

Musical Movements:

Songs of Nineteenth-Century Nationalism and Abolitionism

“O Holy Night” is a staple in the Christmas repertoire, yet most people remain unaware of its origin. In 1847, a French priest asked local wine salesman and amateur poet Placide Cappeau to write a poem for a Christmas mass. Though not very religious, Cappeau wrote the poem in French, drawing inspiration from the Gospel of Luke. He approached renowned musician Adolphe Adam, who composed music for the lyrics. In the 1850s, American former minister and music periodical editor J. S. Dwight translated the French song into English.¹ However, the story of “O Holy Night” found in blogs, websites, and popular nonfiction teems with questionable and sometimes incorrect information. They claim that Adam was Jewish or at least of Jewish descent when biographical sources either say nothing about his religion or note his Christian burial.²

These unscholarly works also repeat that Dwight published his translation in 1855, often in *Dwight’s Journal of Music*. However, a review of the periodical from 1853 to 1858 reveals no record of an English “O Holy Night” during that period.³ Other researchers, although not scholarly, have also noted this historiographical mistake.⁴ The earliest record of Dwight’s translation uncovered in the research for this analysis was an 1858 advertisement in the *New-York Musical Review and Gazette* as “Christmas Song (Cantique de Noel),” crediting Adam’s composition and Dwight’s English lyrics.⁵ The story of “O Holy Night” demonstrates the risks of relying on secondary sources without consulting primary ones. Furthermore, the lack of scholarly sources on the subject is surprising but presents an opportunity for future historical research. However, the song’s abolitionist lyrics, not its origin story, reflect how music can act as a

medium for broader social and political movements. Songs like “O Holy Night” express contemporary thought, thus illuminating the understanding of historical movements like abolitionism and nationalism.

Throughout history, people have expressed themselves through music. These songs become time capsules for the period when the artist composed them. They reflect contemporary values, frameworks, and attitudes, offering historians insight into popular and official thought. The historiography of the nineteenth century rarely considers nationalism and abolitionism as parallel movements. This study uses compositional and lyrical analysis to uncover how nationalism and abolitionism converged and diverged through song. Nationalist and abolitionist songs share themes, imagery, and terminology, including religion, militarism, and slavery. While nationalist songs often exclude others, abolitionist songs are more inclusive, though both promote positive narratives of progress. For a well-informed analysis of these songs in the nineteenth century, this study must begin with the foundational concepts of nationalism, abolitionism, and song.

Background

Humans have always sought community. The nation is a recent and prominent solution to this desire for belonging and kinship. One unfortunate side effect of kinship formation is the inherent exclusion of others. Humans distinguish between ‘us’ and ‘them,’ often leading to suspicion, prejudice, and conflict.⁶ Scholars still grapple with defining the concept of the nation. In his landmark study, Benedict Anderson describes the nation as “an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.”⁷ People must imagine it because no citizen can meet every other member. Yet, it is a political community supposedly sharing origins, interests, and quasi-familial ties. Members consider the nation’s authority

restricted to definite borders.⁸ Most modern scholars agree that nations are social constructions. Steven Grosby writes that “one is born into a nation. The significance attributed to this biological fact of birth into the historically-evolving, territorial structure of the cultural community” distinguishes the nation from other forms of kinship.⁹ Territory is the defining factor. While it may be impossible to identify the concept’s exact origin, discussions of nations increased in the nineteenth century.¹⁰ In sum, nation defies a simple definition, as does nationalism.

Nationalism is, at its core, an ideology. Whether it is inherently political is debated. Anderson argues that nationalism is not political but a “cultural system,” a frame of reference that people take for granted.¹¹ Grosby describes it as a “set of beliefs about the nation,” with an essential component of its ideology being “that the nation is the only goal worthy of pursuit” by its members.¹² Nationalism encompasses what members believe about their nation and argues that it is superior and deserving of members’ primary efforts. Grosby posits that nationalism is not patriotism, which is about attachment to one’s nation and dedication to its well-being. It tolerates other nations and interpretations. Nationalism, however, views the nation as opposed to all others, claiming “one vision of what the nation has been and should be.”¹³ As an ideology, nationalism is the vehicle for forming and maintaining nations. Anderson argues that the first modern nations arose in the American colonies. Beginning in the late eighteenth and continuing through the nineteenth century, these nations viewed themselves as innovators. European countries that embraced nationalism during the nineteenth century, however, “imagined themselves as ‘awakening from sleep.’”¹⁴ This interpretation implies the existence of an ancient, hitherto ignored kinship but newly recognized and celebrated. Throughout the nineteenth century, nationalism spread worldwide, including in areas of European colonization. National

identities arose from Germany to Hawai‘i. As a new form of kinship gained traction during this period, another movement impacted societies on local and global scales.

The abolitionist movement flourished in the nineteenth century. Most countries abolished slavery, including major holdouts like the United States (1865), Cuba (1886), and Brazil (1888).¹⁵ The first abolitionists were enslaved people. Over centuries, they gained diverse allies.¹⁶ Richard S. Newman describes abolitionism as “a series of allied struggles that coalesced around slavery’s destruction,” not a unified movement.¹⁷ Some scholars are generous in identifying abolitionists, while others are stricter. Newman defines an abolitionist as “any person, group, or political party for which slavery’s destruction became the central aim.”¹⁸ Beyond this, the activists did not necessarily share unified goals. Some saw emancipation as the culmination of the movement but held onto racist conceptions of superiority. Others, often Black abolitionists, believed the fight continued until they reached full racial equality.¹⁹ One of the most influential agents in global abolitionism was the British Empire. For various reasons, Great Britain took an emphatic anti-slavery stance in the 1830s, even patrolling the seas to capture slave-trading ships. Other colonial powers slowly shifted their slavery policies, with France abolishing slavery by mid-century.²⁰

Abolitionism was innovative and diverse. Abolitionists used print communication to their advantage, with newspapers and other media owned and run by abolitionists sharing their message.²¹ Activists worked at different speeds. Earlier proponents often argued for gradual emancipation, but the call for immediate abolition gained momentum in the nineteenth century.²² In the United States, the “core abolitionists,” as Newman writes, were African Americans and women.²³ Black people and women composed a significant portion of the abolitionist movement throughout the Atlantic World. Since neither group could participate in politics through the usual

means, they took a more aggressive approach than most white men.²⁴ Contemporaries, and even some modern scholars, argue that the adversarial style adopted by the abolitionist movement led to the American Civil War, claiming that slavery would have naturally diminished.²⁵ However, one should not belittle the nineteenth-century abolitionists' efforts. They achieved their goal of emancipation and abolition, although social and legal equality remained elusive in practice.

Religion was prominent in the development of nationalism and abolitionism. Grosby notes that religious beliefs played a significant role in territorial cohesion. A single religion, usually promoted by a central authority, could unite a nation. Grosby's examples include Israel worshipping Yahweh and Japan establishing a sun goddess cult. Even so, religion's role in nation-building was more complex. National religions could display influences from other faiths and cultures. Significant minority groups practiced different forms of worship, and other nationalities often shared the same religion.²⁶ Still, religion was a significant uniting force in developing and maintaining a nation. Religion, particularly Christianity, also had a defining relationship with abolitionism. Newman notes that many religions provided justifications for forms of enslavement. Many of the proto-abolitionists were religious reformers or dissidents. In the United States, Quakers were among the first ardent abolitionists.²⁷ The Second Great Awakening in the nineteenth century enabled open hostility against the institution of slavery. The Christian movement encouraged viewing individuals as capable of choosing morality, thus contributing to a more personal form of eternal salvation.²⁸ New interpretations of Christianity, and this shift towards individualism, contributed to debates on the morality of slavery.²⁹ Abolitionist groups argued that slavery violated Christian ethics, making Christian condemnations of slavery among the most common and intense.³⁰ Thus, religion contributed significantly to both nationalism and abolitionism.

Songs played a crucial role in the nationalist and abolitionist movements. They provide windows into the diverse participation of people and ideas. Yet, the modern conception of songs does not accurately reflect the nineteenth-century reality. Vicki L. Eaklor observes that “song” often meant “poem.”³¹ With no musical recordings for most of the nineteenth century, people interacted with or learned songs in more physical ways. Popular songs in the nineteenth century were “at least *intended* to reach a broad audience via some form of commercial distribution, such as broadsides, sheet music, song collections, touring musicians or musical production.”³² Periodicals, pamphlets, and single pieces of paper were other common forms of song publication. When published, many new songs noted a popular tune indicating how to sing the words.³³ Songs in this analytical context will refer to lyrical poems meant for singing. The songs have accompanying music, a designated tune, or some other indication of how to sing the lyrics.³⁴

The selection of songs for this analysis spans a wide range of time, location, and authorship to highlight unique aspects of the movements. Nationalist songs emerged throughout the nineteenth century, with most from the mid to late 1800s due to the evolving nature of nationalism worldwide. The earliest songs are from the Western Hemisphere, with Eastern Asian anthems gaining prominence in the last decade of the century. This analysis includes two songs from South America, three from Europe, one from Africa, two from Asia, and one from the Pacific Islands. Several American songs are distinctly nationalist and abolitionist in nature. Many American abolitionist songs show concern for the country but are not nationalist. The abolitionist songs have a narrower scope. A significant challenge arose in identifying international abolitionist songs with available English translations. Only two examples have authors who are not American, both from Europe, with one already in English. The abolitionist movement in the United States gained traction during the Second Great Awakening and mostly waned after the

Thirteenth Amendment's ratification. Thus, abolitionist songs are most common from the 1830s to 1860s. Across the world in the nineteenth century, proponents of nationalism and abolitionism promoted their movements through song, revealing intriguing juxtapositions and parallels.

Compositional Analysis

A compositional analysis reveals information about the nationalist and abolitionist movements that studying the lyrics alone cannot. People wrote these songs, influenced by countless factors and circumstances. Knowledge of the compositional process for the individual songs not only contextualizes them but sparks meaningful observations as well. Two aspects of composition examine who the prominent voices of the movements were and how the music came to be. Both points reveal keen commentary on the character and values of nationalism and abolitionism.

The authorship of the songs in the movements provides a glimpse into their membership. In nationalist music, most lyricists were men, often from the local elite. Thomas Turino observes in the Latin American context that elite “criollos,” or people of European descent born in the Americas, led the early nationalist movements and shaped their musical manifestations, which frequently reflected European sensibilities.³⁵ The main mouthpieces of nationalism were wealthy, powerful men, leading to doubt as to the prevalence or sincerity of similar nationalist feelings in the majority of the population. Few nationalist songs had female authors, but an exception is “He Mele Lāhui Hawai‘i,” written and composed by Lili‘uokalani at her relative King Kamehameha V's request. It remained Hawai‘i's national anthem until her brother, King Kalākaua, replaced it with a song he wrote.³⁶ Julia Ward Howe, a prominent poet and abolitionist, wrote the “Battle Hymn of the Republic” with nationalist and abolitionist themes, blending religion with nationalism by linking Northern Soldiers with a righteous God.³⁷ Its

abolitionist purpose is clear in the final call, “let us die to make men free.”³⁸ Although oppressed as women, Lili‘uokalani and Howe were among their society’s educated elite. While they provided voices for women, most people did not have the opportunity or inclination to write nationalist songs.

Abolitionist songs generally had more diversity in authorship. Many women, as ardent abolitionists, attached their names to songs denouncing slavery. Almira Seymour wrote “Who in God’s Sight is Holy,” and Elizabeth M. Chandler penned “The American Female Slave.”³⁹ African Americans also contributed. Joshua Simpson, a free Black born in Ohio, was a prolific songwriter. His song, “A Journey Through the Wilderness,” directly addresses supporters of slavery.⁴⁰ “The Plantation Song” claims “to be sung by the slaves as they are chained in gangs when about to start to the far off South.”⁴¹ While it may be older, its repeated inclusion in compilations and periodicals demonstrates its popularity in the 1800s. Many abolitionist songs are anonymous, likely to avoid controversy and conflict. While nationalism often featured solo voices, abolitionism was a choir of diverse racial, gender, and cultural identities. Another intriguing aspect of these songs is their musicality.

While many nineteenth-century songs utilized original or pre-existing tunes, original compositions required musical notation. Songs set to popular tunes specified the melody for the lyrics. The nationalist songs in this analysis often feature original music. For some, like the Estonian “Mu Isamaa, mu Õnn ja Rõõm” and the Filipino “Filipinas,” the instrumental compositions predate the lyrics.⁴² In the case of “Biladi,” an ode to Egypt, Mohamed Younis al-Qadi wrote the poem in 1879 based on a speech by Mustafa Kamil Pasha. However, Sayed Darwish composed the music in the twentieth century.⁴³ For most nationalist songs, the lyrics and accompaniment came about simultaneously, often through commissions. This practice

reflects the elite status of most nationalists regardless of country and their attempts to legitimize their movements within existing European frameworks and values. The nationalists sought to lay the foundation of a long-lasting nation, and establishing a national musical canon was part of that. The elite could find prestige and pride in promoting original, national music composed solely for the nation. One exception is the South Korean “Aegukga.” Written anonymously in 1896, Koreans sang the song to “Auld Lang Syne” until an original composition became official in 1936.⁴⁴

Many abolitionist songs utilized existing melodies, but others had original compositions and unspecified tunes. For example, George F. Root authored the lyrics and musical accompaniment for “Battle Cry of Freedom: Rallying Song,” which also has nationalist themes.⁴⁵ The third verse of “O Holy Night” has unmistakable abolitionist images. Adam wrote an original composition for the French song, and Dwight’s translation kept the melody.⁴⁶ Some songs in this analysis, like “Hymn 25” and “The American Female Slave,” lack specified tune or music.⁴⁷ The familiar tunes include folk, religious, and patriotic songs. William Lloyd Garrison’s “Song of the Abolitionist” uses the melody of the Scottish folk song “Auld Lang Syne,” Joshua Simpson’s “A Journey Through the Wilderness” borrows from “Go to Dark Gethsemane,” and “America – A Parody” traces its tune to the English “God Save the King.”⁴⁸ This approach required less musical expertise and resources, allowed for rapid songwriting, and ensured the public’s ability to sing along. The songwriters aimed to persuade and support abolition, not to create a musical tradition. While nationalists focused on building a nation, abolitionists tried to tear slavery down. They wanted immediate results, and songs were accessible tools for sharing their message to the masses. While the external properties of nationalist and abolitionist songs enlighten some aspects of these movements, analyzing lyrics generates significant opportunities for comparison.

Lyrical Analysis

Analyzing the lyrics of the nationalist and abolitionist songs uncovers the ideological expressions of the songwriters and the movements they represented. Literary analysis exposes themes, images, and ideas that converge and diverge across these movements. Understanding nationalism and abolitionism also requires pondering nuances the songwriters may not have considered. Interpretation of the lyrics of these songs reveals similarities and differences in themes, terminology, and philosophical frameworks. Religion, militarism, and slavery imagery appear prominently in both movements. Nationalism tends toward exclusivity, while abolitionism is more inclusive. These lyrics demonstrate their movements' narratives of progress. Lyrical analysis presents unique insights into the distinct yet parallel movements.

Prominent in nationalism and abolitionism, religion plays a significant role in songs. While not all nationalist songs include religious content, many do. The authors often ask God, usually if not always the Christian one, to bless and protect the nation. "Mu Isamaa, mu Õnn ja Rõõm" asks that "God in heaven watch over" Estonia, and "Aegukga" requests that "God bless and protect" Koreans.⁴⁹ "He Mele Lāhui Hawai'i," meaning "Hawaiian National Hymn," is a prayer asking God to bless the nation, especially the monarch.⁵⁰ Many nationalist songs also claim God's support for their nation's freedom. "Gloria al Bravo Pueblo" describes God as the driving force of the Venezuelan independence movement.⁵¹ "Himno Nacional de Chile" utilizes religious imagery, referring to national "altars," and characterizes the land as God-given to Chile.⁵² The famous Irish anthem, "A Nation Once Again," states that if "righteous men" pursue independence without falling to "feelings dark and passions vain or lowly," God will aid them since "freedom comes from God's right hand."⁵³ Religion and religious frameworks often guided nationalist movements and informed their songs.

Abolitionist songs tend to be explicitly religious. Authors wrote them as hymns and prayers to God, asking him to end slavery, like in “Hymn 25,” “America – A Parody,” and “The Plantation Song.”⁵⁴ These songs served as personal and collective messages not only to their stated recipient but also to the American public. The songs portrayed slavery as an evil, sinful institution. “Who In God’s Sight is Holy,” for instance, describes slaveholders as unchristian.⁵⁵ The Scottish song “Back! Oh Send It Back!” condemns the Scottish Church for accepting funds from slaveholders. It argues that the money, tainted with “the blood... of the slaves,” is morally corrupting.⁵⁶ In “A Journey Through the Wilderness,” Simpson describes a church minister torturing slaves, intending to shock and dismay Christian audiences with that image.⁵⁷ Even supposedly pious men were guilty of partaking in the vile sin of slavery.

Two images recur in abolitionist songs: divine judgment or war and redemptive, messianic suffering. Abolitionist songwriters depicted themselves, and later Union soldiers, as God’s righteous warriors, acting as his agents on Earth. The “Song of the Abolitionist” calls the abolitionist “a soldier for the war,” and “Battle Hymn of the Republic” describes the Union soldiers as following divine orders.⁵⁸ “Who in God’s Sight is Holy” refers to the passage in which Jesus Christ drives moneylenders and merchants from the temple in Jerusalem with a whip, asking that God’s righteous anger similarly purge slavery.⁵⁹ Abolitionists also invoke messianic redemption and suffering. “O Holy Night” describes Christ’s birth as the arrival of the savior of humanity and the ender of oppression.⁶⁰ Howe’s “Battle Hymn of the Republic” compares the sacrifice of Union soldiers perishing to end slavery to that of Christ dying on the cross to free humanity from sin.⁶¹ “Who In God’s Sight is Holy” echoes Christ’s words, “forgive them, they know not what they do.”⁶² Some songs combine the two religious images. The abolitionist songwriters saw no incompatibility between judgment and redemption. Christian

abolitionists despised slavery and believed violence might be necessary to end it. Yet, they trusted in the soul's capacity for transformation. Abolitionism had a more direct connection to Christianity, but nationalism also derived meaning from religion. The songs of both movements also reflected militaristic tendencies.

Militaristic, self-sacrificial, and loyal themes prevail in nationalism and abolitionism. Songwriters for nationalist movements express commitment to fight battles for the nation, declaring their desire to serve and defend it. Egyptians pledge to keep Egypt safe from its enemies, and Filipinos vow to protect their country from invaders and remain victorious.⁶³ Nationalist songs also demonstrate a readiness to live and die for the nation. While alive, nationalists worked for the honor and betterment of their country, considering it a duty and privilege to die for it. The 1860 version of "La Brabançonne" declares to Belgium that "for thee alone [Belgians] live."⁶⁴ The Filipino anthem claims that "it is a glory... to die for [the Philippines]."⁶⁵ The nationalist songs also proclaim eternal loyalty to the nation. "Mu Isamaa, mu Õnn ja Rõõm" states that Estonians will "stand by [Estonia] until death," and "Aegukga" demands that Koreans "devote utmost loyalty in suffering and in joy" to their country.⁶⁶ Most nationalist songs do not condemn other identities but insist that the nation should be a top priority. The rise of nationalist identity often led to wars for independence or defense, making the prevalence of militant themes logical. Even before the American Civil War, abolitionists adopted confrontational musical approaches.

Abolitionist songs express the commitment to fight figurative battles against slavery. Most written in the pre-war era assumed confrontational ideological stances. "Slavery is a Hard Foe to Battle" depicts abolitionists needing to fight a personified slavery. Several years before the Civil War, the song demonstrates a willingness for conflict between the American North and

South.⁶⁷ Later, abolitionists wrote songs supporting the Union against Southern slaveholders and rebels, like the “Battle Hymn of the Republic” and “The Battle Cry of Freedom: Rallying Song.”⁶⁸ As stated earlier, abolitionists viewed themselves as righteous warriors, using militaristic language to describe their movement. They used violent vocabulary against slavery, saying it “must die,” “break,” be “crush[ed],” and “hurled” “down to the dust.”⁶⁹ Abolitionists also expressed a readiness to sacrifice for freedom, as in the “Battle Hymn of the Republic” with the line “let us die to make men free.”⁷⁰ American abolitionism, once gradualist, became increasingly adversarial. Abolitionist songs reflect the dedication to immediate emancipation in their militaristic lyrics.

Songwriters in nationalism and abolitionism used imagery of slavery and oppression. Nationalist songs sometimes appropriated slavery imagery to sanction and embellish their emerging national identity. Recurring words in nationalist songs include “freedom,” “liberty,” “slavery,” “oppression,” “chains,” “fetters,” and “tyrant.”⁷¹ “Gloria al Bravo Pueblo” incorporates many of these terms in its commendation of the people for rebelling against the “oppression” and “tyranny” endured under the Spanish “yoke.”⁷² The Belgian anthem “La Brabançonne” boldly begins “the years of slavery are past.”⁷³ Since many nationalist leaders and songwriters were from elite circles, their situations hardly mirrored those of enslaved people. Slavery imagery recurs throughout recorded history in debates of sovereignty, a trend these nineteenth-century songs echoed. The nationalist songs utilizing this imagery demonstrate the inherently negative connotations of enslavement. The songwriters understand that slavery is an undesirable and detestable state.

Abolitionists used all of the same slavery imagery as nationalists did and more but always in a literal sense.⁷⁴ Abolitionists discussed the torture and hardships slaves

suffered. “Scourge,” “whip,” and “blood” are recurring images, with mentions of the “lash” and “rod.”⁷⁵ Scourge refers to a multi-thonged whip designed to inflict excruciating pain. Enslaved people lived under the threat and reality of brutal physical abuse. Abolitionist songs also recognized the racialized nature of slavery, as in “America—A Parody,” which notes that all men are born free in the United States “if white their skin.”⁷⁶ Numerous songs, often by female or Black authors, highlight the practice of breaking up families. “The American Female Slave” appeals to white mothers’ empathy, asking them to feel for enslaved Black women having their families ripped from them.⁷⁷ “The Plantation Song” refers to “wives and husbands sold apart” and the “children’s screams,” and “A Journey Through the Wilderness” discusses an “auction block” upon which a man’s wife is “sold a slave for life.”⁷⁸ White women focused on family dissolution due to their cultural and gender roles as caregivers. Black people emphasized this practice because of its direct impact on their lives.

While nationalist and abolitionist songs share significant lyrical themes, they diverge in their core group identity. Nationalist songs tend to be exclusive, defining clear-cut members. A nation cannot include everyone, or it loses its purpose: to bind certain people together, not others. One way nationalist songs demonstrate this exclusivity is through territoriality. Songs often specify the name of the country, like “Ireland,” “Egypt,” and “Chile.”⁷⁹ The songs also focus on the physical space, describing the physical geography. “Aegukga” identifies the geographical features of the East Sea and Mount Baekdu, thus placing the nation within a physical plane, and “Biladi” refers to Egyptian soil and the Nile.⁸⁰ Nationalist songs also display mutual possessiveness. Songs state “my homeland,” “our great country,” “our people,” and “my fatherland” and refer to the people as “children” and “sons” of the nation.⁸¹ Therefore, the nation belongs to the people, and the people belong to the nation. Some songs also emphasize a national

ethos or consciousness. “Aegukga” discusses a “Great Korean Way” and “spirit,” and “Himno Nacional de Chile” speaks of how former soldiers live on in the hearts of future Chileans.⁸² “Gloria al Bravo Pueblo” says God “breathed a sublime spirit into the nation.”⁸³ Thus, nations are distinct and exclusive groups. Abolitionist songwriters do not focus so intensely on humanity’s divisions.

Abolitionist songs tend to be more inclusive, though they have some exclusive language. The lyricists stress and encourage empathy in readers and listeners, urging everyone to unite to end slavery. They focused on the shared humanity of all people, calling all brothers and sisters. “O Holy Night” states that “the slave is our brother,” and “The American Female Slave” proclaims “Is it not a sister’s form on whose limbs those fetters rest?”⁸⁴ “A Journey Through the Wilderness” solicits the empathy of defenders of slavery, asserting that brotherhood through Christ should transcend earthly divisions.⁸⁵ In “Song of the Abolitionist,” Garrison declared that his “country is the wide, wide world” and his “countrymen mankind.”⁸⁶ Abolitionists argued that everyone deserves basic human dignity, regardless of skin color. Even so, the songs often identified an enemy: slaveholders, defenders of slavery, the South, and the Confederate rebels.⁸⁷ Still, the songs did not deem these groups unredeemable. Abolitionists made blatant attempts to sway the minds of slavery’s supporters. “Who in God’s Sight is Holy” suggests that, despite the dire situation, the country could still correct its course.⁸⁸ Though a division existed between pro- and anti-slavery factions, abolitionists believed that the bridge was crossable. They were simply on the right side. Despite diverging on inclusivity, nationalist and abolitionist songs share a common narrative framework.

Songs in the nationalist and abolitionist movements perpetuate narratives of progress. Herbert Butterfield discussed this as an interpretation of history that “emphasi[zes] certain

principles of progress in the past” and “produce[s] a story which is the ratification if not the glorification of the present.”⁸⁹ The nineteenth-century songwriters were not historians, but they wrote their narratives. Modern people often assume that history is a series of progressive steps, meaning that modernity is inherently better than the past. The narrative of progress posits that humanity is forever bettering itself through innovation and change. This presentist view of history assumes that the present is the current apex and the future will be even better. The songwriters in nationalism and abolitionism embraced this narrative because they believed their movements were improving the world. Humanity became better because nations existed and because slavery was going to end. The past was backward, but nationalism and abolitionism propelled the world forward.

Nationalist songs often depict the past negatively and the future positively. Many describe a past ruled by tyranny, with nations considering themselves oppressed as they sought independence and sovereignty. In the present, the nation’s existence is a good development. Some songs yearn to recover a better, bygone past, with nationalism often incorporating ideas of revival and rebirth.⁹⁰ These songs posit that independence and rights were natural and longstanding but had been denied. For example, “Ireland, long a province,” should be “a nation once again,” implying that the nation was an ancient institution suppressed from expression.⁹¹ “The Belgian rejoices” because “courage restores... the rights he held of yore.”⁹² The Belgians lacked proper access to their rights but have since reclaimed them. The songs also depict the nation as the ultimate goal of history, insinuating that people have reached the zenith. The nation’s idealized form is seen as deserving to exist forever, with Belgium having “glorious” years ahead, Chile promising “future splendor,” and Egypt being a “most precious jewel, shining on the brow of eternity.”⁹³ The nation is great and destined to grow even greater.

Abolitionist songs follow a similar narrative trajectory. Songwriters were confident in the righteousness and progressiveness of their movement. Their songs portray the past and present as oppressive, inhuman, and evil. Slavery, seen as an abomination against God, held the United States back from greatness. The abolitionists' inclusion of Black people into humanity was a progressive argument, as many at the time did not agree. Even non-slaveholders thought Black people were subhuman and incapable of productivity without force, making emancipation seem like a backward and disastrous move. Abolitionist songs' sympathetic and inclusive language incorporated enslaved Black people into humanity, which the songwriters saw as both righteous and good. The songs also express certainty in the abolition of slavery, though they urged people to hasten its end. For instance, "Slavery is a Hard Foe to Battle" says "the day is drawing nigh that Slavery must die," and "O Holy Night" declares "all oppression shall cease."⁹⁴ Abolitionist songs also argue that the country will improve with the end of slavery with better morals and finally living up to its ideals of freedom.⁹⁵ "Slavery is a Hard Foe to Battle" wants to "give every man his right, (woman, too!)."⁹⁶ Like nationalist songs, abolitionist songs positioned themselves within an overarching narrative of progress.

Conclusion

Songs of nineteenth-century nationalism and abolitionism serve as artistic and ideological windows, revealing the movements' significant similarities and differences. Female and Black authors were more prolific in the abolitionist movement, while nationalist original compositions reflect elite leadership. The varied melodies in abolitionism mirror its diversity of talent and wealth. Religion is a prominent theme in both movements, showing the influence of religious frameworks in nineteenth-century ideologies. Both demonstrate militarism, self-sacrifice, and loyalty, showing nationalists and abolitionists' dedication to their causes. Nationalism

appropriated slavery imagery, and abolitionism addresses enslavement literally. Nationalist songs delineate distinct nations, while abolitionist songs celebrate an inclusive approach to humanity, though they alienated defenders of slavery. Nationalism and abolitionism narrate an interpretation of progress, envisioning a better world due to the outcomes of their movements. This analysis scratches only the surface of nineteenth-century nationalist and abolitionist songs, but even so, it demonstrates the wealth of ideas in the music of movements.

Appendix 1

“O Holy Night” Placide Cappeau, Composed by Adolphe Adam, Translated by J. S. Dwight, 1847⁹⁷

O holy night! the stars are brightly shining;
It is the night of the dear SAVIOUR’S [sic] birth!
Long lay the world in sin and error pining,
’Till he appeared, and the soul felt its worth,
A thrill of hope the weary world rejoices,
For yonder breaks a new and glorious morn!
Fall on your knees. O hear the angel voices!
O night divine! O night when CHRIST was born.
O night divine. O night, O night divine.

Led by the light of Faith serenely beaming,
With glowing hearts by his cradle we stand;
So led by light of a star sweetly gleaming,
Here came the wise men from the Orient land,
The King of Kings lay thus in lowly manger,
In all our trials born to be our friend;
He knows our need, to our weakness no stranger!
Behold your KING! Before him LOWLY bend!
Behold your KING! your KING! before him bend.

Truly he taught us to love one another;
His law is Love and his gospel is Peace;
Chains shall he break, for the slave is our brother,
And in his name, all oppression shall cease,
Sweet hymns of joy in grateful Chorus raise we;
Let all within us praise his Holy name!
CHRIST is the LORD! then ever! ever praise we!
His pow’r and glory, evermore proclaim!
His pow’r and glory, evermore proclaim!

Appendix 2

“He Mele Lāhui Hawai‘i” Lili‘uokalani, Anonymous Translator, 1866⁹⁸

Almighty Father, bend thine ear,
And list the nation’s prayer,
That lowly bows before thy throne,
And seeks thy fostering care.
Grant thy peace throughout the land,
O’er each sunny sea-girt isle;
Keep the nation’s life, O Lord,
And upon our Sovereign smile.

Guard Him with thy tender care;
Give Him length of years to reign
On the throne His Fathers won,—
Bless the nation once again.
Give the King thy loving grace,
And with wisdom from on high,
Prosperous lead his people on
As beneath thy watchful eye.

Chorus— Grant thy peace, &c.

Bless, oh Lord, our country’s chiefs,
Grant them wisdom so to live
That our people may be saved,
And to thee the glory give.
Watch thou o’er us, day by day,—
King and people— with thy love,
For our hope is all in thee;
Bless us, though who reign’s above!

Chorus— Grant thy peace, &c.

Appendix 3

“Battle Hymn of the Republic” Julia Ward Howe, Tune: “Say, Brothers, Will You Meet Us?” 1862⁹⁹

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix 4

**“Who in God’s Sight is Holy” Miss Almira Seymour, Tune: “Morning Light is Breaking,”
1843 or Earlier¹⁰⁰**

Who in God’s sight is holy?
What lips shall dare to pray,
Our Father! let thy kingdom
Be hastened on its way?
Shall hands, that forge the fetters,
Which clasp the living limb,
Stained with a brother’s life-blood,
Be raised in prayer to Him?

Shall lips breathe forth His praises,
That, in their impious pride,
Contemn His sacred image,
And mercy’s claims deride?
Shall tongues exhort to virtue
The erring steps of men,
That to earth’s darkest vices
Millions of souls condemn?

Forbid it, blest Religion!
All holy things and true!
And, Father! O forgive them,
They know not what they do.
O, purify thy churches,
Throughout this sinful land;
Let justice, truth and mercy
Beside thy altar stand.

Chase from thy holy temple,
All which ensnares, deceives,
And let thy house, no longer,
Be as a den of thieves;
Fill it with thy own presence,
Life-giving as thou art,
Till largest love becometh,
The life of every heart.

Appendix 5

“The American Female Slave” Elizabeth M. Chandler, Tune Unspecified, (Eaklor, 110-112) 1836 or Earlier¹⁰¹

Daughters of the Pilgrim Sires,
Dwellers by their mould’ring graves,
Watchers of their altar fires,
Look upon your country’s slaves!

Look! ’tis woman’s streaming eye,
These are woman’s fettered hands,
That to you, so mournfully,
Lift sad glance, and iron bands.

Scars are on her fettered limbs,
Where the savage scourge hath been;
But the grief her eye that dims,
Flows for deeper wounds within.

For the children of her love,
For the brothers of her race,
Sister, like vine-branches wove,
In one early dwelling place -

For the parent forms that hung
Fondly o’er her infant sleep,
And for him to whom she clung,
With affection true and deep -

By her sad forsaken hearth,
’Tis for these she wildly grieves!
Now all scattered o’er the earth,
Like the wind-strewn autumn leaves!

Ev’n her babes so dear, so young,
And so treasured in her heart,
That the cords which round them clung,
Seemed its life, its dearest part -

These, ev’n these were torn away!
These, that when all else were gone,
Cheered the heart, with one bright ray,
That still bade its pulse beat on!

Then to still her frantic woe,

The inhuman scourge was tried,
Till the tears that ceased to flow,
Were with redder drops supplied.

And can you behold unmoved,
All the crushing weight of grief,
That her aching heart has proved,
Seeking not to yield relief?

Are not woman's pulses warm,
Beating in that anguished breast?
Is it not a sister's form,
On whose limbs those fetters rest?

Oh then save her from a doom,
Worse than aught that ye may bear;
Let her pass not to the tomb,
Midst her bondage and despair.

Appendix 6

“A Journey Through the Wilderness” Joshua Simpson, Tune: “Go to Dark Gethsemane,” 1854¹⁰²

Sons and daughters of the free,
You who love the Tyrant’s power,
Take a view of slavery,
Go with me one bitter hour;
Turn not from the scene away –
Come along without delay.

Follow to the throne of Grace,
There behold a kneeling pair;
Mark the difference in the face –
One is dark, the other fair.
Now they rise their joys to tell,
“Jesus has done all things well.”

But we must not tarry here;
Follow to the cotton field;
There behold those brothers dear,
Who were at the altar kneeled;
Here the white man tyrant reigns –
Binds his brother down with chains.

See him ply the bloody lash
To his sable brother’s frame;
Every stroke he leaves a gash,
Bringing blood from every vein.
None for him can intercede;
Learn like this poor slave to bleed.

Follow to the auction block,
There this sable brother’s wife
Writhes in chains that’s firmly locked,
Now she’s sold a slave for life!
O! ye men with hearts of steel,
Learn like this poor slave to feel.

Follow on to yonder shed,
There’s a fair young female tied
To the beam that’s overhead,
While the lash is well applied,
By the minister of God!
Learn like her to bear the rod.

Listen to these doleful sounds!
Let us hasten to the spot!
'Tis the beying [sic] negro hounds!
There, their victims they have caught.
See him mangled! hear him cry!
Learn like the poor slave to die.

Appendix 7

“The Plantation Song” Anonymous (Claims Slave Chain Gang Origin), Tune Unspecified, 1844 or Earlier¹⁰³

See these poor souls from Africa,
Transported to America;
We are stolen, and sold to Georgia, will you go along with me?
We are stolen, and sold to Georgia, go sound the jubilee.

See wives and husbands sold apart,
The children’s screams! – it breaks my heart;
There’s a better day a coming – will you go along with me?
There’s a better day a coming – go sound the jubilee.

O gracious Lord! when shall it be,
That we poor souls shall all be free?
Lord, break them Slavery powers – will you go along with me?
Lord, break them Slavery powers – go sound the jubilee.

Dear Lord! dear Lord! when Slavery’ll cease,
Then we poor souls can have our peace;
There’s a better day a coming – will you go along with me?
There’s a better day a coming – go sound the jubilee.

Appendix 8

**“Mu Isamaa, mu Õnn ja Rõõm” Johann Voldemar Jannsen, Composed by Fredrik Pacius,
Anonymous Translator, 1869¹⁰⁴**

My fatherland, my pride and joy,
How beautiful you are!
I shall not ever find such
In this great broad world
That so beloved to me would be,
As you, my fatherland!

You have given birth to me
And reared me up.
I shall always thank you,
And stand by you until death,
You will be my most beloved
My dearest fatherland!

May God in heaven watch over you,
My beloved fatherland!
May He either protect you
And bountifully provide blessings
For whatever you do
My dearest fatherland!

Appendix 9

“Filipinas” José Palma, Composed by Julian Felipe, Translated by T. M. Cartledge, 1899¹⁰⁵

Beloved land,
Daughter of the eastern sun,
Your heart is beating
With ardent fire.

Land of love,
Cradle of heroism,
Invaders shall never
Trample on you.

In your blue sky and gentle breezes,
In your mountains and sea,
The epic of your beloved freedom
Shines and throbs.

Your banner, which has illuminated
Victory in battle,
Will never see its stars
Or its sun blotted out.

Land of good fortune, sun and love,
It is sweet to live in your embrace;
It is a glory for your sons
To die for you when you are wronged.

Appendix 10

“Biladi” Mohamed Younis al-Qadi and Mustafa Kamil Pasha, Composed by Sayed Darwish, Anonymous Translator, 1879¹⁰⁶

Chorus:

My homeland, my homeland, my homeland,
My love and my heart are for thee.
My homeland, my homeland, my homeland,
My love and my heart are for thee.

Egypt! O mother of all lands,
My hope and my ambition,
How can one count
The blessings of the Nile for mankind?

Chorus

Egypt! Most precious jewel,
Shining on the brow of eternity!
O my homeland, be for ever free,
Safe from every foe!

Chorus

Egypt! Noble are thy children,
Loyal, and guardians of thy soil.
In war and peace
We give our lives for thy sake.

Chorus

Appendix 11

“Aegukga” Anonymous, Tune: “Auld Lang Syne,” Anonymous Translator, 1896¹⁰⁷

East Sea’s waters and Mount Baekdu
Until they are dry and worn away
May God protect and bless us
Long live our great country

Chorus:

Rose of Sharon, three thousand ri of
Splendid mountains and rivers
Great Korean people, the Great Korean Way
Preserve it everlasting

The pine tree atop Mount Namsan
As if wrapped in armor
Unchanged through rain and frost
Just like our spirits

Chorus

The autumn sky is vast and void
And high and cloudless
The bright moon is within our hearts
Just like a leaf of red heart

Chorus

With this spirit and this heart
Devote utmost loyalty
In suffering and in joy
Love the great country

Chorus

Appendix 12

“The Battle Cry of Freedom: Rallying Song” George F. Root, 1862¹⁰⁸

Yes we'll rally round the flag, boys, we'll rally once again,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom,
We will rally from the hillside, we'll gather from the plain,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

Chorus:

The Union forever, Hurrah boys, Hurrah!
Down with the traitor, up with the star,
While we rally round the flag, boys, Rally once again,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

We are springing to the call of our Brothers gone before,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom,
And we'll fill the vacant ranks with a million freeman more,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

Chorus

We will welcome to our numbers the loyal true and brave,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom,
And altho' they may be poor not a man shall be a slave,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

Chorus

So we're springing to the call from the East and from the West,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom,
And we'll hurl the rebel crew from the land we love the best,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

Chorus

Appendix 13

“Hymn 25” Anonymous, Tune Unspecified, 1843 or Earlier¹⁰⁹

Hear us, Father, while we cry,
Pleading for an injur'd race;
Make the bolts asunder fly,
By thine own resistless grace.

Let the captives all go free,
Let the oppressor cease to reign;
And the arm of tyranny,
Never more be rais'd again.

Crush the system in the dust,
Ere another year be past,
Every chain and fetter burst,
Which have been around them cast.

Then will shrieks be turn'd to praise,
As the gory whip departs;
And the ransom'd daily raise,
Songs of joy from grateful hearts.

Appendix 14

“Song of the Abolitionist” William Lloyd Garrison, Tune: “Auld Lang Syne” (Eaklor 240-241) 1842 or Earlier¹¹⁰

I am an Abolitionist!
I glory in the name;
Though now by SLAVERY’S minions hissed,
And covered o’er with shame:
It is a spell of light and power –
The watchword of the free: –
Who spurns it in the trial-hour,
A craven soul is he!

I am an Abolitionist!
Then urge me not to pause;
For joyfully do I enlist
In FREEDOM’S sacred cause:
A nobler strife the world ne’er saw,
Th’ enslaved to disenthral;
I am a soldier for the war,
Whatever may befall!

I am an Abolitionist –
Oppression’s deadly foe;
In God’s great strength will I resist,
And lay the monster low;
In God’s great name do I demand,
To all be freedom given,
That peace and joy may fill the land,
And songs go up to heaven!

I am an Abolitionist!
No threats shall awe my soul,
No perils cause me to desist,
No bribes my acts control;
A freeman will I live and die,
In sunshine and in shade,
And raise my voice for liberty,
Of nought on earth afraid.

I am an abolitionist –
The tyrant’s bate and dread –
The friend of all who are oppressed –
A price is on my head!
My country is the wide, wide world,

My countrymen mankind: –
Down to the dust be Slavery hurled!
All servile chains unbind!

Appendix 15

“America – A Parody” “Theta,” Tune: “America” (“God Save the King”), 1839¹¹

My country! 'tis of thee,
Strong hold [sic] of Slavery –
Of thee I sing:
Land, where my fathers died;
Where men man's rights deride;
From every mountain-side,
Thy deeds shall ring.

My native country! thee –
Where all men are born free,
If white their skin:
I love thy hills and dales,
Thy mounts and pleasant vales;
But hate thy negro sales,
As foulest sin.

Let wailing swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
The black man's wrong:
Let every tongue awake,
Let bond and free partake,
Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

Our father's God! To thee –
Author of Liberty!
To thee we sing;
Soon may our land be bright, –
With holy Freedom's light –
Protect us by thy might,
Great God, our King.

Appendix 16

“Gloria al Bravo Pueblo” Vicente Salias, Composed by Juan José Landaeta, Translated by T. M. Cartledge, 1810¹¹²

Chorus:

Glory to the brave nation
Which shook off the yoke,
Respecting law, virtue and honour [sic].
Glory to the brave nation
Which shook off the yoke,
Respecting law, virtue and honour [sic].

“Off with the chains! Off with the chains!”
Cried the Lord, cried the Lord,
And the poor man in his hovel
Implored freedom.
At this holy name, there trembled
The vile selfishness that had triumphed,
The vile selfishness that had triumphed.

Chorus

Let's cry out aloud:
Down with oppression!
Faithful countrymen, your strength
Lies in your unity;
And from the heavens
The supreme Creator
Breathed a sublime spirit
Into the nation.

Chorus

United by bonds
Made by heaven,
All America exists
As a Nation;
And if tyranny
Raises its voice,
Follow the example
Given by Caracas.

Chorus

**“Himno Nacional de Chile” Eusebio Lillo Robles and Bernardo de Vera y Pintado,
Composed by Ramón Carnicer i Battle, Translated by T. M. Cartledge, 1819, 1847, and
1909¹¹³**

Chile, your sky is a pure blue,
Pure breezes blow across you,
And your field, embroidered with flowers,
Is a happy copy of Eden.
Majestic is the snow-covered mountain
That was given to you by the Lord as a bastion,
That was given to you by the Lord as a bastion,
And the sea that tranquilly washes your shore
Promises future splendour [sic] for you.
And the sea that tranquilly washes your shore
Promises future splendour [sic] for you.

Chorus:

Gentle homeland, accept the vows
Given, Chile, on your altars
That you be either the tomb of the free
Or a refuge from oppression,
That you be either the tomb of the free
Or a refuge from oppression,
That you be either the tomb of the free
Or a refuge from oppression,
Or a refuge from oppression,
Or a refuge from oppression.

Your names, gallant soldiers
Who have been Chile's support,
Will be carried engraved on our hearts;
Our sons shall know this too.
May they be the battle cry
Uttered as we march into combat,
Uttered as we march into combat,
And, resounding in the mouth of the strong,
May they ever make the tyrant tremble.
And, resounding in the mouth of the strong,
May they ever make the tyrant tremble.

Chorus

“A Nation Once Again” Thomas Davis, Anonymous Composer, 1844¹¹⁴

WHEN boyhood's fire was in my blood,
I read of ancient freemen,
For Greece and Rome who bravely stood,
THREE HUNDRED MEN and THREE MEN.
And then I prayed I yet might see
Our fetters rent in twain,
And Ireland, long a province, be
A NATION ONCE AGAIN.

And, from that time, through wildest woe,
That hope has shone, a far light;
Nor could love's brightest summer glow
Outshine that solemn starlight:
It seemed to watch above my head
In forum, field, and fane;
Its angel voice sang round my bed,
“A NATION ONCE AGAIN.”

It whispered, too, that “freedom's ark
And service high and holy,
Would be profaned by feelings dark
And passions vain or lowly:
For freedom comes from God's right hand,
And needs a godly train;
And righteous men must make our land
A NATION ONCE AGAIN.”

So, as I grew from boy to man,
I bent me to that bidding—
My spirit of each selfish plan
And cruel passion ridding;
For, thus I hoped some day to aid—
Oh! can *such* hope be vain?—
When my dear country shall be made
A NATION ONCE AGAIN.

Appendix 19

“Back! Oh Send It Back!” Anonymous, Tune: “Rest, Warrior, Rest,” 1846¹¹⁵

It comes from the ‘States,’ from the slaveholding States;
It comes through the blood and the stripes of the slaves;
For the *cause of the Church* – it was sought and obtain’d;
By servilely begging, her end she hath gain’d!
Red–red–is its hue! – there’s a terrible curse
On all who receive, as on all who disburse;
And the shrieks of the slaves ascend up on high,
And, ‘Send back the money!’ is ever their cry!
Back! oh send it back!

She may brave out opinion, and boast to the last,
No oblivion shall visit, to blot out the past!
All night-mared, she’ll dream of the stripes of the scourge,
And the chains of the slave she hath helped to forge!
Oft her vision on *Blood* and on *Murder* shall dwell,
And Remorse shall devour her, like demons from hell–
But still she will cling to the bright golden gleam–
Ah! when will she wake from so horrid a dream?
Back! oh send it back!

**“La Brabançonne” Charles Rogier, Composed by François van Campenhout, Translated
by Florence Attenborough, 1860¹¹⁶**

The years of slavery are past,
The Belgian rejoices once more;
Courage restores to him at last
The rights he held of yore!
Strong and firm his clasp will be
Keeping the ancient flag unfurl'd
To fling its message on the watchful world:
For King, for Right, and Liberty!
To fling its message on the watchful world:
For King, for Right, and Liberty!
For King, for Right, and Liberty!
For King, for Right, and Liberty!

For thee, dear country, cherished motherland,
Our songs and our valour [sic] we give,
Never from thee our hearts are banned,
For thee alone we live!
And thy years shall glorious be,
Circled in Unity's embrace,
Thy sons shall cherish thee in ev'ry place
For King, for Right, and Liberty.
Thy sons shall cherish thee in ev'ry place
For King, for Right, and Liberty.
For King, for Right, and Liberty.
For King, for Right, and Liberty.

Appendix 21

“Slavery is a Hard Foe to Battle” Judson Hutchinson, Tune: “Jordan is a Hard Road to Travel,” 1856 or Earlier¹¹⁷

I looked to the South and I looked to the West,
And I saw old Slavery a coming,
With four Northern doughfaces hitched up in front,
Driving freedom to the other side of Jordan
Then take off your coats and roll up your sleeves
Slavery is a hard foe to battle I believe.

Slavery and Freedom they both had a fight,
And the whole North came up behind 'em;
Hit Slavery a few knocks with a free ballot-box,
Sent it staggering to the other side of Jordan.
Then rouse up the North, the sword unsheath,
Slavery is a hard foe to battle I believe.

If I was the Legislature of these United States,
I'd settle this great question accordin';
I'd let every Slave go free over land, and on the sea,
And let them have a little hope this side of Jordan.
Then rouse up the free, the sword unsheath,
Freedom is the best road to travel I believe.

The South have their school where the masters learn to rule,
And they lord it o'er the free states accordin';
But sure they'd better quit e'er they raise the Yankee grit,
And we tumble 'em over 'tother side of Jordan.
Then wake up the North, the sword unsheath,
Slavery is a hard foe to battle I believe.

But the day is drawing nigh that Slavery must die,
And every one must do his part accordin';
Then let us all unite to give every man his right, (woman too!)
And we'll get our pay the other side of Jordan.
Then wake up the North, the sword unsheath,
Freedom is the best road to travel I believe.

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- ⁸ Anderson, 6-7.
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- ¹¹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 12.
- ¹² Grosby, *Nationalism*, 5.
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- ¹⁸ Newman, 5.
- ¹⁹ Newman, 5.
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- ²² Newman, 49.
- ²³ Newman, 55.
- ²⁴ Newman, 56.
- ²⁵ Newman, 3.
- ²⁶ Grosby, *Nationalism*, 80-83.
- ²⁷ Newman, *Abolitionism*, 13-16.
- ²⁸ Newman, 50-51.
- ²⁹ Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 23; 64.
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- ³¹ Vicki L. Eaklor, *American Antislavery Songs: A Collection and Analysis* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), viii.

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- ⁴² Johann Voldemar Jannsen, “Mu Isamaa, mu Õnn ja Rõõm” (1869), in *Encyclopedia of National Anthems*, 2nd ed., ed. Xing Hang (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2011), 288-290: See Appendix 8; José Palma, “Filipinas,” trans. T. M. Cartledge, in *National Anthems of the World*, 11th ed., ed. Michael J. Bristow (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2006), 440-444: See Appendix 9. Hang, *Encyclopedia of National Anthems*, 2nd ed., 643-644.
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- ⁴⁸ William Lloyd Garrison, “Song of the Abolitionist,” in *American Antislavery Songs*, ed. Eaklor, 240-241: See Appendix 14; Simpson, “A Journey Through the Wilderness,” 391-392; “Theta,” “America – A Parody,” in *American Antislavery Songs*, ed. Eaklor, 124-125: See Appendix 15.
- ⁴⁹ Jannsen, “Mu Isamaa, mu Õnn ja Rõõm,” 289; “Aeguk-ga,” 431.
- ⁵⁰ “Hawaiian Music,” 51.
- ⁵¹ Vicente Salias, “Gloria al Bravo Pueblo,” trans. T. M. Cartledge, in *National Anthems of the World*, 11th ed., ed. Bristow, 603-606: See Appendix 16.

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- ⁵² Eusebio Lillo Robles and Bernardo de Vera y Pintado, “Himno Nacional de Chile,” trans. T. M. Cartledge, in *National Anthems of the World*, 11th ed., ed. Bristow, 127-134: See Appendix 17.
- ⁵³ Thomas Davis, “A Nation Once Again,” in *Spirit of the Nation: Ballads and Songs*, ed. Writers of “The Nation” (Dublin: James Duffy, 1845), 272-275: See Appendix 18.
- ⁵⁴ “Hymn 25,” 60; “Theta,” “America – A Parody,” 124-125; “The Plantation Song,” 325-326.
- ⁵⁵ Seymour, “Who in God’s Sight is Holy,” 65.
- ⁵⁶ “Poetry,” *The Liberator*, December 11, 1846, 200: See Appendix 19.
- ⁵⁷ Simpson, “A Journey Through the Wilderness,” 392.
- ⁵⁸ Garrison, “Song of the Abolitionist,” 240; “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” 10.
- ⁵⁹ Seymour, “Who in God’s Sight is Holy,” 65.
- ⁶⁰ Dwight, “Christmas Song,” 206-208.
- ⁶¹ “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” 10.
- ⁶² Seymour, “Who in God’s Sight is Holy,” 65.
- ⁶³ Al-Qadi & Pasha, “Biladi,” 188; Palma, “Filipinas,” 444.
- ⁶⁴ Charles Rogier, “La Brabançonne,” trans. Florence Attenborough, in *The National Anthems of the Allies* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1917), 8-9: See Appendix 20.
- ⁶⁵ Palma, “Filipinas,” 444.
- ⁶⁶ Jannsen, “Mu Isamaa, mu Õnn ja Rõõm,” 289; “Aeguk-ga,” 431.
- ⁶⁷ Judson Hutchinson, “Slavery Is a Hard Foe to Battle,” in *American Antislavery Songs*, ed. Eaklor, 470-471: See Appendix 21.
- ⁶⁸ “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” 10; Root, “The Battle Cry of Freedom,” 1-5.
- ⁶⁹ Hutchinson, “Slavery Is a Hard Foe to Battle,” 471; “The Plantation Song,” 325; “Hymn 25,” 60; Garrison, “Song of the Abolitionist,” 240.
- ⁷⁰ “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” 10.
- ⁷¹ Davis, “A Nation Once Again,” 274; Rogier, “La Brabançonne,” 8; Salias, “Gloria al Bravo Pueblo,” 606; Lillo Robles and de Vera y Pintado, “Himno Nacional de Chile,” 134; Palma, “Filipinas,” 444.
- ⁷² Salias, “Gloria al Bravo Pueblo,” 606.
- ⁷³ Rogier, “La Brabançonne,” 8.
- ⁷⁴ Hutchinson, “Slavery is a Hard Foe to Battle,” 470; Dwight, “Christmas Song,” 206-207; “Poetry,” *The Liberator*, 200; “Hymn 25,” 60; Seymour, “Who in God’s Sight is Holy,” 65; Chandler, “The American Female Slave,” 111; “Theta,” “America – A Parody,” 124-125; Garrison, “Song of the Abolitionist,” 240; “The Plantation Song,” 325-326; Simpson, “A Journey Through the Wilderness,” 392; “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” 10; Root, “The Battle Cry of Freedom,” 1-5.
- ⁷⁵ “Poetry,” *The Liberator*, 200; “Hymn 25,” 60; Seymour, “Who in God’s Sight is Holy,” 65; Chandler, “The American Female Slave,” 111; Simpson, “A Journey Through the Wilderness,” 392.
- ⁷⁶ “Theta,” “America – A Parody,” 125.
- ⁷⁷ Chandler, “The American Female Slave,” 111.
- ⁷⁸ “The Plantation Song,” 325-326; Simpson, “A Journey Through the Wilderness,” 392.
- ⁷⁹ Davis, “A Nation Once Again,” 274; Al-Qadi & Pasha, “Biladi,” 188; Lillo Robles and de Vera y Pintado, “Himno Nacional de Chile,” 134.
- ⁸⁰ “Aeguk-ga,” 431; Al-Qadi & Pasha, “Biladi,” 188.

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- ⁸¹ Al-Qadi & Pasha, “Biladi,” 188; “Aeguk-ga,” 431; “Hawaiian Music,” 51; Jannsen, “Mu Isamaa, mu Ōnn ja Rōōm,” 289; Palma, “Filipinas,” 444.
- ⁸² “Aeguk-ga,” 431; Lillo Robles and de Vera y Pintado, “Himno Nacional de Chile,” 134.
- ⁸³ Salias, “Gloria al Bravo Pueblo,” 606.
- ⁸⁴ Dwight, “Christmas Song,” 206-207; Chandler, “The American Female Slave,” 111.
- ⁸⁵ Simpson, “A Journey Through the Wilderness,” 392.
- ⁸⁶ Garrison, “Song of the Abolitionist,” 240.
- ⁸⁷ Seymour, “Who in God’s Sight is Holy,” 65; Simpson, “A Journey Through the Wilderness,” 392; Hutchinson, “Slavery Is a Hard Foe to Battle,” 471-472; “Poetry,” *The Liberator*, 200; “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” 10; Root, “The Battle Cry of Freedom,” 1-5.
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- ⁸⁹ Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London: G. Bell, 1931; Reprint, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1965), v. Citation refer to W. W. Norton edition.
- ⁹⁰ David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 153.
- ⁹¹ Davis, “A Nation Once Again,” 274.
- ⁹² Rogier, “La Brabançonne,” 8.
- ⁹³ Rogier, “La Brabançonne,” 9; Lillo Robles and de Vera y Pintado, “Himno Nacional de Chile,” 134; Al-Qadi & Pasha, “Biladi,” 188.
- ⁹⁴ Hutchinson, “Slavery Is a Hard Foe to Battle,” 471; Dwight, “Christmas Song,” 207.
- ⁹⁵ Seymour, “Who in God’s Sight is Holy,” 65; “Theta,” “America – A Parody,” 124-125.
- ⁹⁶ Hutchinson, “Slavery Is a Hard Foe to Battle,” 471.
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- ¹⁰¹ Elizabeth M. Chandler, “The American Female Slave,” in *American Antislavery Songs: A Collection and Analysis*, ed. Vicki L. Eaklor (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 110-112.
- ¹⁰² Joshua Simpson, “A Journey Through the Wilderness,” in *American Antislavery Songs: A Collection and Analysis*, ed. Vicki L. Eaklor (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 391-392.
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