18, citing S. W. Foss in *Tid-Bits*, undated clipping in Scrapbooks on Labor, New York Public Library). [Words used by permission of International Publishers, Inc.] The italics in which Foner sets the quoted verse have been dropped. The same verse and chorus are quoted, with very slight differences, in Foster Rhea Dulles, *Labor in America: A History* (1955), p. 142; and the chorus alone is quoted in Edith Fowke and Joe Glazer, *Songs of Work and Freedom* (1960), p. 37.

122. Fowke and Glazer, *Songs of Work and Freedom*, p. 37.

123. Norman J. Ware, *The Labor Movement in the United States, 1860–1895: A Study in Democracy* (1929), pp. 68–69.

124. Ware, *Labor Movement in United States*, pp. xi, 66, 371–373.

125. Among the many writings on Joe Hill are Philip S. Foner's *The Case of Joe Hill* (1965), a highly sympathetic account that lists articles, plays, poems, and other items about Hill, some of which are unfavorable; and the same author's edition of *The Letters of Joe Hill* (1965) and his *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, vol. 4, pp. 151–155, 455 (note). Other references: Ture Nerman, *Arbetarsångaren Joe Hill, Mördare eller Martyr?* (1951); Barrie Stavis, *The Man Who Never Died; A Play about Joe Hill with Notes on Joe Hill and His Times* (1954); Ralph Chaplin, *Wobbly, the Rough and Tumble Story of an American Radical* (1948), passim; George Hardy, *Those Stormy Years: Memories of the Fight for Freedom on Five Continents* (1956), passim; Patrick Renshaw, *The Wobblies: The Story of Syndicalism in the United States* (1967), passim; and Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (1969), passim. For the words and music of the song "Joe Hill," together with some historical notes, see Fowke and Glazer, *Songs of Work and Freedom*, pp. 20–21. On its use at the Reuther funeral

and memorial service, see Jerry M. Flint, "Reuther Praised in Funeral Rites; Old Ballad Ends Service for U.A.W. Chief and Wife," *The New York Times*, 16 May 1970, p. 25; "They Made Us Better People," *UAW Solidarity*, vol. 13, June 1970 (memorial issue), p. 14; and "A Memorial Service for Walter and May Reuther, Friday, May 22, 1970, Washington Cathedral, Mount Saint Alban, Washington, D.C."

126. John G. T. Spink, *Judge Landis and Twenty-Five Years of Baseball* (1947), p. 1. "Kenesaw" was a common misspelling of Kennesaw during the Civil War and afterward.

127. See Renshaw, *The Wobblies*, pp. 215–271; Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, pp. 423–444, 472; Hardy, *Those Stormy Years*, pp. 85–122; the decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, 7th Circuit, in *Haywood et al. v. U.S.*, 268 F. 795; the United States Supreme Court's refusal to issue a writ of certiorari in the Haywood case, 256 U.S. 689; and "Ralph H. Chaplin of IWW Is Dead," *The New York Times*, 29 March 1961, p. 33.

128. See also Ralph H. Chaplin, *When the Leaves Come Out and other Rebel Verses* (1917), and his *Somewhat Barbaric: A Selection of Poems, Lyrics and Sonnets* (1944).

129. Quoted from *Songs of the Workers: On the Road, in the Jungles, and in the Shops* (14th edition, April 1918) by permission of Industrial Workers of the World, Carl Keller, general secretary-treasurer, Chicago, Illinois. The words appear opposite the frontispiece—a photograph of Joe Hill.

130. Upton Sinclair, *Singing Jailbirds: A Drama in Four Acts* (1924), pp. 5, 6, 10, 87–95.

131. The formal title of this (15th) edition of "The Little Red Song Book" is the same as that of the 14th edition, cited as *Songs of the Workers* in note 129, above.

132. For complete words see *Songs of the Workers* (15th edition, 1919), pp. 16–17. Verses are quoted by permission of Industrial Workers of the World, Carl Keller, general secretary-treasurer, Chicago, Illinois.

133. The 1919 IWW program is reproduced in *Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology*, edited by Joyce L. Kornbluh (1964), p. 330. Information concerning the publication of the modern labor version of "Hold the Fort" in the 28th (1945) edition of "The Little Red Song Book" is contained in a letter (enclosing the words of the song) from William R. Morgan of the general library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, to Scheips, 1 May 1956.

134. Quotation from *Songs of the Workers to Fan the Flames of Discontent* (31st edition, May 1964, p. 33) by permission of Industrial Workers of the World, Carl Keller, general secretary-treasurer, Chicago, Illinois. The title of this edition of *Songs of the Workers* is slightly different from that of the 1918 edition, which is cited in note 129, above. Some planning for a new edition of "The Little Red Song Book" had been accomplished by early 1969 for publication upon exhaustion of the existing supply of the old edition (letter, Keller to Scheips, 12 February 1969). On the history of this famous little songbook, whose first edition carried "Hold the Fort," see Richard Brazier, "The Story of the IWW's 'Little Red Songbook,'" *Labor History*, vol. 9 (winter 1968), pp. 91–105. Brazier was a member of the committee that collected and published the first (1909) edition in Spokane, Washington, under the inspiration of

J. H. Walsh. The songbook was preceded by a four-page song card, which sold for 5 cents and which included "Hold the Fort" along with "The Red Flag" and "The Marseillaise."

135. Schneider, in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 13, p. 366.

136. Letter to Scheips, 31 July 1959.

137. Schneider, in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 13, p. 366.

138. See Nason, *American Evangelists*, pp. 104, 108, 111, 113, 117–118, 123; and Daniels, *Moody*, pp. 48–49. These references do not necessarily controvert the view that the middle classes provided Moody's chief stronghold but they do indicate that Moody was not inattentive to the masses.

139. See V. L. Allen, *Trade Union Leadership Based on a Study of Arthur Deakin* (1957).

140. Letter, McCullough to Scheips, 31 May 1956, and, as enclosed therein, a copy of a letter from Colonel Archer Wiggins, editor-in-chief, The Salvation Army, International Headquarters, London, to McCullough, 14 July 1955.

141. Letter, McCullough to Scheips, 31 May 1956.

142. Letters from Joe Glazer, education director, United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum, and Plastic Workers of America, AFL–CIO, to Scheips, 27 January and 18 June 1959. Glazer stated that he had "no idea" where Bliss got the tune for his song.

143. Footnote to verses and choruses of "Hold the Fort" in a mimeographed book of labor songs compiled by Edith Berkowitz, probably for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU). [This book, with cover and title page missing, was loaned to the author by his union friend and colleague Vincent H. Demma, to whom he is also indebted for the loan of several other ephemeral old labor song books used in this study.] On the 1928 Paterson, New Jersey, strike, see *The New York Times*, 3, 4, 10, 11, 12 October and 6 November 1928, pages 53, 19, 1, 56, 27, and 3, respectively.

144. *Rebel Song Book: Eighty-Seven Socialist and Labor Songs for Voice and Piano*, compiled and edited by Samuel H. Friedman, with music edited by Dorothy Bachman (1935); and *Labor Songs*, compiled and edited by Zilphia Horton (about 1939). The latter work also includes "The Steel Workers' Battle Hymn," dedicated to John L. Lewis, with words by W. H. Crawford, and sung to the tune of "Hold the Fort."

145. *UAW–CIO Songs* (cited in letter from Morgan to Scheips, 1 May 1956); *Dixie Union Songs* (mimeographed, no date); *Everybody Sings* (1942); *Let's Sing!* (2nd edition, no date); and *Songs of the Workers* (cited in note 134, above).

146. This undated album was distributed by the CIO department of education and research, Washington, D.C. The words are printed on the inside of the back cover. [Tom Glazer is not related to Joe Glazer.]

147. The full title of the album by the Almanac Singers is *The Original "Talking Union" with the Almanac Singers and other Union Songs with Peter Seeger and Chorus* (Folkways FH 5285, undated). *Songs for Victory* are in Asch Album 346 (undated). These albums are listed in Fowke and Glazer, *Songs of Work and Freedom*, pp. 204, 205, and in Greenway, *American Folksongs of Protest*, p. 317.

148. *CIO Song Book* (revised edition, 1954); *Amalgamated Song Book* (1958?);

and *AFL-CIO Song Book* (6th printing, undated). The latter is a slightly revised edition of the old *CIO Song Book*.

149. Fowke and Glazer, *Songs of Work and Freedom*, pp. 36–37. Probably inadvertently, Bliss's name is given as Philip H. Bliss.

150. As quoted in and paraphrased from “‘Troubadour of Labor’ Sees Passing of Singing Worker for Hum of Motor,” *The Washington Post Times Herald*, 20 May 1961, p. A3.

151. “‘Troubadour of Labor,’” *The Washington Post Times Herald*, 20 May 1961, p. A3; Nicholas Gage, “Farm Workers Union Puts Its Own Show on Road Raising Funds,” *Wall Street Journal*, 19 July 1967; Henry Santiestevan, “El Teatro Campesino—Right Off the Picket Lines” and “Delano—A New Harvest for Migrants,” *IUD Agenda*, vol. 3 (February 1967), pp. 16–17, 22; Bill Boyarsky, “Pacts Bring Labor Peace to Vineyards at Delano,” *The Washington Post Times Herald*, 30 July 1970, p. A9; and Steven V. Roberts, “Chavez and His Grape Workers ‘Overcome,’” *The New York Times*, 2 August 1970, sec. 4, p. 2.

152. On “We Shall Overcome,” see “The Talk of the Town” in *The New Yorker*, vol. 41 (27 March 1965), pp. 37–38, and the recording by Joan Baez (with commentary by Harry Fleischman, together with the words) in the United Automobile Workers album *This Land Is Your Land: Songs of Social Justice* (produced in 1964 by Joel O’Brien Productions, Inc., and UAW education department), no. 9. For the words and music of the labor version, “We Will Overcome,” together with historical notes, see Fowke and Glazer, *Songs of Work and Freedom*, pp. 33–34.

153. Letter, Glazer to Scheips, 2 December 1959. For words and music of these more popular songs, together with notes about them, see Fowke and Glazer, *Songs of Work and Freedom*, pp. 12–13, 38–39, 44–45.

154. As quoted in and paraphrased from David Anderson, “Washington Sq. May Day Rally Turns into a Battle of Singers,” *The New York Times*, 2 May 1961, p. 16.

155. On Joe Glazer and his songs, see Fowke and Glazer, *Songs of Work and Freedom*, passim; Greenway, *American Folksongs of Protest*, pp. 302–309; and Michael Kernan, “Glazer’s Songs Still Work for Labor,” *The Washington Post Times Herald*, 1 May 1970, pp. C1, C2.

156. Telephone interview with Glazer in Washington, D.C., 19 December 1967.

157. Fowke and Glazer, *Songs of Work and Freedom*, pp. 10, 37.