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NO. 2709

THE BANDS OF THE CONFEDERACY: AN EXAMINATION  
OF THE MUSICAL AND MILITARY CONTRIBUTIONS  
OF THE BANDS AND MUSICIANS OF THE  
CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the  
North Texas State University in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by

Benny Pryor Ferguson III, B.A., M.M.

Denton, Texas

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Ferguson, Benny P., The Bands of the Confederacy: An Examination of the Musical and Military Contributions of the Bands and Musicians of the Confederate States of America. Doctor of Philosophy (Music Education), August, 1987, 513 pp., 22 illustrations, bibliography, 248 titles.

The purpose of the study was to investigate the bands of the armies of the Confederate States of America. Confederate ensembles and musicians have received little attention due to difficulties involved in locating reference materials. Some scholars erroneously concluded that this indicated a lack of available primary source materials and that few Confederate bands served the duration of the war. The study features appendices of libraries and archives collections visited in ten states and Washington, D.C., and covers all known Confederate bands. There were approximately 155 bands and 2400 bandsmen in the service of the Confederate armies. Forty bands surrendered at Appomattox and many others not listed on final muster rolls were found to have served through the war.

References were discovered concerning a number of ensembles which heretofore received little attention. They include the bands of the Thirty-third North Carolina, the Thirteenth Tennessee, the Nineteenth Louisiana and the Fourth North Carolina Regiments. Some of the previously

unpublished materials used in the study are the letters of Twenty-sixth North Carolina bandsman Edward Peterson from the Moravian Music Foundation and reminiscences of Confederate bandmasters found in the state archives collections of Alabama, North Carolina, Tennessee and Louisiana.

Bandsmen performed for regular military functions, provided entertainment and raised morale. During combat they rarely fought as riflemen, but served as hospital corpsmen and surgeon's assistants.

Special treatment was received from commanders for whom performances were often presented. Bandsmen also entertained at civilian dances and serenades of young ladies for their officers.

While most Confederate musicians and bandsmen were white, many black musicians were regularly enlisted soldiers who provided the same services. A chapter is devoted to the contributions of black Confederate musicians.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE

Having been completely enveloped in the emotional calls to arms by Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, thousands of young men enlisted in either Union or Confederate military units following the capture of Fort Sumter by Southern forces in 1861.<sup>1</sup> Politicians on both sides fanned the emotional fires in the minds of their constituents by claiming swift retribution for the alleged wrongs perpetrated upon innocent citizens. At these gatherings, brass bands played patriotic airs and popular regional tunes to further incite the crowds into screaming mobs.<sup>2</sup>

After Lincoln's call to arms in April of 1861, so many bands were added to the Union armies through mobilization of militia units and enlistment of local volunteer units, that it was not unusual for a Union brigade consisting of ten regiments to include more

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<sup>1</sup>In March of 1861, Jefferson Davis issued a call for 100,000 Southern volunteers to form a provisional army if needed. Abraham Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 troops on April 15, 1861. For a condensed but very informative narrative about the rush to enlist in both armies in 1861, see William C. Davis, editor, The Civil War : First Blood (Morristown, New Jersey, 1984), pp. 10-43.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

than eleven bands. There was often one brigade band, one regimental band for each of the ten regiments of the brigade and sometimes several bands attached to individual companies of regiments.<sup>3</sup>

The large number of military bands which served during the American Civil War were an indication of the appeal of brass bands in American social life in the late 1800's. The popularity of bands in early America from the mid-nineteenth century to the zenith of the wind band in the early twentieth century has been clearly recorded by a number of historical studies such as the works of Jon Newsom, Richard Franko Goldman, H. Wiley

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<sup>3</sup>The studies of Kenneth E. Olson, "Yankee Bands of the Civil War," unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Music, The University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1971, and William A. Bufkin, "Union Bands of the Civil War," unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Music, Louisiana State University, 1973, describe the abundance of bands in the Union forces early in the Civil War. Both studies cite a Federal order issued on July 17, 1862 which was supposed to have eliminated all Union army regimental bands while leaving brigade bands intact. Bufkin reports that many of the regimental bands remained in the army although Union officers often resorted to devious methods of record keeping to continue their bands. One common method used by some officers was to list all bandsmen as riflemen by assigning the musicians to rifle companies. Even though there was no longer an official listing of a regimental band unit for that particular company, the bandsmen continued to operate as they did before the order to eliminate the regimental bands was issued. Also see Francis Alfred Lord, and Arthur Wise, Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War (New York, 1966) pp. 15-49, for a very informative discussion of the American military and civilian bands from 1775 to 1860 and the Union regimental band period. The work includes drawings and photographs of bands and bandsmen featuring uniforms and band instruments.

Hitchcock and others.<sup>4</sup> Hitchcock states that "the American band developed out of the pre-Revolution British Army Regimental bands," and that the wind band from 1820 to 1920 was "the vernacular tradition's equivalent to the symphony orchestra."<sup>5</sup> Bands were so popular in the late 1850's and 60's that almost every town in the Eastern United States boasted of at least one brass band while there were often several popular bands in the larger cities. Could this activity have been limited solely to the Northeastern towns and cities?

Bands performed both civilian and military functions in many towns and cities. The development of civilian bands in America was strongly influenced by the military. Although most bands did not permanently become military organizations

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<sup>4</sup>Some of the many works examining the development of the American wind band are: Jon Newsome, "The American Brass Band Movement," Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress, XXXVI (Spring, 1979), 115-139; Clyde E. Noble, The Psychology of Cornet and Trumpet Playing (Missoula, Montana, 1964), pp. 13-30; Richard Franko Goldman, The Concert Band (New York, 1946), pp. 3-61; Richard Franko Goldman, The Wind Band (New York, 1962), pp. 4-75; N. H. Quayle, "Sixty Years Since Gilmore," The Etude, LXX (December, 1955), 63; N. H. Quayle, "Stars and Stripes Forever: Memories of Sousa and His Men," The Instrumentalist, XIX (April, 1955), 9-17; J. P. Sousa, Marching Along (Boston, 1928).

Nineteenth century publications for early bandmen written by leaders in the American band movement include Dwight's Journal of Music, and Allen Dodsworth's band magazines, The Brass Band School.

<sup>5</sup>H. Wiley Hitchcock, Music in the United States (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1974), p. 116.

before the start of the Civil War, the practice of military units hiring civilian bands to perform at military functions was common. Dwight's Journal of Music reported in 1856 that the proper place of the brass band was to perform martial music in the streets and that it was "military employment which creates and supports all our bands."<sup>6</sup> Was the military nature of these brass bands limited to the Northern region of the United States?

Local militia units often included bands to add pomp and excitement to the dress parades and drills that were very popular in both the northern and southern regions of the United States. Two such units cited by Hitchcock as being exclusively composed of members of the local militia were the Massachusetts Band organized in 1783, and the United States Marine Band organized in 1798.<sup>7</sup> The Marine Band and the United States Military Academy Band (founded in 1816) have records of continuous military service.<sup>8</sup> There were many popular militia units in the South. Were there no bands involved with the Southern units?

The armies of the new Confederate government were organized by professional soldiers who were members of

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<sup>6</sup>John Sullivan Dwight, Dwight's Journal of Music (June 21, 1856), pp. 93-94.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Richard Franko Goldman, The Concert Band (New York, 1940), p. 54.

the United States military only days before; predictably, they used the same organizational structure as the Union forces.<sup>9</sup> Military bands which were included as a part of that structure have received little serious attention from scholars. Does this lack of knowledge imply that there were few military bands in the Confederate military or that there were reasons why the Confederates could not organize bands like their Union counterparts?

The military bands of the Union Armies during the American Civil War have been thoroughly examined in a number of studies. "Yankee Bands of the Civil War," written by Kenneth E. Olson in 1971, was one of the first to examine the large number of brass bands that existed at the start of the Civil War. The Olson study presents the influence of Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth and the popularity of the pseudo-military national guard and militia movement as a major force in increasing the number of these bands. Since many local militia units with military bands were among the first to respond to Abraham Lincoln's call for troops, the number of instrumental ensembles in the Federal military was greatly increased.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Douglas Southall Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants Vol. I, (New York, 1944), pp. xxii-xxiii.

<sup>10</sup>Kenneth E. Olson, "Yankee Bands of the Civil War," unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Music, The University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1971.

The "picture book" image of war that was prevalent in the minds of most Americans is presented by Olson as a major influence that contributed to the large numbers of military bands that resulted from the pageantry and spectacle of the militia activities. This "picture book" concept was one of dress parades, fancy uniforms, patriotic emotion and excitement, all exaggerated by the presence of brass bands playing the strains of military music. Compounded by the influence of European Romanticism, which was still very strong in all states, the idealistic "picture book" emotionalism had not yet been tempered by the harsh realities of war.

Although primarily concerned with Union bands, the Olson study contains a short section about Confederate bands. Olson has written several articles on Confederate music and musicians. In a letter to this writer, Olson stated that "much research remains to be done in this area and, as you have no doubt discovered, material is slow in coming."<sup>11</sup> He also offered his help in this research effort and has provided information that has been helpful in the discovery of primary materials.<sup>12</sup>

"Union Bands of the Civil War," by William Bufkin, includes most of the information found in Olson's work

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<sup>11</sup>Letter from Kenneth E. Olson, author of "Yankee Bands of the Civil War," to Benny Ferguson, February 3, 1986.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

and continues to add much new information about Union bands and bandsmen. Bufkin cites many diaries and regimental histories not mentioned by Olson. He corrects some misconceptions found in the earlier work by revealing the existence of Union regimental bands found in the service of the Federal armies after a money-saving order was issued by the government to muster these ensembles out of the service. The order was supposed to have retained only the larger brigade bands.

The study discusses the regimental band period and the "picture book" concept presented by Olson. Anecdotes recorded by many soldiers about bands and bandsmen are included by Bufkin, as well as information dealing with the organization of the bands and the duties of the bandsmen both in the camp and on the battlefield.

The study presents a section dealing with the instrumental problems relating to the Civil War military band and studies the instruments used in general by Union bands. There is a discussion of the instrumentation of the bands, and a study of "documented instruments" that are known to have belonged to specific individuals who played them in the bands during the war.

Bufkin discusses the music of the Union bands and includes a chapter on the analysis of the few scores known to exist from the Union band books. The Port Royal band books of the Union band stationed at Port Royal,

South Carolina, are used for this purpose, along with the Spaulding band books and Peter's Saxhorn Journal.

Bufkin asserted that while the importance of bands in the conflict has been documented, not a single monument on any battlefield is dedicated to a band or bandsman. Whether the band was a previously organized town or militia ensemble, no instruments were purchased by the Federal Government. He concluded that although there were numerous medical and mechanical advances as a result of the Civil War, there were no unique advances in music or musical instruments. Perhaps the most noteworthy statement of the Bufkin study to musicians is the conclusion that although there were some notable exceptions, the bands of the Civil War were not very good musical organizations when compared to the bands of today.<sup>13</sup>

Even though his study contains an investigation of several Confederate bands (including one Union band from Louisiana that had been a Confederate band only a few weeks before at the Battle of Shiloh),<sup>14</sup> Bufkin is among those who believe that a study of the Confederate bands should be discouraged. In a letter to this writer, Bufkin

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<sup>13</sup> William A. Bufkin, "Union Bands of the Civil War: Instrumentation and Score Analysis," unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Music, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1973.

<sup>14</sup>Letter from William A. Bufkin, author of "Union Bands of the Civil War: Instrumentation and Score Analysis," to Benny Ferguson dated October 11, 1978.

stated that the study would be difficult because of problems involved with gathering information, and that anything found about Confederate bands would not be unique or appreciably different from his findings about Union bands.<sup>15</sup>

James Ferguson, who studied "The Music History of Vicksburg, Mississippi," stated in a letter to this writer:

In the process of gathering information on 19th century music in Vicksburg, I didn't discover a great deal about Confederate bands. Apparently there was some Confederate band activity there during the war years but the information is difficult to locate. It could be that if I had been looking for such information, I might well have found it.<sup>16</sup>

In his study Ferguson mentioned Confederate bands stationed at Vicksburg before the siege. "Professor Hoppe, a Vicksburg music teacher, was leader of Colonel Withers' Light Artillery Band and later Malty's Brigade Band."<sup>17</sup>

Harry Hall has made the most extensive contribution to the study of the Confederate bands and musicians. The study was originally published by the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission and is one of the few

<sup>15</sup>Letter from William A. Bufkin, author of "Union Bands of the Civil War: Instrumentation and Score Analysis," to Benny Ferguson dated October 11, 1978.

<sup>16</sup>Letter from James S. Ferguson, author of "The Music History of Vicksburg, Mississippi," to Benny Ferguson dated October 18, 1978.

<sup>17</sup>James S. Ferguson, "The Music History of Vicksburg, Mississippi," unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Music, the University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, 1974.

works based entirely on the activities of one Civil War era band. The work is based primarily on newspaper accounts of recollections of bandsman Julius Leinbach from his wartime diary. Hall described the activities of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment Band, which was composed of members of the Salem, North Carolina Brass Band. According to statements recorded by both Union and Confederate musicians and soldiers during the war and reminiscences written in later years, this band of Moravian musicians was reputed to have been one of the best bands from either the Union or Confederate armies.<sup>18</sup> Not only have the events of the lives of the Moravian musicians been recorded, but there are many entries mentioning other Confederate bands, musicians, arrangers and composers. Hall's lengthy footnotes contain many references which suggest excellent starting points for further research. One such footnote mentioned the letters of bandsman Edward Peterson discovered by Hall after his study was completed. These letters have been examined by this researcher and included in this study.<sup>19</sup>

The band books of the Twenty-sixth Band are the only known set of Confederate band books remaining and

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<sup>18</sup>See Chapter VII, The Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band.

<sup>19</sup>The letters of Edward Peterson located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

one of only a few complete sets of Civil War band music known to exist. Housed in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, this band music and other items of interest relating to Moravian musicians are available for study.<sup>20</sup>

This researcher was unable to find any of the materials that Hall used as primary sources for his book. The newspaper articles used by Hall were provided to him by the daughter of diarist Julius Leinbach. Since the death of Miss Leinbach, these articles apparently have been lost. All newspapers in the local library microfilm collections were searched. With the help of the reference library staff of the Winston-Salem Journal, a search was conducted through the vast reference holdings of the Journal for all the Winston-Salem area newspapers dating from 1860 through 1906. Neither the series of reminiscences of Julius Leinbach entitled "Extracts from a Civil War Dairy," nor any other newspaper articles authored by the former Confederate band members were found.

Based on an extensive search for these materials by this writer, by the research staff of the Winston-Salem

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<sup>20</sup>The Band Books of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Journal and from answers to mailed inquiries, these materials are not available for examination, and in all probability no longer exist. Although microfilms of several newspapers from the Civil War period in the archives of the North Carolina room of the Winston-Salem Public Library were found to contain references to the Twenty-sixth North Carolina and other area Confederate bands, none of the articles mentioned by Hall as his main primary source were located.

The sources that were examined by this researcher, although different from those used by Hall, tend to corroborate Hall's work. These sources, particularly the Peterson letters, allow the accomplishments of this famous ensemble to be studied from a different perspective.

While working for the National Park Service at Harpers Ferry Center, Beverly Weaver wrote "Musical Greys: A Study of Confederate Bands and Field Musicians" for the Division of Conservation, National Park Service. While the sixty-five-page study contains some Confederate band information, it is based as much, if not more, on details about Union bands and bandsmen as Confederate musicians. In the preface to her study, Weaver states: "The quantity of source material on the subject of Confederate bands is scant. Because of this dearth of definitive

sources, the paper frequently cites the experiences of the Federal bands and bandsmen."<sup>21</sup>

The paper includes short chapters on music in the military, band organization, uniforms, and instrumentation, and discusses some of the more popular music played by the bands. An attempt is made through anecdotes of soldiers to describe the life of the common soldier. The purpose of the paper was to provide some general information about bands and musicians of the War Between the States as a prelude to a display of Civil War era instruments and accoutrements at Gettysburg National Military Park.<sup>22</sup>

During a telephone conversation with this writer, Weaver confirmed that she conducted much of her research by mail and was unable to visit distant archives collections. Since she did not have adequate time for finding the primary sources that are available, she based her findings mostly on secondary sources.<sup>23</sup>

As Weaver reports, Union and Confederate bandsmen did share many commonalities. The uniqueness of the Confederate musicians, however, cannot be properly

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<sup>21</sup>Beverly Weaver, "Musical Greys: A study of Confederate Bands and Field Musicians," Division of Conservation, National Park Service, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 1984, pp. ii-iii.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Telephone conversation with Beverly Weaver, April 15, 1986.

ascertained through sources that cite the experiences of the Federal bands and bandsmen. Unless used for purposes of comparison, few of Weaver's entries reveal much about the Southern musicians. In order to provide a clear insight into the varied lives of the Civil War era musicians, the experiences of both Union and Confederate musicians must be analyzed. Although Weaver's study adequately serves its purpose as a National Park Service informative booklet, it falls short of the detail and depth needed for a serious and comprehensive academic study.

One of the first publications dealing with Civil War era musicians and ensembles is Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War, by Francis A. Lord and Arthur Wise.<sup>24</sup> Using many photographs and drawings, the book includes a great deal of information about the musicians of the Union forces, but features relatively little information about Confederates. Lord and Wise state that there is little information available about the Confederate musicians. Moreover, the work attempts to perpetuate the misconception that because of shortages of trained musicians and band instruments and a lack of manpower for fighting, relatively few Confederate bands were maintained in front line units. Lord and Wise seem to assume that because references to the Rebel musicians

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<sup>24</sup>Francis Alfred Lord and Arthur Wise, Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War (New York, 1966), p. 56.

are not as quickly located as are references to Union bands, there were few Confederate bands.

Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War contains much useful information about Union bands and musicians as well as many informative pictures and photographs. There are sections dealing with the function of field music and field musicians, the instruments of the period, and general descriptions of the lives of the musicians involved in the American Civil War.

The fact that Lord and Wise concede at the beginning of their section on Confederate bands that there are few references to these groups indicates an unfortunate lack of diligence in research. In addition, they erroneously state that the Confederates failed to maintain bands at the front lines through the entire War Between the States.<sup>25</sup>

By using The Confederate Veteran Magazine as their major source of information on Confederate musicians, the authors have greatly limited the possibility of finding much of the information that exists about the Southern bandsmen. Since there are relatively few entries written by bandsmen in the magazines, the authors work with the misconception that there was little information on the topic recorded in any source.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Francis Alfred Lord, and Arthur Wise, Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War (New York, 1966), pp. 56-57.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., pp. 56-81.

Marshall M. Brice wrote The Stonewall Brigade Band in 1967. Brice, born in Staunton, Virginia, was a professor at Mary Baldwin College in Staunton. Like many natives of the community, Brice was entertained by the Stonewall Brigade Band all of his life. He stated in the book that his earliest memories of the band date from 1920, and he narrated the story of the band from its beginning in 1855 through 1967.<sup>27</sup>

Frank B. Holt, mentioned in Brice's preface for his help in gathering information for the publication, has been a member of the Stonewall Brigade Band since 1919 and is the oldest living member of the band at this writing. Holt has served for many years as historian for the band, collecting and preserving many manuscripts, newspaper clippings, articles and photographs of the Stonewall Brigade Band from its earliest days. It has been suggested that Holt played a greater role in the writing of Brice's book than the credit in the preface indicates.<sup>28</sup>

Since Brice's death, much of the reference material cited in the book has apparently been lost. A number of original documents mentioned by Brice could not be found. Although several area newspapers from the 1860's

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<sup>27</sup>Marshall M. Brice, The Stonewall Brigade Band (Verona, Virginia, 1967), pp. vii-viii.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

are preserved on microfilm and confirm many of the references included in Brice's book, one of the Staunton newspapers that was cited extensively by the author could not be found in the Staunton Public Library or the Virginia State Library and Archives in Richmond.<sup>29</sup>

Holt has printed a small booklet about the history of the band which includes much of the information used originally in Brice's book and also contains some new material.<sup>30</sup> The booklet was written by Holt to send to those who ask for information about the band's history, since the book by Brice has been out of print on occasion and at other times had been difficult to locate.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>The fact that particular reels of newspaper microfilm seem to have disappeared without a trace is not an uncommon occurrence in many of the numerous libraries and archives collections visited during the course of this study. Some libraries have very little protection against theft, while some are not sure what holdings they have and can't be sure when an item is stolen. Since theft is not the only possible reason that these microfilms cannot be found, one could assume that the author could be mistaken about the location of the reference material used in his book.

<sup>30</sup>Frank Holt maintains a vast collection of original documents, newspaper articles, and photographs of the Stonewall Brigade Band at his home in Staunton. He may be the only person who knows exactly what sources exist and where this material is located. Holt allowed this researcher to comb through many boxes and old trunks full of band memorabilia in the Stonewall Brigade Band Hall. The sources for this study were compiled from information found in these boxes, framed materials and photographs on the walls of the hall, and materials from Holt's collection.

<sup>31</sup>Frank B. Holt, The Stonewall Brigade Band (Staunton, Virginia, 1983).

The Confederate musician provided service to the Southern armies that was vital for communication, building and maintaining morale, and entertainment of troops just as did the musicians and bandsmen of the Union armies.<sup>32</sup> To indicate that the Confederate musicians comprised a smaller percentage of the total military force, served less honorably, or were inferior in musical ability when compared to their Union counterparts cannot be justified without a serious and comprehensive scholarly effort to locate the sources which are available. The fact that information about these units is more difficult to locate than the many references to Union bands and musicians is not evidence to indicate that these materials do not exist.

The studies that have been written draw conclusions based on references to only a few Confederate musical organizations and are often drawn from only one or two sources. In order to present evidence that will provide a more accurate description of the life and service of Confederate bandsmen and field musicians, this effort to produce a comprehensive study of the instrumental ensembles of the Southern armies and the men who served in these units has been attempted.

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<sup>32</sup>See Chapter IV, Duties.

### Statement of Purpose

The purpose of the study is to investigate the bands of the armies of the Confederate States of America. The following research questions guided the investigation:

1. How many Confederate bands were there?
2. Were the bandsmen enlisted as part of a previously established musical ensemble, or did they enlist as individuals?
3. Were the bands enlisted because of the initiative of the bandsmen or were the enlistments initiated by Confederate military officers?
4. What was the military organization of the bands?
5. What were the routine military and musical duties of the bands?
6. What was the typical size and instrumentation of the bands?
7. What were the functions of bands during times of combat?
8. How did the bands get their musical arrangements and compositions?
9. What kind of music did the Confederate bands perform?
10. What non-military functions did the bands perform?
11. How did the bands affect or influence the average soldier?

12. What was the influence of the bands on the military commanders?

13. What was the musical influence of the bands on the civilian population?

14. What was the quality of musical service provided by the bands?

15. Was there continuity in the bands from pre-war to post-war?

16. Did the bands remain in the Confederate service for the duration of the war?

17. What was the contribution of Black soldiers to the musical organizations of the Confederate armies?

18. What were the special musical achievements of individual band musicians?

19. How did Confederate bands and bandsmen compare to Union bands and bandsmen?

20. Is there evidence to indicate that the military bands or bandsmen contributed to the growth of interest in continuing bands and band music in their communities after the war?

#### Delimitations

1. The study will deal only with ensembles and musicians who served the Confederate States of America through enlistment or contract at any time from December 20, 1860 through the last surrender of Confederate troops in 1865.

2. Only land-based units will be studied. No shipboard units will be included.

3. Union army bands and bandsmen who served only Federal units will be excluded other than for purposes of comparison.

4. Vocal music not associated with band music of the period will be not be discussed.

### Methodology

A major difficulty involved in conducting a study of the bands of the Confederacy is locating reference materials and verifying their authenticity. Many libraries and archives collections have been visited to search for information on this subject. Since a large-scale study on this subject has not previously been attempted, archivists and librarians are often unaware of the materials in their holdings about Confederate bands and musicians.<sup>33</sup>

Collections that are known to have large amounts of materials about the Confederacy and Confederate soldiers were visited and many hours were spent examining Confederate documents for references to music, musicians and bands. State archives and private collections in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia have been searched

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<sup>33</sup>Appendix A lists the libraries and archives collections visited for the purpose of this study. The bibliography lists the specific collections examined.

for this information. College and university libraries and special collections have also been examined during research trips.<sup>34</sup>

Service records and rosters of Confederate soldiers are available in the archives of each Southern state and in the National Archives in Washington, D. C. Some states have compiled these records into multi-volumed sets which provide enlistment dates, unit information, health record if injured or wounded in service, discharge date or date of death, and often other vital statistics. The states of Georgia and North Carolina have published multi-volumed rosters, while Tennessee has several volumes of questionnaires answered by Confederate veterans. Other states have microfilm records. The use of these rosters and service records is one of the quickest ways to determine the existence and size of Confederate bands, but it unfortunately provides little additional information.

Muster rolls are a source which can be particularly valuable when no set of rosters are available. These rolls often provide information about payrolls, the health of the soldiers whose names appear, and battles or skirmishes in which the soldiers participated.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>See the bibliography for the location of those collections whose holdings include muster rolls.

Although few pictures of Confederate bands are known to exist, pictures can be located which provide verification of personnel, instrumentation, horn design, and uniforms. There are numerous pictures of individual bandsmen with horns plainly featured to help with this documentation.<sup>36</sup> This researcher has found a number of pictures of Confederate musical ensembles and individual musicians. Several of these photos have not been previously published.

The celebration of the Civil War centennial initiated popular interest in the battles of the conflict through reenactments of battles and the publication of many articles and books. There are a number of present-day reenactment groups of Civil War era band units whose purpose is to preserve the music and performance practices of both Union and Confederate bands. Clyde E. Noble and Robert Downing are leaders of reenactment bands and own large collections of restored Civil War period instruments. Both men have extensive knowledge of the instruments and music of the era and have provided information which has led to the discovery of primary materials.

Diaries and letters of soldiers and bandsmen are among the best sources of information of the bands of the period.

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<sup>36</sup>Pictures of the Stonewall Brigade Band and the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band feature bandsmen with their instruments. A number of pictures of individual bandsmen have been located in a number of collections, including the Stonewall Brigade Band collection of Frank Holt, the Moravian Archives, the Lee Joiner collection, the Mark Elrod collections, and others. For information see bibliography.

Many of these diaries have been transcribed and edited for easier study and are easy to locate. The best known are: the diaries of Mary Boykin Chestnut, the wife of a member of Jefferson Davis' Cabinet; Kate Cumming, a Confederate nurse; and military men such as General Josiah Gorgas.<sup>37</sup> These daily journals are sources of information about the times and the lives of the people involved in the conflict that cannot be obtained from historical narratives.

Many of the diaries and letters used in this study are not transcribed but are preserved in original form or microfilmed in archives collections. There are several known diaries of bandsmen, but these are rare. More often diaries of common soldiers mention bands in general at times, and sometimes will identify their own regimental or brigade band. The journals of civilians who mention bands in parades and on the march through their towns are also useful.

During the course of research for this study, several unpublished diaries in original form have been located. One has been photocopied by this writer for transcription at a later date. This journal by John Hardman or Hardeman, a hospital steward in Cobb's Legion, contains several

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<sup>37</sup>Mary Lockett Avary and Isabella D. Martin, eds., A Diary From Dixie, The Diary of Mary Boykin Chestnut (Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1961); Richard B. Harwell, ed., Kate: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse (Baton Rouge, 1959); Frank E. Vandiver, The Civil War Diary of General Josiah Gorgas (University, Alabama, 1947).

references to bands and many interesting accounts of the life of the Confederate enlisted man.<sup>38</sup>

Since many of these invaluable documents remain unpublished and in private hands, collectors of Civil War letters, diaries and photographs can provide rich sources of information. Copies of several rare photographs of Confederate musicians, letters confirming the existence of a Confederate band of black musicians, and assorted bits and pieces of information which help confirm the existence of several ensembles, have been located in private collections. Most of this information has not received attention in other studies and publications.

Regimental histories provide much useful information about the band attached to these units. Many of these histories contain rosters of all members of the companies of the regiment, including the band. The recollections of soldiers about the activities of their units in major battles, as well as emotional and humorous accounts, are often included. Since a good band was the pride of many regiments and brigades, there are often references to the

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<sup>38</sup>The journal of John Hardman, (sometimes spelled Hardeman by the diarist and in official records), was found in the private collection of the Sidney Lanier Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy located in the Cannonball House Museum in Macon, Georgia. The small diary was found by this researcher wrapped in a plastic bag lying under several Confederate officer's coats inside an old trunk. After photocopying this document, it was replaced in the trunk just as it was found.

band.<sup>39</sup> Some of these histories say little about the musicians except to acknowledge the existence of a band. Others include rather lengthy narratives of a band's performance, or of a particular event involving a band.

Newspapers from the war years are excellent sources of information. They often contain editorials about the accomplishments of bands, advertisements for concerts, sheet music, musical instruments, and music lessons.<sup>40</sup>

The advertisements often refer to a particular military band or to a musician who was a member of the band. Some of the ads were seeking bands for military units of musicians to fill slots in particular units.<sup>41</sup> Letters from soldiers at the front, often published in these newspapers, mention the activities of the regimental

<sup>39</sup>See bibliography for military unit histories.

<sup>40</sup>Most of the newspapers examined for this study have been preserved on microfilm in local and regional libraries. The best examples of these newspapers are: The Macon Confederate and The Macon Telegraph located in the genealogy and history room of the Washington Library in Macon, Georgia; The People's Press located in the North Carolina room of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina Library; The Sumter Weekly Republican and The Sumter Tri-Weekly Republican located in the Blackshear Regional Public Library in Americus, Georgia; and The Savannah Daily News, Daily Union, Evening Press, and Republican, located in the Savannah Library in Savannah, Georgia. For other newspapers examined, see the bibliography for newspapers.

<sup>41</sup>An example of this type of advertisement is found in The Savannah Morning News for February 10, 1863. An advertisement placed by Colonel Colquitt of the Forty-sixth Georgia Volunteer Regiment seeks a "Band of Music."

band, particularly if the band was formerly the town brass band.<sup>42</sup>

The Civil War newspapers of several cities known to have produced bands which entered the Confederate service were studied in this preliminary effort. Since some are indexed, finding references to bands in these newspapers is initially very easy. It has been found that although the indexes are very helpful at the start, much information about the bands was often published in the newspaper but not included in the index.<sup>43</sup>

Most of the newspapers which were found to be useful in this study were not indexed. In order to be able to search through this vast amount of printed material, a rapid scanning technique was used to search through hundreds of pages of newspapers from 1860 through 1866 to find the word band. While this technique may miss an occasional reference, it has proven very helpful in finding information.

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<sup>42</sup>The Sumter Republican includes an example of a letter from the front written to the newspaper by a member of the local militia unit which had been mustered into the Provisional Army of the Confederate States. The writer mentions that the local brass band, which became part of the Confederate military, "shows off to quite an advantage."

<sup>43</sup>Most of the Savannah newspapers were indexed by the Civilian Conservation Corps. Although the indexes helped to find several references to Confederate bands, a number of references to Southern bands were found by carefully searching through all extant issues of Savannah Civil War newspapers that were not included in the index.

Searching through the newspapers is often very profitable in terms of information found, but is very time-consuming.

Letters were written to editors of newspapers in cities where Confederate bands were known to have originated, to seek information. The letters contained a short narrative about the band or musician in question and a plea for help in locating descendants of these men, diaries, letters, and any other information. The few answers to these letters which were received contained little useful information in locating unpublished manuscripts.

Letters to Daughters of the Confederacy Chapters and to Sons of Confederate Veterans Chapters were written asking for help in locating references to Confederate bands. Little information of significance was gathered from this source other than an occasional letter mentioning a relative who was a Confederate musician.

Advertisements requesting information on Confederate bands were placed in The New Confederate Veteran in two issues. This magazine has a wide circulation and reaches a large number of people who might not otherwise have known of this research effort.

Sheet music collections were studied which contain useful information about Civil War bands. There were many copies of patriotic sheet music published in all states during the Civil War. The popular songs performed on piano and sung in the parlor often became the popular songs of the

soldiers in the field or on the march. Such prolific publishers as Blackmar of New Orleans, Schreiner of Macon, Ga., Burke of Macon, Ga., and Seigling of Charleston, produced thousands of copies of "Dixie Land," "The Bonnie Blue Flag," and many quicksteps and schottisches named after famous generals. These pieces were played in concerts and parades by the local brass bands, which often became Confederate regimental bands. Many popular pieces of sheet music were arranged by band leaders of Confederate bands for their ensembles, and were published only in sheet music form. Band arrangements were traded and bartered by bandsmen and often ordered for a price. The arrangements of F. W. Erdman, William Hartwell, and William H. Neave were performed by a number of Confederate bands.

The Confederate Veteran Magazine, founded in 1893 "in the interest of Confederate Associations and kindred topics," was published until 1932.<sup>44</sup> Each issue contained recollections by veterans from major battles to minor skirmishes. These eyewitness accounts provide information about all aspects of the lives of the Confederate soldiers, and include many references to music, musicians and bands. Although colored by time and occasional embroidering of the facts, these are valuable and informative narratives and can often be used to verify other sources.

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<sup>44</sup>From the title page of the original magazine, this phrase is also used on the title page of each new magazine.

### The Study

Enlistment procedures for bands in the Confederate military are discussed; they ranged from enlistment of individual musicians to the enlistment of many bands as complete units. The size and instrumentation of the bands is discussed at length using rosters, descriptions of bands from soldier's diaries, unit histories and newspaper accounts. When available, pictures are used to verify the size of the band and types of instruments played.

The military organization of the bands is included in the study dealing with rank of musicians and leaders, pay of musicians, and the chain of command as it applied to bandsmen. Confederate government regulations governing the bands are included in this section from the Regulations for the Army of the Confederate States, revised and printed in 1863.<sup>45</sup>

Since many of the duties of field musicians were often performed by bandsmen, some discussion of Confederate field music is included. Field music served the vital function of communicating orders as well as the mundane signaling of routine changes in camp life.

Enough information was gathered to form an accurate picture of the routine of the bands and musicians in camp, on the battlefield and performing other military duties.

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<sup>45</sup>Army Regulations Adopted for the Confederate States (Richmond, revised in 1863).

The wide range of activities that were part of the average Confederate musician's life in the field afforded many of the men greater opportunities to observe a wider range of military experiences than the average infantry soldier. The examination of the records of the observations by these men provides an interesting view of the Civil War from the Southern musician's perspective.

The extensive research identified several heretofore unknown Confederate bands who boasted of leaders or members who possessed outstanding musical abilities. These men excelled as performers, composers, and arrangers or were blessed with a combination of these abilities. An examination of the musical contributions of these men and their ensembles is included as a chapter of the study.

A number of black musicians contributed their services to the Confederate armies. The circumstances of their service ranged from slavery to voluntary enlistment in the army. Although references to the many blacks who served as field musicians for Confederate units are fairly common, several celebrated ensembles of black musicians discovered through this research effort have received little attention. A chapter of the study is devoted to the contributions and service of black musicians in the Confederate armies.

An understanding of the musical repertory of the bands is of primary importance to the study. Compositions that were performed, along with the kinds of arrangements used,

are important aspects of the ensembles. It is known that some of the arrangements of both Union and Confederate bands came from Northern music publishers. The large volume of patriotic sheet music published in the South during the war provided Confederate band directors with many tunes to arrange for band. A discussion of the sheet music pieces which became popular with the Confederate military bands is included.

The six sets of band books of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band, located in the Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, are the only complete set of Confederate band books known to have survived. Examination of this complete set of band music along with comparisons to partial sets of Confederate band music is included.

Three ensembles receive special consideration in the study because of many accomplishments during their service to the Confederacy and because of musical accomplishments before and after the war. The study located ample primary source material to devote one chapter of the study to each band. These three ensembles are the Band of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment, composed of Moravian musicians who were members of the Salem Brass Band; the Fourth Georgia Regimental Band, originally the Americus Brass Band from Americus, Georgia; and the Stonewall Brigade Band, founded in 1845 as the Mountain Saxhorn Band.

In order to more fully understand the performance problems of brass instruments played by Civil War bandmen, this writer has been active as a solo Eb cornet performer with Clyde Noble's Thirty-seventh Georgia Band. All members of the Thirty-seventh Georgia Band perform music from the band books of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Confederate Band and perform on restored Civil War era instruments. To demonstrate the differences between the sounds of Civil War period bands and modern bands, a tape recording of original Confederate band music performed on authentic instruments of the Civil War period is included as part of the study.

There is enough clear evidence to indicate that there were many bands in the service of the Confederate States of America. The difficulties involved in locating information explain why this part of instrumental music history has heretofore received little systematic research attention. Like bands in the North, the instrumental groups of the South during the American Civil War often provided the only music available other than impromptu singing and hymn singing. Their importance has thus far been underestimated. With the growing interest in preserving the music of the South in all forms, there is also growing interest in the brass band music which served as the repertory of the Confederate bands. Although there seems to be less information available referring to Confederate ensembles and musicians than to the comparatively large body of information found by

researchers of Union band studies, ample evidence was examined to present a comprehensive and informative study about Confederate bands.

## CHAPTER II

### ENLISTMENT FEVER

For several years before the outbreak of hostilities between the Northern and Southern regions of the United States, there were many political rallies. As the political mood of the South grew more stormy from the late 1850's through the presidential election of 1860, increasing numbers of political meetings of various kinds were held.<sup>1</sup>

Regardless of the subjects to be discussed by the speakers at these gatherings, oratory grew more fiery by the day as the ideas of secession were more commonly heard. Almost always present at these rallies was the local town band, or a brass band hired for the occasion. Organizers of these events realized that a good band could add to the excitement of the moment and that the performance of popular patriotic music would raise the emotional level of the crowd at the appropriate moment. It was also a practice of the times to engage the services of the very popular bands when possible, since the presence of such an ensemble

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<sup>1</sup>E. A. Pollard, The Lost Cause (New York, 1867), pp. 64-99. E. A. Pollard was editor of The Daily Richmond Examiner from 1861 to 1867. He was well known and respected as for his many writings expressing the Southern political mood and for reporting the happenings of the major political rallies and conventions before and during the Civil War.

before, during, and after the planned festivities could insure a larger audience.<sup>2</sup>

In the Staunton, Virginia area, the years from 1858 through the election year of 1860 were active political times. Rallies for almost every political point of view were held frequently. For Turner's Silver Cornet Band, which was later to enlist as the Regimental Band of the 5th Virginia Infantry, these were busy times. "All political processions, regardless of party affiliation, were headed by the band."<sup>3</sup>

Like the 5th Virginia Band, many bands that served the Confederacy as military bands were organized as civilian bands before the Civil War began. These bands were active at all political meetings and gatherings that were held before the war, and in many cases gained popularity because of this exposure.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Newspaper advertisements were often used as the major source of publicity for these political rallies. In newspaper notices from both Northern and Southern towns and cities, the name of the band which was secured to perform was prominently displayed. The Telegraph of Macon, Georgia, printed an article entitled "The Demonstration Tonight" on January 14, 1861 which includes this kind of advertisement. The editor of the newspaper suggests that everyone turn out for the celebration of Southern political causes. "The citizens are invited to join in the grand jubilee. The citizens are also invited to join in the procession which will proceed through our principal streets preceded by field and martial music (provided by the Macon Brass Band)."

<sup>3</sup>Frank B. Holt, The Stonewall Brigade Band (Staunton, Virginia, 1983), p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

After the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, the cold war that had existed between North and South became hotter by the day. The presence of bands in prewar political events became so commonplace that it seemed only natural that they would also be included in the many public displays of frenzy that accompanied the emergence of the new Confederate nation.

Shortly after the first shots were fired at Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, many more opportunities became available for band music at public gatherings. Excited by the news of the fall of Sumter in April, 1861 and the news of the secession of State after State, local men rushed to join the army. Some chose to raise new companies with private funds, some enlisted in regiments of the state provisional army, while others joined local militia units.<sup>5</sup>

Kenneth Olson refers to the attitudes that prevailed in the North and the South which caused the rush to enlist as the "picture book" image of war. The "picture book" concept was based on a European romanticism that was prevalent in both regions of the country.<sup>6</sup> Southerners

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<sup>5</sup> Frank Barnes, Fort Sumter National Monument South Carolina (Washington, 1953), p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Kenneth E. Olson, "Yankee Bands of the Civil War," unpublished doctoral dissertaton, School of Music, The University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1971. The picture book image is an idea that has been used by musicians Kenneth Olson and William Bufkin, as well as noted historian Bruce Catton in his series of books written to commemorate the centennial of the American Civil War.

honestly believed the romantic notion that the coming war was to be a quick and noble fight in which they would soundly whip the Yankees in short order and insure states' rights forever. Evidence of this totally unrealistic approach to the war was demonstrated on both sides as initial enlistments of both Northern and Southern volunteers were only for periods of time ranging from several months to one year.<sup>7</sup>

Ladies of social standing lost no time being swept into the patriotic goings on that surrounded them. The

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<sup>7</sup>Advertisements for troops during the early days of the war listed the term of service that was expected of those who volunteered. One example appeared in the Macon Telegraph of Macon, Georgia on Friday January 10, 1862. In a new advertisement under the caption "WAR! WAR! WAR!," one hundred recruits were sought "for six months service for the coast of Georgia to join the Napier artillery." Although calls for volunteers from both Lincoln and Davis far exceeded the numbers needed, both presidents were soon asking for troops to be enlisted for longer periods of time. Legislation passed by the general assemblies of the southern states called for one-year enlistments. Section three of the Tennessee Act to Raise, Organize and Equip a Provisional Force states that "the force authorized by this act shall be mustered into service for the period of twelve months, unless sooner discharged." Confederate and Union troops were soon sworn in for "three years or the war." An example was the advertisement that appeared in most Georgia newspapers calling for an army of 2000 volunteers. The February 27, 1861 version which appeared in the Macon, Georgia Telegraph called for "2000 able bodied men for the service of the State of Georgia to serve for three years unless sooner discharged by competent authority." The First Virginia Regiment Band, (formerly Smith's Armory Band), and the Nineteenth Virginia Regimental Band, (formerly the Charlottesville Silver Cornet Band), are two examples of Confederate military bands which ceased to exist when band members did not reenlist after their initial one-year enlistment periods.

ladies' societies often organized opportunities to show their enthusiastic support for the Confederacy through public displays of emotion as "Johnny marched off to war." The ladies of the town would present the officers of the local regiment or company with a battle flag or the flag of the new nation.

A typical ritual of this kind was reported in the Salisbury, North Carolina Carolina Watchman on April 23, 1861.

The Rowan Rifle guard received a very pretty company flag last Friday evening, got up and presented to them by Mrs. A. Meyers. It consists of the Confederate stripes and a single star. We do not know the interrelation unless it be secession and The Southern Confederacy.<sup>8</sup>

The reporter mentions the band at the ritual which later enlisted in the Confederate service as the 4th North Carolina Regimental Band. "The Salisbury Band contributed their invaluable services on this occasion, and also on several others during the past week."<sup>9</sup>

Since the ceremony was held shortly after the bombardment of Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, the reference to the performances of the band in "several others during the past week" indicates the excitement and activity that took place in towns and cities throughout the South. The article also serves as an indication of the importance

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<sup>8</sup>The Carolina Watchman, April 23, 1861, Sec. 1, p.2.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

of bands in general in these celebrations, and the Salisbury Brass Band in particular. The band was praised by the newspaper article for their "invaluable service."<sup>10</sup>

A band was almost always included in the grand parades that were held as the local troops marched off to the front lines of battle. It was one of the duties of the town band to accompany each unit to the train station as they left town or to accompany the soldiers to the edge of town as they marched off to war. The Jackson Artillery Company of Macon, Georgia became one of the first local companies to answer the call to Confederate service in January of 1861. The Macon Telegraph reported a band played several times during ceremonies that preceded the artillery unit's departure.<sup>11</sup>

A correspondent for the same newspaper reported the departure of the Independent Riflemen and the Governor's Guards from Fort Valley, Georgia, on February, 19, 1861. He mentioned that the parade "marched down main street in full dress and full turn out accompanied by the Fort Valley Brass Band."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>The Macon Telegraph, January 15, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup>The Macon Telegraph, February 27, 1861, p. 2. Fort Valley was not a military fort at the time of the War Between the States. It was, and is now, a small town surrounded by farms about twenty-seven miles south of Macon, Georgia.

There were occasions when the departure of the hometown troops was combined with the flag presentation ceremony. The Macon Telegraph reports similar incidents in April and again in September of 1861. When the Houston County Volunteers boarded the train to the front at the Perry, Georgia, train depot, they were presented several flags and heard addresses from religious and political dignitaries. The contributions of the band were noted in the article.

The pleasure and interest of the whole proceedings were much enhanced by the presence of the Perry Brass Band, who under their leader, Charles H. Heywood, Esq., played some of their finest pieces in their best style. Thus ended one of the proudest days in the history of Houston County.<sup>13</sup>

Six months later also in Perry, there was a review of troops which was combined with a flag presentation. Before the 55th Regiment Georgia Militia departed from Houston County, the regiment was reviewed by General George R. Hunter and the regiment was presented with "a very handsome stand of colors" by Mrs. Dr. Culler, wife of a prominent local physician. As usual, there was a tribute paid to the band that performed for the event. "The regiment was conducted to the field by the Houston Brass Band, which, by the way, is a splendid band--one of the best to be found in the State."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>The Macon Telegraph, April 6, 1861, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., September 20, 1861, p. 1.

A number of bands enlisted in the military service of the Confederacy which were organized as militia unit bands before the war. These bandsmen were regular members of the militia unit. One of the best examples of a Southern militia band is the Savannah Republican Blues Band. The band was formed many years before the war, and "by the 1840's, this popular band was not only playing for the military, but at other functions such as Masonic celebrations and the like."<sup>15</sup> The exact date of the organization of the band is unknown, but the names of the members of the band appear on the 1845 roster of the Republican Blues.<sup>16</sup>

Like many popular militia units of the day, the Republican Blues were honored by having a musical composition composed for, and dedicated to them. The sheet music collection of the Georgia Historical Society Archives in Savannah contains the "Republican Blues March" by L. Louis, published by Firth, Pond & Co. of New York City. The cover depicts two officers of the Republican Blues, and bears the inscription "composed and respectfully dedicated to the officers and members of the Republican Blues of Savannah, Geo."<sup>17</sup> Although there is no evidence

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<sup>15</sup>Letter from Gordon B. Smith, Historian, Georgia National Guard, May 28, 1986.

<sup>16</sup>The Savannah Evening Press, March 22, 1927, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup>"The Republican Blues March" 1850, Sheet Music Collection, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia.

in the form of an arrangement of this piece for band, it is assumed that the Republican Blues Band performed this piece during the Civil War since it was the practice of publishers to print and distribute sheet music that had been made popular by brass bands.<sup>18</sup> Savannah military historian Gordon B. Smith feels that the composer of the march wrote the piece to be performed by the Republican Blues Band.<sup>19</sup>

One of the most popular images of a Civil War era band can be seen in a drawing taken from a photograph which appeared in Harper's magazine showing a review of Confederate troops passing the Pulaski Monument in Savannah on August 7, 1861. The Republican Blues Band is shown leading the parade.

Charleston, like Savannah, has a rich history as one of the oldest cities in the original thirteen States. The militia tradition in both cities remains very strong today as it was in the 1860's. Charleston and Savannah have produced military units with colorful names and long, distinguished records of valor in every war and military

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<sup>18</sup>A complete listing of all sheet music published during 1861 through 1865 can be found in Richard B. Harwell's Confederate Music (Chapel Hill, 1950). A number of the pieces of sheet music listed in Harwell's work bear inscriptions that indicate that the music was written as played by a particular band. Entry number 3869 in Harwell's Confederate sheet music section is "The Stonewall Quickstep" by John H. Hewitt which bears the inscription, "as performed by Smith's First Virginia Regimental Band."

<sup>19</sup>Letter from Gordon B. Smith, Historian, Georgia National Guard, May 28, 1986.

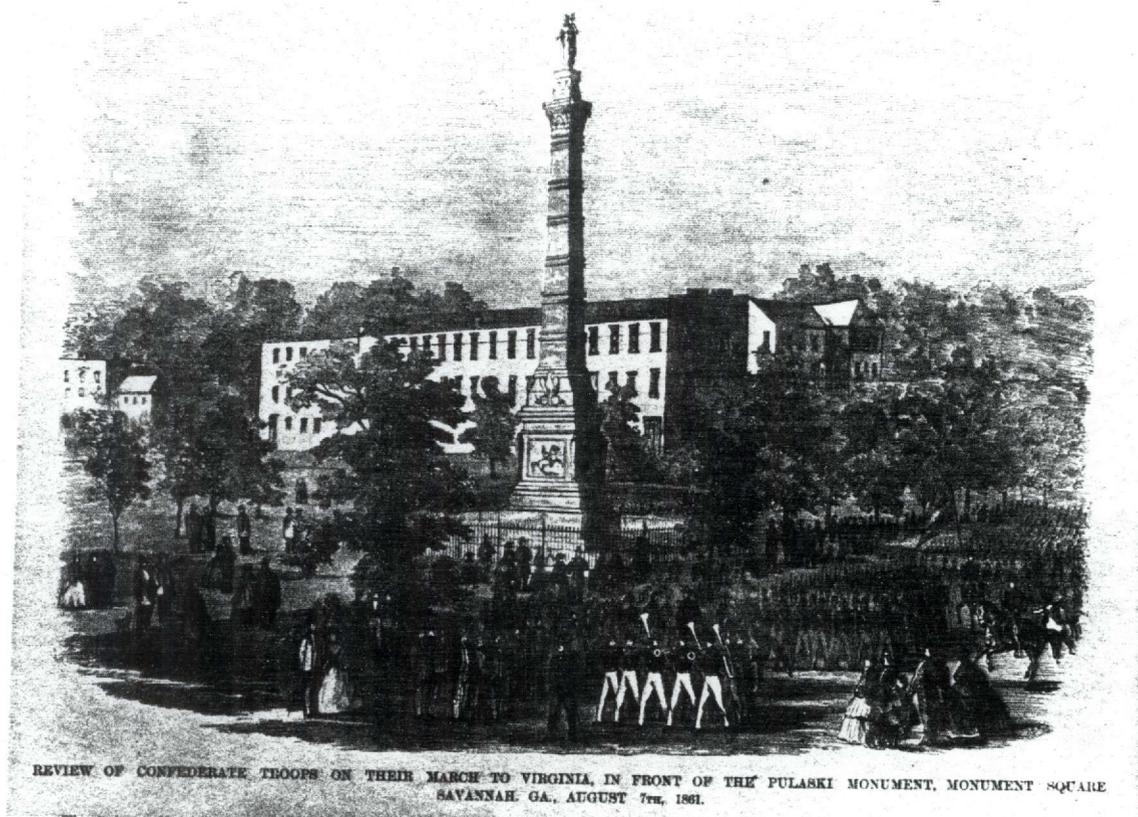


Figure 1--The artist of Harper's Magazine, while very accurate in his depiction of the Pulaski Monument and surrounding landmarks, has taken some artistic license in his drawing of the band. The instruments shown are not accurately drawn in detail and only the front two lines of five men each can be distinguished. In these two lines there appear to be from left to right, two E flat cornets, (the E flat player on the far left seems to be shouting instructions to the rest of the band, which would not be unusual since the band leader was often a soloist on E flat cornet), one slide trombone player, (slide trombones were rarely used while marching by Civil War era bands), and possibly three B flat bass bombardons, or one B flat and two E flat bass bombardons if the instrument on the left end of the second row is bigger than the two instruments to the right.

conflict fought by Americans since the Revolutionary War. Like the Savannah Republican Blues, the Charleston Palmetto Guard was one of the city's most popular militia units and was enlisted as a unit in the Confederate army. The Palmetto Guard drilled on the parade ground of the State Military Academy, better known as The Citadel. The "Palmetto Guard March," composed by W. F. Nigels, was published by Oliver Ditson of Boston.<sup>20</sup> This piece of sheet music found in the Citadel Archives bears an inscription dedicating the march to the Palmetto Guard. Although there is no date of composition or copyright, the engraving on the cover of the music is prewar and shows the regimental band immediately behind and to the right of the rifle company. The band of the Palmetto Guard enlisted in the Confederate army along with the rifle companies of the guard and became the 17th South Carolina Regimental Band.<sup>21</sup>

The European immigrants who settled in Charleston developed strong ethnic groups who remained fiercely proud of their traditions and common heritage. The Irish Volunteers, LaFayette Artillery, German Artillery, German Fussiliers, and German Riflemen were examples of militia

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<sup>20</sup>"The Palmetto Guard March," by W. F. Nigels, was published by Oliver Ditson 115 Washington Street Boston, with no publication date or copyright date. This sheet music is located in the Citadel Archives in Charleston, South Carolina.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

units which exhibited strong ethnic ties through the colorful names of their organizations.<sup>22</sup>

The German Fusiliers joined the Confederate service with a band as part of its membership. The "German Fusilier Quick Step," composed by Dr. Robert H. A. Koch, is "dedicated to Capt. J. C. Blum & Corps of the German & United German Fusiliers of Charleston, S. C."<sup>23</sup>

The German Fusiliers Band was composed mainly of German immigrants who were widely respected for their musical abilities. As a group, the musicians had been together for many years before the war. They enlisted in the Confederate service as the 25th South Carolina Band C. S. A., and became well known for musical excellence.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Information on Charleston's early militia units is discussed in The Citadel Cadets, The Journal of Cadet Tom Law (Clinton, South Carolina, 1941) and The History of the German Fusiliers of Charleston, South Carolina manuscript pp. 1-10, from the Leroy Skinner Collection of the Citadel Archives, Charleston, S. C.

<sup>23</sup>A picture of an engraving of the cover of the "German Fusiliers Quick Step" by Robert H. A. Koch is seen in the book Citadel Cadets, The Journal of Cadet Tom Law. Published by the Presbyterian College Press in 1941, the book is a transcription of a diary kept by Cadet Law and is found in the reference library of The Citadel, Charleston, S. C. The picture depicts a parade rounding the corner at Saint Michael's Church in Charleston, led by the band of the Fusiliers. The book is permanently out of print and the sheet music was not found in any of the Charleston libraries.

<sup>24</sup>Harry Hall, A Johnny Reb Band from Salem (Raleigh, 1963), p. 92.

A good band was a great source of pride for both the officers and men of any military unit.<sup>25</sup> The ranking officers were always concerned about the morale of their men and had seen the positive effects that a good brass band could have in bolstering sagging fighting spirits of tired, homesick troops. When a band was not assigned to a regiment, the officers of the regiment often considered the association of a good band to be so important that they contributed personal funds to secure the services of the band.

In an arrangement of this kind, the Salem Brass Band became the 26th North Carolina Regimental Band by an agreement between Samuel T. Mickey, leader of the band, and Col. Zebulon Vance, Commander of the Regiment.<sup>26</sup> The members of the band were enlisted as volunteer soldiers in the Twenty-sixth North Carolina even though their

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<sup>25</sup>Military officers have often written of the effects of a good military band on the morale of their troops. Martial music has been known to be one of the elements that inspired soldiers to charge into the heat of battle without regard for personal safety. Some sources which refer to the value of good military bands are: Francis A. Lord and Arthur Wise, Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War (New York, 1979) pp. 7-9; Gerald Simmons, ed., The Civil War: Decoying the Yanks (Morristown, New Jersey, 1984), p. 132; and Gerald Simmons, ed., The Civil War: Forward to Richmond (Morristown, New Jersey, 1984), pp. 54-61.

<sup>26</sup>Harry Hall, "The Moravian Wind Ensemble: A Perspective Chapter in America's Music Volume I," unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Music, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1967, p. 339.

popularity as a band gave them a certain celebrity status, and even though they were paid by regimental officers.

The First Alabama Regimental Band was another ensemble that was hired by the regimental commander and paid by contributions from his officers. "Col. Steedman hired a brass band of ten musicians, commanded by a Capt. O'Neal, the officers of the regiment, by voluntary assessment, paying the band."<sup>27</sup>

In the early days of the war before the soldiers left their hometowns, bands were often hired for short periods of time or for specific engagements. The Palmetto Brass Band <sup>28</sup> was hired to come to Savannah from Charleston in 1861 to perform for the German Volunteers ball and parade. Composed of thirteen members, the band was acclaimed as an "excellent band."<sup>29</sup>

Ernest Richter was an enterprising musician who served for some time as bandmaster of the Palmetto Band and was living in Savannah when his former colleagues performed

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<sup>27</sup>Author unknown, The First Alabama Regiment, C.S.A. from the regimental history file of the First Alabama Volunteer Infantry Regiment C. S. A., Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

<sup>28</sup>The fact that there were at least two bands called Palmetto from Charleston can be confusing. There is no evidence to indicate that the Palmetto Brass Band was in any way associated with the Palmetto Guard Band, which enlisted in the Confederate service as the 17th South Carolina Regimental Band.

<sup>29</sup>The Savannah Morning News, January 8, 1861, p. 1.

for the German Volunteers ball. Richter later served the Confederacy in several units as a musician, Chief Musician of the 1st Regiment of Georgia Regulars of the Army of Tennessee, and as bandmaster of the 63rd Georgia Regimental Band.<sup>31</sup> By placing an advertisement in the January 1, 1861, Savannah Morning News, he hoped to secure engagements for his Savannah musicians by taking advantage of the military activity in the area and also capitalizing on his previous association with the popular Palmetto Band and its coming visit to Savannah.

The undersigned, late leader of the Palmetto Band of Charleston, having located in Savannah, is now fully prepared to furnish music for Balls, Parties, Picnics, Sernades (sic.), Civic and Military Parades. The music for Balls and Parties will be either on the Piano or wind and string instruments, as may be desired. Orders left at W. D. Zogbaum & Co.'s Music Store, or at Mr. L. Louis' Dancing Academy will receive prompt attention. E. RICHTER, No. 18 McDonough Street.  
N. B. Lessons given on Piano or any wind or string instrument.<sup>32</sup>

Richmond, Virginia, also had a tradition of strong national guard militia companies dating from the Revolutionary War. One of Richmond's most popular militia units was the Public Guard, a light infantry company which drilled at the State Armory building. The Public Guard included a very popular military band directed by James B.

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<sup>31</sup>Lillian Henderson, Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia Vol. I (Hapeville, Georgia, 1955), p. 308.

<sup>32</sup>The Savannah Morning News, January 1, 1861, p. 2.

Smith, who was a well known virtuoso cornetist. All the members of Smith's Band were regularly enlisted members of the militia unit, thus the name Armory Band.<sup>33</sup>

In April of 1860, Smith's Armory Band was detached from the Public Guard and reassigned to the First Virginia Regiment as part of a realignment of Virginia militia units resulting from increased enlistments after the John Brown crisis at Harpers Ferry.<sup>34</sup> The regiment was composed of eight rifle companies, two artillery companies, and the First Virginia Regiment Band, James B. Smith, leader.<sup>35</sup>

The First Virginia was an unusual regiment in that it was one of the few Confederate Army units to include both a regimental band and a drum corps.<sup>36</sup> While it was not unusual for Confederate regimental and company field musicians to double as bandsmen, the presence of a fifteen-member drum

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<sup>33</sup>Lee A. Wallace Jr., The First Virginia Infantry (Lynchburg, Virginia, 1984), pp. 4-8.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Muster Rolls of the First Virginia Regiment located in the Virginia State Library Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>36</sup>The muster rolls of the First Virginia Regiment located in Virginia State Library Archives Section, in Richmond, list all members of both the regimental band, commanded by James Smith, and the drum corps, which was commanded by Drum Major R. M. Pohle. No evidence was found in the course of the study which indicated that other Confederate units fielded a band and a drum corps at the same time.

corps in addition to a fourteen-piece brass band was extremely rare.

Increased demands for band performances outside regular guard meetings and drills caused members of the First Virginia Band to complain of being overworked. The bandsmen were amateur musicians who were forced to try to balance civilian occupations with quickly accelerating demands for time by the militia band. Disgruntled bandsmen who provided substitutes were allowed to resign from the band and the Public Guard. Smith's efforts with ranking officers of the Guard were successful because of his popularity with all parties concerned, and partially because the officers feared losing such a fine band. Smith was able to arrange for the Drum Corps to be formed for the purpose of relieving the band of some of its ever increasing responsibilities.<sup>37</sup> The First Virginia Regimental Band enjoyed a brief history as a Confederate military unit since the bandsmen did not reenlist when their one-year tour of duty ended.

The leader of the drum corps of the First Virginia Regiment was Sergeant Charles Rudolph Maximillian Pohle.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Lee A. Wallace Jr., The First Virginia Infantry (Lynchburg, Virginia, 1984), p. 8.

<sup>38</sup>Muster rolls of the First Virginia Regiment located in the Virginia State Library Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia.

Pohle officially held the rank of drum major and was in charge of the drum corps, which had no connection with the band. He became famous through the years because his photograph in full uniform has survived and may be the only extant photo of a Confederate drum major.<sup>39</sup>

When the Monticello Guard of Charlottesville, Virginia, returned from duty at Harpers Ferry after the John Brown incident, the citizens of the city were stirred by the emotional fury created by the raid on Brown and his supporters. As the Monticello Guard became Company A of the 19th Virginia Regiment, C. S. A., they took with them the local brass band. The Charlottesville Silver Cornet Band enjoyed a reputation as one of the finest bands in all of Virginia, second only to the First Regiment Band.<sup>40</sup>

The members of the band enlisted in Company A, but were assigned to the duties of the regimental band. When their

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<sup>39</sup>The famous photograph of Sgt. Pohle appears in several publications, including Lord & Wise, Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War p. 36. The entry by Lord and Wise is misleading. The caption beside the photo says: "The drum major of the First Virginia, April 1861. Bands played while the troops prepared for battle. He was C. R. M. Pohie [sic]." The caption seems to give the impression that Pohle was drum major of the band, and the entry spells his name incorrectly.

<sup>40</sup>The muster rolls of the 19th Virginia Regiment, located in the Virginia State Library Archives Section in Richmond are quite unusual compared to muster rolls of other companies. The instrument and part played by each musician are listed beside the names of the bandsmen. There is also a short paragraph written in ink describing the band including the statement that the Charlottesville Silver Cornet Band was "second only to the First Virginia Regiment Band."

initial one-year enlistment expired, members of the band scattered and enlisted in other military organizations.<sup>41</sup>

The initial call for troops for the new Confederacy was issued for a one-year period. It was widely thought that hostilities would be over within that time, and that some kind of truce or official recognition of the Southern government would be achieved by diplomacy or victories in battle.<sup>42</sup>

Although there were many Confederate soldiers who reenlisted proudly after their initial one-year enlistment expired, many took the opportunity to leave the army and return home. There were many valid reasons for men not signing up for additional periods of service. Crops needed harvesting, business commitments and pressing family matters had been left unfinished as the enlistment fever swept through the South. Both the First Virginia Regimental Band, and the Nineteenth Regimental Band mentioned earlier, did not reenlist for some reason or reasons that are not clear.

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<sup>41</sup>Muster Rolls of the Nineteenth Virginia Infantry Regiment C. S. A., Virginia State Library, Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>42</sup>Some South Carolina troops were enlisted initially for only six months. The Secession Convention of South Carolina passed a bill raising a regiment of infantry for six months on December 20, 1860. Most Confederate States raised regiments of soldiers enlisted for one-year, and were later encouraged to reenlist for a period of "three years or the war," again assuming that the war would be over by that time.

Historians have indicated that there was an individual spirit among many of the Southern soldiers which did not lend to the subjugation of the individual to higher authority. Young men who came from families of elevated social standing thought of themselves as gentlemen soldiers even though they may have held the rank of private. The remarks of historian Benjamin H. Trask about Virginia Confederate soldiers early in the war could have been said about many Southern gentlemen who found themselves enlisted in home-town rifle companies during the first year of the war.

The Virginians differed with their commanders' views on the roles of officers and enlisted troops. The soldiers in the ranks thought of themselves as honorable individuals in a noble cause. Moreover, they had allowed themselves to be temporarily relegated down the social ladder to join their fellow volunteers in the Army.<sup>43</sup>

Newspapers through the South included notices designed to appeal to those patriotic spirits who might be inclined to enlist for the first time, but most of the advertisements were especially intended to encourage soldiers to reenlist after their initial service period had ended. Advertisements in the Macon, Georgia newspapers are typical of similar notices placed in all Southern newspapers that offered bonuses for men enlisting for a specific number of years or until the end of the war.

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<sup>43</sup>Benjamin H. Trask, The Ninth Virginia Infantry (Lynchburg, Virginia, 1985), p. 3.

Capt. Robert A. Smith of the Macon Volunteers, 2nd Georgia Battalion, now in service at Norfolk, Virginia, upon the unanimous recommendation of the officers of his Battalion and under the approval of President Davis, has been authorized to raise a regiment for three years or the war . . . . A bonus of Fifty Dollars will be paid to all privates, non-commissioned officers and musicians, who now being in the State or Confederate States service who may re-enlist for two years or the war, and to all volunteers who may enlist for three years or the war.<sup>44</sup>

It seems that those in positions of authority who were responsible for the recruiting effort as the second year of the War Between the States began were not sure that a cash bonus of fifty dollars was enough to insure the continued service of the veteran Confederate soldier. Some high-ranking official obviously understood the need of the of the common soldier to spend some time at home before committing himself to additional tours of duty by granting furloughs to those who reenlisted before mustering out of service.

Furloughs, not exceeding 60 days, with transportation home and back, shall be granted to all 12 months men now in service who shall, prior to the expiration of their present term of service, re-enlist for the next two ensuing years.<sup>45</sup>

Another advertisement for a smaller group of volunteers appears in the Macon Telegraph in March of 1862, offering inducements that would seem to have constituted an offer too good to refuse.

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<sup>44</sup>The Macon Telegraph, February 22, 1862, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

30 men wanted to complete Capt. Knight's Company--80 acres of land, \$75 Bounty, and the wives and children of all who volunteer supported during the war. Volunteers will receive pay from the day they are mustered in, together with \$50 Bounty, \$25 for clothing, and 80 acres of land . . . . Said regiment will be furnished with arms as soon as mustered into service. Free transportation by refunding the fare to all who volunteer, from their homes to Columbus, the place of rendezvous.<sup>46</sup>

The field band of Capt. Nelson Slough's Company from Cabarrus County, North Carolina took advantage of cash bounties on at least two occasions. Documents from the Cabarrus County Confederate papers file in the North Carolina Archives show that fifer Noah Correll, tenor drummer James C. Benson, and bass drummer Daniel R. Coleman each received ten dollars from the paymaster when they initially mustered into service.<sup>47</sup>

In contrast to the First and Nineteenth Virginia Regimental Bands, which did not reenlist after their initial one-year enlistments, at least one Virginia town band enlisted as a group, served as a Confederate regimental band for the duration of the war, and surrendered together at Appomattox. The Valley Brass Band was the town band of Newtown, Virginia, which was later named Stephens City. The band members enlisted as a group in March of 1862 as the 48th Virginia Regimental Band and remained together as

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., March 22, 1862, p.4.

<sup>47</sup>Cabarrus Guards Volunteer Bounty Roll, North Carolina Confederate papers file, Cabarrus County folder located in the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

a band through the remainder of the war. They surrendered together in April of 1865 at Appomattox.<sup>48</sup>

While many localities like Newtown, Virginia could boast of a fine hometown band which was patriotic enough to be persuaded to enlist and march off to war with the local regiment, some military units were forced to rely on other means of securing a band. The commander of the Forty-sixth Georgia Infantry Regiment placed an advertisement in several newspapers on February 10, 1863 for a "Band of Music". The Forty-sixth Georgia Regiment was also known as Colquitt's Brigade in honor of Colonel P. H. Colquitt who was the ranking officer of the regiment. The Colonel not only appealed to the patriotism of interested musicians, but offered a lucrative financial incentive as well.

Band of Music Wanted

The 46th Regiment Georgia Volunteers encamped at White Point Garden in the City of Charleston will pay from \$500 to \$1000 cash per month for a fine Band of music. Address immediately.

COL. P. H. Colquitt,  
Charleston, S.C.<sup>49</sup>

The advertisement apparently served its purpose because the Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia lists a band of ten men in the Forty-sixth Georgia Volunteer Regiment field, staff, and band section. All of the men shown as musicians enlisted on February 21, 1863. Although

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<sup>48</sup>J. W. Blaker, "The Valley Brass Band," The Confederate Veteran, IX (October, 1901), 464.

<sup>49</sup>The Savannah Morning News, February 10, 1863, p. 6.

it is not known at this time where these men came from or their status at the time of enlistment, it can be safely assumed that since they all enlisted on the same day as a band, they were members of a group that was an organized ensemble before February 21, 1863.<sup>50</sup>

Addison B. Mitchell is listed in the field, staff, and band section as Chief Musician in 1863. Mitchell originally enlisted as a drummer for Company K of the 46th regiment on March 4, 1862. His service record shows that he was discharged on August 14, 1862 because he was under-aged, but he appears on the rolls as Chief Musician for the regiment for the period from March to April, 1863. The details surrounding Mitchell's promotion are unknown.<sup>51</sup>

Enlisting whole ensembles was not the only method used by the Confederates to establish bands. Some regimental commanders selected someone who was thought to possess adequate musical talent to organize a band (in this case a drum corps), to play for drills and parades. D. J. Cater enlisted as a private in a Texas unit in 1861, and was transferred to the 19th Louisiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment and received his first leave of absence in

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<sup>50</sup>Lillian Henderson, Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia Vol. I (Hapeville, Georgia, 1960), p. 925.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid. p. 1020.

September of 1862.<sup>52</sup> When he returned to camp one week later, he found that he had been promoted to drum major of the regiment.

Colonel Winans, commander of the regiment had concluded to have a band of four drummers. He had me appointed Drum Major. We had one drummer and the Colonel appointed two more private soldiers, which made four, and we went to work with the drums he had bought for us. He knew that I was a musician because I was called that in my transfer to his regiment, but I had never learned to beat a drum.<sup>53</sup>

Cater was told by his commanding officer that a band was needed for roll call, dress parade, and drilling. The new regimental drum major mentioned in his memoirs that his new responsibilities allowed him the privilege of being excused from musket and guard duty, but this meant he "had to rise early because my band was needed for reveille to wake up the soldiers in the early dawn, and this had to be regular."<sup>54</sup> Apparently in this case the old army method of "choosing" volunteers worked well enough, as Cater reports, "I met all these requirements and soon had a good drum band."<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>The service record of D. J. Cater is preserved on microfilm with other Louisiana Confederate soldiers in the Louisiana State Archives, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

<sup>53</sup>D. J. Cater, As It Was, The Nineteenth Louisiana Volunteer Infantry private printing, Louisiana State Archives, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, pp. 152-54.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p.154.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

When the Colonel in charge of a regiment was fortunate enough to know a good musician, there was a possibility that he could arrange for the musician to be assigned to his regiment. O. J. Lehman eventually became the band master of the Thirty-third North Carolina Regimental Band, but narrowly escaped being assigned to another unit.

Lehman was ordered to report to the enrolling officer for Forsythe County at Winston, N. C., in December, 1862. When he arrived on a Saturday, Lehman was told by Col. Joseph Masten that his orders would be to report to a camp of instruction in Raleigh, N. C., on the following Monday morning. Lehman explained that he had been asked by the Colonel of the Thirty-third North Carolina Regiment to report to the camp of the regiment near Fredricksburg "as they were needing a good cornet player for their band."<sup>56</sup>

Lehman was well known to Col. Masten as good musician and teacher, since the young bandsman had "organized and taught his band in a cotton field at Kingston, N. C., after the battle of Newbern on the fourteenth of March, 1862".<sup>57</sup> No information is provided as to the identity of the band mentioned, or to circumstances surrounding the creation of

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<sup>56</sup>O. J. Lehman, "Reminiscences of the War Between the States," unpublished manuscript, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, N. C.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

the band. There is no explanation of Lehman's relationship with the military unit to which the band was assigned.

Even though Col. Masten knew Lehman and knew his work, the old military adage, orders are orders, seems to apply to this situation. The Colonel told Lehman that he "had better report as ordered," but he was persuaded to give the young musician a letter to help him get to the Thirty-third regiment.<sup>58</sup> It seems that having the reputation of being a pretty good cornet player and knowing the Colonel in charge of the regiment was enough to get orders to be assigned to the regimental band.

W. J. Worsham, chief musician for the Nineteenth Tennessee Infantry also enjoyed a good reputation as a musician and was thought competent enough, at least by the officers of his regiment, to organize and teach a regimental band in addition to his other duties. Worsham served primarily as a field musician, making sure that the drum and fife were played at the appropriate times and that the young drummers under his command were carrying out orders properly. Worsham wrote in his memoirs that while his regiment was camped at Camp Zollicoffer, "our regiment received ten instruments for the brass band and music complete."<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>W. J. Worsham, The Old Nineteenth Tennessee Regiment C.S.A. June 1861-April 1865 (Knoxville, Tennessee, 1902), pp. 13-14.

Worsham didn't say what negotiations were necessary to get the instruments issued or whether the idea came from the musicians, the soldiers or the officers of the regiment. There is also no mention of the cost of these items or who paid for them.

The former Chief Musician says that they formed the band and, "after a little practice began playing on duty."<sup>60</sup> The author makes no mention of how the men were selected for the brass band. It can be assumed that the drummers who were previously assigned to the regiment as field musicians manned the percussion section of the new band, but questions about the musical qualifications of the new bandsmen, if any, remain unanswered. These men were regular riflemen before being assigned to the band, and it is unknown whether they were experienced brass players, or volunteers who were taught by rote.

The fact that the bandsmen had been taken from the ranks of weapon carrying soldiers became the major reason for their demise as a musical ensemble. Feeling that he was unable to sustain the loss of so many riflemen, the Colonel of the regiment ordered the bandsmen to carry their rifles as well as their new instruments. The riflemen turned bandsmen felt that carrying the additional load was too heavy a burden, so they left their instruments behind.

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<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

Col. Cummings ordered all the men belonging to the band, [except the old field band], to carry their guns; this, the men did not feel like doing, carry their guns and horns. So, on the morning of our leaving Jacksboro, we stacked our horns and left them.<sup>61</sup>

The Nineteenth Regiment retained its field band consisting of fifes and drums for the duration of the war. W. J. Worsham remained Chief Musician and served as a fifer.

There were many instances during the Civil War where regiments needing musicians to serve either as bandsmen or field musicians relied upon newspaper advertisements to spread the word. There were many Confederate buglers, fifers, and drummers who served both as field musicians and as bandsmen. Advertisements often did not specify what the exact duties of the musicians would be.<sup>62</sup>

There were instances where buglers served their regiments as bugler, chief musician, and bandmaster as was the case in the Fourth Texas Volunteer Infantry Regiment.<sup>63</sup> This could explain why the Georgia Hussars asked for references when placing an advertisement for a bugler in the Charleston Courier. "Wanted by the Georgia Hussars,

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>62</sup>The Charleston Courier, June 26, 1862, p. 4; The Savannah Republican, May 16, 1863, p. 2; Ibid., November 7, 1862, p. 4.

<sup>63</sup>Philip J. Hawthornthwaite, Uniforms of the Civil War 1861-1865 (New York, 1969), p. 102.

A good Bugler. For a good musician and one who can come highly recommended, liberal wages will be paid."<sup>64</sup>

The Confederate Marine Corps advertised for a few good men to form a fife and drum band in 1863. The notice in The Savannah Republican appeared on May 16, 1863. "Musicians Wanted, for Company E. Confederate States Marines; four musicians—Two drummers, and two fifers."<sup>65</sup>

Individual musicians also used the newspapers to advertise their availability for service as a musician for the Confederate army. A musician from Macon, Georgia placed notices in several Georgia newspapers. On November 6, 1862, The Savannah Republican ran the following: "A good musician, (non-conscript), that is able to play on any brass instrument, wishes to get a situation in a military band; would have no objection to going as a bugler with an infantry regiment."<sup>66</sup>

Captain Lewis of the Thirty-first Georgia Regiment had been a tailor by trade before the war and owned a small tailor shop which employed several people. As he

<sup>64</sup>The Charleston Courier, June 26, 1862, p. 4. For information about pay scales for Confederate musicians see Chapter III. Generally, Confederate musicians were paid more than infantry privates by \$1 or \$2 per pay period.

<sup>65</sup>The Savannah Republican, May 16, 1863, p.2

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., November 7, 1862, p. 4.

attempted to raise a regiment for the Confederacy, he recruited C. M. Cassini, a former employee of the tailor shop, who was known to be a fine musician, for the position of bandmaster.<sup>67</sup> Cassini enlisted in November of 1861 and reported to camp in Savannah.<sup>68</sup>

Captain Lewis searched for instruments for the band for some time before finally finding a set of "battered up brass horns which had been repaired."<sup>69</sup> Cassini made the rounds of the troops and selected soldiers to become part of the brass band based upon his assessment of their qualifications.

He began to select from the number of rough fiddlers and others who had offered their services those who should constitute his band. It was a strange mixture, but it is remarkable how he trained these different characters, some of whom knew nothing of musical notation, to play these obsolete old instruments.<sup>70</sup>

Cassini's job of finding and teaching soldiers to form a regimental band is not unlike a band director's job teaching teens and young adults in a beginning band situation today. This comparison is further illustrated by the selection of "poor, jolly Dan Bowie" who "would

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<sup>67</sup>I. G. Bradwell, "Carlos Maximilian Cassini, Our Old Bandmaster." The Confederate Veteran, Vol. XXXIV (September, 1926), 333.

<sup>68</sup>Lillian Henderson, Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia 1861-1865 Vol.III (Hapeville, Georgia), p. 643.

<sup>69</sup>I. G. Bradwell, "Carlos Maximilian Cassini, Our Old Bandmaster." The Confederate Veteran Vol. XXXIV (September, 1926), 333.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid.

not study when he was in school and was practically illiterate" as the cymbal player for the band.<sup>71</sup> The bandmaster was successful in his selection of Bowie. Bradwell states, "I was surprised to see, when Mr. Cassini first marched his band along our front, playing, 'Life on the Ocean Wave,' how Dan clashed the cymbals together at the right time and place."<sup>72</sup>

Cassini was forced to retire from the military because of poor health caused by his advanced age. For some unexplained reason after the old bandmaster's retirement, the brass instruments of the 31st Georgia Band were lost. In order to provide the necessary music for drills, parades and other military functions, a Lieutenant Cox from Company E of the 31st Georgia was named Chief Musician. "All the drummers and fifers of the six regiments (of Evans' brigade) were thrown together into one organization under Lieutenant Cox, a splendid musician."<sup>73</sup>

The total number of men in the fife and drum group is left to speculation, but a conservative estimate could be based upon one fifer and one drummer from each company of each regiment. Using the Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia to determine the average number of

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 334.

companies in Georgia Confederate Regiments, most list companies A through K, for a total of 11 companies.<sup>74</sup> The Civil War Dictionary says that Confederate regiments were organized like the Union regiments with ten companies.<sup>75</sup> Using the more conservative number of ten companies per regiment with two musicians per company for six the regiments involved, the new fife and drum corps in question would have numbered at least sixty men. Bradwell comments on the size of the group, saying, "It was surprising what music this numerous body of fifers and drummers could make." He then makes an observation which was probably an understatement. "There was nothing like it in Lee's army."<sup>76</sup>

The Twenty-first North Carolina Regimental Band was the first band from the Wachovia area of North Carolina to enter the Confederate army. Renamed the Eleventh Regiment Band after the original enlistment, this band is also called the First Battalion Band.<sup>77</sup> At least three bands were

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<sup>74</sup>Lillian Henderson, The Roster of Confederate Soldiers of Georgia Vol. I (Hapeville, Georgia, 1960), pp. 576-659.

<sup>75</sup>Mark M. Boatner III, The Civil War Dictionary (New York, 1959), p. 612.

<sup>76</sup>I. G. Bradwell, "Carlos Maximilian Cassini Our Old Bandmaster," The Confederate Veteran Vol. XXXIV (September, 1926), 334.

<sup>77</sup>The Eleventh Regiment, Twenty-first Regiment, and First Battalion designations all refer to the same band from Forsythe County, North Carolina. The ensemble was composed mostly of Moravian men and was commanded by bandmaster W. F. Carmichael and were among the first musicians from the Wachovia area to enlist in the Confederate service.

enlisted in the service of the Confederacy from the largely Moravian Forsythe County.<sup>78</sup>

The local newspapers often published details of the band's activities especially when they performed for gatherings around Salem involving the recruiting effort for the Confederate army. In addition to securing able young men to fill the ranks of infantry, cavalry and artillery units, recruiting for musicians to fill vacancies in band companies was a constant process for leaders of Confederate bands. Since the time that the First Battalion Band entered the service near the beginning of the war as the Twenty-first N. C. Regimental Band, many causes such as sickness, death, and desertion had contributed to the loss of several bandsmen by April of 1863.

The last furlough for the band had been in March of 1862.<sup>79</sup> Thirteen months later, the commander of the band, W. F. Carmichael placed an advertisement in the Salem

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<sup>78</sup>Several sources mention the 11th, 21st, 26th, and 33rd North Carolina Regimental Bands as ensembles which were formerly town bands from Bethania, Salem, and Winston, North Carolina. Harry Hall mentions the 11th and 33rd North Carolina Bands as those from the Salem area which preceded the famous 26th North Carolina Band into Confederate service. As previously mentioned, the 11th, 21st, and 1st Battalion designations refer to the same ensemble of Moravian musicians. The People's Press newspaper of Salem from the early days of the war in 1861 mentions the Bethania Brass Band which became the 21st North Carolina Band as much, if not more, than the Salem Brass Band which became the 26th North Carolina Band.

<sup>79</sup>The Salem, North Carolina People's Press, March 7, 1862, p. 1.

newspaper with the intent of attracting several new recruits for the band company.

Captain W. F. Carmichael is now on a visit home to recruit for the Band of the 1st Battalion, N. C. T. He wishes to procure the services of some five or six young men who are musicians or have musical talent. He will be in Salem during five or six days where he will be pleased to see any person desirous of entering the service. A good opportunity is now offered for persons approaching the conscript age, to join the Band attached to Major Wharton's Battalion.<sup>80</sup>

The frequency of newspaper advertisements used by Confederate officers to notify the public of vacancies in their ranks seems to indicate the importance of this medium as the major form of mass communication in the late 1860's. The frequent occurrence of musician wanted announcements placed by Confederate military units in major Southern newspapers could suggest either success in securing men for these positions, or perhaps difficulty in finding qualified men. Regardless of the reasons, the number of advertisements indicate a relatively high turnover rate among Confederate musicians. Contributing factors range from early discharges due to extremes of age, losses due to battle casualties and desertions, to promotions and reassignments.<sup>81</sup>

Newspaper advertisements were not the only means available to regimental officers in securing men to serve

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., April 17, 1863, p. 1.

<sup>81</sup>Rosters of Confederate Soldiers from all Southern states, The Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia, and The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

as musicians. As anyone who has ever served in any military organization knows, "volunteers" are often secured for tasks through arbitrary selection by the officer or officers in charge. The Confederate soldier was no exception.

By April 1864, many Confederate soldiers were rugged veterans of more than three years of war. They had learned to endure camp life and recognize the drum beats that signaled every aspect of military life. In a special order by Lt. Colonel W. I. Reid of the Twenty-second Mississippi Regiment, a private of the regiment was selected to fill a vacancy as a regimental drummer. "Private A. G. Briggs, Co. K 22 Miss. Regt., is hereby detailed as drummer and will report to W. R. Williams, Chief Musician 22 Miss. Regt. for duty at once."<sup>82</sup>

When all methods of securing musicians had failed and, for whatever reason, soldiers were not available from within the ranks, some enterprising Confederate officers found other ways to provide musicians for their regiments. Several historical sources report that Confederates arranged for Yankee prisoners who were confined in the infamous Andersonville prison camp to serve as musicians.

Prisoners were paroled as drummers and fifers for the 2nd Georgia Reserves. Without Wirtz's knowledge, [Capt. Henry Wirtz, Confederate Commander of Camp Sumter Prison at Andersonville, Georgia],

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<sup>82</sup>Special Order #3, Headquarters 22nd Mississippi Regiment, April 17th 1864, from the Confederate papers of the Mississippi State Archives, Jackson, Mississippi.

the regiment, accompanied by these musicians, marched five miles from Andersonville to serenade a lady who had sewn a flag for the regiment.<sup>83</sup>

In a letter found in the Alabama State Archives in Montgomery, Alabama, a former Union Soldier who was held prisoner at Andersonville, recorded several related incidents. The young Union prisoner was taken to Andersonville Prison, where he remained until September of the same year. While there he was befriended by an Alabama Confederate Soldier who was looking for a drummer for the Twenty-sixth Alabama Regiment.

Lewis Jones, a private of the 26th Ala. secured permission to take me on the outside of the prison on condition that I would beat the drum for the 26 Ala. on guard mount, dress parade etc., while they would remain at Andersonville on duty.<sup>84</sup>

The Confederate took the Yankee prisoner to the camp of the Alabama regiment and explained that he could be paroled to serve as a regimental drummer for the Southerners, and as such, would be treated as a regimental musician, which is certainly better treatment than he received as

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<sup>83</sup>Ovid L. Futch, A History of Andersonville Prison (Tallahassee, Florida, 1968), p. 114. This incident is also reported by Edwin C. Bearss in his in house publication for the U. S. National Parks Service, Andersonville National Historic Site - Historic Resource Study and Historical Base Map. p. 105.

<sup>84</sup>Author unknown, Letter to the Governor of Alabama from a former Union Soldier from Marietta Ohio. The letter, dated September 30, 1894, was found in the regimental histories manuscript section in the folder of the Twenty-sixth Alabama Confederate Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

a prisoner of war. The young Union soldier refused and was returned to the stockade. The Alabama regiment failed in this particular attempt to secure musicians, but "they soon succeeded in getting a good drummer and fifer out of the stockade."<sup>85</sup>

Although the young Yankee soldier did not join the Alabamians, he was protected and given food for the duration of his confinement in the prison by the Confederate soldier. In his letter, the former prisoner told the Governor of Alabama that the Confederate, Lewis Jones, saved his life.<sup>86</sup>

The musicians secured by the Confederate military affiliated with the units they served in a variety of ways. Many Confederate military bands enlisted as a group that was an organized musical ensemble before the war. These bands were often associated with the military unit before the war by being included at various patriotic functions, or being hired to perform for military drills, parades or balls. Some of the bands were paid by the State or Confederate government in the same manner that other members of the same units were paid, while others were paid by the regimental commander, or by the contributions of the officers of the regiment who understood the value of having a band company assigned to the unit.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>Ibid.      <sup>86</sup>Ibid.

<sup>87</sup>For more information on bands enlisted enmasse and paid by their regimental officers, see Chapter VII.

Some bands were mustered into the service of the Confederacy as part of the militia units to whom they had been attached prior to the war. Many of these bandsmen served as regularly enlisted members of the militia before the war and chose to remain with the band company of the unit as it became a Confederate organization.<sup>88</sup>

There were bands organized after the war began, composed of experienced musicians who had enlisted as bandsmen. Experienced musicians who enlisted as regular soldiers were often selected because of musical talent and assigned to musical duties, and inexperienced non-musicians were trained to serve as musicians. Some ensembles were made up of a combination of both experienced and inexperienced men.<sup>89</sup>

Newspapers served an active part in the recruitment of ensembles and individual musicians for the Confederate war effort. Some units advertised for whole brass bands, while others sought from one to four musicians for specific musical positions that were vacant in their units.<sup>90</sup>

The arbitrary process of selecting men to serve as musicians for their military units regardless of their experience or desire to serve in that capacity was common.

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<sup>88</sup>For more information, see pp. 42-44 in Chapter II concerning the Savannah Republican Blues Band.

<sup>89</sup>See pp. 60-66 in Chapter II.

<sup>90</sup>See pp. 57, 58, 63, 64, 68, and 69 in Chapter II.

Officers relied so heavily on musicians as communicators of routine and emergency commands that they could not allow vacancies in the ranks of regimental and company musicians to remain any longer than necessary.<sup>91</sup>

Regardless of the process of enlistment into the service of the Confederacy, most military leaders found ways to get musicians to supply music for the needs of their units. Not all military organizations of the Confederate armies carried the numbers of musicians on their rolls to which they were entitled, due to lack of monies for recruiting musicians or the inability to find men who could adequately perform the required musical duties. However, the evidence found concerning the enlistment and recruiting practices for bands and individual musicians for service to the Confederacy indicates that a sustained effort was made by military leaders and musical personnel alike to provide musical services to as many Confederate military organizations as possible.

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<sup>91</sup>See pp. 57-64 in Chapter II.

## CHAPTER III

### THE CHAIN OF COMMAND, STRUCTURE, AND ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFEDERATE ARMIES AS APPLIED TO MILITARY BANDS

The armies of the new Confederate States of America were formed quickly across the South as state after state seceded from the Union. Native sons who were career military officers offered their services to the Southern cause. Soldiers who were trained as cadets at two of the South's most prestigious military colleges, the South Carolina Military Academy (The Citadel), and Virginia Military Institute, were invaluable in the early days of military organization "serving as drill masters, and then as company and regimental officers."<sup>1</sup>

According to Civil War scholar Douglas Southall Freeman, the graduates of West Point who resigned commissions in the U. S. Army to become Confederate officers performed the greatest service in getting the fledgling Southern army on its feet. As professional soldiers, these few men were able to convince the bureaucrats of the new government that the only way to success in fashioning a new army was to model it after the Federal army. Care was taken in this effort to apply demanding standards that have always

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<sup>1</sup>Douglas Southall Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, Vol. I, (New York, 1944), p. xxiii.

been associated with military regulations to insure a disciplined fighting force as soon as possible.

They administered the Army as if there always had been and always would be a Confederacy. One never gets the impression, after the first few months of war, that one is reading of a revolutionary, haphazard organization. It was, in the minds of its leaders, a 'Provisional Army,' but it had a permanent, professional corps of officers.<sup>2</sup>

Armies were raised in both the North and the South composed of small numbers of professional soldiers and militia regiments that could be quickly mustered into service. The tremendous size of the forces that were needed so completely outnumbered the available militia organizations that both armies soon became manned mostly by civilian volunteers.<sup>3</sup>

In each of the Southern states, military units of volunteers were raised by the Governor of that state after the original militia units had been placed on active duty status. State legislatures across the new Confederacy passed laws to give each state governor the authority to secure the volunteers needed for the new army.

The legislation passed on May 6, 1861 by the General Assembly of Tennessee is a typical example. The Act consists of 41 sections which list minute details of organization, from the number of soldiers to be provided, through the

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Richard E. Beringer et al., Why the South Lost the Civil War (Athens, Georgia, 1986), p. 41.

chain of command and rates of pay, to methods for financing and supplying the troops.<sup>4</sup>

Section 1 gives the Governor the power to raise a force of fifty-five thousand volunteers, up to twenty-five thousand of whom "shall be fitted for the field at the earliest practicable moment."<sup>5</sup> Each state governor retained the ultimate authority to command his state troops. "Should it become necessary for the safety of the State, the Governor may call out the whole available military strength for the State."<sup>6</sup>

Local communities raised companies of men which were formed with other companies of the community, or companies from other localities, into regiments. When a regiment was transferred to the front (most were sent to Virginia in 1861), they were mustered in by a regular army officer who administered an oath which officially transferred the unit from state service to Confederate service.

Such was the case of the Rowan Rifle Guards of Salisbury, North Carolina. After being assigned to the

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<sup>4</sup>"An Act to Raise, Organize and Equip, a Provisional Force, and for other purposes," passed by the General Assembly of Tennessee, May 6, 1861, J. E. R. Ray, Secretary of State, four-page manuscript found in the Tennessee State Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., Section 1, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

Fourth North Carolina Regiment and sent to Fort Johnson, Virginia, in August of 1861, the soldiers were mustered into the Confederate Army. A portion of a letter written by a member of the Rifle Guard Company was printed in The Carolina Watchman newspaper. "We were paid off yesterday . . . for one month since we were sworn in as regulars."<sup>7</sup>

The First South Carolina Volunteer Regiment became a unit of Confederate regulars. "In the month of May [1861] the regiment was called upon to transfer itself into the service of the Confederate States."<sup>8</sup>

The Confederate States Army, although referred to as a regular army, was really a volunteer force. The Army of the Confederate States of America was the official term designated by the Confederate Congress on March 6, 1861, but the regular army of the Confederacy was actually entitled the Provisional Army of the Confederate States (P.A.C.S.). It was created by legislation passed by the Confederate Congress giving the President the power to accept state forces into the army, and control of all military operations.<sup>9</sup> This

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<sup>7</sup>The Carolina Watchman, September 12, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup>J. F. J. Caldwell, The History of a Brigade of South Carolinians (Philadelphia, 1866), p. 8.

<sup>9</sup>Mark M. Boatner III, The Civil War Dictionary (New York, 1959), p. 612.

established the concept of civilian control of the military in the Confederacy.<sup>10</sup>

The President of the Confederate States of America was the Commander in Chief of the Armed forces.<sup>11</sup> His immediate subordinates were the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy. The largest unit designation for land forces of the Confederacy was an army. The Civil War Dictionary lists

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<sup>10</sup>This was the same concept that had long been the practice of the United States government. The establishment of the President of the Confederacy as the Commander in Chief of the military may be misleading. The title implies that the Confederate President could exert complete control of all Southern forces. This was perhaps the biggest problem that the new nation faced. Because of the very nature of a confederacy of states, the power of the central government was extremely limited due to the doctrine of states' rights. Many historians conclude that this was one of the main weaknesses of the Southern Confederacy, and some imply that this was the major reason for the South being defeated. A detailed study of the Confederate command structure and its problems is Frank E. Vandiver's Rebel Brass (Baton Rouge, 1956).

<sup>11</sup>Just as the President of the Confederacy was Commander in Chief of the Confederate armies, the governors of each Southern state claimed to be the commander of the state troops. Jefferson Davis, a West Point graduate and former U.S. military officer, felt he had the necessary experience and the authority to command the armies. Governors like Joe Brown of Georgia and Zebulon Vance of North Carolina, felt an obligation to use troops to protect their states. Both men were among state leaders who feared that there would be no real defense against invading soldiers if local men were moved to distant areas to fight for the Confederate government. Many history books present in-depth discussions of this problem. Among them, Bruce Catton's three-volume Centennial History of the Civil War, Douglas Southall Freeman's introduction to Volume I of Lee's Lieutenants, and Frank Vandiver's Rebel Brass adequately cover the subject.

sixteen armies which took their names from the territory or region in which they were located.<sup>12</sup> After several reorganizations, three large armies composed the Confederate land force. The Army of Northern Virginia was the best known of these forces and was commanded by General Robert E. Lee. The Army of Tennessee was second only to Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, and The Army of the Trans-Mississippi was concentrated in the more Western states, (Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas).<sup>13</sup>

A corps was composed of two or more brigades, usually four, and was commanded by a Lieutenant General, the highest Confederate rank. There were four Confederate corps, and only five Lieutenant Generals in the C. S. A.<sup>14</sup> A division was composed of two or more brigades, usually four, commanded by a Major General. Several regiments, (more than two, usually four or five), made up a brigade which was commanded by a Brigadier General.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Mark M. Boatner III, The Civil War Dictionary (New York, 1959), p. 26.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 611-13.

<sup>14</sup>John O. Casler, Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade (Marietta, Georgia, 1951), p. 18. The constant shifting and reorganization of the Confederate military forces as the war progressed make it very difficult to determine exactly how many corps formed an army. Confederate corps often were called by the name of the corps commander. A very good explanation of Confederate Corps structure late in the war is included in James I. Robertson's General A. P. Hill (New York, 1987), pp. 195-198.

<sup>15</sup>Casler, p. 18.

## THE CONFEDERATE MILITARY STRUCTURE INCLUDING BANDS

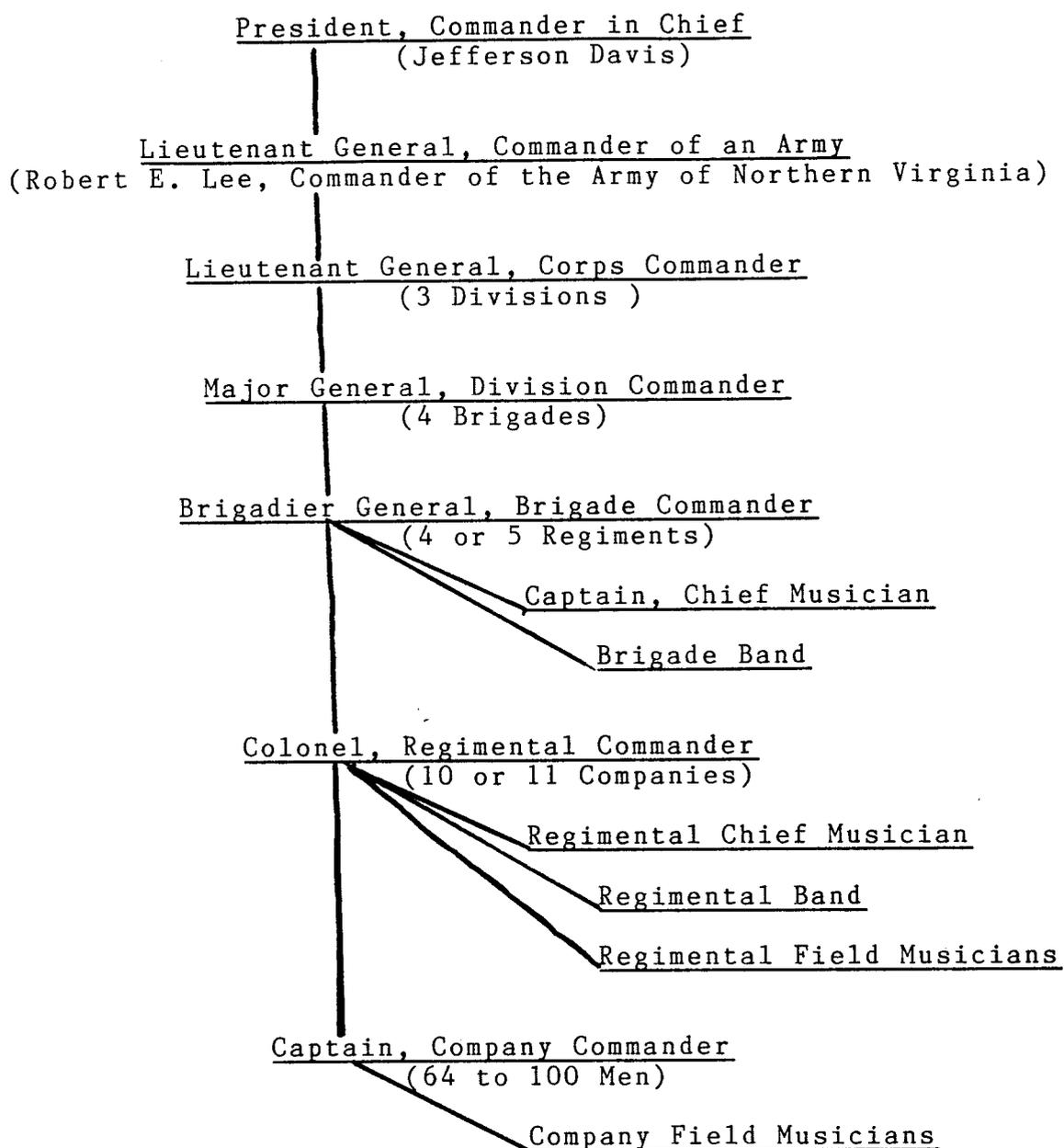


Figure 2--Flow Chart of the Confederate Military Structure.

The brigade was the largest unit designation for Civil War bands. A number of Confederate bands were designated as brigade bands by the commanding general of the brigade. Confederate brigades usually took the name of the commanding general of the brigade. The best known brigade band in the Confederacy was the famous Stonewall Brigade Band.

Like Union regiments, a Confederate regiment was designed to be composed of ten companies. It was not uncommon, however, for Confederate regiments to contain more or less than ten companies. Many Georgia regiments, for example, were composed of eleven, or more, companies.<sup>16</sup>

The regimental level was the most common designation for the bands of the Confederacy.<sup>17</sup> Confederate regiments were commanded by a Colonel, assisted by a Lt. Colonel and a Major. Each regiment was allowed at least two musicians, and all musicians were to be appointed by the Colonel of the regiment.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Lillian Henderson, The Roster of Confederate Soldiers of Georgia Vols. I - VI (Hapeville, Georgia, 1960).

<sup>17</sup>For a list of all known bands of the Confederate armies, see index B. Although the number of Confederate bands was probably larger than those found in this study and listed in index B, available evidence indicates that the majority of the Southern bands served at the regimental level, even though late in the war there may have been only one regimental band serving in a brigade.

<sup>18</sup>Legislative Acts were passed by the General Assemblies of Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee to raise, organize, and equip a provisional force.

In addition, provisions were made by the central government of the Confederacy for the assignment of bands to regiments.

When it is desired to have bands of music for the regiments, there will be allowed for each, sixteen privates to act as musicians, in addition to the chief musicians authorized by law, provided, the total number of privates in the regiments, including the band, does not exceed the legal standard.<sup>19</sup>

Section 75 of Article XII states:

The musicians of the band will for the time being, be dropped from the company muster rolls, but they will be instructed as soldiers, and liable to serve in the ranks on any occasion. They will be mustered in a separate squad under the chief musician, with the non-commissioned staff, and be included in the aggregate in all regimental returns.<sup>20</sup>

Some authors have concluded from this regulation that the Southerners were "fully aware of the need for every fighting man to be available for combat duty."<sup>21</sup> There are few cases, even in the modern armed forces of the United States, where bandsmen are exempt from instruction as soldiers. There is no indication which suggests that this was unusual for the Confederates or any military band. There were many incidents where bandsmen served in the ranks as riflemen in American armies through the Vietnam conflict.

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<sup>19</sup>Regulations for the Army of the Confederate States Article XII, Section 74 (Richmond, 1861, revised 1863), James A. Seddon, Secretary of War.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., Article XII, Section 75.

<sup>21</sup>Francis A. Lord, and Arthur Wise, Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War (New York, 1966), p. 56.

The regulation simply provided a method for moving bandsmen from their companies, assigning them to the regiment, and created the organization of the band as a company within the regiment. The chief musician served as company commander, and the status of the bandsmen was elevated to the level of the regimental staff non-commissioned officers.

An order which stationed regimental bands at regimental headquarters with senior regimental officers further emphasized the regimental staff position of the bandsmen. The same regulation assigned all company musicians (usually fifers, drummers, or buglers) to be stationed in the field with their companies.<sup>22</sup>

Companies were composed of a maximum of one hundred soldiers and were supposed to contain from 64 to 82 privates commanded by a captain. One first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, one first sergeant, four sergeants, four corporals, and two musicians completed the staff.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Regulations for the Army of the Confederate States, Article XII, Section 76.

<sup>23</sup>Mark M. Boatner III, The Civil War Dictionary (New York, 1959), p. 612. It should be noted that while regulations designated minimum and maximum strengths for military units, few organizations of any level in either Union or Confederate forces were actually composed of these numbers of soldiers. Regiments were supposed to consist of roughly 1000 men, but they were hardly ever so large on either side after the first of the war, and they steadily declined as the war progressed. Boatner places Confederate brigade strength at an average of 4.7 regiments and about 1,850 men. He cites regimental strength during the battle at Chancellorsville (May 1-4, 1863) at 433 men in each Federal regiment and 409 men in each Confederate regiment.

Company grade officers were usually elected by the men of the volunteer companies. Campaigns for military office were waged, complete with political advertisements placed in Southern newspapers. A notice in The Savannah Republican announced the candidacy of James P. Long for Captain of his company.

To the Voters of Company E, 1st Reg't G. M. [first regiment of the Georgia Militia] I respectfully announce myself a candidate for Captain of the Third Beat G. M. at the election on Thursday next, 25th September, to be held at Justice Stanley's office, and solicit your sufferages [sic].<sup>24</sup>

Editors of newspapers often supported candidates for military office through the newspaper. The editor of The Augusta Chronicle wrote short articles encouraging support for men seeking office in local companies in 1861. Results of company elections were published on a regular basis. The April 27, 1861, Augusta Chronicle lists names of the newly elected officers of the Young Guards, the Letcher Guards, and the Augusta Guards.<sup>25</sup>

A popular notion is that most units included a bugler on its rolls. While buglers were assigned to cavalry units, they were rarely assigned to the Confederate infantry.

Even excluding buglers, the Confederate army company that did not have at least one musician was rare. Almost

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<sup>24</sup>The Savannah Republican, September 23, 1862, p. 4.

<sup>25</sup>The Augusta Chronicle, April 27, 1861, p. 1.

every company included a drummer in its ranks, and most also included a drummer and a fifer. So many Confederate companies included more than two musicians that the combination of one fifer, one tenor drummer, and a bass drummer was common. A number of photographs and drawings of Confederate rifle companies clearly show this combination of musicians.<sup>26</sup>

Typical of many units of Confederates is a photograph (see photograph on page 87) of an unidentified volunteer company showing five musicians in the first row of men. A fife and drum field band consisting of one bass drum, two fifers, and two snare drummers is shown in this never-before-published photograph from a private collection.<sup>27</sup>

A battalion was a Confederate army military unit that was smaller than a regiment but consisted of several companies. Commanded by a Major, a battalion consisted of

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<sup>26</sup>Examples of more than two company musicians in photographs can be seen in the following publications: Touched By Fire Vol. I, p. 112; A Pictorial History of the Confederacy, p. 48; Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War, pp. 53, 124, 166, 200; The Time Life Series Decoying The Yanks, p. 41; The Golden Book of the Civil War, p. 14.

<sup>27</sup>From the private collection of photographs of Confederate soldiers of Jerry L. Coody of Tucker, Georgia, this is probably a photograph of a mobilized local rifle company from Mississippi. Hundreds of photographs of Confederate soldiers were examined by this writer in an effort to identify this unit by the unusual nature of its striped uniforms. A photograph published in an out-of-print reminiscence of the Civil War, Recollections of Thomas D. Duncan A Confederate Soldier p. 161., shows the author at the age of fourteen dressed in his Mississippi militia uniform which has stripes similar to those in the company photograph.

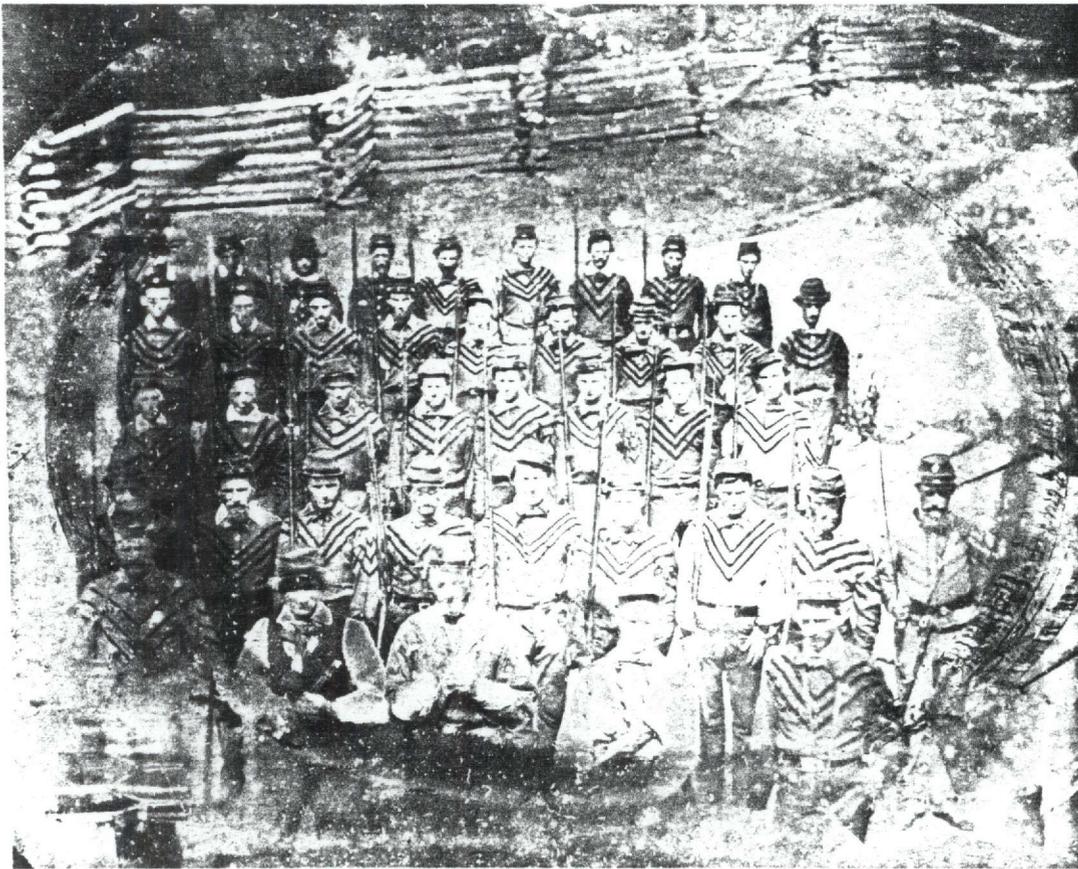


Figure 3--This photograph of an unidentified Confederate rifle company features the field band of five men positioned on the front row. The band consists of bass drum, two fifers, and two snare drummers. Note the differences in the uniforms of the musicians. (The photo is provided through the courtesy of Jerry Coody of Tucker, Georgia.)

"several companies banded together--less than ten."<sup>28</sup> The First North Carolina Battalion Band, and the Field Band of the Second Georgia Battalion were two bands assigned to Confederate battalions.

Regardless of the number of musicians assigned to a band, the commanding officer of the band was the bandmaster. Frequently the solo E flat cornet player was the bandmaster and directed the band by moving the bell of his instrument, or occasionally giving a conducting downbeat or cutoff in much the same manner as a first trumpet player of a brass quintet, as he played. Bandleaders often served as chief musician of the regiment or brigade and would be responsible for the fifers, buglers, and drummers, in addition to the bandsmen.<sup>29</sup>

No distinction was made between the pay of bandsmen and field musicians in the Confederate military, but pay was different for musicians in different branches of the service. The military bill passed by the Confederate Congress authorized monthly pay scales for all soldiers.

Monthly pay for enlisted men: Sergeants or master workmen of engineer corps \$34; Corporals or overseers \$20; privates of first class or artificers \$17; privates of second class or laborers and musicians \$13; Sergeant Major of Calvary \$21; first Sergeants \$20; Sergeants \$17; Corporals, Farriers and Blacksmiths \$18; Musicians \$13; privates \$12; (infantry) first Sergeants \$20; Sergeants \$17;

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<sup>28</sup>Casler, p. 18.

<sup>29</sup>See Appendix B, Confederate Bands List

Corporals and artificers \$13; Musicians \$12, and Privates \$11. Non-commissioned officers, artificers, musicians and privates serving in the light batteries shall receive the same pay as those of cavalry.<sup>30</sup>

The position of musician must have been more prestigious than that of the regular private since the pay was \$1 more per month. This pay difference, combined with the establishment of regimental band units where bandsmen were not assigned to individual companies, gave band members the status of junior non-commissioned officers.

All the soldiers of the Confederacy were not always paid on the same scale since individual states raised units for the Provisional Army of the Confederate States and passed laws governing the organization of these troops. An example is the previously mentioned Act to Raise, Organize and Equip a Provisional Force that was passed by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee. In September of 1861, chief musicians in Alabama regiments were paid \$24 per month and musicians were paid \$22.<sup>31</sup>

Like Virginia, most Southern states paid private musicians \$12 per month, which was \$1 per month more than

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<sup>30</sup>Synopsis of the Military Bill passed by the Confederate Congress reprinted in Southern newspapers. This printing occurred on March 12, 1861 in The Macon Telegraph of Macon, Georgia.

<sup>31</sup>Muster rolls and payrolls of the Alabama Volunteer Infantry Regiments, C. S. A., found in the Alabama State Archives, Montgomery, Alabama. Two examples occur in the September, 1861 payrolls of the Fifth Alabama Infantry Regiment. Geo. C. Byrd, and H. Q. Allen, both chief musicians, were each paid \$24.

infantry privates received, and chief musicians were paid \$21 per month.<sup>32</sup> North Carolina musicians received \$24 for February, 1864. Payrolls of several North Carolina Confederate bands reveal that the band leader was not paid more than other members of the bands.<sup>33</sup> Whether this was a common practice developed due to lack of funds, or only a practice for North Carolina soldiers is unknown.

In most cases, the prewar bandmaster was usually retained as bandmaster when the band became a military unit. Not all Confederate band leaders however held commissioned officer rank, but the position of bandleader carried more respect and more prestige than the position of ordinary musician. The bandmaster was always called Professor as a title of respect without regard to academic degrees.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Muster rolls of the Virginia Volunteer Infantry Regiments, Virginia State Library, Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>33</sup>Muster rolls of the Fourth, Sixth, and Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Bands, North Carolina State Archives Raleigh, North Carolina.

<sup>34</sup>Bandmasters were called professor due to the position they held, not because of college degrees or because of college teaching positions. The title was most often conferred upon those musicians who were European immigrants, or those who had studied music in Europe. A good example was Louis Zitterbart, bandmaster of the Fourth Georgia Regimental Band. He was known as Professor Zitterbart before and during the war because of his musical training and solo performance. His occupation was music teacher in his private studio in Americus, Georgia before the war.

There seems to have been no consistent rank structure for all Confederate bandmasters. Some regimental bandleaders were given the rank of sergeant, some were referred to as chief musicians, while others seem to have received no rank.

Bandmasters were often called Captain regardless of their military rank. This title was incorrectly given to Samuel Mickey, leader of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band, by at least one writer of the Regimental history of this famous Confederate Regiment.<sup>35</sup>

Several leaders of bands officially designated as Confederate Brigade bands were promoted to the rank of Captain. P. T. Barnitz was promoted to Captain when the Fifth Virginia Regimental Band became the Virginia First Brigade Band.<sup>36</sup> T. J. Firth of the Thirteenth Tennessee Band also held the rank of brigade band Captain. ". . . 12 months after the Band was made a Brigade Band . . . I was promoted to Brigade Bandmaster with the rank of Captain."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Memoirs of J. T. Adams, Lieutenant Colonel of the Twenty-Sixth North Carolina Regiment, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

<sup>36</sup>Muster rolls of the Stonewall Brigade Band, Stonewall Brigade Band Hall, Staunton, Virginia, and Virginia State Library, Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>37</sup>Letter to John Knox of Oak Park, Illinois from T. J. Firth dated November 7th on stationery of the Confederate Historical Association of Memphis, Tennessee. The year of the letter is not included. Firth wrote to Knox to sell him part, or all, of his memoirs after reading in The Confederate Veteran that Knox had trouble getting in touch with "old veterans of the Confederacy." In a photocopy of the letter provided to this writer by Kenneth Olson, Firth stated that he was the only surviving Confederate Bandmaster.

Whether the Confederate bandmaster was actually an army Captain, or held no official rank at all, he was usually treated as a gentleman and respected by the officers, soldiers, and musicians of the military unit in which he served. In a time when a soldier's diary recorded a critique of the command ability of officers and non-coms whose orders directly affected his life, no evidence was found to indicate that there were bandsmen who recorded a lack of respect for their bandmasters, or of musicians who complained of an incompetent band director.

#### Band Size and Instrumentation

Bands of the Confederate forces varied greatly in numbers of musicians and instrumentation. The Confederate army regulation stating that the band should consist of "sixteen privates acting as musicians in addition to the chief musician" was not enforced.<sup>38</sup> Depending on the needs of a particular unit, and the availability of musicians, musical ensembles ranged from field units of several fifers and drummers, to large brass bands with as many as twenty-five pieces. The Twenty-fifth Georgia Regimental Band was composed of twenty-five musicians when it was organized on June 1, 1861.<sup>39</sup> A roster for North Carolina

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<sup>38</sup>Article XII, Section 74, Regulations for the Army of the Confederate States (Richmond, 1861, revised 1863).

<sup>39</sup>Lillian Henderson, Vol. III, pp. 90-91.

Confederate soldiers shows the Sixty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band with a complement of twenty-eight musicians.<sup>40</sup>

Of the forty-seven bands that surrendered with Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, twenty-five carried eight or more men on their final roll. The largest ensemble surrendered at Appomattox was the sixteen-man Thirteenth North Carolina Regimental Band. The Sixth South Carolina Volunteer Regiment Band of 15 men and Finnegan's Brigade Band from Florida of 14 men were surrendered along with three units of 11 men, two bands of 12 men, and four bands of 10 men.<sup>41</sup>

It is known that troop strength of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia was very low at the time of surrender, and that not all the men who were regularly members of the bands were included in the final muster. It is probably safe to assume that most of the bands included on the surrender roll were under strength at that time, since only a few of the forty-seven ensembles listed the same number of men at the time of surrender included on earlier muster rolls.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>John W. Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops in the War Between the States (Raleigh, 1881).

<sup>41</sup>R. J. Broch, and Philip Van Doren Stern, The Appomattox Roster (New York, 1952).

<sup>42</sup>See Appendix B. The list of all known Confederate bands compiled during this study includes the maximum strength of each band if known, and the number of men who were listed on the surrender rolls of the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox, Virginia on April 9, 1865. No final muster rolls are extant from the other Confederate armies.

The Army of Northern Virginia was largest, and the first Confederate Army to surrender. Next in size was the Army of Tennessee, which included many bands noted by historians as having been visible and active at the battles of Franklin, Tennessee, and Stones River, near Murfreesboro, Tennessee. The strength of the Army of Tennessee in September, 1863, was 47,500 infantry troops, 14,500 cavalry troops, and reserve troops numbering 3,500. The strength of this army dwindled to slightly more than 20,000 men at the time of its surrender at Bennett's house near Durham Station, North Carolina, on April 14, 1865.<sup>43</sup> No record of the final muster rolls or of the number of bands which surrendered with the Army of Tennessee exists. If found, this information would help to eliminate some of the guesswork in determining the number of Confederate bands which existed, and help to establish the number of these ensembles that served through the entire war.

The extremes of size of the bands found to have served the Confederacy ranged from just a few musicians in a regimental or company field band, to large brass bands of nearly thirty members. Most of the bands probably maintained a strength of from nine to thirteen members. Even the largest of these groups seems small when compared to today's average high school marching band, but probably were of

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<sup>43</sup>Boatner, pp. 828-29.

normal size when compared to the average community or town band of the late 1800's. It is helpful when trying to place the number of men in these bands into proper perspective to remember that the showcase band of the United States government, the United States Marine Band, was "officially authorized at 30 musicians" as its full strength in 1861.<sup>44</sup>

Although the Confederate Army Regulations called for sixteen musicians with a chief musician, most Confederate bands at full strength probably consisted of ten to twelve musicians, including a chief musician who performed as a member of the band. There were, to be sure, variations of this number in the Confederate regiments and brigades, especially as the war progressed.<sup>45</sup>

The full strength Confederate band was generally smaller by four to ten members than the Union bands. Federal regulations called for regimental bands of sixteen musicians, and brigade bands of twenty-four musicians. Again there were variations of these numbers, larger and smaller, but the average Federal band strength after the mustering out of many regimental bands on July 17, 1862, ranged from seventeen to twenty-four members.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Richard Franko Goldman, The Concert Band (New York, 1946), p. 54.

<sup>45</sup>See Bands List, Appendix B.

<sup>46</sup>Bufkin, p. 62.

There are only two pictures of Confederate bands which historians have positively identified, and several others of bands which have not yet been positively identified. Since it is possible that all the members of these bands may not have been present at the time the picture was taken, the photographs are not necessarily reliable indicators of the instrumentation of the Confederate bands.<sup>47</sup>

The brass band books that were available from Northeastern music publishing companies before the Civil War were used by most brass bands. These books were sold in sets of parts which served as the standard for popular band instrumentation of the period.<sup>48</sup>

As with modern bands, there are infinite possibilities of doublings for instrumental parts based upon the number of

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<sup>47</sup>Based on the photograph of eight brass players of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band, Beverly Weaver, author of Musical Greys, incorrectly assumes that "the band did not have a drum." In fact, there were two drummers who joined the band after the picture was taken. The picture was made sometime during July or August of 1862. On July 8, 1862, a bass drummer joined the band, and a snare drummer had joined the band before February 25, 1864, when the band numbered twelve members.

<sup>48</sup>The Brass Band Journal, published in 1854 by Harvey Dodsworth as part of his Brass Band School, was available to bandsmen before the Civil War, and regularly included music for brass bands. Other brass band music can be examined in Peters' Sax Horn Journal, found in the Library of Congress along with Dodsworth's publications, the band books of the Union army Port Royal Band, and the Confederate Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band books. The Bufkin and Olson dissertations are good sources for in-depth discussions on Civil War band instrumentation.

performers per part. Based upon examination of the brass band music of the second half of the Nineteenth Century and the combinations of instruments found in the Confederate bands examined for this study, the standard instrumentation for the Confederate military bands at full strength was two E flat cornets (sometimes first and second parts or solo and first parts, but mainly doubled); two B flat cornet parts (usually first and second parts); one or two E flat alto horns (usually doubled); one or two B flat tenor horns; one B flat baritone horn; one bass (either E flat or B flat tuba or bombardon); one fife or piccolo player (an optional instrumentalist who may have doubled on a brass instrument); one snare drummer, one bass drummer; and one cymbal player.<sup>49</sup>

The Nineteenth Virginia Regimental Band was typical of Confederate brass bands at full strength. The instrumentation for this band was two E flat cornets; two B flat cornets; one E flat alto horn; two B flat tenor horns; one B flat baritone horn; one B flat bass horn; one snare drummer; one bass drummer; and one cymbal player. The common practice of the time was for the bandmaster to perform

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<sup>49</sup>Confederate bands were forced to vary instrumentation from day to day due to sickness caused by the harsh weather conditions imposed upon them. Many performances were played when at least one musician was on sick call, hospitalized, or on furlough because of illness. Instrumentation could also vary depending on the occasion since many of these musicians, like modern professional musicians, were able to perform on several different instruments. Different combinations of instruments were also achieved by combining field musicians, fifers, drummers, and buglers, with bandsmen.

as an E flat cornet player. Bandmaster G. W. Tetlow, an E flat cornetist, was no exception.<sup>50</sup>

The Fourth Georgia Band at full strength was composed of thirteen men at the beginning of the Civil War. Their instrumentation was four cornets; two alto horns; two tenor horns; one baritone horn; one bass; one snare drum; one bass drum; and one pair of cymbals.<sup>51</sup>

The Fifth Virginia Regimental band, which was later to become the Stonewall Brigade Band, had a complement of fourteen men in 1862. The instrumentation of this band is not recorded at this time, but has been determined for this study as two E flat cornets; two B flat cornets; three E flat alto horns; two B flat tenor horns; one B flat baritone horn; one B flat tuba; one snare drum; one bass drum; and one pair of cymbals.<sup>52</sup>

The Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band numbered twelve musicians at full strength in 1864. Adding

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<sup>50</sup>Muster rolls for the Nineteenth Virginia Volunteer Infantry Regiment Band preserved on microfilm and in bound volumes of photocopies, located in the Virginia State Library, Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>51</sup>The Augusta Chronicle, May 1, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup>This instrumentation was determined by examination of a number of documents which mention the names of performers and their instruments at different times during their musical careers. The muster rolls of the Fifth Virginia Regiment in the Stonewall Brigade Band Room, Staunton, Virginia, and at the Virginia State Library, Archives section in Richmond, were examined, along with membership rolls of the Stonewall Brigade Band from before, during, and after the Civil War.

to the original number of eight brass performers, instrumentation of the full complement was two E flat cornets; two B flat cornets; two E flat alto horns; two B flat tenor horns; one B flat baritone; one B flat bass; one snare drummer; and one bass drummer.<sup>53</sup>

It is unfortunate for students of instrumental music that so few documents remain which list the instrument or instruments played by each member of the Civil War bands. Other than partial references which mention what instruments were played by a few of the members of a particular band, the exact instrumentation of most of these ensembles is left to speculation. By piecing together military muster rolls, studying band rolls before and after the war, and examining many newspaper articles mentioning the bands, probable instrumentation can be estimated.

The number of Confederate bands whose membership consisted of from eight to eleven men suggests that some adaptations were made for this small number of musicians to be able to perform the band literature of the period. Reductions in the numbers of musicians in the band could

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<sup>53</sup>No one source is clear about the instrumentation of the group at its fullest strength. The best single source is Harry Hall, A Johnny Reb Band from Salem (New York, 1980). Other sources examined for determining instrumentation are The Peterson letters found in the Archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Eulogies and obituaries of the bandsmen found in the Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; and periodical publications of the Moravian Music Foundation, which include Moravian genealogical information.

be achieved without losing voice parts by eliminating some of the doubled parts, and combining or eliminating some percussion parts.<sup>54</sup>

A nine-piece band could be adapted to cover all the parts using one solo E flat cornet; two B flat cornets (first and second parts); one E flat alto horn; one B flat tenor horn; one B flat baritone horn, one E flat or B flat bass horn; one snare drummer; and one bass drummer with attached cymbals. It is likely that many of the Confederate bands which consisted of from eight to ten musicians used such combinations of instruments.<sup>55</sup>

A good sound can be achieved performing arrangements of the music of the Civil War period for five brass instruments. The Empire Brass Quintet of Boston has published a series of musical arrangements from Dodsworth's Brass Band Journal that were popular during the War Between the States. The group also performs these pieces in concert and has produced recordings of this music. Naturally, the texture of the sound of five brass instruments is lighter and certainly different from the sound of a larger brass band, but the only noticeably missing sound during performance of this music is percussion.

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<sup>54</sup>See Appendix B, Confederate Bands List.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

Using the example of the brass quintet, one can imagine how the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment Band was able to achieve the acclaim it received early in the Civil War, when its total membership was only eight brass players. The Moravian musicians were known for their musical abilities and particularly for high quality in brass performance. Hearing the music from the Twenty-sixth Band books performed on restored instruments from the Civil War era, one can imagine that the proficient performers who were members of original group produced a remarkably well balanced sound using the small ensemble of brass instruments. The eight-piece instrumentation was one E flat cornet; two B flat cornets; two E flat alto horns; two B flat tenor horns; and one E flat bass.<sup>56</sup>

The brass instruments used by the Confederate bandsmen were essentially the same as instruments used by the Union bandsmen. The three types of brass instruments used by the nineteenth-century instrumentalists were divided into categories by the direction of bell of the instrument. Two of these categories, bell front and bell upright instruments, are those still used by modern instrumentalists. Over-the-shoulder instruments (OTS), used almost exclusively by Union

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<sup>56</sup>This instrumentation was determined through examination of a photograph of the original eight-piece Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band. Taken while on furlough in Salem in 1862, the photograph is located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

musicians and by many Confederate musicians, were brass horns positioned with the bell pointing over the performer's left shoulder. Southern bands were often composed of combinations of different types of brass instruments rather than the uniform sets of OTS horns used by the Union musicians.

As with all brass instruments, the projection of the sound is determined by the direction of the bell of the instrument. The musical result of the OTS instruments was that the sound was projected behind the instrumentalists.

The backward direction of the sound was good for the military marching bands whose main purpose was to perform for military functions such as drills and parades. The band was positioned at the head of a column of troops while marching, and the sound of the music was projected back over the shoulder of the bandsmen towards the marching units of soldiers.<sup>57</sup> No matter how well these horns worked for marching, the directional quality of the over-the-shoulder instruments caused many problems for concert presentations unless bandsmen chose to turn their backs to the audience while performing.

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<sup>57</sup>For excellent discussions of instruments of the period see William A. Bufkin, "Union Bands of the Civil War: Instrumentation and Score Analysis," unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Music, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1973; Also Mark Elrod and Robert Garofalo, Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments and Military Bands (Charleston, West Virginia, 1986). These works include excellent discussions of acoustical and physical considerations for each instrument.

The only complete set of the OTS style instruments known to exist today was used during the Civil War by the Stonewall Brigade Band. This seems rather odd since there were thousands of saxhorns played by Yankee bandsmen in hundreds of Union army bands. Placed on display in the band hall after the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia in 1865, these instruments have grown into a state of disrepair from disuse. The instruments were made by Adolph Sax of Brussels and were bought by the band before the war.<sup>58</sup>

Photographs of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band indicate that they used a combination of bell front instruments and bell upright instruments. Since most Southern musicians brought their personal instruments to war from home, the use of the concert instruments by these Moravian musicians is not surprising.<sup>59</sup>

Although it has been determined through this research effort that there is no accurate way to describe the exact instrumentation of most of the instrumental ensembles of the Confederate armies, reliable estimates of instrumentation of bands of different sizes can be made through an understanding of the kinds of arrangements and groupings of instruments

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<sup>58</sup>See photographs of the instruments of the Stonewall Brigade Band on display in the Stonewall Brigade Band Hall, Staunton, Virginia, in Chapter V.

<sup>59</sup>Photograph of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band taken in 1862 in Salem, North Carolina, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

commonly used in this historical period. Those who recorded the activities of these bands considered it unnecessary to write the instrument played beside the name of the musician who played it. The names of bandsmen are commonly found in newspaper articles, incidents on battlefields, and stories of camp life. One possibility for this omission could be that writers assumed that the names of the instruments of the brass band were commonly known by the public. Perhaps the writers thought that information about band instrumentation was not important.

Many of the references to the Civil War-era bands examined by this writer listed only the names of the musicians. Even articles about chamber ensembles often failed to mention instrumentation unless a solo or virtuoso passage was cited. Compared to contemporary newspaper and magazine articles about concert, rock, or military bands, the practice of failing to mention instrumentation of the ensembles does not seem unusual.

The size of most Confederate bands was smaller than Union bands. The large number of bands composed of eight to twelve members, and examination of music commonly performed by brass bands of the Civil War-era, indicate combinations of brass instruments that could be used to include all voice parts. Any brass player who has performed in the open air at loud volumes for long periods of time can appreciate the practice of having more than one player per part when

possible. There is nothing to indicate that larger bands included more instrumental parts. Additional players permitted heavier textures of sound for larger ensembles through doubling of parts.

## CHAPTER IV

### DUTIES

The average Confederate soldier in the field and in camp was exposed to some form of music from his first waking moment until he prepared for sleep at the end of the day. He was awakened by either a drummer or a bugler playing reveille, and was told to sleep by one of these field musicians in the evening.

The music of the band was heard while he marched in drills, dress parades, and from one battle area to another. He was entertained by bands playing the sentimental melodies which were so popular during the late 1860's, and was spirited into battle, perhaps to give his life, by the sounds of battle songs. Music by bands in the Confederate armies impressed the average soldier so much that many letters from the camp to family and friends at home mention some military music on parade, on the drill field, or in battle.

Not all of the Confederate units used buglers for signals of the day, but every military unit had a drummer on its rolls for beating the signals which could be performed by either the bugle or drum. In 1861, drum beats were considered interesting enough for local Southern newspapers to print a list of the beats and an

explanation of them. Twelve signals of beats, with corresponding bugle calls, were most commonly used by Confederate drummers. The blank spaces were to be filled in with the appropriate hour that a signal or call was to be sounded.

#### The Different Drum Beats and What They Mean

The Reveille is the signal for the men to rise and the sentinel is to leave off challenging.

The Troop is to sound or beat at \_\_\_o'clock in the morning, for the purpose of assembling the men for duty and inspection at guard mounting.

The Retreat is to sound or beat at sunset, for the purpose of warning the officers and men for duty, and for reading the orders of the day.

The Tattoo is to be beat at \_\_\_o'clock in the evening, after which no soldier is to be out of his tent or quarters, unless by special leave.

Peas upon a treacher, the signal for breakfast, is to sound or beat at \_\_\_o'clock in the morning.

Roast Beef, the signal for dinner, is to sound or beat at \_\_\_o'clock; at other times is the signal to draw provisions.

The Surgeon's call is to sound or beat at \_\_\_o'clock. When the sick able to go out, will be conducted to the hospital by the first sergeants of companies, who will hand to the surgeon a report of all the sick in the company other than in the hospital. The patients who cannot attend at the dispensary will be immediately after visited by the surgeon.

The General is to beat only when the whole army is to march, and is the signal to strike the tents and prepare for the march.

The Assembly is the signal to form by company.

To the Color is the signal to form by battalion.

The long roll is the signal for getting under arms, in case of alarm or the sudden approach of the enemy.

The parley is to desire a conference with the enemy.<sup>1</sup>

The mundane musical duties necessary for the operation of all Confederate military units were carried out by field musicians. Field musicians were drummers, fifers, and buglers who performed the signals previously mentioned. A morning report book for the 11th Georgia Battalion includes handwritten orders for daily drills to be observed by the battalion. Squad drill was to take place from 6 to 7 o'clock a.m. each day. Company drill would be held from 8 to 9 a.m. "every alternate day," and battalion drill for the nine companies that composed the 11th Georgia would be from 5 to 6 o'clock each day.<sup>2</sup>

It is doubtful that musicians would be included in squad drills, but company fifers and drummers played for company drills, and both field musicians and battalion bandsmen performed for the battalion drill at the end of the day.

The last drill of the day, usually a dress parade, took place about twenty minutes before sunset. The Forty-seventh

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<sup>1</sup>The Macon Telegraph, October 5, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Book of general orders found in the 47th Georgia Regiment papers in the archives of the Savannah Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia. The 11th Battalion was consolidated with the 47th Georgia Regiment, the 28th Battalion Georgia Siege Artillery and the 1st Regiment Georgia Regulars.

Georgia Regiment orders for the day on October 20, 1864, state that the "first call for parade, 20 minutes before sunset with sick call 15 minutes after parade."<sup>3</sup>

In his diary entry of March 17, 1863, Robert Masten Holmes of the 24th Mississippi Infantry mentioned the dress parade for his regiment. "At dress parade this evening the brass band was out and we had a little music & the parade was gorn [sic] through with, very promptly."<sup>4</sup>

Holmes also mentioned a special dress parade for visiting Confederate officials held on April 16, 1863, that seemed to really upset the routine of camp life for the Twenty-fourth Mississippi. The passage reproduced below is as written by Holmes, including spelling errors.

Very soon this morning we had the streets to clean up very neetly, as it was reported that Gen. Bragg, [General Braxton Bragg] would in person examine them . . . . Near 12 o'clock we received ordors to be readey to go out on review by 2 o'clock & at that time we were put into line & soon the two divisions of Gen. Polk's Corps, Lieutenant General Leonidas Polk was out on a large field near the city readey for review. Then Gens. Bragg, Polk, Withers, & Cheatham, Major General Jones M. Withers, and Major General Benjamin F. Cheatham then cam riding round & they were passing as the bands & drums were playing. They soon had witnessed the whole Corps. & we then were marched by them & the spectators who wer also looking on & taken back into camps. Dress parade was then gorn through with & an ordor was read that all surplus baggage

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., General Order no. 29.

<sup>4</sup>Robert Masten Holmes, Kemper County Rebel, The Civil War Diary of Robert Masten Holmes (Jackson, Mississippi, 1973), p. 68.

should be sent to the rear & the troops made reddey to appear upon the field of action . . . .<sup>5</sup>

Braxton Bragg was the commanding general of the entire Confederate Army of Tennessee at that time, and his subordinate generals were also there. Withers was commander of the division of the Army of Tennessee and Polk was commander of the corps of Withers' division. Cheatham was commander of the First Division of Polk's corps.<sup>6</sup> This review of the Corps by the highest ranking generals of the Army of Tennessee was carried out with the most military pomp and pageantry that could be summoned by the Confederates. One can only wonder what kind of massive campaign was on the drawing boards of these officers, and at the thoughts of the average Confederate soldier who marched past these generals with bands playing and spectators cheering.

One of the largest reviews to take place during the Civil War in the Confederate armies was the review of the entire Army of Tennessee when General Joseph E. Johnston took command on December 27, 1863. Two accounts of the review mention that it preceded a "sham battle" which was the 19th century version of military war games where a mock battle is held. An Alabama Confederate soldier in the 24th

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., April 16, 1863, pp. 86-87.

<sup>6</sup>Mark M. Boatner III, The Civil War Dictionary (New York, 1959), p. 612.

Alabama Infantry Regiment mentions the incident in his account of the regimental history.

Just before the campaign opened the whole army in full military equipage and formation was reviewed by General Johnston with the regular bands and the field bands stirring the blood with their thrilling marches.<sup>7</sup>

The following version of the same event is recorded by another Alabama regimental historian.

Before the campaign opened there was a general review of the whole army with its branches of service in place. Accompany [sic] the General and his staff was the commander of divisions and corps as their respective commands were reviewed, with stirring music from the bands calling forth cheer after cheer as "Maryland My Maryland," "Mocking Bird," "Bonny Blue Flag," and "Dixie" were played.<sup>8</sup>

The number of bands which performed for grand reviews of this kind can only be a matter for speculation. Although we know that there were bands present and the tunes that some of them played, there is no known listing of the bands at these massive reviews of an entire Confederate army.

There is an eye-witness account of a grand review of A. P. Hill's Third Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia,

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<sup>7</sup>Handwritten manuscript of the History of the Twenty-fourth Alabama Volunteer Infantry Regiment C. S. A. located in the Twenty-fourth Alabama Regimental Unit Histories file, The Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

<sup>8</sup>This manuscript is in the same regimental histories folder as the previous account. The pages are legal sized and unnumbered. Both accounts are located in the Twenty-fourth Alabama Regimental Infantry Unit Histories File at the Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

which was probably smaller than the entire Army of Tennessee. The accuracy of the account about bands playing at the review is assured because its source is a musician of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band. Julius A. Leinbach states that

twenty-five or thirty thousand men were collected [sic] in one body all under the eye of one [General Lee]. We had to play for parts of several brigades as the 21st band could not play. Still there were seventeen bands in the field which was some two miles from our camp. The troops were formed in three parallel lines four men deep. If in one it would have extended two miles or more. It took us fifty minutes to pass around the corps, two hours to pass in review. It was certainly a grand sight.<sup>9</sup>

These large-scale reviews must have served the purpose of allowing a commanding officer to judge the fitness of large bodies of troops. They certainly must have made quite an impression on common soldiers.

Regardless of the reasons for such military displays, they were an important part of camp life for the Confederates, and music played a prominent role. J. C. L. Gudger recorded his recollections of a dress parade in which he participated as First Lieutenant and Adjutant of the 25th North Carolina Regiment.

I went to the commanding officer of each company early in the morning and directed them to prepare for this parade, which would occur at sunset.

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<sup>9</sup>Harry Hall, A Johnny Reb Band From Salem (New York, 1980), p. 63.

Such a patching and darning and dusting and washing of clothes and cleaning of swords and guns was not often seen.<sup>10</sup>

Music at dress parades and drills must have been exciting enough to impress the average soldier from Georgia regiments. In a collection of Civil War letters written by Georgia soldiers, bands and martial music on parade are mentioned at least fifteen times. Tomlinson Fort wrote in a letter to his mother that "the pleasing strains of many bands announce the dress parades of many regiments."<sup>11</sup> Confederate soldier Josiah Patterson wrote to his sons telling them of the "martial music in the grand review" of his regiment.<sup>12</sup>

There are many stories of the complications created by misbehavior of drummers, who in many instances were merely children. Whether assigned to duties as field musicians only, or attached to a regimental band or drum corps, many problems were the result of childish, or at the least unmilitary, behavior by the young soldiers. The average age of soldiers in both armies was only eighteen.

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<sup>10</sup>J. C. L. Gudger memoirs of camp life in the 25th North Carolina Volunteer Infantry Regiment, published in newspaper articles, (no identification of the newspaper), found in the Confederate files of the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

<sup>11</sup>Mills Lane, ed., Dear Mother Don't Grieve for Me. If I Get Killed I'll Only Be Dead . Letters From Georgia Confederate Soldiers (Savannah, Georgia, 1977), p. 67.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

Some historians doubt that this figure includes the ages of large numbers of young field musicians, who were much younger. Many of them were between ten and thirteen years of age.<sup>13</sup>

The Seventh Virginia Infantry Regiment Band, commanded by Chief Musician and Bandmaster Richard Hughes, included regimental drummer and bandsman John Whitlock. Whitlock was described as a "little waif and a mischievous boy" in the regimental history and on his personal service record.<sup>14</sup> The young drummer was "picked up in Richmond" by Professor Hughes, and was looked after by members of the regimental band of which he was a part. The Seventh Virginia was to participate in a division review presided over by the famous General Pickett. As the General passed the Virginians, they were supposed to "lower the flags, present arms, and the drums were to beat," but no sound was heard. It seems that young Johnny Whitlock pouted whenever things didn't go his way, so, "to keep from beating the drum, would lose or throw away the sticks

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<sup>13</sup>Several sources have excellent sections on drummer boys from both armies and heroic actions taken by these boys in battle. Some of these are Camp Fires of the Confederacy, by Ben LaBree, pp. 383-385; A Drummer Boy of Shilo, by Vic Reinhardt, pp. 6-9; and Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War, by Francis A. Lord and Arthur Wise, pp. 82-100.

<sup>14</sup>David F. Riggs, Seventh Virginia Infantry Regiment (Lynchburg, Virginia, 1982), and Service Records of Confederate Soldiers on microfilm in the Virginia State Library Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia.

so when on the review he was ordered by the Colonel to beat the drum, there was no response."<sup>15</sup>

The Colonel of the regiment was so angered at being embarrassed in front of General Pickett by this mere boy, that he ordered a private to "place upon John a drum shirt" as soon as they returned to camp. This punishment consisted of dismantling the drum so that the heads were taken off and the body of the drum was placed over the boy pinning his arms to his side. The private who administered the punishment reported that "John cried and begged, and I let him go upon his promise to do better in the future."<sup>16</sup>

Although the preceding events present considerable evidence that there were many musical units in the Confederate forces, there were other Southern troops who were without the services of a musical ensemble. J. B. Polley remembers a rather humorous incident in the 111th Texas Cavalry. He remarks that "not a regiment in the brigade could boast of even a fife, drum, or bugle, much less a full or even a half fledged band."<sup>17</sup> It seems that there were few musicians in that portion of Texas in 1863, and that musical instruments were extremely scarce. The

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<sup>15</sup>David E. Johnson, The Story of a Confederate Boy in the Civil War (Redford, Virginia, 1914), p. 186.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>J. B. Polley, "Drill and A Review of Cavalry Conscripts," The Confederate Veteran, VII (July, 1900), 321.

the 111th Cavalry Regiment was attached was to be reviewed by General McColloch and according to the Regimental Commander, "Music must be provided . . . to awaken the slumbering enthusiasm and patriotism of his men."<sup>18</sup> After many days of searching and by paying "half a cart load of Confederate money did the Colonel finally secure the services of Jed Spriggins . . . who owned and operated a go-and-fetch-it, or trombone."<sup>19</sup>

The Colonel asked the musician to come early to practice with the regiment and was refused. When Jed finally did show up on the day of the review and was asked by the Colonel if he knew what to do, he answered, "jest [sic] wait till the time comes Judge, and I'll make myself heard; for I kin [sic] blow her as loud as the next man and don't you fergit [sic] it." While waiting for the reviewing party to arrive, and tired out from his long journey, the old musician fell into a sound sleep seated on his old grey mule. Startled wide awake by the shouts of both the soldiers and the Colonel for him to "toot your horn you infernal scoundrel," the old musician blew a note so loud and ugly that his mule was scared into a stampede run. Combined with the sounds of the trombone, the braying mule, and the shouts of the solders, the

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

noise spooked many horses, including those of the visiting officers, abruptly ending the grand review.<sup>20</sup>

A veteran of the Third Alabama Regiment recalls that the horrors of war had not yet reached his regiment when they were stationed at Norfolk, Virginia early in 1861. He reports, "One not there to enjoy it cannot imagine the good time the Third Alabama had at Norfolk. Every day was a gala day."<sup>21</sup>

One of the high points of the day was the dress parade when civilians from the nearby towns, particularly young ladies, would visit the camps to watch the military spectacle. The Third Alabama had a drum corps which had quite a reputation for excellence and for its colorful French Foreign Legion Zouave style uniforms. The leader and drum major of the drum corps was a man named Hartman, but called Zou because of his Zouave uniform.

The Colonel of the regiment was to be absent from the daily dress parade one particular evening and word quickly spread through the ranks that the adjutant of the regiment would be in charge of the evening festivities. Zou took advantage of this situation to leave the camp, to which he returned just as the troops were forming for the parade.

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 322.

<sup>21</sup>Reminiscences of Army Life, Camp Scenes and Personal Sketches of the Third Alabama Regiment, p. 6. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

He took his position on the right of the line as usual; but, when the time came for the drum-corps to pass in front of the line, with fifes blowing and drums beating, Zou marched with the corps but never struck his drum. Forsyth [the adjutant] called out to him. "Zou, beat your drum," but the French Zouave carried himself a little more proudly, and felt too good to beat anything.<sup>22</sup>

One can imagine the trouble which resulted in the musician's failure to obey a direct order, especially in front of the whole regiment and many military and civilian guests. The drum major was ordered to be confined to the guardhouse.

About an hour later, the errant musician reported to the regimental commander, who asked, "Well, Zou, what's the matter?" The drummer gave the Colonel the following excuse.

Colonel, it is just this. I got permission to go across the lines, and, while I was out, I bought me this little pig, so I took off the head of my drum and put the pig in the drum and then put on the head again. I came into camp just as the parade was being formed, and took my place. When the drum corps passed down the line I could not beat my drum, fir if I had done so, the pig would have squeeled, [sic] and that would have broken up the parade.<sup>23</sup>

Upon hearing the story that could not have been fabricated, The Colonel let Zou off with a warning. Zou thanked the Colonel for his understanding and later sent him some cooked pig. After this incident, when some soldier got himself into trouble, it became a joke of the regiment

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 7

for the men to say, "Don't fret; steal a pig and send some to the Colonel, and you are all right."<sup>24</sup>

A great deal of emphasis was placed upon drills and parades as a way to build a disciplined army and to instill a sense of pride and esprit de corps in the troops. Confederate military leaders took these exhibitions seriously and recognized the importance of musicians and musical units in these exercises. The positioning of musicians on parade and in drill is described in the following passage.

The field music [two musicians to each company] is drawn up in four ranks, and posted twelve paces in rear of the file closers, the left opposite the centre company. The principal musician is two paces in front of the field music. The regimental band [not to exceed sixteen musicians], if there is one, is drawn up in two or four ranks, according to its numbers, and posted five paces in rear of the field music, having a principal musician at its head.<sup>25</sup>

Edward Peterson of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band gives the reader an idea of the music to be performed in camp by the regimental band. In a letter to his sister on September 28, 1863, he describes the band's functions at the various events of the day. "We get up about 6, take

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Manual of Instruction for the Volunteers and Militia of the Confederate States by William Gilham, paragraph 11, quoted in a letter to Harry Hall from the Adjutant General of Mississippi, April 28, 1960, found in the Confederate Bands file of the Mississippi State Archives, Jackson, Mississippi.

breakfast about 1/2 past 6, at 1/2 past 7 the drum beats for guard mounting."<sup>26</sup> The young musician made no mistake in letting his reader know his feelings about the military practice as he explained the band's role in the exercise.

. . . you will wonder what that is, its all tom foolery in my eyes, it consists of this, some 25 or 30 men stand in two rows & we marching marching by them, playing a tune, and back again, this is about all. I don't see the sense of it.<sup>27</sup>

Peterson explained that after the guard mount the regiment carried out an inspection of arms. He is unclear whether the inspection followed immediately after the guard mounting or whether there is some lapse of time between them. He described the inspection of arms, stating, "The whole Regiment is marched out into the field and the Colonel inspects one company after the other while we play. This takes about three fourths of an hour."<sup>28</sup>

The dress parade was the most formal military exercise of the day for all Confederate units. Peterson described the activity of the regimental band for dress parade.

In the evening at half past five dress parade comes off. At this we play about four pieces. The regiment

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<sup>26</sup>The Edward Peterson letters in manuscript located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The letters were written during the war years from Peterson, a member of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment Band, to members of his family in Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., September 28, 1863.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

is formed into line and we march down the line slow time, coming back in quick time. This closes the performances of the day.<sup>29</sup>

Peterson is not clear about saying that the dress parade was the last performance of the band for the day, since he goes on to say that the band played at least one more performance in the evening of each day. Perhaps he meant that the dress parade was the last performance of the band in the daylight hours, or that the dress parade was the last military or marching performance of the day.<sup>30</sup>

The function of performing for routine military functions was an important part of the average musician's duties, but perhaps not the most important part. Obviously emotions ran high during wartime, and the soldier's life was a monotonous one when he was not actually involved in the fighting. It was a fact that the average soldier was probably under eighteen years old, away from home for the first time, under extreme danger, and at the mercy of the environment. This created the need for some kind of diversion from routine camp life that could take the soldier's mind off his troubles, at least for a few minutes.

Other than folk musicians, (guitarists, fiddlers, and banjo players), the military bands were the only source of entertainment available to these men. Each evening, bands throughout the Confederate forces played informal concerts

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

for the troops, consisting of many different kinds of musical selections. Rousing patriotic pieces were played, as well as sentimental popular songs, an occasional hymn, and even some dance pieces.

An unidentified Confederate soldier of the First Alabama Regiment wrote about the evening concerts of the First Alabama Band during the Battle of Port Hudson, Louisiana.

. . . When the camps are hushed in quiet and repose, the sweet music of Capt. O'Niells' [sic] band falls upon the ear, and causes us to think with a greater degree of affection of the loved ones at home, for whose welfare we resign all that maked earth attractive, while we sustain the arduous, worrisome duties inseparable from camp life.<sup>31</sup>

Lieutenant James T. Mackey of the 48th Tennessee Regiment recorded a pleasant evening of band music on July 10, 1862. "Today has been clear and beautiful. Tonite we were entertained by fine music by the band of the 20th Mississippi . . . ."32

A soldier of the Eleventh Virginia Infantry enjoyed the concerts of a Louisiana Confederate Band whose camp was

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<sup>31</sup>Handwritten manuscript printed in the Morning Courier of Port Hudson, Louisiana on June 9, 1863. This manuscript, written by an unknown soldier of the First Alabama Regiment, is located in the First Alabama Regiment file in the Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

<sup>32</sup>From the Diary of Lieutenant James T. Mackey of the Forty-eighth Tennessee Regiment, July 10, 1862. This manuscript is located in the Confederate files of the Tennessee State Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

near his, but was quick to add that his regiment "had a very good band" also.<sup>33</sup>

The Fifth Louisiana Regiment was camped about one half mile from the Eleventh Virginia. The Louisiana Regiment had a very fine band, and every afternoon would play many patriotic pieces including "Dixie," "The Bonnie Blue Flag" etc."<sup>34</sup>

W. H. Tunnard remembered the impact that band concerts had upon the Confederate soldiers in camp. Tunnard, a member of the Third Louisiana Infantry Regiment, mentioned the concerts at Camp Stephens.

A brass band attached to one of the Arkansas regiments discoursed the most excellent music, and was a great feature of our camp life and a source of great gratification to our men. Soldiers as a class, are passionately fond of music. Well do we remember with what deep emotions we have listened to the harmonious strains as they floated out on the air some still moonlight night, returning in murmuring echoes from the surrounding hills.<sup>35</sup>

Confederate bands were often called upon to perform concerts for dignitaries and high-ranking officers. The purpose of these concerts, called serenades, was both to entertain and to show respect for the honorees. In an era when proper courtesies and appearances were all-important even during wartime, it is not surprising that military bands performed serenades for these officials.

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<sup>33</sup>W. H. Morgan, Personal Reminiscences of the War of 1861-65 (Lynchburg, Virginia, 1911), p. 53.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>W. H. Tunnard, History of the Third Louisiana Infantry (Baton Rouge, 1869), p. 43.

One such serenade took place in the early days of the war in Richmond, when the Washington Artillery Battalion Band serenaded President Jefferson Davis.

On Tuesday evening . . . the excellent brass band of twelve pieces serenaded President Davis at the Spottswood house. After discoursing several appropriate airs to the admiration of a large audience . . . the Battalion Band also serenaded some of our distinguished citizens.<sup>36</sup>

Confederate military units which were fortunate enough to have a good band lost no time in making the proper social calls on the President of the new nation and as many high-ranking officers and politicians as possible when they reported to Richmond. After all, the good will created by serenading the appropriate high-ranking people couldn't hurt future relations, and often made lasting friends in high places of government.

John L. M. Hardeman, a surgeon's steward in Cobb's Georgia Brigade, wrote about serenades of the Sixteenth Georgia Regimental Band for Confederate officers. He mentioned a serenade by the brass band for visiting General Magruder, complete with speeches by Magruder, Colonels Tom and Howell Cobb, and several others.<sup>37</sup> It seems that when the officers of Cobb's Brigade were serenaded, they were

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<sup>36</sup>The Richmond Dispatch, June 20, 1861, p. 4

<sup>37</sup>The diary of John L. M. Hardeman or Hardman, entry for December 27, 1861, unpublished manuscript located in the research room of the Sidney Lanier Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, The Holt House, Macon, Georgia.

moved to make fiery speeches. Hardeman reported in his diary entry of February 3, 1862, that after being serenaded in Richmond by the brass band, Colonel Cobb said, "This exhibition is as gratifying to me as it is unexpected," and proceeded to make a lengthy speech.<sup>38</sup> The young doctor's helper recorded several instances when the band serenaded visiting officers and other visiting dignitaries, and always mentioned the band serenading the Cobb brothers, who commanded the brigade. Each time he mentioned a serenade by the band, speech-making and general celebration followed, particularly when Tom or Howell Cobb spoke. One would hope that the band was remembered for the music they provided for their commanding officers, since the music seemed to inspire them.

Whether the band of Cobb's Brigade was able to secure a special place in the thoughts of their officers or whether they were treated indifferently is not known, but there were Confederate bands that used their music to their best advantage whenever possible. Whenever a popular officer was serenaded by a band, he usually did his best to show gratitude to the visiting musicians by offering something to drink or eat.

Bandsmen were often treated to food and drink after serenading an officer of their regiment and often recorded

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., February 3, 1862.

these kindnesses in diaries and journals. The bandsmen of Polk's Brigade Band, mentioned by Bell Irvin Wiley in his book, The Common Soldier in the Civil War, serenaded a popular officer without prior notice. Having nothing to offer the musicians, the officer was aided by the regimental physician, who heard the music and brought along a bottle of whiskey and some bread.<sup>39</sup>

J. A. Fewell, a soldier of Company E of the Seventeenth South Carolina Regiment, tried to entice his brother, S. M. Fewell, regimental bandmaster, to bring the band to play for his company. "You must come up, give us a serenade with your band and we will give you a supper and something to drink."<sup>40</sup>

Confederate military officers were serenaded so often by the military bands in their commands that it seems apparent that more than proper respect and courtesies were involved. Bands often used their music to secure special favors from their commanders, and commanders often used a band or some of the musicians for personal favors.

Some regimental commanders were known to take musicians with them to serenade local ladies and perhaps

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<sup>39</sup>Bell Irvin Wiley, The Common Soldier in the Civil War (New York, 1958), pp. 158-159.

<sup>40</sup>Robert Harley Mackintosh, Jr. ed., Dear Martha, The Confederate War Letters of a South Carolina Soldier, Alexander Faulkner Fewell (Columbia, South Carolina, 1976), p. 58.

favorably impress them. Wiley mentions "serenading ladies of the countryside" in his excellent descriptions of the camp life of the common Confederate soldier.<sup>41</sup>

Colonel Henry Burgwyn, the handsome "Boy Colonel" of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment, was known to take two of his musicians with him to provide music in the homes of young ladies in towns near the regimental camps. Cornetist Samuel Mickey, accompanied on piano by bandsman Alexander Meinung, entertained with music, while Colonel Burgwyn provided the necessary and pleasant company for the young ladies.<sup>42</sup>

Perhaps the most ingenious use of serenading by a Confederate band to gain favors occurred in January of 1864. The Forty-eighth Virginia Regiment was camped for the winter at Orange Court House, Virginia. While in winter camp, both armies were rather dormant because of the snow, ice, and muddy conditions brought on by the cold weather. Being so close to their homes in Frederick County in the Shenandoah Valley made the veteran soldiers of the regimental band more homesick than usual. The band's application for furlough was turned down because of Union occupation of Winchester,

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<sup>41</sup>Wiley, p. 158.

<sup>42</sup>These musical evenings are mentioned in several sources. The Peterson letters in the Moravian Music Foundation and A Johnny Reb Band from Salem by Harry Hall, provide interesting anecdotes about this practice in discussions about the relationship of the band and bandsmen with the different commanders of the Twenty-sixth Regiment.

Virginia, and raids by Federal cavalry units. At this late date of the war, it was difficult to know exactly which counties were behind enemy lines, and since the officers of the Forty-eighth had no intention of letting the Yanks capture a perfectly good regimental band, all furlough applications were denied.

Before the bandsmen applied for a furlough to a county that they knew to be safely secured by the Confederate lines, they went about the task of making sure that this request for leave would be granted. Starting with General Robert E. Lee, they played serenades for all the commanding officers of the various subcommands of the army, down to and including the colonel of their own regiment.

Though in their memoirs of the time the bandsmen considered the opportunity to perform for such high-ranking officers an honor, "then it was not for honor, love, glory, or the compliments we received, but for the one object in view."<sup>43</sup> The plan must have worked since the furlough was granted, and the band started for home.

This group of musicians continued to use their musical abilities to help them with accommodations on their journey. While riding on the train, they played music at every station, and when they arrived in Staunton, Virginia, they traded music for hotel accommodations.

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<sup>43</sup>J. W. Blaker, "The Valley Brass Band" The Confederate Veteran, IX (October, 1901), 464.

We arrived at Staunton late that evening, and as we entered the place our music opened up again, as we desired to have someone take care of us for the night. Col. Nadenbush had that day opened to the public one of the largest hotels in the place, and he too, having an eye for business, invited us to the hotel. We accepted the invitation and received royal treatment, and in return we gave the music outside, inside, and even on top of the hotel.<sup>44</sup>

When they left Staunton the next morning by train for Woodstock, Virginia, they were challenged by a Confederate officer asking why they were trying to enter an area that had been placed off limits to soldiers by General Early. Knowing that they could be arrested and returned to camp or confined by army authorities, they presented the pass written for them by General Lee. One of the bandsmen then told the officer that "if General Early had superseded General Lee we had not heard of it," and the band continued on their way home to enjoy a long overdue furlough.<sup>45</sup>

Most furloughs were granted to individual Confederate soldiers "in order to give our brave soldiers an opportunity to visit their homes and provide for their families during the winter," for a period not to exceed thirty days.<sup>46</sup> Furloughs could be earned based on need, family emergencies or by securing a new recruit for military service. The general order that defines the procedures to be followed for

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

<sup>46</sup>General Orders No. 227, Headquarters Army of Tennessee issued at Dalton, Georgia, December 22, 1863. Printed document found in the Tennessee State Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

granting furloughs allows one furloughed man for every thirty men in a regiment who were present for duty.<sup>47</sup>

Bandsmen were fortunate to have the opportunity to be granted furloughs as a group. This made logistics of travel much easier for the musicians and allowed them to perform, like the Forty-eighth Virginia Band, to help earn their meals, lodgings or transportation expenses. The musicians were often good business managers who knew how to get the most mileage out of their musical abilities in order to provide for their comfort.

Since local newspapers were often the only form of communication for most Southerners, smart bandsmen were quick to establish good relations with editors of these newspapers. There are many accounts of serenades by Confederate military bands performed especially for these influential men, to insure that the band would get as much free publicity as it requested any time there was a concert to be advertised.

The People's Press of Salem, North Carolina, often printed news of Confederate bandsmen since several Southern military bands originated in Salem and surrounding towns. In February of 1862, the Twenty-first North Carolina Regiment visited home for the first time in over a year.

During the whole day on Tuesday, at intervals, soldiers from the 21st Regiment were passing

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., see copy of General Orders No. 227.

*Army of Tennessee*

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF TENNESSEE,  
DALTON, GA., December 22d, 1863.

**General Orders No. 227.**

I. In order to give to our brave soldiers an opportunity to visit their homes and provide for their families during the winter, the following system of furloughs is announced;

For every thirty men of each Regiment actually present in camp for duty, one man may be furloughed for any period not exceeding 30 days; conditioned that the same be approved by the proper Company and Regimental Commanders certifying that no man of the same Company furloughed under this order remains absent without leave, and the application shall then be approved at Brigade, Division, Corps and Army Head-Quarters.

II. Similar leave of absence may be granted one Officer in each Company having three officers present for duty; and to one Officer of the Field and Staff of each Regiment where all are present for duty.

III. The length of the furlough will be determined by the distance to be traveled. No officer or soldier shall have more than ten days to remain at home. In all instances the most meritorious and urgent cases will be recommended.

IV. 1.—A furlough not exceeding forty (40) days will be granted to every non-commissioned officer and private who secures a recruit for his company.

2.—The recruit must be received and mustered into the service and be doing duty in the Company before the application for furlough is forwarded.

3.—In all applications made in pursuance of Sec. 1. Par. IV., the Commanding Officer of the Company will certify that the applicant has obtained an approved recruit who has been mustered into the service, and is present, with the Company doing duty. If the recruit be a minor the consent of his parent or guardian shall appear. No furlough granted will carry permission to pass into the lines of the enemy or across the Mississippi.

V. Officers and men to whom leaves and furloughs shall be granted will use every effort to bring back absentees and recruits.

VI. The following shall be the form of application under Par. I.

**SOLDIERS' FURLOUGH AS PER REGULATIONS.**

[ \* \* \* \* \* ]

**CERTIFICATE OF COMMANDERS.**

1. That I have \_\_\_\_\_ enlisted men actually present for duty in my Company.

2. \_\_\_\_\_ are absent on furlough under this order.

3. \_\_\_\_\_ none furloughed under this order remain absent without leave.

4. No other application for the same thirty men is pending.

5. That \_\_\_\_\_ has (or has not) been furnished with transportation home and back, on furlough of indulgence.

6. That \_\_\_\_\_ has not received commutation home and back in lieu of a furlough.

7. \_\_\_\_\_ wishes to go to \_\_\_\_\_ County \_\_\_\_\_ State and not elsewhere.

VII. All prior orders on the subject of leaves and furloughs are rescinded.

By command of

LIEUT.-GEN. HARDEE.

KINLOCH FALCONER, A. A. G.

Figure 4--General Orders No. 227 for the Army of Tennessee, regulations for furlough.

through this place, on furlough, in conveyances and on foot. In the evening the Regimental Band arrived, giving us several touches of martial music . . .<sup>48</sup>

The band was so popular that the editor also noted the departure of the musicians on March 7, 1862.<sup>49</sup>

The editor of The Columbus Daily Courier was so fond of the music of the Second Georgia Infantry Regimental Band that he wrote an editorial about the ensemble upon hearing that the band might be granted a furlough as a group. Most of the members of the band were residents of Columbus, Georgia, before the war, and were known to be good musicians.

We heard yesterday that this band, as a whole, had received a thirty-five day furlough. This band was organized . . . by Prof. James Ryan, of this city, as instructor; and having been permanently together ever since, and Prof. Ryan being a most thorough teacher and arranger of music, if they should make us a visit, we can promise our citizens such a treat as they have not had in many a day.<sup>50</sup>

Bands at home on furlough visited family and friends, rested, and enjoyed the same types of experiences that any soldier home from war for rest and relaxation would do, with one additional activity. Since most bands were organized with members from the same hometown or the same vicinity,

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<sup>48</sup>The People's Press, Salem, North Carolina, Friday, February 21, 1862, p. 4.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., March 7, 1862, p. 1.

<sup>50</sup>The Columbus Daily Courier, March 8, 1864, p. 2.

they were able to take advantage of musical performances for their own profit.

The Stonewall Brigade Band, Fourth Georgia Regimental Band, and the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band each played concerts on trips home which raised large sums of money to provide much needed supplies for the musicians after they returned to the seat of war. (These concerts are reported in detail in Chapters V, VI, and VII.) After a few days at home, a concert hall was secured, advertisements were placed in the local newspapers, and if the local newspaper editor had been serenaded enough, there was usually a tremendously flattering editorial encouraging ticket sales, and a rave review afterwards.

The bands were also active in fund-raising efforts for needy soldiers, widows' and orphans' funds, and field hospital supplies. Many bands performed for benefits to which admission was charged, with the proceeds going to these various causes. The First North Carolina Battalion Band participated in such a concert in 1863 while home on a furlough. The band accompanied a women's choir for the program in addition to performing instrumental music.

On Friday night last, Capt. Carmichael's Brass Band of the 1st N. C. Battalion, accompanied by a select choir of Salem ladies, entertained a very large audience in the town hall with instrumental and vocal music. Alternate brass horns and Syren Voices! Shade of Jubal! But, after all, the contrast of sound was less pitiful than pleasant to the ear; and the loud applause which followed every air gave palpable evidence

that all were delighted. The concert was given for the benefit of the Soldiers Relief Association, and it wound up to the pretty tune of nearly a thousand dollars.<sup>51</sup>

It seems that the combination of brass instruments and vocal music was not a common practice of the day. It must have proved to be popular enough, however, since the article reported a cheering audience and such a large sum of money raised for the charity at a time when money was scarce for most Southerners.

The Twenty-fifth South Carolina Regimental Band's performance for charity earned the attention and praise of their Colonel, Charles Simonton. His band had a reputation as being one of the finest brass bands in the South before the war, and quickly earned the respect of regular soldiers and bandsmen alike as a Confederate military band. In a letter to the Charleston, South Carolina Courier, the Colonel described the efforts of the band.

The Band of this regiment, so long and honorably known as the Charleston Brass Band, gave a concert in Wilmington in aid of the sufferers at Fredericksburg. Their patriotic effort met with due appreciation, and the concert was largely attended.<sup>52</sup>

The letter continued to say that Bandmaster Mueller requested that the Colonel send the sum of \$313.10 which was raised from the concert to the editor of the newspaper

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<sup>51</sup>The People's Press, March 23, 1863, p. 2.

<sup>52</sup>The Charleston Courier, February 18, 1863, p. 1.

to be contributed, on behalf of the band, to the Fredericksburg Fund.<sup>53</sup>

The Sixty-third Georgia Regimental Band, conducted by Bandmaster Ernst Rickter, performed in Savannah, Georgia at the Atheneum to benefit The Soldier's Wayside Home. The advertisement which appeared in The Savannah Daily News announced the main feature of the evening would be an address by a Henry M. Law, esq. entitled, "Our Present Revolution and Our Obligation to its Martyrs. Music by Richter's Band of the 63rd Regiment."<sup>54</sup>

Confederate musicians were often required to perform music at functions which were designed to punish soldiers found guilty of breaking regulations or committing crimes. The public spectacle created in part by the presence of musicians called attention to the severity of the punishment as an example to soldiers who might consider desertion or committing some lesser offense.

One such event which was rather common was the drumming out of soldiers who were found guilty of cowardice or desertion. The Twelfth Mississippi Infantry Regiment drummed out a Private Spradling, who was found guilty of stealing and attempting to desert to the enemy.

Private Spradling . . . was drummed out of the regiment on the 16th December 16, 1861 after

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>The Savannah Morning News, April 22, 1864, p. 4.

having one half of his head shaved. He presented a pitiable spectacle as he was marched through the regiment in open ranks to the tune of the Rogue's March, and then turned adrift amidst the shouts of his former comrades, to go where inclination might chance to carry him.<sup>55</sup>

There were times when the soldier found guilty of desertion was given a much harsher sentence than drumming out of the service. In spite of the humiliation of being disgraced in front of one's peers, there were some soldiers who would endure anything for a chance to get out of the army and return home. General Joseph Johnston, plagued with desertion of troops from his Army of Tennessee, was forced to order that deserters be sentenced to death in an attempt to curb the depletion of his ranks.

The Twentieth Louisiana Regimental Band was ordered to play at the execution of two deserters at Dalton, Georgia. One of the cornet players of the band was sick and unable to perform. The Nineteenth Louisiana Regiment was part of the same brigade as the Twentieth Regiment and all the musicians of the brigade were well-known to each other. The Bandmaster of the Nineteenth Louisiana Band, D. J. Cater, was asked by the Bandmaster of the Twentieth Louisiana to fill in for his ailing cornetist. Cater wrote of the execution and the band's participation in his diary entry of May 4, 1864.

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<sup>55</sup>The Daily Sun, December 28, 1861, p. 4.

I witnessed and took part in a sad scene. While the enemy is in front and preparing to advance, Gen. Johnston is called upon to pass the death sentence on two men who had deserted. Painful and heart rending the duty, but such is military law.<sup>56</sup>

The brigade of soldiers formed a square with the condemned men placed on one side. The duty of the band was, "in playing the 'Dead March' as we marched around the square formed by the armed soldiers."<sup>57</sup> Cater, obviously moved by the scene, described the events that followed.

The condemned men had been blindfolded and sat on their coffins on one side of the square. Twelve men had been detailed and were furnished twelve muskets, half of which were loaded with blank cartridges, and the other half with full loaded buck and ball cartridges, but all were ordered to aim at the breasts of the condemned men. When the word was given they had taken position ten paces in front of the blindfolded men and were ordered to make ready, aim, fire. I turned my face in another direction as the order was given and when I again looked at the condemned men they were prostrate across their coffins. Death had come to them with the report of the muskets.<sup>58</sup>

The presence of the band playing the solemn music must have added to the drama of the situation as the agony of the execution was prolonged by the ceremony that took place. The obvious effect of Cater must have been felt by

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<sup>56</sup>D. J. Cater, As It Was, The Nineteenth Louisiana Volunteer Infantry, private printing for the Museum of the Confederacy, New Orleans, Louisiana, and the Louisiana State Archives, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, pp. 189-190.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 190. Identity of the "Dead March" unknown.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

every man present, especially those who might have been considering leaving the ranks without permission.

The many deaths that occurred on the battlefields often required quick burial of these men to attempt to reduce the health hazards caused by the decaying corpses. Any funeral services that were held for the common soldier killed in the service of his country probably consisted of a brief Bible reading and a short prayer at best. Many soldiers of the Confederacy were buried by enemy soldiers with no ceremony in shallow mass graves like those found at Shiloh, Tennessee. Prominent officers, however, were often buried with relatively elaborate military funeral services. Confederate bands were involved in these ceremonies.

The Thirtieth Virginia Infantry Band was involved in the elaborate funeral services of General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. Since Jackson's death occurred early in the war, there was much ceremony and national mourning that accompanied his death, much like that of the death of a modern American statesman or politician. The Thirtieth Virginia Band participated in Jackson's funeral parade in Richmond, and later at the interment at a cemetery in Lexington, Virginia.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Military records of Andrew Benjamin Bowering, Bandmaster of the 30th Virginia Regiment, Virginia State Library, Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia. Also, Robert Krick, The 30th Virginia Infantry Regiment (Lynchburg, Virginia, 1983).

There is at least one example early in the war where a private soldier received formal military honors. The German Fusiliers Artillery Regiment of Charleston, South Carolina, issued a special order on October 26, 1861, for Private D. O. Gibson's funeral with full military honors.

Private D. O. Gibson of Capt. Bedon's Company having died, he will be buried with military honors by his own Company. Lieut. Heape Commanding will cause a detail to be made of 8 men and a corporal to fire the salute over the grave, and the remainder of Capt. Bedon's Company will follow in procession as mourners. The music of the artillery band will escort the funeral parade.<sup>60</sup>

The German Fusiliers had not seen action in battle at this early date in the war, and this was probably one of the first deaths suffered by the regiment. Colonel John A. Wagener who signed the order sent his condolences to the company and lamented the loss of Private Gibson as "a good comrade and exemplary fellow soldier."<sup>61</sup> There is no other report of the funeral found in this collection, and no mention of the music played by the band at the service.

The Diary of Melinda Ray recorded the events of the Civil War in North Carolina from the perspective of a young girl who experienced most of the conflict in the safety of her home. Among the Confederate military installations near

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<sup>60</sup>Special Order of the First Regiment Artillery, South Carolina Militia, Fort Walker, South Carolina, October 26, 1861, in the German Fusiliers Journal, Leroy Skinner Collection, The Citadel Archives, Charleston, South Carolina.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

her home was a large arsenal. She was a spectator of the funeral procession for Major John C. Booth, Commandant of the arsenal, in 1862, and described the scene.

We saw the procession go by. There was more pomp and show about it than I ever saw as I never saw anything of the kind before. First came the brass band and drums, then the company from Fort Booth and the Arsenal Guards . . . which wore crepe badges on their arms.<sup>62</sup>

There is no evidence to indicate that the Confederate army regulation stating that musicians of the band were to be "trained as soldiers and liable to serve in the ranks on any occasion," was followed uniformly through the ranks.<sup>63</sup> Musicians normally were classified as noncombatants and did not usually bear arms in battle, though there were some notable exceptions.

In December of 1862 while still the Fifth Virginia Regiment Band, the musicians of the band later known as the Stonewall Brigade Band, carried new Austrian rifles in

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<sup>62</sup>The Diary of Melinda Ray, entry for Thursday, September 17, 1862, from a manuscript located in the Confederate files of the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

<sup>63</sup>Some historians and writers have interpreted this statement to indicate that Confederate musicians were routinely pulled from ensembles and musical assignments and placed in rifle companies on the front lines. Some Confederate musicians did serve double duty as riflemen and there were undoubtedly some musicians who left bands to serve as combat troops. The fact that there were a number of bands that were surrendered with the Army of Northern Virginia as late as April of 1865 makes the assumption by writers such as Lord and Wise that bands were discontinued in the last days of the Confederacy so that these men could serve as combat soldiers appear inaccurate.

addition to their musical instruments. There were several incidents where the band was involved in exchanges of fire acting as riflemen.<sup>64</sup>

There are a number of entries in personal service records of Confederate soldiers indicating that men were transferred from bands to serve as soldiers in combat units. There were many soldiers like Charles A. Washburn, a musician of the Fourteenth Alabama Regiment, who "in December, 1864, took a gun at his own option," and served honorably as a Confederate infantry rifleman.<sup>65</sup>

Muster rolls in all Southern states list musicians who also served in line units as combat soldiers, but most served in the role of hospital surgeon's assistant, and often as stretcher bearers, caring for wounded soldiers when not performing musical duties. Musicians assisted physicians in almost every aspect of operating field hospitals and caring for the wounded. This portion of the musician's duty was very distasteful but perhaps one of his most important contributions to his comrades.

In some instances, the hospital portion of the bandsman's duty occupied so much time that many bands

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<sup>64</sup>Frank B. Holt, The Stonewall Brigade Band (Staunton, Virginia, 1982), pp. 9-11.

<sup>65</sup>Regimental Histories File of the 14th Alabama Volunteer Infantry Regiment C. S. A. located in the Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Also reported in an article in the Opelika Post newspaper of Opelika, Alabama, found in the same file.

received designation as medical as well as musical units. The Twentieth North Carolina Regiment Band was officially named Band and Ambulance Corps.<sup>66</sup>

M. B. Hurst, the Chief Musician of the Fourteenth Alabama Infantry Regiment, wrote in his memoirs that his duties were always more than music. He mentioned a typical battle in 1863. "I was sent on the field late in the day to assist in bringing off wounded soldiers."<sup>67</sup>

O. J. Lehman of the Thirty-third North Carolina Regimental Band described the duty that seemed to be typical of all Confederate bands during battle.

During all the battles until the final surrender, General Lane's Band [the 33rd N. C. Band] was in the opening of each, caring for the wounded and taking them to the field hospital just behind the line of battle. So our duties were not only as musicians but also as an ambulance corps. We were often under severe shelling and small arms fire but we escaped almost miraculously.<sup>68</sup>

The Stonewall Brigade lost more than 493 men at the Battle of Chancellorsville, Virginia, where General Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson was mortally wounded. The members of the Brigade Band were busy helping in the field

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<sup>66</sup>Walter Clark, Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of North Carolina, 1861-65 (Raleigh, 1901), p. 202.

<sup>67</sup>Fourteenth Alabama Volunteer Infantry Regimental Histories file, Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

<sup>68</sup>"Reminiscences of the War Between the States," by O. J. Lehman, unpublished manuscript located in the Confederate files of the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

hospitals, removing men from the fields, and helping surgeons perform operations. This duty lasted more than two weeks after the battle as the bandsmen continued to act as nurses and attended to the burial of the dead. The losses to the brigade were so devastating that General Lee referred to the condition of the once mighty unit as "a brigade of tired men." The survivors of the Brigade, including the musicians on hospital duty, were needed to remain at the front, and were denied a request to accompany the remains of General Jackson to Lexington, Virginia, for burial.<sup>69</sup>

Members of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band were involved in hospital duties from their first battle experience. Medical training for these musicians turned hospital attendants was non-existent other than skills that could be learned by watching and helping. Even the field surgeons were poorly trained compared to today's standards.<sup>70</sup>

The bandsmen served as operating room nurses and attendants and also performed routine hospital duties.

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<sup>69</sup>Marshall M. Brice, The Stonewall Brigade Band (Verona, Virginia, 1967), p. 36; John O. Casler, Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade (Girard, Kansas, 1906), p. 161; James I. Robertson, The Stonewall Brigade (Baton Rouge, 1963), pp. 189-193.

<sup>70</sup>Bell I. Wiley describes medical care in both Union and Confederate hospitals in The Common Soldier in the Civil War. "There was an ignorance of both cause and treatment on the part of physicians and patients. Bacteriology was an undeveloped science . . . Largely because of ignorance, sanitation and other safeguards against the contraction of infectious disease were grossly inadequate." p. 54.

These men became so proficient at helping with operations, many of them amputations, that several of them felt that they could perform these procedures without a surgeon present if need be.<sup>71</sup>

Albert Quincy Porter, a Mississippi regimental musician, recorded his experiences as a helper in a Confederate Division hospital near Goldsboro, North Carolina. In his diary on March 10th and 20th, 1865, he mentioned the many wounded Southern soldiers that his band passed on their way to the hospital.

. . . the Yankees got the best of the fight both days. When we arrived at the hospital we found the surgeons busy in preparing wounds and amputation of fractured limbs. We received orders to move the hospital back to town. There were four long trains full of wounded. We were ordered to go with them [to] Rawley [Raleigh].<sup>72</sup>

The Confederate bandsmen were no different than their Union counterparts when it came to field hospital duty, performing as ambulance corps members and stretcher bearers. As Bandmaster O. J. Lehman reported, the work of ministering to the needs of the wounded on the battlefield and bringing

<sup>71</sup>The Peterson letters contain many references to the medical duties performed by the bandsmen of the Twenty-Sixth North Carolina Band. It is fortunate that a number of sources are still available which describe this work done by the bandsmen in detail. A more complete examination of the contributions of these musicians in this area is included in Chapter VI.

<sup>72</sup>From the Diary of Albert Quincy Porter reprinted in The Tulsa Tribune, Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 23, 1976. A copy of the article was found in the Confederate Bands file at the Mississippi State Archives, Jackson, Mississippi.

them off the front line of battle to the field hospital was a dangerous business. Musicians who were involved in these activities were as likely to be killed or wounded as were those soldiers who carried weapons. Bufkin reported that even when the bandsmen were supposedly involved in the "safe" work of helping the wounded and tending to other duties behind the lines, "artillery and infantry were notorious for firing high, thus those in the rear were often in real danger."<sup>73</sup>

Although the main task of the Confederate musician was caring for the wounded in the heat of battle, some notable musical performances by Southern bands took place under combat conditions. Confederate bands often played at the front during lulls in the fighting and were sometimes fired upon, and there are instances recorded where Confederates played to the cheers of the soldiers in the midst of heavy enemy fire. Bands played in formation in the charge of Southern troops in at least one major battle. Confederate bands played their troops into cities often occupied by the enemy at the head of the column of march under hostile fire, and on at least one occasion a Southern band was used in battle as a strategic device to confuse the enemy.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>William A. Bufkin, "Union Bands of the Civil War," unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Music, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1973, p. 85.

<sup>74</sup>Gerald Simmons, The Civil War: Forward to Richmond (Morristown, New Jersey, 1984), p. 99.

Historians have recorded many instances where "battles of the bands" took place during lulls in the fighting.<sup>75</sup> In each case, it is reported that a Confederate band would play a tune, then the Union band would try to play the same tune better if they had it, or would counter with a piece that they thought was better. This alternation would proceed for a while with the Southern band playing "Dixie," followed by the Yankee musicians playing "Yankee Doodle." Most of these accounts end with one of the bands finishing the concert competition by playing a sentimental hymn, "Auld Lang Syne," or "Home Sweet Home." Both bands would join in the playing of the music, as the soldiers on both sides sang the words to the moving melody until the sound of the last notes of the music faded away, leaving no dry eyes in either army. A few hours later these same sentimental souls who sang with tears in their eyes began anew to kill each other.

Perhaps the most famous incident of this kind took place at the Battle of Stones River, near Murfreesboro, Tennessee. The National Park Service includes the bands' concert in all their presentations dealing with this battle. There is a display in the museum of the battlefield where an audio version of the story is told through earphones for

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<sup>75</sup>Impromptu "battles of the bands" in which Confederate and Union ensembles alternated the playing of national airs, patriotic tunes, and melancholy favorites were reported on several occasions, including the battles of Stones River, Fredericksburg, and Spotsylvania.

visitors viewing an exhibition of artifacts from the battle. The brochure printed by the National Park Service and distributed at Stones River National Battlefield includes a description of the musical event.

Within sight of each other the two armies camped, readying for battle. As the fires flickered and the sentries tramped, the mood was tense, but there was no firing. Tonite was the time to snatch a few hours sleep and, if possible, a few moments of pleasure. Somewhere along the line an army band struck up a patriotic air. From the opposing side came the chords of a rejoinder, and soon the hills resounded with "Hail Columbia" battling "Bonnie Blue Flag," and "Dixie" trying to drown out "Yankee Doodle." Some band struck up "Home Sweet Home," and the tough sardonic westerners of both armies who sneered at the eastern "paper collar soldiers" began to sing the song that brought back memories of home and family. Voices faded as "Tattoo" called for lights out in the frosty camps.<sup>76</sup>

A complete list of the Confederate units that were present at Stones River has been compiled by the National Park Service historians. An examination of this list indicates that at least thirteen of the Southern regiments involved in the battle were known to have included bands. The following Southern bands were reported as being present.

The Twenty-second Alabama Regimental Band; The Second Georgia Battalion Field Band; The Fourth Kentucky Regimental Band; The Seventh Mississippi Regimental Band; The Tenth Mississippi Regimental Band; The Twenty-fourth Mississippi Regimental Band; The Fourth Tennessee Regimental Band; The Thirteenth Tennessee Regimental Band; The Seventeenth Tennessee

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<sup>76</sup>National Park Service of the U. S. Department of the Interior, Stones River, No. 461-441/10040 (Washington, 1985.)

Regimental Band; The Nineteenth Tennessee Regimental Band; and The Twenty-eighth Tennessee Regimental Band.<sup>77</sup>

More specific information is available about several of the bands involved at Stones River. The 2nd Georgia Field Band was composed of black musicians (see Chapter IX) from the Savannah, Georgia area. The 4th Kentucky Band's leader, Ches Ward, was a composer of some fame who wrote "Old Playground," a popular song before the Civil War. The Nineteenth Tennessee Regimental Band was directed by T. J. Firth, who recorded the band's activities during the war in his memoirs and reminiscences.<sup>78</sup>

Several narratives of the impromptu band concerts during lulls in the fighting are recorded in accounts of other campaigns. The reports of the battle of Fredericksburg mentioned an incident involving bands in the same manner as those at Stones River. The historian of the Fourth Georgia Regiment recorded the performance of a Confederate band alternating with a Union band in much the same detail as the Stones River incident except that the

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<sup>77</sup>From a list of Confederate military units involved in the Battle of Stones River, Tennessee, furnished by a Stones River National Park historian. It is possible that there were other Confederate bands present that were attached to units not known to have had bands. There is also the possibility that the Washington Artillery Band from New Orleans was present but this is unsure since only one company of the Washington Artillery Battalion is included in the list provided by the National Park Service.

<sup>78</sup>See Chapter VIII.

tunes played by the band were initially different. The Confederate band started with "Nearer My God to Thee" countered by the Yankee Band playing "Dead March." The Confederates answered with "Bonnie Blue Flag," followed by the Union rendition of "The Star Spangled Banner." The finale was "Home Sweet Home," started by the Southerners and joined by all.<sup>79</sup>

News of these impromptu concerts on the battlefields seems to have been of interest to the average Southerner since several local newspapers reported the bands playing at Fredericksburg. The Savannah Morning News reported the incident on March 23, 1863.<sup>80</sup>

During a low point for the Confederates in the siege of Vicksburg, Mississippi, there was much confusion as troops, ambulances, gun carriages, and wagons of all kinds were being moved in every direction around the city. The Old Courthouse building was then, and is now, an imposing structure sitting high on a hill overlooking the Mississippi River. It was probably the most elevated structure in the city at the time and a great place for many people in other parts of town to hear bands playing. A diary entry by a Vicksburg resident mentioned bands playing at the Courthouse. "At twilight two or three bands on the courthouse hill and

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<sup>79</sup>Henry W. Thomas, History of the Doles-Cook Brigade (Atlanta, 1903), p. 479.

<sup>80</sup>The Savannah Morning News, March 24, 1863, p. 3.

other points began playing "Dixie," "Bonnie Blue Flag," and so on; and the drums began playing to beat all about. I suppose they were rallying the scattering army."<sup>81</sup>

When Confederate troops invaded Pennsylvania, bands were first to enter enemy cities where there were obvious anti-Southern feelings, exposing themselves to the possibility of sniper fire. Lt. Colonel Arthur J. L. Freemantle, a British officer of the Coldstream Guards, was an observer of the Confederate military and accompanied Hood's troops to Gettysburg. He reported that there were some tense moments as Confederate troops entered Chambersburg, where the local citizens "were particularly sour and disagreeable in their remarks, as the bands led the soldiers through the town to the tune of "Dixie's Land." Although the mood was hostile there is no record that any shots were fired.<sup>82</sup>

As Stonewall Jackson's men entered Winchester, Virginia, in May of 1862, the Fifth Virginia Regiment was in the front of the assault. One of the bandsmen was severely wounded and the Fifth Regiment lost 113 men.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>The Diary of Dora Miller, Sunday, May 17, 1863. The Old Courthouse Museum, Vicksburg, Mississippi.

<sup>82</sup>Arthur J. L. Freemantle, Three Months in the Southern States April-June 1863 (Mobile, Alabama, 1864), p. 121.

<sup>83</sup>Brice, p. 30. Robertson, pp. 99-103. A detailed discussion of the Stonewall Brigade Band's involvement in the Battle of Winchester is included in Chapter V.

It was not unusual for bands to be ordered to perform music in the midst of heavy fighting. Freemantle reported the performance of a Confederate band at the battle of Gettysburg "when the Cannonade was at its height."<sup>84</sup> On an elevated location along with Generals Longstreet, Hill and Lee, Freemantle commanded an excellent view of the battlefield. He wrote that he heard "a Confederate band of music, between the cemetery and ourselves; as it began to play polkas and waltzes, which sounded very curious, accompanied by the hissing and bursting of shells."<sup>85</sup> The band Freemantle saw and heard was probably a combination of North Carolina regimental bands from Pettigrew's Brigade.<sup>86</sup>

On at least one occasion Confederate officers used a band as a strategic device to fool the enemy. At Yorktown, Virginia in April of 1861, Union General George McClellan's forces of more than 100,000 men faced Confederate General Magruder's force that Union intelligence estimated to be approximately 150,000 men. The Confederates numbered only

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<sup>84</sup>Freemantle, p. 131.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Several members of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band mentioned their performance on the battlefield at Gettysburg. The bands of the brigade were combined to perform for the troops during the battle between grueling sessions of duty caring for many severely wounded soldiers. This and other battlefield performances of the Twenty-sixth Band is covered fully in Chapter VI.

about 11,000 men. McClellan's attack would certainly have wiped out the outmanned Confederates.<sup>87</sup>

One of the reasons that the attack did not take place is the theatrical cunning of Confederate General Magruder. Knowing that his forces were greatly outnumbered by McClellan's Yankees, Magruder ordered his artillery to fire at anything that moved. Confederate soldiers were ordered to move about, making as much noise as possible. In a strategic place along side the Warwick River where he had only 5,000 men to guard a ten-mile stretch of river, the General had his men march in circles so that it appeared to enemy observers that many troops were continually passing along the river banks.

While all this activity was taking place, Magruder's bands were ordered to play noisily to add to the illusion of superior Confederate troop strength. As the bands played, the Confederate soldiers marched under the watchful eye of Union intelligence gatherers who reported exaggerated estimates of numbers of men and equipment to McClellan. When asked why he didn't attack, Union General McClellan reported that he thought the Confederate strength was "not less than 100,000 men, and possibly more."<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>Gerald Simmons, The Civil War: Forward to Richmond (Alexandria, Virginia, 1983), p. 97.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., pp. 97-99. Douglas Southall Freeman, Manassas to Malvern Hill, Vol. I of Lee's Lieutenants, 3 vols. (New York, 1944), pp. 148-153.

Perhaps the most daring presence of Confederate bands occurred at the opening of the Battle of Franklin, Tennessee. On November 30, 1864, Confederate soldiers attacked Union forces about four o'clock in the afternoon in numbers larger than the famed Pickett's charge at the Battle of Gettysburg. The Confederate units, including bands, marched across a vast plain into a deadly crossfire of both small arms and artillery fire that would result in one of the most costly losses of life experienced by the Southerners during the entire Civil War.

Confederate General Hood had been chasing Union forces across much of Tennessee only to have the enemy escape his grasp on several occasions. Union General Schofield was ordered to delay Hood as long as possible so that Federal forces could be concentrated in a single area to try to match the superior numbers of Southern troops. Hood's troops numbered about 40,000 men, and at the time of the Battle of Franklin, Schofield had picked up about the same number of troops as Union infantry and cavalry arrived in the area.<sup>89</sup>

Hood thought that the Federal troops were greatly outnumbered by his troops. He knew that they were surrounded by the chain of hills and mountains around

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<sup>89</sup>James L. McDonough and Thomas L. Connelly, Five Tragic Hours: The Battle of Franklin (Knoxville, Tennessee, 1983), pp. 1-8.

Franklin on three sides with no place to retreat or run so that the frontal assault he planned would crush them. Hood examined geological maps of the Franklin area showing that there was little top soil and dirt on top of hard rock, so that the Union soldiers would not be able to dig in too deeply. Hood's maps showed that the depth of dirt to construct the earthworks was less than two feet, making deep trenches for earthworks too shallow to stop his charging Southerners.<sup>90</sup>

Many mistakes were made by Hood and his associates, leading to the near annihilation of his army. The Federals were able to move many troops past Confederate sentries and intelligence observers under the cover of darkness. This made the strength of the Union forces much greater than anticipated, and allowed Federal forces to be able to fire from several directions at approaching Confederates. Hood also found out too late that the topographical maps he used were wrong, and that the town of Franklin rested on an area of sediment deposit from a prehistoric lake. The dirt was more than six feet deep rather than the eighteen to twenty-four inches estimated by Hood, allowing the Yankee soldiers to dig in deeply and establish formidable earthworks. This addition to the flimsy fortifications that

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<sup>90</sup>Interview with Richard Fulcher, historian, owner of the Battle of Franklin Museum, and genealogist, whose specialty is the Battle of Franklin, April 25, 1986.

Hood's intelligence had reported made the Union lines almost impregnable.<sup>91</sup>

It would seem that Hood felt that he had finally arrived at a position where a show of strength would help him to realize his objectives. Even trying to understand the events that followed from the Confederate commander's perspective, the charge of Southern troops that followed is difficult to imagine. Winstead Hill just outside Franklin, Tennessee is an elevated spot where the Confederate Generals watched in horror and disbelief as the battle unfolded.

As Union soldiers anxiously watched awaiting the battle, the Confederate lines advanced in "a spectacular military pageant."<sup>92</sup> In the kind of ceremony reminiscent of advances of the British Regulars in the Revolutionary War and before, the Southern soldiers moved forward across the fields of Franklin.

In near perfect alignment advanced the imposing Confederate array. Well over one hundred regiments strong they came, bands playing, bayonets flashing, and scores of tattered battle flags flying in the late afternoon sun. General and staff officers and couriers were riding in front of and between the lines. The infantry moved at a quick step, and the artillery were brought forward in the intervals at a gallop.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup>Ibid.

<sup>92</sup>Ronnie Clemmons, "Prelude to Disaster, The Battle of Franklin," The New Confederate Veteran XXXIII (December, 1985), 22.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid.

With the exception of modern buildings in the valley, a visit to Winstead Hill reveals that the view today remains unobstructed for miles just as it was in 1864. Soldiers on both sides of the battle remarked that few battlefields were so free of visual obstructions. Dr. G. C. Phillips, a surgeon with the Twenty-second Mississippi Regiment, remembered watching the battle from Winstead Hill. "The scene was so beautiful. It seemed as if we were on the rim of a great bowl, Franklin in the bottom, with a low semi-circle of breast works toward us some distance from the town."<sup>94</sup>

Phillips watched as the Confederate soldiers formed their lines, noting that everything during this time was perfectly still without any noise. He watched as the Southerners moved toward the enemy with the bands in the ranks. "Our forces advanced in three lines of battle apparently about three hundred yards apart. Our bands played 'Dixie,' 'Bonnie Blue Flag,' and 'The Girl I Left Behind Me.' This was the first and only time I ever heard our bands playing upon a battlefield and at the beginning of a charge."<sup>95</sup> Although evidence found in diaries and memoirs of Confederate musicians indicates that bands did perform

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<sup>94</sup>G. C. Phillips, "Witness to the Battle of Franklin," The Confederate Veteran XIV (June, 1906), 261.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 262.

on occasion on the battlefields, and this may have been the only time Confederate bands played in a charge of the Army of Tennessee.

S. A. Cunningham, editor of The Confederate Veteran, remembered participating in the charge at Franklin in an article written for his magazine. His recollection of the use of bands by the Confederates is similar to that of Dr. Phillips. "With a quick step we moved forward to the sound of stirring music. This is the only battle that I was in, and there were many, where bands of music were used."<sup>96</sup>

There is some argument about which bands played during the charge at Franklin. It is known that a number of Confederate regiments which were involved in the charge had band units. Eighteen Confederate infantry brigades composed the lines of the advance, making the number of regiments well over 100. It is certain that not all the Confederate regiments had bands, but estimating at least one band for each of the infantry brigades, a conservative figure would place the number of Southern bands at about twenty-five musical units.

T. B. Yeats, a soldier in the Twenty-eighth Tennessee Regiment, remembered the presence of bands in the charge at Franklin. Having read an article giving credit for some

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<sup>96</sup>S. A. Cunningham, "The Battle of Franklin," The Confederate Veteran, I (January, 1893), 102.

of the musical performance to Cockrell's Kentucky Brigade Band, Yeats remembered hearing a band on the battlefield.

. . . we stopped until the coming of our main line. While waiting we heard the band playing "Dixie" and a wounded comrade by my side exclaimed: "My God! Listen to that band!" I turned to see what band could be playing, and saw that it was our own regimental band.<sup>97</sup>

Editor Cunningham adds an editorial comment under Yeats' statements saying that he "remembers distinctly that a band began to play on the right of the Columbia Pike almost immediately" after the decision by Hood to attack with the frontal assault. He continued to say that "other bands evidently followed suite," and that "others still may have heard music before the carnage."<sup>98</sup>

A member of the Third Missouri Regiment of Cockrell's Brigade remembers specifically that Cockrell's Brigade Band performed as the troops charged at Franklin. It seems that the officers of the Missouri Brigade thought that there would be little resistance as they only saw two lines of Union Infantry in front of them.

. . . Col. Elijah Gates rode up and called our attention to two lines of infantry in front of us, at the same time saying: "Boys, look in your front; we won't get a smell." When we saw this, we too thought we would have a walkover.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup>T. B. Yeats, untitled article, The Confederate Veteran, XIX (February, 1911), 55.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid.

<sup>99</sup>S. C. Trigg, "Why the Band Played at Franklin," The Confederate Veteran, XIX (January, 1911), 32.

After being encouraged by their commander, the young Confederates looked across the smooth field and became over-confident, having no idea that the position of the Confederate forces was to be in the middle of an enemy enfilade. So sure of quick victory were the Southerners that they asked their Colonel for "music and a brigade drill. To this he readily consented and so ordered. As soon as we started the band began to play, and continued until the enemy's batteries began to rake our lines."<sup>100</sup> The Missourian reports that at least two of his comrades fell from enemy fire before the music stopped. As he helped to bury the dead the next day, there were only three officers and about one hundred able men available for duty left from the entire Missouri Brigade. The fate of the band was not reported.<sup>101</sup>

Captain James Boyce of the First Missouri Brigade remembered that General Cockrell himself gave the orders for the Confederate unit to advance.

Shoulder arms! Right Shift Arms! Brigade forward! Guide Center! Music! Quick time! March! and this array of hardened veterans, every eye straight to the front in actual perfection of drill and discipline, moved forward to our last and bloodiest charge.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup>Ibid.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid.

<sup>102</sup>Joseph Boyce, "Cockrell's Brigade Band at Franklin," The Confederate Veteran, XIX (June, 1911), 271.

Boyce recalled that the band of his brigade was a very good one. Like so many other veterans, he remembered the musicians as having been one of the best ensembles in the army. He reported that the bandsmen were riflemen as well as bandsmen for the two preceding years in numerous battles. Captain Boyce wrote that Cockrell's Brigade Band of ten pieces was involved in the advance of the Confederates with their comrades, and that although it was somewhat unusual for a band to be playing in the advance, the musicians would have protested by picking up rifles and leaving their instruments behind if ordered to the rear. Recalling the band's presence, Boyce wrote that the band "went up with us, starting off with 'The Bonnie Blue Flag,' changing to 'Dixie,' as we reached the deadly point."<sup>103</sup>

C. E. St. Clair, a member of the Sixth Missouri wrote that "Cockrell's Brigade did go into battle at Franklin with a band playing." He lamented the tremendous loss of life suffered by the Southern troops that day, remembering that the Missouri units were devastated by Union firing.<sup>104</sup>

From eyewitness reports and examination of lists of the Confederate forces involved in the Battle of Franklin, it seems acceptable to conclude that Confederate bands played throughout the advancing units as the troops stepped

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<sup>103</sup>Ibid.

<sup>104</sup>C. E. St. Clair, untitled article, The Confederate Veteran, XIX (June, 1911), 271.

toward the waiting Union army. The evidence indicates that Cockrell's Brigade may have started the courageous display of military drill thinking that there was little chance of heavy loss being inflicted by the enemy. As Cockrell's Brigade Band began to play, other Confederate bands probably began to play as their units advanced.

It is known that regimental bands played "Annie Laurie" and "Ben Bolt" as Adams' Brigade of Confederates advanced. The Fifteenth Mississippi Regiment, part of this brigade, was known to have had a band. It is probable that this was one of the bands whose music was mentioned.<sup>105</sup>

The spectacle that saw Confederate soldiers march across the plain at Franklin with colorful flags fluttering in the wind as the bands played was the last action of any kind for thousands of Southerners. Since there were approximately 4,000 Confederate soldiers killed or wounded, the Battle of Franklin has been called a slaughter by many historians. Not only was this battle the last for many common soldiers killed in action, but before the fighting ceased, six Confederate generals had also been killed.

The Confederate bandsman performed for every conceivable military function during the Civil War, and also served as the major source of entertainment for many tired and homesick men in the camps each evening. They played

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<sup>105</sup>Ibid.

concerts of all descriptions under conditions ranging from serenading an officer's girlfriend to playing for advancing troops while being fired upon by enemy soldiers.

When not performing as part of a musical unit, the bandsman was detailed as a field musician to perform bugle calls, drum beats for communicating routine events of the military day, or beating the long roll to warn of the presence of enemy soldiers. He played for ceremonies of all kinds, from dress parades to funerals and military executions.

When not involved in musical pursuits, he was often assigned to medical duty at a field hospital assisting surgeons with operations, or serving as a nurse for sick and wounded soldiers. He often risked his life under fire to rescue fallen comrades from the battlefields, having played stirring martial music for the troops before the battle, and sentimental favorites for soldiers recuperating in the hospitals and for his compatriots in the camps after a fight. While the outcome of the war probably would not have been altered without the Confederate musicians in the conflict, life for the average soldier certainly would have been harder without the services provided by the Southern bandsmen and field musicians.

## CHAPTER V

### THE STONEWALL BRIGADE BAND

On the evening of July 19, 1986, a concert was staged in the town of Manassas, Virginia which featured the Stonewall Brigade Band of Staunton, Virginia.<sup>1</sup> Performing near the battlefield where their great-great-grandfathers risked their lives exactly one hundred and twenty-five years before, these descendants of Confederate musicians continue a tradition of band music that was begun in 1855. One of the oldest musical organizations in the United States, the band's rich history has been carefully recorded. Although many popular stories and legends perpetuated through the years cannot be substantiated, competent historians of the band have preserved documentation of its activities from its beginnings through the present.

For more than 131 years the city of Staunton, Virginia has supported an instrumental music ensemble that has performed thousands of concerts in all regions of the

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<sup>1</sup>"The Grand Review" was presented by the Prince William County Park Authority at Ben Loman Park Amphitheater in Manassas, Virginia. The review was advertised to be "a concert tattoo commemorating the 125th anniversary of the First Battle of Manassas. The program featured the 5th Michigan Regimental Band from Detroit, Michigan, the 11th North Carolina Band from Fayetteville, North Carolina, the 37th Georgia Band featuring this writer as Eb cornet soloist, and the Stonewall Brigade Band.

United States. Staunton, located in the Shenandoah Valley between two mountain ranges, had a population of approximately 4,000 people when the band, then known as The Mountain Saxhorn Band, began to rehearse during the winter of 1855.<sup>2</sup>

The founder of the band, David W. Drake, moved to town in 1854, pursuing his interest in music almost immediately. Drake's involvement in the musical community and his enthusiasm for performance resulted in the beginnings of life-long friendships and business associations. The acceptance of the young musician made it possible for him to form the band only a few months after his arrival in Staunton. It should be noted that the Mountain Saxhorn Band was not the first instrumental ensemble in the Staunton area. "The band of the Staunton Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institute organized and taught by Professor Graham and had existed for some years prior to the organization by Drake."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Reports of the exact population of Staunton in 1855 vary. Marshall M. Brice, The Stonewall Brigade Band (Verona, Virginia, 1967), p. 3, places the population at more than 3,000, while Frank B. Holt, in his booklet places the population at about 4,000. The Staunton Republican Vindicator gives several figures for the year of 1857 at more than 4,000 inhabitants. Regardless of the exact number, Staunton was a fairly large town for the times, and an important center for business and politics in the late 1850's.

<sup>3</sup>The Staunton Republican Vindicator, May 16, 1857, p. 1

Under Drake's direction, the Mountain Saxhorn Band played its first performance in 1857 for the dedication of the Odd Fellow's Hall. The first outing of the young musicians was reported as a success in the local newspaper. "The glittering regalia of the order, and the excellent music of the Mountain Saxhorn Band, added greatly to the enjoyment of the scene."<sup>4</sup>

An impromptu concert for the band took place one week later as they performed a program with Prof. Graham's Blind Institution Band. The town newspaper noted the occasion with the following review.

Our town was much enlivened on Saturday night last by the performance of the Mountain Saxhorn Band and the band belonging to the Blind Institution. It is not enough to say, they acquitted themselves well--the man who did not enjoy their soul-stirring strains is "fit for treason, stratagem, and spoils." We look forward to great enjoyment from these bands, whom we hope will frequently "blow up" our mountain city.<sup>5</sup>

The article also stated that the ladies were impressed by the boys of the Blind Institution Band, and urged Prof. Graham to have them perform more often for the public.<sup>6</sup>

Drake's young band was enjoying the beginnings of a love affair between the musicians and the Staunton community that continued through the years. The band performed

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., May 9, 1857, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., May 16, 1857, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

through the summer, including a Fourth of July concert in a neighboring town under the batons of conductors Augustus J. Turner and John W. Alby, beginning associations that would greatly benefit both the musicians and the Staunton Community.<sup>7</sup>

Alby was an accomplished woodwind performer, and Turner was a well-known brass soloist, composer and music arranger, and conductor. Drake, once a student and associate of Turner's, was eager to have his former teacher work with the newly formed band. This relationship proved to be one of the most important connections for the future of the fledgling organization, since Drake was able to convince Turner to move to Staunton and take over as leader of the band.<sup>8</sup>

Turner improved the musicianship of the bandsmen and the town's appreciation of the band in a very short time after he became director. In addition to his band activities, Turner accepted the post of instructor of music at the Wesleyan Female Collegiate Institute. Through his teaching and performing, he won the respect and appreciation of his colleagues, pupils, and the citizens of the community. Although the band had been in existence for two years, and Turner had been director for only a few months,

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<sup>7</sup>Frank B. Holt, The Stonewall Brigade Band (Staunton, 1982), p. 3.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

their performance on December 1, 1857 was so well attended that many who wished to be present for the concert were turned away for lack of even standing room in the concert hall. So many people were unable to get into the concert hall that there were many requests for the band to repeat the performance.<sup>9</sup>

To show their respect and appreciation to their new leader, the bandsmen presented a new silver cornet to Prof. Turner at the concert. The musicians asked A. H. H. Stewart, an eloquent orator and local dignitary, to present the new saxhorn to Turner and to speak on their behalf. The feelings of the band for their director are apparent in the following portion of Stewart's presentation.

I have been requested by the young gentlemen who compose the Mountain Saxhorn Band, to present to you, on their behalf, the beautiful instrument which I hold in my hand. They tender it to you as a testimonial of their esteem for your character as a gentleman, and of their appreciation of your ability, fidelity, and efficiency, as their instructor, in the science of music. They justly feel that you have opened to them new sources of enjoyment, and have greatly enlarged their capacity to contribute to the happiness of their friends and to the public.<sup>10</sup>

In a stirring speech that could well be used successfully by modern music educators attempting to justify the study of music, Stewart confirmed the feelings of the

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<sup>9</sup>The Staunton Republican Vindicator, December 5, 1857, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

citizens of Staunton that the musical taste of the community was "the best standard to measure the progress of civilization." He praised the bandsmen and their instructor for their efforts to achieve and maintain the highest standards of musical performance, and said that music was recognized as "the sister of prayer." Clearly, A. J. Turner had found a home where he was revered, and the band tradition in Staunton, Virginia was established.<sup>11</sup>

1858 was a busy year for band performances. Concerts were considered newsworthy enough to be mentioned by the newspaper reporters, and accomplishments of the instrumentalists and their leader were often the subjects of front-page news articles. Announcing that the Mountain Saxhorn Band was scheduled at any civic event insured a good crowd. The Presbyterian Ladies organization made sure that the presence of the band was mentioned in articles about their fund-raising fair in 1858. On this occasion, Professor Turner included the Staunton Quarter and the Glee Club which he organized for community events.<sup>12</sup>

In June, the newspaper proudly announced Turner's new composition. "Bessie Bell Waltz", performed by the band, was sure to become a hit, according to the Vindicator.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>The Staunton Vindicator, May 27, 1858, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

The Mountain Saxhorn Band had become so popular by the summer of 1858 that a review of a concert in July elevated the ensemble to a new level. The Vindicator reported that "Staunton can now boast [of] one of the best bands in the State."<sup>14</sup> Whether this praise was justified or not, the pride that the community had developed for their band, and the notice of musical improvement probably helped the members of the ensemble to work harder towards better performance.

1859 was a significant year for the band in several ways. The ensemble began an affiliation with a local militia unit, the West Augusta Guards. Acting as the band company of this militia organization, the bandsmen gradually adopted a more military posture as they participated in parades, drills, and other military functions with the Guard. On February 26, 1859, the Vindicator reported that the city was surprised by drums, rifle fire, and military music early on the morning of February 22nd.

[One gets] the delightful impression that you are in a city about to be stormed. The day was enlivened by the parading of the gallant West Augusta Guards, accompanied by the Mountain Saxhorn Band, which the while, electrified with martial music the warlike soul of the gallant soldiery.<sup>15</sup>

The name of the organization changed in 1859 as the group adopted the name Turner's Silver Cornet Band to honor

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<sup>14</sup>The Staunton Vindicator, July 3, 1858, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., February 26, 1859, p. 2.

their leader, A. J. Turner. The first public mention of the new name appears in the Vindicator in February, 1860. A concert was announced featuring Turner's Silver Cornet Band, and two ensembles from the Staunton Musical Association organized by Turner. The Orchestra and the Glee Club combined with the Silver Cornet Band for a grand concert, the first of many such performances in Staunton.<sup>16</sup>

As usual, the program met with public approval. The newspaper review mentions the "splendid vocal and instrumental entertainment given by the Musical Association under the superintendence of Prof. Turner and Mr. Alby."<sup>17</sup> These grand concerts, as they were named, continued whenever a formal program was presented. This allowed each ensemble to share the program and gave many of the musicians an opportunity to perform in more than one of the groups. Another of the concerts was advertised in the newspaper on May 25, 1860, and reviewed on June 1, 1860. The article called for Professor Turner to continue to produce the grand concerts, and said that they were "far preferable" to the traveling musical and theatrical shows that stopped in Staunton for performances.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>The Staunton Vindicator, February, 17, 1860, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., May 25, 1860, p. 1, and June 1, 1860, p. 1.

Many military events took place in Staunton, as in other Southern cities in 1860, usually including performances by the Silver Cornet Band. A July 4th gathering in Staunton of the West Augusta Guards, the Staunton Artillery, and the Staunton Blues was accompanied by military music performed by the Silver Cornet Band.<sup>19</sup>

Turner's Silver Cornet Band continued to play for local audiences, but more and more of the band's performances were for political speeches, serenades of politicians for major political parties of the time, and increased military activities. Performances were given for presidential candidates of major political parties before the election of 1860, and for many gatherings of states' rights activists who spoke in Staunton in the year preceding the Civil War.<sup>20</sup>

The association of the Silver Cornet Band with the military units of the Staunton area far surpassed being included in selected military ceremonies where a band was needed. The band was included in every military ceremony in which the West Augusta Guards were involved, even to the point of attending encampments, living in tents, and cooking over campfires as did the soldiers of the militia.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>The Staunton Vindicator, July 6, 1860, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., August 31, 1860, p. 2; March 29, 1861, p. 1; and April 12, 1861, p. 2. Also see Holt, p. 4-7 and Brice, p. 8-12.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

Considering the military spirit of the bandsmen at the outbreak of the Civil War, it seems only natural that as the hometown troops left for the front, Turner's Silver Cornet Band would enlist as a group, lead the parade, and be first on the train to the seat of war. This was not to be the case. As the new Confederate soldiers left Staunton for the war, several members of the band did enlist and were assigned to non-musical duties. Edwin M. Cushing, who had been president of the band, was assigned to the Quartermaster's Office in Staunton. William Burdett was assigned to the Augusta County Clerk's office, having been brought back after enlisting in an infantry unit.<sup>22</sup> On April 21, 1861, the former militia soldiers of Staunton, (who were now Confederate troops), left on the train, while about half of Turner's Silver Cornet Band played. Speeches were made, families and friends said their farewells, and the trains pulled away. Leaving with the troops were newly enlisted soldier musicians James A. Armentrout, Samuel G. Baskins, David W. Drake, David E. Strasburg and William E. Woodward.<sup>23</sup>

This must have been a particularly emotional time for members of the band, particularly Professor Turner.

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<sup>22</sup>Frank B. Holt, The Stonewall Brigade Band (Staunton, Virginia, 1982), pp. 36-37. Marshall M. Brice, The Stonewall Brigade Band (Verona, Virginia, 1967), pp. 17-25.

<sup>23</sup>Holt, pp. 8-9.

Not only was the band reduced to half of its previous number of players, but the balanced instrumentation he had worked so hard to achieve was destroyed. In addition, his favorite student, David Drake, who had become his colleague and was responsible for his move to Staunton, was among the five musicians sent into battle along with three other charter members of the Staunton Band.

The five former Silver Cornet Band members, joined by three additional musicians, became the band of the Fifth Virginia Regiment of the First Virginia Brigade and saw action in the First Battle of Manassas. It was in this battle that both General Jackson and his men received the name Stonewall. It is not exactly clear whether the name was intended for the General, his men, or both, but the use of the name originated at this battle.

The Southern troops were being driven back under the fierce attack of the Union forces. Jackson ordered several units to hold the enemy for a time while he assembled his men to surge forward and turn the tide of the battle. Upon seeing that the Confederate line was faltering, General Bernard E. Bee rode up to Jackson and excitedly shouted over the noise of battle informing the General that the line was not holding the enemy. Bee exclaimed to Jackson, "Sir, they are beating us back!" Jackson calmly responded, "Then Sir, we'll give them the bayonet." Bee rode back to his men and called their attention to Jackson and his men. "Look Yonder!

There is Jackson and his brigade standing like a stone wall. Let us determine to die here and we will conquer. Rally behind them!"<sup>24</sup>

Marshall Brice says that there was no official brass band of the Fifth Regiment or the First Brigade in 1861, revealing the fact that there was no designation on the regimental rosters of a separate and official band unit until April of 1862. Brice says that the brass band referred to by General Jackson in a letter to his wife from Camp Hardman in July of 1861 was a combination of "buglers, drummers and other musicians carried on the rolls of the Fifth Regiment."<sup>25</sup>

Robertson, in his book The Stonewall Brigade, also refers to Jackson's mention of the band in this relatively happy time for the Confederates at Camp Hardman. He says that the General "greatly enjoyed their music, though he confessed in private that he could not distinguish one song

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<sup>24</sup>John O. Casler, Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade (Girard, Kansas, 1906), p. 26. James I. Robertson, The Stonewall Brigade (Baton Rouge, 1963), p. 38. Casler's work is composed of the author's reminiscences of the Civil War based on his experiences as a soldier in the engineer corps of the Stonewall Brigade. The stories in the book tend to ramble and are no doubt exaggerated to some extent by the author, who did most of his writing in his later years. The work is, however, the most complete and authentic writing about the common soldier of the Stonewall Brigade. Casler's memoirs are especially meaningful to the present study since the engineer corps and the band of the Stonewall Brigade were thrown together in the line of march, as hospital attendants and camped together in winter quarters.

<sup>25</sup>Brice, p. 23

from another regardless of who played it."<sup>26</sup> Robertson mentions the band by name with no additional reference.

Brice's statement, that the band heard by Jackson and others in this camp after First Manassas was other than a brass band, can be disputed. It is true that the regimental muster rolls of the First Brigade have no officially designated band, and that the musicians that performed for the General and Mrs. Jackson were listed as Fifth Regiment field musicians. There is no indication that these men did not continue to perform as a small brass band, or that a possibly larger band augmented field musicians of the Fifth Regiment.

The musicians listed on the muster rolls were James A. Armentrout, Samuel G. Baskins, John M. Carroll, David W. Drake, W. H. Foley, Charles E. Haines, David E. Strasburg, Robert A. Wilson, and William E. Woodward.<sup>27</sup>

There is no reason why this ensemble of men could not have performed as a brass band. Excluding Woodward, who was killed at First Manassas, this group of musicians could have enjoyed relatively good instrumentation if, at the time, they played the same instruments that they were known to have played when the officially designated Fifth Regiment

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<sup>26</sup>Robertson, p. 47.

<sup>27</sup>Muster Rolls of the Fifth Virginia Regiment of the First Virginia Brigade for 1861, Virginia State Library, Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia. Also see Brice, p. 23, and Holt, p. 9.

Band enlisted in 1862.<sup>28</sup> Using this idea, probable instrumentation was one E flat cornet, one B flat cornet, two alto horns, two tenor horns, one baritone horn, and one drummer. These eight musicians could have provided a relatively well balanced sound.

It was not uncommon for bands to be listed on rolls only as musicians early in the war, and even though Jackson may not have been musical, he probably would not have recorded the performances of the band as enjoyable and referred to them as a band if they were simply a few buglers and drummers. The fact that there were only eight musicians listed in this early Fifth Regiment Band would not deter the designation as a regimental band since this was not an unusually small number of musicians for Confederate bands.<sup>29</sup>

While the Confederate musicians of the Fighting Fifth Virginia Regiment performed and fought for "Stonewall"

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<sup>28</sup>Holt, p. 45. William E. Woodward was the first bandsman to be wounded and the only bandsman to die in battle. Killed at First Manassas on July 21, 1861 at Henry Hill, Woodward was regarded as a hero and supposedly said as he lay dying on the battlefield, "I'll never retreat! Victory or Death!" Whether true or not, the latter was to be Woodward's lot and the words are engraved on his tombstone at Thornrose Cemetery in Staunton.

<sup>29</sup>For a thorough discussion of size and instrumentation of Confederate Bands, see Chapter III, beginning with page 85. The probable instrumentation was compiled from rosters of band members listed by instrument in the Stonewall Brigade Band Hall, Staunton, Virginia, and determined in part through interviews with Frank B. Holt, who assisted the writer in locating information needed for this purpose in the Band Hall and from his private collection of band memorabilia.

Jackson, the musicians of Turner's Silver Cornet Band stayed behind in Staunton. There is no record in the local press of any activity of the band during this part of 1861. It can be safely assumed that little in the way of musical performance by the local bandsmen was taking place as local citizens observed and participated in frenzied and exciting times in Staunton caused by troop movements, the establishment of Confederate hospitals, and the beginnings of Confederate bureaucracy and government.

Professor Turner continued his work as an instructor of music at the Wesleyan Female Collegiate Institute. In addition to his duties as a musician and teacher, Turner began an industry at the Institute which manufactured musical instruments. Brice reports that Turner was also involved as a business partner in a local company engaged in the production of drums. There are no references in the local newspapers to these enterprises and Brice gives no other details.<sup>30</sup> Since some historians claim that there were few if any musical instrument makers in the South and that all brass instruments used by the Confederates came from the North, confirmation of an instrument factory operated by Turner at Wesleyan would be of interest.

Meanwhile, the eight musicians of the Fifth Virginia Regiment were busy performing routine military duties. They

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<sup>30</sup>Brice, p. 24.

performed for the grand review at their camp at Centreville for Virginia Governor Letcher, for the farewell parade of the First Brigade when Stonewall Jackson was promoted to a higher command, and for the review of the brigade by their new commanding officer, General R. B. Garnett.<sup>31</sup>

The short tenure of Garnett as the head of the famous Confederate unit was tragic, since under his command the First Virginia suffered the only major loss in battle for General Jackson, although, according to Major Jed Hotchkiss, a close aide to the General, Jackson never actually admitted that this was a defeat, or really considered the battle a major loss. Nevertheless, Jackson blamed Garnett, at least partially for the outcome at Kernstown, and "Garnett was relieved of his command by General Jackson for some mismanagement during the Battle of Kernstown."<sup>32</sup>

As the Confederate forces were reorganized at the end of the first year of the Civil War when most units completed their initial one-year enlistments, the remaining members of Turner's Band joined those musicians who earlier enlisted, to form what Brice calls "the officially authorized Fifth Virginia Regiment Band."<sup>33</sup> The Fifth Virginia Regiment Band joined the Confederate service with an initial membership of

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<sup>31</sup>Casler, pp. 49-61.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>33</sup>Brice, p. 26.

fourteen men, made up of those newly enlisted and the veteran musicians of the old Fifth Regiment Band. The muster roll for the period of April 1, 1862, through October 31, 1862, lists the following members of the Fifth Virginia Regiment Band.

James Armentrout	Bb cornet
Joseph P. Ast	tuba
Price T. Barnitz	Eb cornet
Hugh Barr	percussion
Samuel Baskins	Bb tenor
James H. Burdett	Bb cornet
John M. Carroll	Eb alto
Alexander Grove	bass drum
Charles Haines	baritone
Horace Stoddard	baritone
David Strasburg	Eb alto
Augustus J. Turner	Eb cornet
Memory T. Turner	Bb cornet
Charles E. Wood	instrument unknown <sup>34</sup>

Price T. Barnitz was transferred from Company F of the Fifth Virginia Regiment to the band and served as Chief Musician and Bandmaster from October, 1862. Performing on E flat cornet, Barnitz took over from Professor A. J. Turner, who was discharged from service in August, 1862. His son,

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<sup>34</sup>Muster Roll of the Field, Staff, and Band of the Fifth Virginia Infantry Regiment, dated from the first day of April, 1862, when last mustered, to the thirty-first day of October, 1862. This document is located in the Stonewall Brigade Band Hall in Staunton, Virginia. Several copies of muster rolls are framed and hang on the band hall walls. David Drake transferred from the Fifth Virginia Regiment to company E of the First Virginia Cavalry, where he became sergeant major and principal musician. W. H. Foley was transferred in and out of the Fifth Virginia Band several times. At the time of this roll, Foley was out of the service, but rejoined the band in August, 1863. Robert A. Wilson was on sick leave at the time of the roll, recovering from wounds. William E. Woodward was the band's only casualty of the war and does not appear on the roll.

Thomas Memory Turner, enlisted as a musician at the age of fifteen and was discharged with his father. The older Turner was overage for service; the younger Turner was underage.

As new members transferred into the band company, the number of musicians remained fairly constant, due to discharges and illnesses. Charles E. Wood was wounded about one month after the band enlisted. In May 1862, while chasing a retreating Federal unit, Wood was shot in the leg, necessitating amputation several weeks after the incident. Although he did not return to the band for the duration of the war, he appears on the muster rolls until February of 1864.

In November, 1862, Andrew L. Spurr was transferred to the band from Company A of the Fifth Virginia Regiment. Spurr was a snare drummer and was later named to the position of drum major.<sup>35</sup> Robert A. Wilson, listed among the musicians of the old Fifth Virginia Regiment, joined the band after recovering from a wound received in May, 1862

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<sup>35</sup>Muster rolls of the Field, Band, and Staff of the Fifth Virginia Regiment located in the band hall at Staunton, Virginia, and in the Virginia State Library Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia. Frank B. Holt reports in his booklet, The Stonewall Brigade Band, that Spurr was a member of the band through the surrender at Appomattox. A native of Winchester, he returned there after the war and became a member of the Union and Friendship Band. He assumed the honored position of leader of the Union and Friendship Band at the unveiling of the Confederate monument at Staunton's Thornrose Cemetery. Spurr was the last surviving Confederate Veteran of the Stonewall Brigade Band. He died on September 3, 1925.

while serving with the Augusta Guard of Staunton. He played B flat tenor. William A. Plunkett joined the band shortly after it was organized as a Confederate unit in 1862, as did W. H. Foley. Plunkett performed as a percussionist throughout the war. Foley was a snare drummer and a bugler.<sup>36</sup>

The strength of the band during the war ranged from sixteen pieces in late April to early May of 1862 to as few as nine men on active duty as illness and casualties were at their peak in early 1863. The band usually consisted of thirteen members.

The members of the newly organized Fifth Virginia Regiment left Staunton riding in style on an elaborate wagon which was custom-made for the band. No drawings or pictures of the wagon have survived, but descriptions indicate that the ornate design resembled a circus wagon. As the band marched from Staunton towards the camp of General Jackson's troops, they were "accompanied by the ornately gilded band wagon, gorgeous with its royal appurtenances, its interior lined and padded with soft white blankets."<sup>37</sup>

Even though General Jackson thought the wagon so unfit for military duty that he ordered it returned to

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<sup>36</sup>Muster rolls for the Field, Staff, and Band, for the Fifth Virginia Infantry Regiment, April 1862-April 1865. Located in the Band Hall, Staunton, Virginia, and Virginia State Library, Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>37</sup>Brice, p. 26.

Staunton, the special padding of the cargo section indicates that in spite of the showy appearance of the wagon, the design insured protection of the band instruments. The bandsmen struck a deal with the Fifth Regiment Quartermaster to assign a two-horse ambulance for use by the band. The ambulance must have provided adequate protection for the instruments, since they survived the war in reasonably good condition.

The instruments of the Stonewall Brigade Band used during the War Between the States have been preserved as a complete set, and are on display in the Band Hall in Staunton, Virginia. The brass instruments were imported from the factory of Antoine Adolph Sax, of Brussels, Belgium. Thought to be the only complete set of over-the-shoulder style (OTS) brass instruments in existence, the eleven saxhorns, one bass drum, and one snare drum are displayed along with J. W. Alby's flute, the Stonewall Brigade Band bugle and the gavel of the first president of the organization.

The band pictured on page 183 is actually a composite of members of the band cut out and glued to a cotton cloth background. Often believed to be a picture of the Stonewall Brigade Band, the musicians are members of the earlier Turner's Silver Cornet Band. The photograph was taken sometime in late 1859 or early 1860. Several of the musicians pictured did not enlist in the Confederate Fifth



Figure 5--Turner's Silver Cornet Band, later the Stonewall Brigade Band, pictured in a composite photograph taken in late 1859 or early 1860. The original photo is hanging in the Stonewall Brigade Band Hall in Staunton, Virginia.

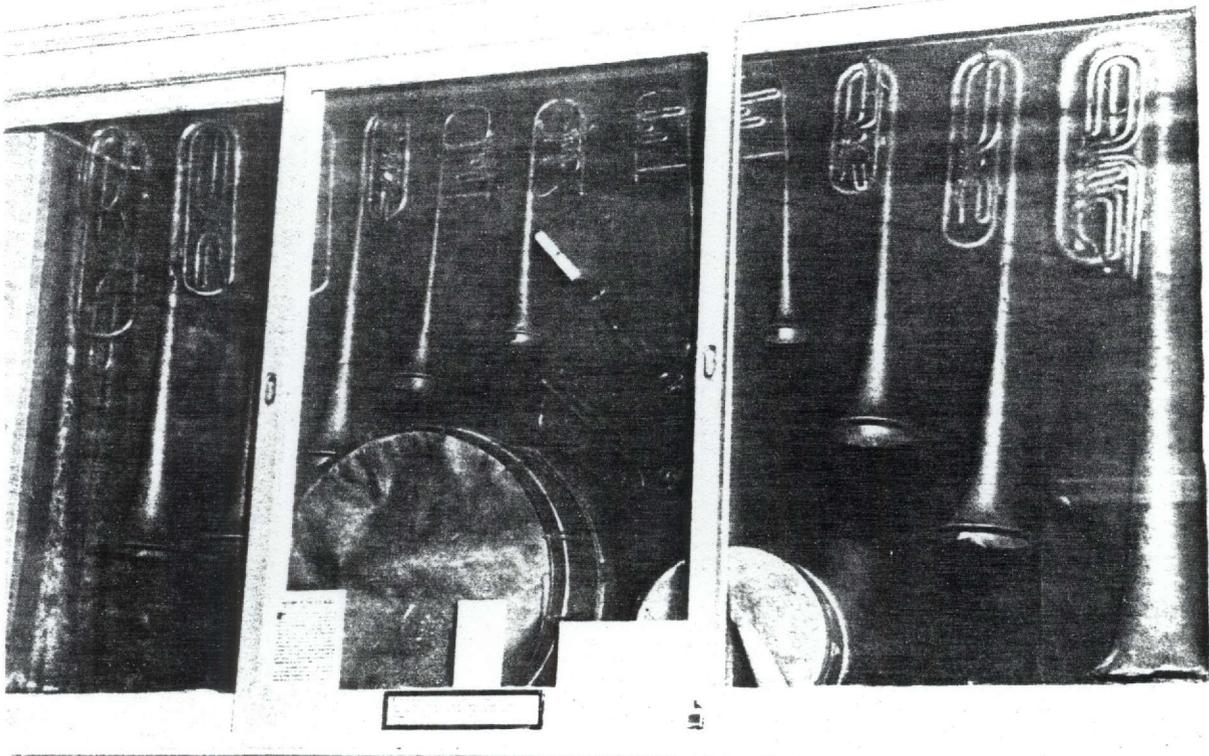


Figure 6--Civil War instruments of the Stonewall Brigade Band on permanent display.

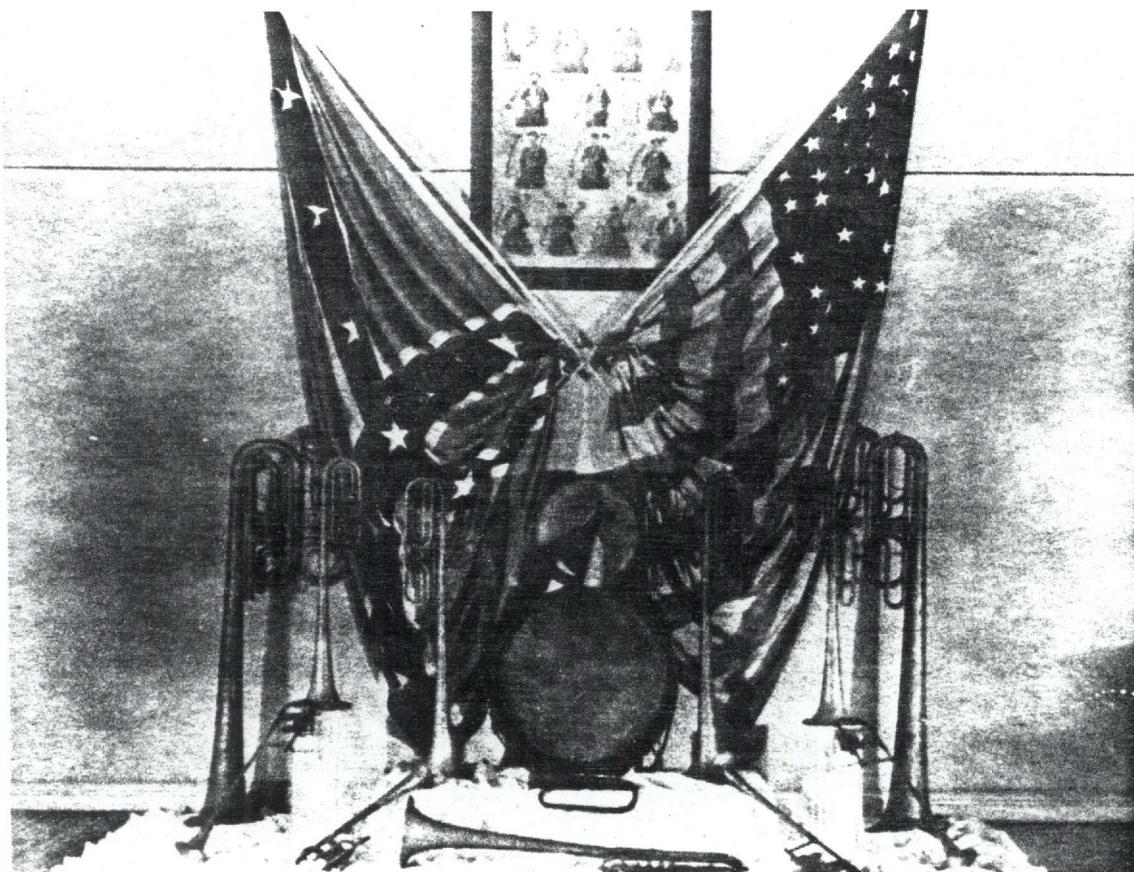


Figure 7--Special display of Stonewall Brigade Band instruments for a photo session. (Photographs courtesy of Frank Holt and the Stonewall Brigade Band.)

Virginia band, which was a unit of Stonewall Jackson's Brigade. The men in the photograph who were members of Turner's band but did not enlist in April, 1862, in the Confederate band were J. W. Alby; Dalins; W. A. Burnett (spelled Burnet on the photo); J. B. Hoge; and the group's first president, E. M. Cushing.<sup>38</sup>

Shortly after the enlistment of the new Fifth Virginia Regiment band, the musicians were busy performing for the routine duties of military life. There were numerous parades in and around the towns where the unit was camped, and the Fifth Virginia Regiment Band always led the formation. The routine of army life and the excitement of dress parades and other activities in and near the valley homes of the bandsmen was soon to end.

As the Confederates moved into Winchester, Virginia, the Fifth Virginia Band led the way. The men of the regiment asked their officers to get them permission to lead the advance in the city as they led the retreat months before. The members of the band, in an unprecedented heroic action by a military band, asked for, and received permission to lead the regiment into town, playing as they

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<sup>38</sup>Photograph of Turner's Silver Cornet Band taken just before the first members of the band enlisted in the Confederate service in different capacities. The original photograph hangs in the Stonewall Brigade Band Hall in Staunton, Virginia. The copy used in this study was made and provided by Frank B. Holt.

went. This episode of bravado proved to be costly, as bandsman C. E. Wood was shot in the leg during the advance.<sup>39</sup>

John O. Casler reported in the earliest history of the Stonewall Brigade that it was here that the band earned its reputation as ambulance corps, stretcher bearers, and surgeon's assistants.

. . . the members [of the band] were often exposed to great danger, as they acted as assistant surgeons, and helped to bear the dead and wounded from the field. They also did hospital duty, and several of them could, in war times, amputate a leg or an arm as well as any regular surgeon.<sup>40</sup>

The bandsmen served with honor as musicians, hospital corpsmen, and as riflemen. Before being assigned to hospital duty, Fifth Regiment bandsmen performed as couriers, riding at breakneck speeds to deliver messages from the general staff to the field.<sup>41</sup>

The First Brigade was involved in the fighting in the Seven Days Battles around Richmond, and at the Battle of Gaines Mill, where the Confederates suffered heavy losses. In both battles the members of the band were kept very busy in caring for the wounded and assisting with field hospital surgery. The summer was both busy and bloody for the First

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<sup>39</sup>Muster Rolls of the Field, Band and Staff, Fifth Virginia Regiment found in the Stonewall Brigade Band Hall and at the Virginia State Library, Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>40</sup>Casler, p. 48.

<sup>41</sup>Holt, p. 9-10. Brice, p. 30.

Brigade. Through spring of 1862, there were many engagements, including Slaughter Mountain, Groveton, and Second Manassas.<sup>42</sup>

The battle of Slaughter Mountain is most remembered not only for the Confederate victory won by the Stonewall Brigade, but also for the death in battle of General Charles S. Winder. Winder had been assigned to command of the First Brigade by General Jackson after Garnett was relieved of command. Winder, although known as a good man, was also known for his zeal in following orders to the letter and enforcing discipline with extremes in punishment. When faced with many stragglers on the march, Winder threatened that all men absent from roll call at the end of the march would be bucked and gagged as punishment from sunrise to sunset on the following day. This was an unusually cruel punishment for so small an offense. John Casler, who experienced this punishment, described it in the following manner.

. . . bucking a soldier is tying his hands together at the wrists and slipping them down under his knees and then running a stick through under the knees and over the arms. Gaggling is placing a bayonet in the mouth and tying it with a string behind his neck.<sup>43</sup>

Thirty men who were absent from roll call on this particular occasion were ordered to be bucked and gagged.

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<sup>42</sup>Robertson, pp. 125-152.

<sup>43</sup>Casler, pp. 101.

The men and officers alike were outraged, and senior officers appealed to Winder to reconsider the severity of his punishment. The General refused and the sentence was carried out.

Upon hearing of this excess in disciplinary matters, Jackson, who was known for his harshness in discipline, rode angrily into Winder's camp and told him that such harsh measures were never to be taken again, but the damage to morale had already been done.<sup>44</sup> Many common soldiers were heard to say that the next battle would be Winder's last whether or not he survived the enemy's bullets. Casler gave the following report after Winder's death.

His death was not much lamented by the brigade, for it probably saved some of them the trouble of carrying out their threats to kill him. I would not have done had I the chance; but I firmly believe it would have been done by someone in the Camp.<sup>45</sup>

There is no report that the bandsmen were involved in the bucking and gagging punishment, but the severity of the punishment affected the reaction to Winder's death through the Fifth Regiment and the entire First Brigade.

Though the members of the Fifth Regiment Band were kept busy with hospital duties in addition to their regular musical duties, the victory at Second Manassas was made even more enjoyable by the capture of full warehouses at Manassas

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<sup>44</sup>Robertson, p. 126.

<sup>45</sup>Casler, p. 104

Junction before the main engagement. Confederate soldiers stuffed haversacks full of Union food and medical supplies, while filling canteens with molasses, sugar, and brandy.<sup>46</sup>

In September 1862, the Fifth Virginia Regimental Band was again in the front of the Confederate First Virginia Brigade as Stonewall Jackson's men invaded Maryland. This march was the beginning of the Antietam campaign after the battle of Chantilly, fought on September 1, 1862. By September 5, the Stonewall Brigade crossed the Potomac River at White's Ford with the entire Confederate force in high spirits. Robertson reported that "the brigade waded across the river in columns of four, laughing, shouting, and singing as the Stonewall Brigade Band filled up the air with strains of 'Maryland, My Maryland.'"<sup>47</sup> The Maryland campaign lasted only a few days and the confused Confederate soldiers were turned back towards Virginia.

Robertson reported that as the men crossed the Potomac at Williamsport they sang many choruses of "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny."<sup>48</sup> Although there is no mention of the band here, it is certainly possible that the same band that played as the joyous Confederates crossed the river to invade Maryland also played as the confused troops came back to Virginia.

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<sup>46</sup>Robertson, p. 144.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 154.

Private soldiers were often confused by the logistical maneuvers of their senior officers, and there was often grumbling in the ranks about decisions that were never explained, such as the retreat from Maryland. Robertson explains this withdrawal by stating Jackson's hope to trap Union forces at Martinsburg.<sup>49</sup>

Casler explains the bewilderment of the troops at Jackson's orders by saying, "military men don't tell privates their plans, and General Jackson never told officers his. But we knew it was all right when 'Old Blue Light' gave his orders. We found out afterwards the cause."<sup>50</sup>

Even though the Fifth Regiment Band had found their place as both musicians and medical personnel, they were issued rifles. In December of 1862, they were carrying new Austrian rifles in addition to musical instruments as they moved near the town of Fredericksburg.<sup>51</sup>

Several instances of the Yankee vs. Rebel battle of the bands are part of the history of the Stonewall Brigade Band. While stationed near Fredericksburg in camps along the Rappahannock River after Christmas, the first of such incidents took place. Each evening the Fifth Virginia Band played for the entertainment of the Confederate soldiers in

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Casler, p. 48

<sup>51</sup>Holt, pp. 9-10.

their winter camps. It was a more relaxed time for all the men involved in the conflict from both sides. As Yanks and Rebs met under truce to exchange newspapers, tobacco and chat, the Fifth Virginia traded tunes with an unknown Federal band across the river.<sup>52</sup>

The times in the winter camps in late 1862 and early 1863 were musical ones for the members of the brigade. Encamped just south of Fredericksburg, Virginia, the soldiers constructed a theater of logs and mud, where all kinds of entertainment took place. There was a special place for high-ranking officers, and concerts and minstrel shows were held regularly. Admission was often charged for charitable contributions to refugees like the homeless citizens of Fredericksburg. The structure seated about three hundred men, and often sums as large as \$170 were raised for the unfortunate civilians of Fredericksburg.<sup>53</sup>

In February 1863, the Fifth Virginia Regiment Band received a well-earned furlough to go home to Staunton, arriving on February 20, 1863. They proudly marched to the courthouse, where they played a concert for charity. Brice reported that over \$400 was raised for needy families of Confederate soldiers.<sup>54</sup> After short visits with family and friends, the band was busy doing what they did best,

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<sup>52</sup>Robertson, p. 177; Casler, p. 139; and Brice, pp. 33-34.

<sup>53</sup>Brice, p. 33.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

performing for the public. Broadsides were plastered all over Staunton and surrounding areas announcing a "Concert of Vocal & Instrumental Music" by the Band of the Fifth Virginia Regiment.<sup>55</sup>

Brice states that former members of the band who were in Staunton probably joined the band for this concert, as well as those men who were home on sick leave who were still members of the band.<sup>56</sup> There is no evidence to indicate which musicians other than active-duty bandsmen performed on this particular program except for J. W. Alby, the flute and piccolo performer, who was a member of the organization from its beginning but was not a Confederate soldier, and a Professor Ettinger, who along with Alby was a member of the faculty at the Augusta Female Seminary. The program leaves doubt about the actual number of guests and former bandsmen who participated in the program, since it states, "The Band will be assisted by Messrs. Alby, Ettinger, & Others."<sup>57</sup>

Few programs of concerts performed by Confederate bands survived the years since the Civil War. Examination

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<sup>55</sup>Information for this concert is found in a sample program advertising the concert. This program, along with a Staunton Musical Association program from April 4, 1861, the pass from the Confederate Provost's Office authorizing this furlough for the band, and a pardon issued to one of the bandsmen at the Appomattox surrender, is framed and hangs in the Stonewall Brigade Band Hall in Staunton, Virginia.

<sup>56</sup>Brice, p. 34.

<sup>57</sup>Concert Program and advertisement from the Stonewall Brigade Band Hall, Staunton, Virginia.

of this program from the Fifth Virginia Band reveals much information about the music performed and the manner in which concerts of the day were presented. The program included several tunes that were listed on the program of the Concert Association in other forms. "Gay and Happy," listed on the Concert Association program as a Glee Club feature, was played as an instrumental piece by the band in 1863. Perhaps arranged by former band leader Prof. Turner, or a contribution from Prof. Alby or Bandmaster Barnitz, the piece was obviously a favorite in either medium since it appeared on both programs spanning a two-year period.<sup>58</sup>

Other pieces performed by the band on the first half of the program were "Major Mercer's Polka," "Maggie By My Side," "Rachael Waltz," "When the Swallows Fly Homeward," and "Amoretten Polka." Professor Alby played "Jeanie With the Light Brown Hair" and "My Mother Dear," as solos, but it is not clear whether these solos were accompanied by piano or by the band. Also included was a piece entitled "The Sweet Sunny South," performed by a quartet consisting of Brown, Howe, Haines, and Barnitz. Haines was Charles E. Haines of the band, and Barnitz was the bandmaster, but the identities of Howe and Brown are unknown. It is also unknown whether the piece was a vocal or instrumental selection, and which parts were played or sung by the members of the quartet.

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<sup>58</sup>Concert Program and advertisement from the Stonewall Brigade Band Hall, Staunton, Virginia.



The second half of the concert featured favorite selections by the band. The "Marseillaise Hymn," "Hark, I Hear an Angel Sing," "The Dying Girl," "Home, Sweet Home," "Katie Dear Quickstep," and "Snow Drop Polka" were performed, along with a solo by Alby and "Bold Bull Runners," performed by a Captain Brown. Captain Brown is probably the same Brown listed as a member of the quartet which performed in the first half of the program.

"Dixie" was often performed by the musicians even before Turner's Silver Cornet Band became the Fifth Virginia Band. The popularity of the tune increased during the Civil War, and the Fifth Virginia Band played it often. "Dixie" was performed on the 1861 program but it is not listed on the 1863 program.<sup>59</sup>

The program was so successful that it was presented twice. An extremely complimentary newspaper review of the concerts called the programs "highly entertaining" and referred to the ensemble as "the Cornet Band attached to the 5th Va. Infantry."<sup>60</sup>

The members deserve great credit for the skillful execution of their several parts, which elicited repeated applause from their large audiences. The gentlemen who so kindly assisted the band received their highest commendation in the reception of their pieces by their enraptured hearers.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>The Staunton Vindicator, March 6, 1863, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

The reviewer commented that he hoped the band would be able to come home more often, and that both the musicians and the community should look forward to future concerts. The article concluded by reiterating that the proceeds from the concert were for the benefit of needy soldiers and needy families of Confederate soldiers. Evidence of the tremendous success of these programs is seen by the fact that even though concerts were presented in the middle of the war when hard times were experienced by many, over \$600 was raised.<sup>62</sup>

Upon returning to Camp Winder in March of 1863, the band received its official designation as the First Virginia Brigade Band. The former Fifth Regiment Band benefited from the reputation it had achieved through the hard work of band members serving as musicians, medics, and soldiers.<sup>63</sup>

The long winter camp ended with the arrival of spring in April. Instead of looking forward to warmer weather, there must have been a sense of dread on the part of the soldiers as preparations were made for the series of troop movements and skirmishes that led to the beginning of the Chancellorsville campaign.

The Battle of Chancellorsville was one of the most tragic battles of the war for the Southern soldiers.

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>Casler, p. 48.



Figure 9--Professor A. J. Turner, leader of Turner's Silver Cornet Band, member of the Confederate Stonewall Brigade Band and post-war director of the Stonewall Brigade Band. The original picture hangs on the wall of the Stonewall Brigade Band Hall in Staunton, Virginia.



Figure 10--Civil War Bandmaster P. T. Barnitz of the Stonewall Brigade Band. The original photograph hangs in the Stonewall Brigade Band Hall in Staunton, Virginia.

Artillery shelling caused brush fires that consumed men from both armies lying dead and wounded on the battlefield. This was a particularly frightening and life-threatening time for the bandsmen and others who tried to get through the flames toward the moans and screams of wounded soldiers calling for help.

John Casler worked alongside the bandsmen as a stretcher bearer during this and many other battles. Being a member of the Pioneer Corps, he was ordered to put down his pick and shovel to rescue the wounded from the field. At Chancellorsville, "the night was lighted by burning human bodies."<sup>64</sup> Casler described the horror of the scene on the battlefield.

The dead and badly wounded from both sides were lying where they fell. The woods, taking fire that night from the shells, burnt rapidly and roasted the wounded men alive. As we went to bury them we could see where they had tried to keep the fire from them by scratching the leaves away as far as they could reach. But it availed not; they were burnt to a crisp.<sup>65</sup>

Chancellorsville will be remembered in history for the horrible deaths of the men who fought there, as well as for a single incident considered by many to be one of the major turning points of the entire war. Stonewall Jackson received the wound that caused his death several days later.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Casler, p. 152.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 151.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., pp. 146-149.

The loss was greatly mourned throughout the South. The Stonewall Brigade was devastated both by losses on the battlefield and by the loss of their General. General Lee sent an official dispatch to the men in sympathy for their loss, lamenting the loss to the entire country. As might be expected, the men of the Stonewall Brigade wanted to escort the body of their fallen hero to his final resting place, but the request was denied by General Lee, who was afraid to spare the remnants of the army from the front.

At least one brass band appeared both at the official mourning and parade in Richmond, and at the cemetery where the burial took place.<sup>67</sup> The ensemble present was not the Stonewall Brigade Band.

At the Battle of Chancellorsville the Stonewall Brigade suffered a fearful loss, and the number of wounded was appalling. They were taken to a field hospital and attended by the band as a surgeon's corps. For two weeks the musicians could not be spared from the wounded, and so missed the sad opportunity of escorting the remains of General Stonewall Jackson to Richmond.<sup>68</sup>

The parade of mourning in Richmond, where the General's body was escorted by Confederate soldiers, was led by the

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<sup>67</sup>Chester Goolrick, "He Didn't Like Dixie," The Virginia Cavalcade, XLV (Spring, 1960), 5.

<sup>68</sup>From a front page article from The Evening Post of Louisville, Kentucky, 1896 advertising the attendance of the Stonewall Brigade Band at a reunion of Confederate Veterans. This article is in a scrapbook of articles dating from the 1870's about the Stonewall Brigade Band in the private collection of Frank B. Holt. Photo copies of these articles were provided to this writer for this study.

Thirtieth Virginia Regimental Band in place of the Stonewall Brigade Band.

Shortly after the death of General Thomas J. Jackson, the men of the brigade adopted a series of resolutions in honor of their fallen leader. The third of these resolutions was a request to follow the wishes of the General.

Resolved, 3d, That in accordance with General Jackson's wish, and the desire of this brigade to honor its first great commander, the Secretary of War be requested to order that it be known and designated as the Stonewall Brigade.<sup>69</sup>

This request was granted by the Secretary of War and the Confederate Congress. The result was that the unofficial name that had been used for sometime was now the proper title of the brigade. The First Virginia Brigade Band was now known formally and officially as the Stonewall Brigade Band.<sup>70</sup>

The musicians of the Stonewall Brigade Band went about their regular duties through many battles, which included small skirmishes as well as major battles. In the battles around Winchester, Virginia, on June 14-15, 1863, Bandmaster P. T. Barnitz and musician C. E. Haines distinguished themselves in an incident of bravado and daring. Mounted

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<sup>69</sup>Casler, p. 161.

<sup>70</sup>War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, 1880-1901), Pt. 1, p. 840.

upon captured mule wagons, the two bandsmen helped Confederate infantry soldiers capture six Union regiments, taking nearly six hundred prisoners. This action was outside the normal routine of the musicians, who always seemed to be able to find ample opportunities to be involved in a variety of different military actions.<sup>71</sup>

The band participated in the Battle of Gettysburg and in campaigns in Pennsylvania and Maryland before and after the great battle. The muster rolls for the field, staff and band of the Stonewall Brigade show that they arrived in Gettysburg on July 1, 1863, between eight or nine o'clock in the evening. They were involved in musical and hospital activities as the battle raged for the next two days. On the morning of the 4th of July, they began to fall back and finally arrived at camp near Orange Court House, Virginia, on August 1, 1863.<sup>72</sup>

Exhausted by the grueling marches and casualties suffered in the battles of the Gettysburg Campaign, the tired soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade prepared to make their winter encampment. After a number of smaller engagements the entire Confederate Army of Northern Virginia

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid., Part 2, pp. 409-506, 515-518, 523-526.

<sup>72</sup>Muster rolls for the Stonewall Brigade, First Virginia Brigade for the dates from June 30, 1863 through August 31, 1863, located in the Stonewall Brigade Band Hall, Staunton, Virginia, and at the Virginia State Library, Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia.

went into winter quarters near Orange Court House. After suffering defeat at Gettysburg, one envisions a whipped, ragged army of stragglers limping from the battle with flags tied up and weapons dragging behind.

If this was the case, the Confederates were quickly revived, if the activities of the troops in winter camp are any indication. The winter of 1864 brought with it more snow than usual. With each snowfall, snowball battles were fought between soldiers of different sized units ranging from companies to entire army divisions. As it rarely snows in South Georgia, many of the Georgians from Rodes' division were quick to answer the challenge of the Virginians to a duel with snow for ammunition.

On one particular occasion, the Virginians of the Stonewall Brigade were involved in a snow fight with the Georgians, and, being more accustomed to snowfall, soon tired of the game and started to leave for the warmth of their camp. The Georgians, feeling that they were seeing the enemy retreat, followed the Virginians into their camp, still bombarding them with snowballs. The Georgians withdrew and formed a new battle line while daring the Virginians to come out and fight. Since it looked rather bad to some of the men for the famous Stonewall Brigade to be humiliated in defeat in even a snowball fight, Brigadier General Walker was asked by the Virginians to take command of the fight. A witness reported, "It was fun for Walker,

so he mounted his horse, collected his staff, and sent out conscript officers all over camp and forced men out."<sup>73</sup>

The Virginians conducted the battle as if it were the real thing, including using the signal corps, battle flags, and musicians. Couriers busily carried dispatches to officers of the command and military flanking maneuvers were conducted. When officers were captured, the private soldiers would roll them in the snow. All this was accepted in fun by most, while with musical accompaniment of the musicians of the Stonewall Brigade, colors were captured by the winning armies.<sup>74</sup>

Again during the winter of 1864, the soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade built a theater of logs covered with clapboards and prepared to provide entertainment for the Confederate soldiers. This season saw the organization of a black minstrel troupe which performed nightly with music provided by the Stonewall Brigade Band acting as the pit

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<sup>73</sup>Casler, p. 202.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., pp. 201-204. Most of the Confederate soldiers were from areas where large amounts of snowfall were rare. There were many such snowball battles recorded by Southern soldiers with more detail included in many instances, than found in descriptions of major battles. The novelty of the heavy snows of the winter of 1864, and the fact that the horrors of the battlefield had left most of these seasoned veterans rather numb and calloused to the human suffering that they had witnessed, may account for the frequency of stories of snow battles written by soldiers from all Southern states. Similar accounts were found in research for this study written by soldiers from Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Texas, Louisiana, and South Carolina, in addition to the story recorded by John Casler.

orchestra, complete with some of the talented bandmen doubling on stringed instruments. Charles Haines played violin in the pit, and also served as business manager for the theater.<sup>75</sup> Admission of \$1.00 was charged, with the proceeds again being donated to charity organizations to help the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers.

The minstrel shows and the musical entertainment that went along with them were well received by the soldiers. Volunteers from the military units performed a variety of routines, the most popular of which were satires of military life.

Burlesques on the officers, quartermasters and commissaries, or whatever was interesting and amusing. Taking it all together we had splendid performances. I have never seen better since the war, as we had amongst us professional actors and musicians; and the theater became a great palace to while away the dull winter nights.<sup>76</sup>

The theater was named the Stonewall Brigade Theater and was complete with private boxes constructed for the officers. The box prepared for General Walker was an ornately designed structure with wall hangings and even a comfortable chair.<sup>77</sup>

John O. Casler was a member of the pioneer corps of the Stonewall Brigade. Pioneers were the men who carried

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<sup>75</sup>Brice, pp. 39-40. Robertson, pp. 216-217.

<sup>76</sup>Casler, p. 205. The Staunton Vindicator, February 4, 1864, p. 1.

<sup>77</sup>The Staunton Vindicator, February 4, 1864, p. 1.

tools to dig entrenchments, removed obstacles from the path of marching troops, helped engineers construct and repair bridges, and generally provided the huge amounts of manual labor necessary to move large forces of men along roads and through the wilderness. They were often classified as noncombatants and were assigned to battlefield duties along with ambulance corpsmen and musicians. Casler's Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade is the only known eyewitness account of the activities of the famous brigade. This work is important in the study of the Stonewall Brigade Band because of the closeness of the men in the pioneer corps to the musicians while they were in camps and on forced marches. Many friendships were developed between the men of the pioneer corps and the brigade musicians, who were often assigned together to the disagreeable tasks of retrieving the wounded and dead from the battlefields. This duty was often performed under fire.

Casler described the position of these men as preparations were being made for a large battle. Both the Confederates and the Union forces had stopped very close to each other as preparations had begun.

The space between the two lines was thick with underbrush and little jack oaks, which stood so close that we could not see twenty steps in advance. The artillery was posted behind the works with muzzles pointing over and the horses were all taken to the rear. The cannoneers themselves had pits dug to shield them. The ambulance corps, the bands and musicians, with the pioneers, all

had pits to get into, as at times the shells would fairly rain over us.<sup>78</sup>

One can imagine the flurry of activity and the apprehension felt by the musicians in the trenches as they prepared for the destruction of the impending battle.

While Stonewall Brigade bandsmen were safely resting in the trenches and earthworks they had prepared during the Battle of the Wilderness in May, 1864, they were close enough to the Union lines to hear a Yankee band play "The Star Spangled Banner." Not to be outdone, the Stonewall Brigade Band struck up "The Bonnie Blue Flag." This choice of tunes is interesting since neither piece was at that time the official national anthem of either country. The Union troops often played "Hail Columbia," or some other national air, since "The Star Spangled Banner" was not adopted as the national anthem until 1931.<sup>79</sup> There was no official national anthem of the Confederacy, but "God Save the South" is often referred to as such. The Stonewall Brigade Band's choice of "The Bonnie Blue Flag" was as good as any tune that could have been chosen. The story closes as expected, with the Union band playing "Home Sweet Home."<sup>80</sup> The only variation from many reports of this kind is that instead of both bands and all the soldiers joining in a tearful

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<sup>78</sup>Casler, p. 210.

<sup>79</sup>The Congressional Record, March 3, 1931, p. 6950.

<sup>80</sup>The Staunton Vindicator, February 4, 1864, p. 1.

rendition of the sentimental tune, the Union band played it alone.

The Battle of Spotsylvania saw the last action for the Stonewall Brigade. The official demise of the brigade came after devastating losses at the Wilderness which so weakened the Confederates that they were overrun and many men captured on May 12, 1864. Among those captured was General Edward Johnson, Division Commander. Brigadier General Walker was wounded.<sup>81</sup> The Stonewall Brigade Band escaped capture and was retained with its name after being reassigned along with the survivors of the once grand brigade.

The bandmen served in the battles at Bethesda Church, Cold Harbor, New Market (with the Corps of Cadets from Virginia Military Institute who were former students of Stonewall Jackson), and in the Valley Campaigns of 1864-65.<sup>82</sup>

During the 1864 action around Winchester, William A. Plunkett, drummer with the Stonewall Brigade Band, was wounded and captured. He remained a prisoner until he was exchanged in January of 1865.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Casler, pp. 212-214. Robertson, pp. 223-225. Also unidentified and undated newspaper clippings from the Frank B. Holt collection.

<sup>82</sup>Casler, pp. 215-292.

<sup>83</sup>Personal service record of William A. Plunkett, Fifth Virginia Volunteer Infantry Regiment Band C. S. A. and the First Virginia Infantry Brigade C. S. A. on microfilm at Virginia State Library, Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia.

The remnants of the old Stonewall Brigade were among those who surrendered with Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia on April 9, 1865. Thirteen members of the Stonewall Brigade Band served through the war, but only seven names are listed on the final muster roll after the surrender.<sup>84</sup>

By some miracle, the band wagon escaped the destruction of the Battle of Petersburg, and after the surrender at Appomattox, returned to Staunton complete with the entire set of band instruments it had protected and carried so faithfully through the War Between the States. Here begins one of the myths that has been perpetuated for more than 125 years.

Since the instruments were kept or saved from confiscation by the Union soldiers, the story is told that "General Grant issued an order to allow the members of the band to take their instruments home with them."<sup>85</sup> There is

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<sup>84</sup>It is not surprising that all the names of the bandsmen who served through the war are not on the last muster roll. The soldiers had just come from the Battle of Petersburg, Virginia, which further devastated the soldiers of the Army of Northern Virginia. Many men, knowing that the army was being surrendered, just went home. Others were confused and didn't surrender with their units, while still others were separated from their outfits and were surrendered with other Confederate units. Some of the mistakes were simply due to faulty record keeping.

<sup>85</sup>J. A. Hiner, "The Stonewall Brigade Band," The Confederate Veteran, VII (July, 1900), 304. This is only one of many reports of this kind in many articles and unit histories. This story had been told so many times over the years that it was accepted as truth as early as 1870.

no evidence to indicate that Grant issued any order involving bands or band instruments. Unless it can be construed that the order allowing Confederate soldiers to be paroled with their rifles, horses, and other personal equipment included the band instruments, no known orders were issued by any Federal officer involving musical instruments. It is likely that since the musical instruments were not instruments of war, they were of no concern to Union officials.

Evidence indicates that the Stonewall Brigade was not given special treatment in being allowed to keep their instruments, since other Confederate bands were also paroled with instruments. The Appomattox roll includes no mention of the instruments in its list of musicians of the Stonewall Brigade who were paroled. Four members of the Tenth Alabama Regiment Band, however, have the words "1 brass instrument" written beside their names to denote the equipment they were allowed to keep as a condition of parole. The Fourth North Carolina Band is the only Confederate band known to have played at Appomattox after the surrender and obviously kept their instruments in order to do so.<sup>86</sup> Although it is known that other musicians kept their instruments, this is

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<sup>86</sup>Neave Family Papers, located in the Brawley files of the Rowan Public Library History Room, Salisbury, North Carolina. Douglas Southall Freeman, Gettysburg to Appomattox, Vol. III of Lee's Lieutenants, 3 vols. (New York, 1942), p. 745.

the only reference to musical instruments in the surrender document.<sup>87</sup> Freeman in Lee's Lieutenants says that there were no bands to play for the march to the final surrender and that most of the instruments had been stored before the retreat, or lost. Records indicate that only the Fourth North Carolina Regiment was known to have retained its band, and Freeman speculated that there may have been a few others to have kept bands.<sup>88</sup>

Perhaps another reason for the stories that have circulated since the hostilities of the Civil War ceased involves the band's relationship to General U. S. Grant. It has been suggested that the Union band that shared the impromptu concert at the Battle of the Wilderness with the Stonewall Brigade Band was the staff band attached to General Grant's headquarters. Upon hearing the band play for him in 1874 in Staunton, Grant supposedly remembered hearing the Confederates perform during the war. Maybe he remembered their performance at the Wilderness, or he may have known them through their reputation as a musical ensemble. It is more likely that Grant was simply playing the role of good politician as he gestured toward the band by tipping his hat when he was told of their identity.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>R. J. Broch and Philip Van Doren Stern, editors, The Appomattox Roster (New York, 1962).

<sup>88</sup>Freeman, Vol. III, p. 745.

<sup>89</sup>Unidentified newspaper clippings from Holt collection

Some suggest that Grant may have been somewhat touched by the kindness of the band in serenading him, since he was not always warmly received in the South. In 1874, the political climate of the Southern United States was still influenced by the cruelties of the Civil War and the indignities suffered by the Southern people during Reconstruction. The warm reception given by the band and the citizens of Staunton to the former president was a fond memory.<sup>90</sup> Regardless of how he remembered the band, the legend goes that there were good feelings among the musicians of the band toward Grant, since he allowed them to keep their instruments after the war.

Grant may have had the opportunity to hear the band on several future occasions as the band reached national prominence by performing for various Democratic and Republican Party functions. There are conflicting stories about the relationship between Grant and the Band in the General's last years. Some say that a local newspaper editor in Staunton, who was a loyal Republican, wrote to Grant on behalf of the band on several occasions. He wrote editorials in the newspaper creating much of the legend about the band and the Union general. He also wrote the first story of the surrender and the parole of the band

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<sup>90</sup>Interview with Frank B. Holt, historian of the Stonewall Brigade Band, March 10, 1986.

with the instruments, which appeared in Staunton area newspapers in 1885.<sup>91</sup>

Only two weeks before he died, Grant received a message of sympathy and wishes for his recovery from the Stonewall Brigade Band. Brice and Holt report the possibility that this message was sent by the newspaper editor rather than the band. Regardless of the origin of the message, the result was a kind letter from F. D. Grant, the General's secretary, to the bandsmen.<sup>92</sup>

Even though the exact details of the association with U. S. Grant are not known, it is certain that the musicians of the Stonewall Brigade Band benefited by receiving much attention and national publicity. They were invited to participate in the funeral parade and services for Grant, and led the Southern delegation of marching units in the funeral procession on August 8, 1885.<sup>93</sup>

The myth and legend surrounding the band and the surrender at Appomattox survive as folklore. What is more important is the fact that the instruments used by the band during the Civil War were kept in the possession of the Stonewall Brigade Band and preserved through the years.

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<sup>91</sup>The Staunton Vindicator, April 12, 1885, p. 1; The Valley Virginian, May 28, 1885; Brice, pp. 81, 184-185.

<sup>92</sup>Brice, p. 81.

<sup>93</sup>Typed manuscript of Stonewall Brigade Band history located in the Stonewall Brigade Band Hall, Staunton, Virginia.

While many Civil War era brass and percussion instruments have survived since the 1860's, the instruments of the Stonewall Brigade Band are the only known set of Confederate instruments to survive, and are thought to be the only complete set of OTS Civil War instruments extant.

An examination of the instruments reveals that they are in remarkably good condition externally. Relatively few dents appear which would impede performance, and there are no places of corrosion that has worn through tubing. The brass instruments are all rotary-valved saxhorns. Ten of the instruments each have three valves, and the B flat bass has four valves.

Although the horns look well preserved externally, they appear not to have been played, perhaps since they were displayed after the war. Valves are frozen and rotary valve string has not been replaced and is rotted, nonexistent, or broken. Slides on the instruments are also frozen, and years of not being played have taken their toll. The bass drum and snare drum are unpainted natural wood shells with calfskin heads (broken) and rope-controlled tension.

It is unfortunate that the instruments have not been restored to playing condition. The process would only involve work on the valves, freeing slides, and cleaning dirt and dust out of the tubing. The original Stonewall Brigade drums would not have to be used, since many drums from the period have been restored to the point that the

percussion sound of the era has been efficiently reproduced. Such is not the case with any complete set of brass instruments from this historic time. Much could be learned about the actual sound of the Confederate band if music of the War Between the States could be performed using these instruments.

The fact that the Stonewall Brigade Band was one of the few bands (and perhaps the only one) which survived into the twentieth century as a remnant of a Confederate Army band created a fertile atmosphere for the proliferation of stories. Over the years, creative public relations articles perpetuated these stories, based on truth but often exaggerated.

Other than the stories involving U. S. Grant, the myth concerning the musicians' relationship to Stonewall Jackson has been most abused. An article announcing the appearance of the Stonewall Brigade Band at a Confederate Veterans convention included the legend.

This band was not only the pride of General Jackson's Brigade, but each member was the personal friend of the General, and he earnestly desired its perpetuation. Only a few days before his death he expressed the wish that the Stonewall Brigade Band would continue to live through the succeeding generations of Confederate soldiers and their sons. Soon after his death the members of the band held a conference and decided that their great general's wishes should be held sacred, and the Stonewall Brigade Band should live.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>94</sup>Hiner, p. 304.

While it can be argued that Stonewall Jackson enjoyed the diversions created by the music of the Fifth Virginia Regiment Band in camp during the early part of the war, it is highly unlikely that the Brigadier General, who was soon to be Major General Jackson, would be a personal friend of any private musician. Military organizations have not changed so much in the years since the Civil War that a bandsman could have been considered "the close personal friend of the General."<sup>95</sup>

It is likely that the relationship between General Jackson and the bandsmen was cordial but professional. Jackson was known for his strict attitudes and harshness in his discipline, both for his soldiers and himself. His near-spartan existence while teaching at Virginia Military Institute before the war, and accounts of his rather peculiar personality during the war, are well documented by Douglas Southall Freeman and other historians.<sup>96</sup>

An examination of the General's personal habits in camp and on the battlefield as recorded by Casler and studied by Freeman reveals his true spirit. It is unlikely that Stonewall Jackson, while greatly admired, respected, and even loved by his men, was actually a friend to any of

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<sup>95</sup>Ibid.

<sup>96</sup>Douglas Southall Freeman, Manassas to Malvern Hill, Vol. I of Lee's Lieutenants, 3 vols. (New York, 1942), pp. 307-308.

his troops, especially the privates of the Stonewall Brigade Band.

The article in The Confederate Veteran also stated that Jackson wished that the band should live on after his death, and his deathbed wish that sons of Confederate Veterans should be able to hear the band.<sup>97</sup> There is no evidence to indicate that Jackson mentioned the First Brigade Band or any of its members during the time after he was wounded or as his condition deteriorated on his deathbed. Volume II of Lee's Lieutenants by Freeman presents a thorough and very detailed account of Jackson's last days, including every statement made by the General to his wife and his attending physicians as he died. While Stonewall Jackson might have wished his old brigade well, he did not single out the Stonewall Brigade Band. It is probable that the exaggerated claim refers to Jackson's wish that the First Brigade be officially known as the Stonewall Brigade. This was an accolade that the General wanted credited to his entire brigade, including the band as a part of the unit, to whom he felt the honor was due.<sup>98</sup>

The band reorganized shortly after the surrender in 1865 on their return to Staunton, adding several new

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<sup>97</sup>Hiner, p. 304.

<sup>98</sup>Douglas Southall Freeman, Cedar Mountain to Chancellorsville, Vol. II of Lee's Lieutenants, 3 vols. (New York, 1942), pp. 573-689.

members. Since the saxhorns and drums used during the war were on display and not used for regular performances, the individual members provided their own instruments. The bandsmen went about their civilian occupations as businessmen in the Staunton area while they continued to perform with the band as amateur musicians. Band rehearsals were held twice each week and the musicians performed for a number of local events and ceremonies.<sup>99</sup>

A major reorganization of the Stonewall Brigade Band took place in January of 1873, and the charter of official incorporation of the band was received in February of 1875. Shares of stock were sold to raise monies, and fees for performances were charged as a way to raise funds to continue the band organization. The members stressed that the fees were only to cover expenses and not as payment to musicians for performance. Among the members of the newly reorganized Stonewall Brigade Band were six of the original fourteen members of the Mountain Saxhorn Band.<sup>100</sup>

In the years to come, come, funds were raised for new instruments and for uniforms, and performances continued for a variety of regional and local events, ranging from political meetings to gatherings of old veterans. The band

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<sup>99</sup>Brice, pp. 48-59

<sup>100</sup>This information is gathered from records and documents found in the Stonewall Brigade Band Hall in Staunton, Virginia and from unidentified and undated copies of newspaper articles provided by Frank B. Holt.

was always present at the funeral of a founding member or a veteran of the Confederate Stonewall Brigade Band.<sup>101</sup>

The long history of the Stonewall Brigade Band includes major performances at events of national and international importance after the war. The original set of instruments was displayed at a number of exhibitions and conventions and sometimes played in parades by the band. Starting in 1886, a tradition began where in addition to the band, fourteen young men appeared carrying old horns to represent the old band.

Some of the most notable post-war performances by the band include six inaugural parades for United States Presidents Cleveland (twice), Wilson (twice), Taft, and McKinley; the funeral of former President of the United States and General U. S. Grant in 1885; the Washington Centennial in New York City in 1889; the reinterment of Confederate President Jefferson Davis in 1893; the Columbian Exposition World's Fair in Chicago in 1893; and the Saint Louis World's Fair in 1904.

The Stonewall Brigade Band has served as the community band of Staunton, Virginia with financial support from the City of Staunton since the reorganization of 1875. In addition to performing for major national events, the band has been active at many state performances through the

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<sup>101</sup>Ibid.



Figure 11--The Stonewall Brigade Band leading the funeral procession of U. S. Grant in Washington, D. C. on August 8, 1885. (photo courtesy of Frank Holt)



Figure 12--Stonewall Brigade Band in Taft's Inaugural Parade in 1909

years, ranging from the inaugural parades of Virginia's governors, to football games, as the band for early University of Virginia football games.<sup>102</sup>

Even though the Stonewall Brigade Band has received attention and accolades for the large scale performances at major events, perhaps the most important contributions of these musicians have taken place at home in Staunton. From 1855 through the 1940's, music teachers affiliated with the Stonewall Brigade Band were the major source of music education in the Staunton area. Shortly after World War II, there was no instrumental music being taught in Staunton, but the band was still performing. As membership in the organization grew smaller, interested members of the band met informally to discuss the problem. It was determined that the decline in membership was largely due to the fact that there were no new players being instructed on band instruments. With the decline in numbers of bandsmen, many of the remaining members of the band were senior citizens.

In 1945 and 1946, Frank Holt and William L. Morrison, (one of the younger members of the band, in his mid-forties), decided to approach the local school board to request that instrumental music be added to the public school curriculum. The president of the school board "did

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<sup>102</sup>Ibid.

not want to have anything to do with music in the public schools or band music."<sup>103</sup>

In 1949 Dr. Martha Grafton, formerly president of Mary Baldwin College, was elected president of the school board. When approached by Holt to consider the establishment of public school music, she requested information on band instrument purchases, uniforms, and discussed salary for a band director. Grafton soon became an enthusiastic supporter of music education in the schools.

In 1950, a young graduate of the Shenandoah Conservatory of Music was hired to come to Staunton to start an instrumental music program in the schools, and as the new director of the Stonewall Brigade Band. Paul B. Sanger organized the parents of the community into a band booster association and solicited the help of the PTA. Starting with two evening meetings he called Strike Up the Band, large numbers of interested parents and students asked questions and became charter members of the school instrumental program. With these meetings, the band program was born.

Sanger held the dual position in the schools and with the community band for sixteen years. "While in Staunton, he would select his most promising students and bring them into the Stonewall Brigade Band. Music in the schools

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<sup>103</sup>Letter from Frank B. Holt, April 11, 1986.

certainly saved our old band, which dates back to 1855," according to Holt.<sup>104</sup> While the school music program may have saved the "old band," the incorporation of the music program in the schools was a direct result of work by members of the Stonewall Brigade Band. These descendants of Confederate soldiers may have contributed their best performance in convincing those in authority to begin music education in the public schools.

The extraordinary efforts of Stonewall Brigade Band members, starting with David Drake, have made the organization withstand the test of time. When the future of the band was in jeopardy, bandsmen found ways to revive the organization. Originating in 1855, surviving through the American Civil War and Reconstruction, the dedication spanning more than 130 years by these generations of musicians is evidenced by the fact that the Stonewall Brigade Band continues, and is the nation's oldest community band sponsored by local government.

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid.

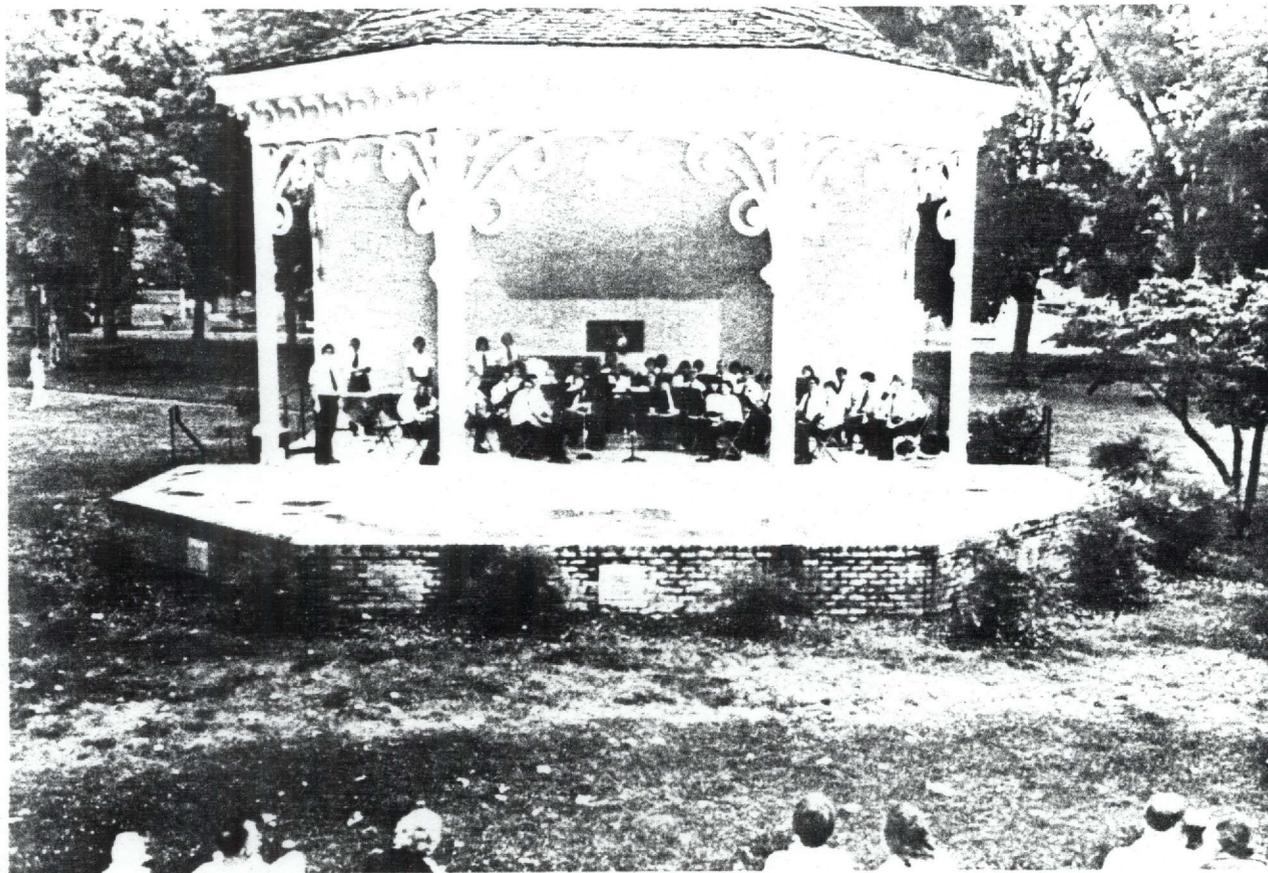


Figure 13--The modern Stonewall Brigade Band is a community band composed of instrumentalists of all ages from the Staunton, Virginia area. The band is pictured here in concert on the bandstand constructed for them by the City of Staunton. The Stonewall Brigade Band is funded by the citizens of Staunton through their city taxes.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE FOURTH GEORGIA REGIMENTAL BAND

In 1859, Americus, Georgia was a growing city with a weekly newspaper, two colleges, several music schools, large Masonic organizations, and many churches. As the area prospered, efforts were made to bring quality entertainment to the community. There were several concert sites in town listed as places of amusement. City Hall was a place where plays were presented by traveling thespians and occasionally a local group. The chapel auditorium at Furlow Masonic Female College was frequently used for concerts, and musical programs were presented in a hall over Toole & Schumpert Billiard Saloon.<sup>1</sup>

Prominent citizens and community leaders of Americus had worked to provide more cultural activities for their community than were available to residents of many larger Southern cities, but they were not content to allow the progress to slow down. In 1860, arrangements were negotiated to secure for the city the services of a

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<sup>1</sup>Information gathered from a booklet printed by Charles W. Hancock as an early attempt to publicize Americus and Sumter County. The manuscript dated 1869, is located in the Blackshear Regional Library in Americus, Georgia. Also from information provided by Pat Recker of the Americus, Sumter County Chamber of Commerce, 400 W. Lamar Street, Americus, Georgia 31709.

professional music instructor whose primary tasks were to teach wind and percussion instruments and to form a brass band. Professor Louis Zitterbart of Pennsylvania accepted the position, moved to Americus, and founded his teaching studio.<sup>2</sup>

Since there were several music studios and music schools flourishing in Americus at the time, it would probably seem that there would be some rivalry and perhaps some jealousy of the new instructor. This did not seem to be the case. At least two of the teachers of music in the area were participants in various ways in the new Americus Brass Band directed by Zitterbart. F. W. Erdman, who operated a school of music with his wife, and John Willey, a skilled piano tuner and proprietor of a piano studio, were both involved in the band before the onset of war.<sup>3</sup>

Professor Zitterbart was successful in his efforts to begin the brass band, and by 1861 it was performing on the city square on a bandstand constructed especially for it.

. . . the courthouse was moved to the west side of the square to make room for the elegant and commodious two-story building that was erected in its place . . . . The courthouse was surrounded by an octangular picket fence and everything was fine and imposing. The citizens then erected a

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<sup>2</sup>The Sumter Republican, April 16, 1861, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Information on Erdman and Willey comes from newspaper articles in The Sumter Republican, August 14, 1863, p. 1; May 3, 1861, p. 2. The Augusta Chronicle, May 1, 1860.

platform inside the fence, on which the Americus Brass band sat and discoursed its brazen strains every Wednesday evening.<sup>4</sup>

One of the favorite pieces performed by the band at their weekly concerts was written for the Americus Brass Band by F. W. Erdman. The "Sumter Light Guard's March," was named in honor of the local militia unit of the same name and published in 1860 by Marsh Publishing Company of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The music was dedicated to an Americus lady and bears the inscription "As performed by the Americus Band, Arranged and respectfully dedicated to Mrs. Samuel Dawson."<sup>5</sup>

Evidently the bandsmen were pleased with their progress in 1861, as they attempted to increase their performance opportunities by advertising in the local newspaper. The musicians authorized J. W. Wheatley, Secretary of the band, to place the notice in The Sumter Republican. Informing the public that they could do more

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<sup>4</sup>Daily O. Mallard and Virginia M. Culpepper, "Americus," The Georgia Review, IV (Summer, 1950), 116.

<sup>5</sup>The "Sumter Light Guard's March," sheet music by F. W. Erdman published by Marsh Publishing Company, 1102 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1860. Two copies of this music are in the possession of this writer. One is a photograph and one is a photocopy. An original copy of the sheet music is part of the Civil War Collection of Lee Joyner of Monroe, Georgia. It seems a bit odd that Erdman would have his music published by a Philadelphia firm since two of the most prolific publishers in the United States, Burke and Schreiner, were located just 70 miles away in Macon, Georgia. One possible explanation could be that Erdman relied on some connection of Bandmaster Zitterbart, who moved to Americus from Pennsylvania.



**SUMTER LIGHT GUARD'S  
MARCH**

*As performed by the AMERICUS BAND.*

*Arranged and respectfully dedicated*

TO  
**Mrs. Sam. Dawson.**

BY

**F. W. ERDMAN.**

PHILADELPHIA.

Published by MARSH 1102 Chesnut St.

For recording in the Copyright Office of the U. S. Department of the Interior, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Columbia.



Figure 14--The title page from the "Sumter Light Guard's March" composed by F. W. Erdman. This piece was composed for performance by the Americus, Georgia Brass Band which later became the Fourth Georgia Volunteer Regimental Band, C. S. A. The original sheet music is part of the Lee Joyner Collection in Monroe, Georgia.

than perform for concerts and parades, the article first appeared on April 16, 1861.

This Band under the leadership and direction of Prof. Zitterbart, take pleasure in announcing to their friends and the public generally, that they are now prepared to furnish music for public and private parties, such as Military Parades, Masonic, Sabbath School, and other celebrations; Public speaking, Pic-Nics, Serenades, &c.<sup>6</sup>

As is there were some reassurances needed that the bandsmen could indeed perform at the events listed, the following paragraph appeared in the notice.

Prof. Z. having been engaged for several years in teaching and directing Military and Orchestra Bands, the Americus Brass Band feel confident, that under his direction, they can guarantee perfect satisfaction to all who may require their services.<sup>7</sup>

Zitterbart was a multi-talented musician who was a proficient performer and teacher of many instruments. The notice also mentioned that Zitterbart had permanently located in Americus, and to supplement his income would "devote a portion of his time to giving instruction on the Piano Forte, Melodian, and Violin, and will give careful attention to tuning and repairing Piano Fortes."<sup>8</sup>

The association of the Americus Brass Band with the Sumter Light Guards would prove to be a long one. In the winter and spring of 1861, the band was present at drills

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<sup>6</sup>The Sumter Republican, April 16, 1861, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

to provide martial music, and often accompanied the rifle company on parades.

Like other towns throughout Georgia and the South, Americus was soon caught up in the frenzy of the secession movement and the excitement surrounding the establishment of the Confederacy. In April, 1861, Governor Joseph E. Brown issued a call for twenty infantry companies to meet in Augusta and form two regiments.<sup>9</sup> The local militia units began to recruit to fill vacant positions within their ranks, and new units were raised. The Americus Volunteer Rifles, Cutts Flying Artillery and the Muckalee Guards joined the Sumter Light Guards in preparing to leave the Americus area to join forces from other Georgia towns and other parts of the new Confederacy.<sup>10</sup>

The Americus Brass Band did not enlist immediately with any one of the local militia units, but acted as a regimental band for all the companies as they left Americus for the "seat of war."<sup>11</sup>

As local units departed for the front, the entire community turned out to see them off. The Americus Brass Band led the way from the square to the railroad depot, followed by the smart-stepping militia units . . . . Nearly everyone seemed to be supremely confident that the men would soon be

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<sup>9</sup>Henry W. Thomas, History of the Doles-Cook Brigade (Atlanta, 1903), p. 64.

<sup>10</sup>The Sumter Republican, April 26, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., May 3, 1861, p. 1.

home, still young and handsome, still wearing their dashing new uniforms.<sup>12</sup>

The troops arrived in Augusta, Georgia, on April 27, 1861 and began organizing into regiments. This resulted in the formation of the Third and Fourth Georgia Volunteer Infantry Regiments.<sup>13</sup>

As part of the organization of the Third and Fourth Georgia Regiments, the Sumter Light Guards had become Company K of the Fourth Georgia Regiment. Although not officially enlisted in the military, the Americus Brass Band accompanied the Sumter Light Guards to Augusta and stayed with them in camp. The musicians were considered part of Company K even though negotiations had not been completed to have the band assigned to the Fourth Georgia Regiment.<sup>14</sup>

Charles W. Hancock, editor of the Americus newspaper, had enlisted in the Sumter Light Guards as a "gentleman Private." During his stay with the rifle company in camp near Augusta, he was called a "soldier editor" by an Augusta newspaper. It seems that he had so few military duties that to pass the time of day, he assisted the staff of The Dispatch in the task of setting type.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>William Bailey Williford, Americus Through the Years (Covington, Georgia, 1975), p. 78.

<sup>13</sup>Thomas, p. 64.

<sup>14</sup>The Sumter Republican, May 3, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup>The Augusta Dispatch, April 29, 1861, p. 1.

Hancock provided a valuable service to future generations interested in the Civil War through his letters to The Republican while serving with Company K. It is not known how the former newspaper editor was able to get out of regular military duties to write, but his record of the events of camp life are invaluable accounts of the early war service of the Fourth Georgia Regiment. His first correspondence was printed on May 3, 1861.

The Sumter Light Guards is the admired Company in the place. More favors are extended to us than to any other, the citizens constantly sending to our quarters, large quantities of provisions and other delicacies . . . While I am writing, the Company is drilling.<sup>16</sup>

The routine in the first camp of the Fourth Georgia Regiment and the still civilian bandsmen is described by Hancock as being mostly drill. "They drill three times a day. At sun rise, the roll is called, and then the squads are drilled for an hour, or more. The exercise is good for the most of us."<sup>17</sup>

The "picture book" concept of what the war would be like could not have been better demonstrated while the newly formed Fourth Regiment was in camp near Augusta. The citizens of the area, fanning the fires of romantic notions of militarism and war, cheered the soldiers on. "Whenever

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<sup>16</sup>The Sumter Republican, May 3, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

the Company turns out, the ladies shower bouquets at them."<sup>18</sup>

In addition to the excitement caused by the attention shown by the local residents, the Americus Brass Band caused quite a bit of excitement of its own during the excursion to Augusta. Both soldiers and the civilians of the central Savannah River area heaped praise on the visiting musicians.

The Americus Brass Band shows off to quite an advantage. The citizens here award to it, the meed of praise, as being the best Band in the State; the probability is that they will be added to the Fourth Georgia Regiment as musicians.<sup>19</sup>

It would not be unusual to expect that the editor of the Americus newspaper would exaggerate the reception of the band by those who heard it in Augusta and in camp. Hancock's comments, however, appear to be accurate and perhaps a little understated, according to accounts in the Augusta newspapers.

This excellent Band organized in May of 1860, and which came here with the Sumter Light Guards, has afforded our citizens great gratification during their sojourn in the city, by the very music they have given us. They are capitol performers.<sup>20</sup>

The Americus Brass Band performed their version of tower music from a bell tower in Augusta, and played a variety of pieces. Those in attendance enjoyed the

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>The Sumter Republican, April 30, 1861, p. 4.

<sup>20</sup>The Augusta Chronicle, May 1, 1861, p. 1.

performance so much that the newspaper reported that "the sweet harmony elicited was the theme of general remark and commendation."<sup>21</sup>

The Fourth Georgia Regiment left Augusta on May 3, arriving at Portsmouth, Virginia, on May 5. Finding the place in a state of confusion because of a fire started by Union troops, the Georgians made camp in the Portsmouth Navy Yard and were the first of the non-Virginia Confederate units to arrive in the State.<sup>22</sup> The Americus Brass Band did not accompany the regiment to Virginia at this time but returned home.<sup>23</sup>

While at home, the bandsmen were officially accepted as the Fourth Georgia Volunteer Infantry Regimental Band.<sup>24</sup> Plans were made for the musicians to travel to Virginia to rejoin their friends and compatriots, who were now mustered into the Confederate service. The Americus newspaper

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Thomas, p. 64.

<sup>23</sup>The Augusta Chronicle, May 1, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup>Lillian Henderson, Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia (Hapeville, Georgia, 1955), pp. 632-641. The dates of enlistment for the bandsmen of the Fourth Georgia Regimental Band are somewhat confusing. Several different dates are entered with the names of the bandsmen as dates of enlistment. Although several bandsmen enlisted at later times and some musicians were transferred to the band from other companies, the majority of the members of the Americus Brass Band enlisted together and became the Fourth Georgia Regimental Band. The different dates of enlistment from the Roster are April 27, 1861; May 10, 1861; May 11, 1861; and May 27, 1861.

reported the appointment of the band as the Fourth Regimental Band on May 17, 1861.<sup>25</sup>

Unlike modern military units, the expenses of the band were not provided by the Confederate authorities. In order to raise the funds necessary to provide provisions, equipment, and passage to Virginia, the bandsmen were left to their own ingenuity to find the money. The Sumter Republican announced that the band would play a concert to raise the necessary funds on Wednesday evening, May 22, 1861, and would depart for the front the following day.<sup>26</sup>

The bandsmen reported for duty at Camp Jackson, named in honor of the Alexandria, Virginia, hotel keeper who shot and killed Colonel Elmer. E. Ellsworth of the New York Zouaves.<sup>27</sup> The camp had been established at Hampton Roads, Virginia only a few days before the musicians arrived. The bandsmen were appreciated almost as much for their musical performances as for the packages and letters they brought from home for the soldiers of the regiment.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>The Sumter Republican, May 17, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., May 17, 1861, p. 1. The Augusta Chronicle, May 19, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup>Thomas, p. 65.

<sup>28</sup>The letters of Joseph Jackson "Jack" Felder, Private, Company K, Fourth Volunteer Infantry Regiment, written at Camp Jackson on May 30, 1861. Transcriptions of these letters are located in the reference room of the Georgia State Archives Building in Atlanta, Georgia.

Any time local men were known to be traveling to the front, letters were sent to friends and relatives from those at home. Private Jack Felder of the Sumter Light Guards, now Company K, received a letter from his brother carried by one of the members of the band. The concert performed for the men of the Fourth Georgia Regiment by the new regimental band must have been quite good, as Felder reports, "we had a very exciting time the night the band came."<sup>29</sup>

The position of the encampment at Hampton Roads was a scenic one. It was situated ". . . opposite Newport News and Fortress Monroe and between Pigs Point and Cramy Island, eight miles from Norfolk . . ."<sup>30</sup>

The regiment was stationed at Camp Jackson for an unusually long period. For nearly a year, the Confederates conducted "daily company and regimental drills, the men were drilled in artillery practice, built bridges, signal stations, winter quarters and erected fortifications."<sup>31</sup>

The Fourth Georgia Regimental Band at Camp Jackson was at full strength, with twelve men assigned as musicians. Not all of those who were members of the original Americus Band remained with the band when it enlisted.

Dick Cleghorn, cymbals, Samuel Dunlap, tenor horn, and J. W. Wheatley, alto horn, did not enlist, and there is no

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

record of these men having ever served in the military. Charles M. Wheatley, bass drummer, enlisted in the Sumter Light Guard and was wounded by a shell fragment at Chancellorsville, Virginia on May 2, 1863. He was later assigned to duty as Quartermaster's Secretary of the Fourth Georgia Regiment on duty in Americus and Albany, Georgia.<sup>32</sup> The brothers were mentioned in The Sumter Republican when Charles was on sick leave in Americus, recuperating from his wounds. The small article mentions that Charles Wheatley was staying at the home of his brother John W. Wheatley. The article appeared in the January 29, 1864 issue of the Americus newspaper, indicating that J. W. Wheatley did not enlist in any Confederate company at least through January of 1864.<sup>33</sup>

F. W. Erdman was conspicuously missing from rosters of the Americus Brass Band, both on the trip to Augusta with the Sumter Light Guard and as the band mustered into service as the Fourth Regiment Band. His role with the band at this time is not clear, but he was very actively involved as a Confederate soldier. Erdman enlisted as a musician with the 11th Georgia Battalion, Company A. This unit was as much the pride of Americus and Sumter County as the Sumter Light Guards. Raised by A. S. Cutts, a prominent Americus citizen,

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<sup>32</sup>Henderson, p. 640.; Thomas, p. 192.

<sup>33</sup>The Sumter Republican, January 29, 1864, p. 1.

the unit became known as Cutts' Flying Artillery, and distinguished itself in battle on numerous occasions. Erdman distinguished himself as a soldier, and became known in local folklore as "the best bugler in Lee's army."<sup>34</sup>

Erdman might have believed that there were sufficient numbers of good musicians enlisted in the Fourth Georgia Regiment, and that his services could be better used in another regiment. It is also possible that Erdman tried to join the Americus musicians after they reported to the front and was refused because there was no room for another soldier in the Fourth Regiment.

The entire regiment was at full strength, with many young men trying to join their former home town companies to become a part of the Fourth Georgia Regiment. Company K of the regiment enjoyed a full complement of men, with a rather lengthy waiting list for enlistment as late as summer of 1861. Jack Felder wrote to his brother, who had expressed an interest in joining the Sumter Light Guard, and gave the following advice.

you wrote about getting into the Sumter L. G. I am very sorry to say there is no chance. Cap. Johnson says he has more at this time than he can keepe [sic] & applications for ten more which he has to refuse.

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<sup>34</sup>Felix R. Callaway, The Bloody Links The History of Cutts' Flying Artillery manuscript located in the Blackshear Regional Library, Americus, Georgia.

the Cap. says he cant [sic] get guns for what he has.<sup>35</sup>

Over the next few weeks in camp, the band was augmented by men from other companies of the regiment. The band, which numbered thirteen pieces in late April at Augusta, was expanded to eighteen men in late May.<sup>36</sup>

During the year-long encampment of the Fourth Georgia Regiment at Camp Jackson, the routine of camp life provided the band much time to practice and improve their musical skills in addition to the many hours spent performing for drills and parades. A member of the regiment reported that "it did not require much time to bring it [the regiment] to a high state of drill and discipline."<sup>37</sup>

The routines of camp life soon became boring and dull for the soldiers. Leisure hours were spent in a variety of pastimes, including watching the Yankees across the James River through field glasses. "The enemy is just on the opposite side of the James River from us. With a magnifying glass [binoculars] we can see them drilling. Our boys are out nearly all looking at them."<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Letter from Jack Felder to his brother from Camp Jackson, Virginia, May 30, 1861 located in the reference room of the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia.

<sup>36</sup>Henderson, pp. 632-641.

<sup>37</sup>Thomas, P. 65.

<sup>38</sup>Letter from Jack Felder to his brother from Camp Jackson, Virginia, May 30, 1861, located in the reference room of the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia.

When not involved in military duties or watching the enemy, the Fourth Georgia Regimental Band became a favorite with both the Confederate military and the civilians of the area as they performed. Occasionally, a young Confederate soldier was fortunate enough to be allowed to escape the monotony of camp life to accompany the musicians of the band on their concert trips to town. Jack Felder wrote about his trip with the band to a concert in Norfolk, Virginia.

I will write you again soon and I am in hopes that I will have something to interest you as I expect to go to Norfolk Thursday night with the Band which will give a concert. I will give you a full history of it on my return.<sup>39</sup>

On December 20, 1861, the Fourth Georgia Band lost its first member, when W. C. P. Cleghorn was discharged from the army because he was over the maximum age allowed for service. Both he and his brother Dick kept in touch with the Sumter County troops by making several trips to the encampments, and bringing letters and boxes from home.<sup>40</sup>

Several additional personnel changes took place in the band late in 1861 through May, 1862, which dramatically changed the organization. Snare drummer P. B. Sims was promoted to 3rd Sergeant in early 1862, and Peter Twitty, baritone horn player, was appointed First Sergeant of Company K. Both subsequently left the band. Second B flat

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., September 23, 1861.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., September 23, 1861; October 12, 1861; and December 6, 1861.

tenor horn player William Ford received a disability discharge on May 2, 1862.<sup>41</sup>

The bandsmen of the Fourth Georgia were concerned with absenteeism caused by the harsh living conditions of camp life. Some older members of the regiment were able to receive discharges because of disability from sickness, or by revealing that they were older than the maximum age allowed for service. Perhaps these men received special treatment of some kind, or maybe it was just luck that some received their separation orders from the army just before the regiment was called into battle for the first time.<sup>42</sup>

Perhaps the most significant change of this kind resulted in a great loss of information about the Fourth Regiment and all its component units. On May 9, 1862, the "soldier editor" of Company K, Charles Hancock, left the service. Mustered out of the army through a disability discharge, Hancock was probably not missed as a soldier, especially since he missed so many drills to write home. The letters he wrote to the *Americus* newspaper, however, were an invaluable source of information for the families and friends of the soldiers as well as modern historians and

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<sup>41</sup>Confederate service record of William Ford preserved on microfilm located in the Georgia Department of Archives and History in Atlanta, Georgia.

<sup>42</sup>The Fourth Georgia Regiment moved from Camp Jackson on May 10, 1862 and marched through Richmond, arriving in the vicinity of Seven Pines as heavy fighting was begun.

scholars. His interest in the Fourth Georgia Band resulted in some mention of them in most of his letters.<sup>43</sup>

As the first members of the band were mustered out of the unit, only one new musician, Henry C. Pettee, formerly Fifth Sergeant of Company G, was assigned to the band.<sup>44</sup> During most of the war, the Fourth Georgia Regimental Band was an ensemble of fourteen or fifteen pieces. The strength of the band never again equalled the eighteen men present at Camp Jackson.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Henderson, pp. 632-641. Local historians from Sumter County, Georgia, describe Hancock's departure from the Fourth Georgia Regiment as more than a simple case of discharge from the service due to disability. According to Alan Anderson of the Sumter County Historical Society during an interview on August 27, 1985, Hancock boasted quite loudly in later years about his service record as a veteran of the Confederacy. Some even gave him the unearned title of Colonel. His official service records indicate that he enlisted on April 27, 1861. There is no record to indicate that he had any responsibility assigned to him other than that of a private soldier. The evidence that exists indicates that he actually missed formations for many of the routine military duties of the day while he wrote his letters to The Sumter Republican acting as a field correspondent. It is interesting to note that Hancock received his discharge on May 9, 1862, the day before the Fourth Georgia Regiment marched away from its long encampment at Camp Jackson toward its first engagement with the enemy. Anderson states that Hancock decided that he was not able to continue in the Confederate army after a tremendous thunderstorm in camp made military life quite a bit wetter and harder than he had previously experienced. Regardless of the true reason for his discharge, Hancock left for home the day before the Fourth Georgia left for the real war.

<sup>44</sup>Henderson, p. 606.

<sup>45</sup>This information was compiled from individual service records preserved on microfilm located at the Georgia Department of Archives and History in Atlanta, Georgia.

The Fourth Georgia Regiment was part of the Doles-Cook Brigade which also included the Twelfth, Twenty-fourth, and Forty-fourth Georgia Regiments. Other than field bands of fifers and drummers which were assigned to companies of the various regiments, the Fourth Georgia Band was the only band in the brigade.<sup>46</sup> One such field band was assigned to Company K, the Sumter Light Guards, the home company of the band. The trio of musicians, (fifer, snare drummer, and bass drummer), is plainly pictured in the only known photo of the Sumter Light Guards taken in Augusta, Georgia in April, 1861.

The Sumter Light Guard was known as the "Band Box" Company because of their neat appearance in uniform. The privates' jackets were dark blue trimmed with buff. It was not unusual early in the war to find some Confederate units wearing blue jackets while some Union troops were dressed in gray uniforms.<sup>47</sup> Nothing is known of the band uniform.

On May 10, the Doles-Cook Brigade moved from Petersburg through Richmond near where the Battle of Seven Pines was in progress. The battle ended before the brigade was needed, and camp was made in the earthworks along the battlefield.

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<sup>46</sup>Rosters of the Fourth, Twelfth, Twenty-fourth and Forty-fourth Georgia Regiments on microfilm, located in the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia.

<sup>47</sup>Philip J. Hawthornwaite, Uniforms of the Civil War 1861-65 (New York, 1968), pp. 50, 51, 174.

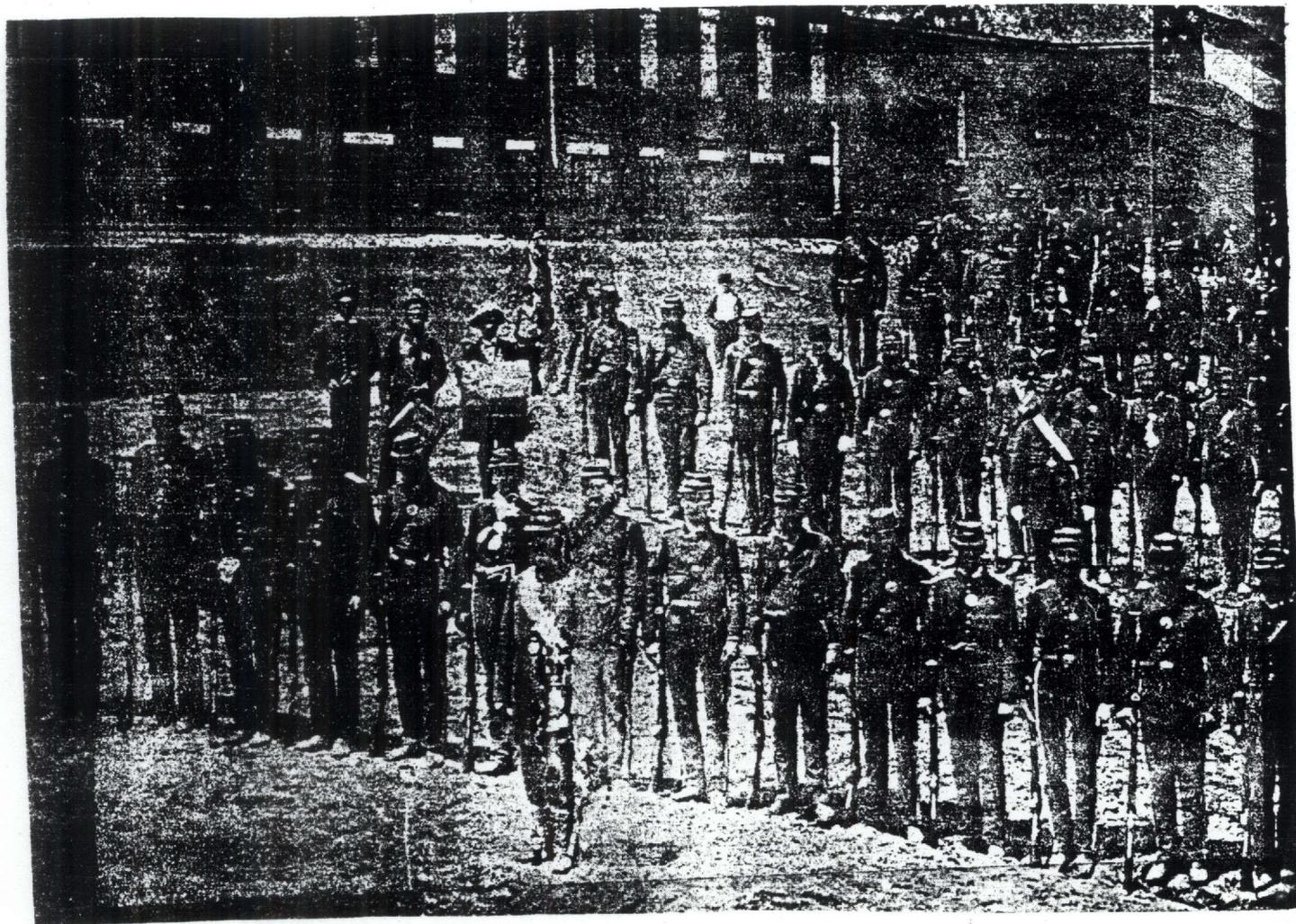


Figure 15--This photograph of the Fourth Georgia Volunteer Infantry Regiment from Americus, Georgia was taken in late April or early May of 1861. Formerly known as the Sumter Light Guards militia unit, this organization became Company K of the Fourth Georgia Regiment. The photo was taken in Augusta, Georgia as the soldiers were passing through on their way to the front lines in Virginia. Note the black musicians in the left rear. (from the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia)

The brigade remained untested in a major battle, although it was involved in skirmish action.<sup>48</sup>

When the first major action did come, the toll was heavy for all the units involved. The battle of Malvern Hill was a particularly bloody one for the Confederates, with Colonel George Doles (later General) and Lt. Colonel Philip Cook (later General) both wounded.

There is no specific mention of the role of the band in the battle. Fourth Georgia musicians, however, must have been in the middle of the action since bandsmen James C. Ford and Washington W. Garner were both wounded on July 1, 1862 during the Malvern Hill battles.<sup>49</sup> During the late summer and fall of 1862, the Fourth Georgia Regiment was involved in battles near Orange Court House, Virginia, and again in the heavy fighting in the Battle of Sharpsburg, Maryland.<sup>50</sup>

On April 29, 1863, the Fourth Georgia Regiment left the relative comfort of its winter camp as the spring campaigns of 1863 were initiated. On May 18, 1863, shortly before the invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, all regiments under General Rodes participated in a grand review. The review was led by the Fourth Georgia Regiment

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<sup>48</sup>Thomas, pp. 66-67.

<sup>49</sup>Henderson, p. 600.

<sup>50</sup>Thomas, pp. 70-71.

with its band in front followed by the "whole division at 2 o. c. [o'clock] to be reviewed by General Roads [sic]."51

It was during the long marches of the 1863 campaigns that the reputation for musical excellence of the Fourth Georgia Band was earned. Veterans of the units that served with the Doles-Cook Brigade remembered the Georgia musicians for their lively music played during forced marches.

One of the most exhausting series of forced marches of the entire War Between the States took place as the Confederate armies made their way through Union territory toward Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The soldiers of Rodes' Division were ordered by General Lee himself not to respond to the verbal abuse of civilians in the Yankee towns through which they marched. One can imagine how the ragged Confederates were received by the Northerners as they marched through their towns.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Letter to Jack Felder, Private, Co. K, Fourth Georgia Infantry Regiment, to his brother, May 18, 1863, located in the reference room of the Georgia Division of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia.

<sup>52</sup>Douglas Southall Freeman, Gettysburg to Appomattox, Vol. III of Lee's Lieutenants, 3 vols. (New York, 1944), pp. 31-32. As the war progressed, Southern supply units were not able to provide uniforms and often were unable to provide even the basic clothing necessities of shirt, pants, shoes, jacket, and hat. Compared to the well-dressed Federal troops known to Pennsylvanians, the Southern troops, with their mismatched clothes, must have seemed very ragged and unsightly. General Ewell referred to his soldiers as "Our hungry, foot-sore, ragged men . . . as he described how well they gathered food in the . . . land of plenty." Entering York, Pennsylvania, Extra Billy Smith's soldiers "were so dust covered and wild looking that they scared the women."

Henry Thomas remembered the band music as Rodes' Division marched through Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. One of the bands to which he refers is his own brigade's Fourth Georgia Band.

On the 24th, starting early, we passed through Chambersburg, with bands at the head of the regiments playing Dixie and other Southern airs, arms at the right-shoulder-shift, the boys stepping out lively to the music, laughing, and shouting to the gloomy-faced citizens, "Here's your played out rebellion."<sup>53</sup>

The Confederates had been ordered to take the eastern route through Hagerstown, Maryland, Greencastle, Chambersburg, and Carlisle, Pennsylvania. At Carlisle, the soldiers turned south through Petersburg, Pennsylvania, and on to Gettysburg.<sup>54</sup>

Late June of 1863 was very dry and hot. Thousands of men marching on dirt roads, officers on horseback, and provision wagons pulled by teams of horses raised thick clouds of dust that could be seen for miles. The heat and dust exacted a heavy price on the soldiers. Many became stragglers and dropped out of the line of march, while those men who were able to stay in formation drooped under the relentless sun and choked on the dust.

The condition of the soldiers caused logistical problems which might seem of little consequence for a modern

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<sup>53</sup>Thomas, p. 7.

<sup>54</sup>Freeman, Vol. III, pp. 26-38; Thomas, pp. 7-8.

army. Battles were often won or lost by decisions of officers estimating the arrival times of regiments and brigades to a particular site. The battlefield tactics of senior officers were often based on the reputations earned by unit commanders for being able to have their troops in place on schedule.

Robert E. Lee was known for his abilities as a brilliant military strategist and commander. It is also said that Lee appreciated the value of a good military band, both for entertainment and to sustain good morale among the troops. On at least one occasion, the General demonstrated that a good band can mean the difference in arriving at a particular destination on schedule, or perhaps too late.

The heat and dust on this particular day in June were so oppressive that frequent rest stops were necessary for tired soldiers to rest, and for stragglers to catch up to their units. At one of the stops just past Petersburg, Pennsylvania, General Lee noticed the weary condition of his troops. He commanded Colonel Taylor, Col. Walter Taylor of Lee's staff, to order the Fourth Georgia Regimental Band to the front of the march to play for the men. C. D. Grace, a Confederate soldier, witnessed the incident.

The music had a most exhilarating effect, and off marched the men, inspired by the presence of the generals and the strains of "Tom March On" by the band. I never saw anything so magical in its effect.

We made Heidlersburg before dark, where we bivouacked for the night.<sup>55</sup>

The effects of both the attention of the officers and the music of the Fourth Georgia Band must have really worked because thousands of Confederate soldiers and their equipment trains made the five mile trek that afternoon in time to set up camp before nightfall.

Veterans of the Doles-Cook Brigade claimed that they were the first Confederate troops to enter the town of Gettysburg on July, 1863. If this claim is true, the Fourth Georgia Bandsmen became the first to enter Gettysburg because they were known to have been at the head of the column of troops on the forced march to the city.

Casualties for the Doles-Cook Brigade were heavy during the Gettysburg campaign. Not only did enemy fire cause heavy losses, but several costly mistakes resulted in a number of soldiers being killed or wounded by their own men. While pursuing the Union Eleventh corps which had been overrun, the Confederates were mistaken for enemy soldiers and fired upon by their own artillery. Two days later in the front line of battle at Cemetery Ridge, Southern soldiers were killed and wounded by shells shot from Confederate cannon which prematurely detonated over their entrenchments.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>C. D. Grace, "Rode's Division At Gettysburg," The Confederate Veteran, V (December, 1897), 614.

<sup>56</sup>Thomas, p. 9.

The ranks of the Fourth Georgia Band grew thinner at Gettysburg with the loss of Henry Pettee. On July 4, 1863, Pettee was captured by Union soldiers and became a prisoner of war. His service record does not indicate whether or not he was wounded but states that he was discharged at Fort Delaware, Delaware, on August 25, 1863. There is no later record for Henry Pettee. It is possible that he returned to the service after his discharge from the prison camp, but he did not return to the Fourth Georgia Band.<sup>57</sup>

After retreating from Pennsylvania through Maryland, the Fourth Georgia Regiment made preparations for the coming winter by making camp near Orange Court House, Virginia, with many other Confederate units of the Army of Northern Virginia. The winter was remembered by veterans as bitterly cold, and according to a member of the Forty-fourth Georgia Regiment, "we were great sufferers from exposure,"<sup>58</sup> even though the men constructed log cabins complete with fireplaces.

As cold as the winter was, there was still time for some outdoor activity. The Georgia troops engaged themselves in snowball battles with their Virginia compatriots. (See previous account on pp. 204-205.) There were occasions when officers led their men in mock battles

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<sup>57</sup>Henderson, p. 606.

<sup>58</sup>Thomas, p. 477.

with all the military trappings, including music by the regimental bands.<sup>59</sup>

During winter encampments, most Confederate units authorized furloughs for those men who qualified through loyal service during the past year. Band units were often allowed to go home as a group, and they usually performed for the local citizens while on leave.

The Fourth Georgia Regimental Band was allowed to return to Americus on furlough in January of 1864. On January 22, the public was made aware that the band was home and that they were preparing to perform for the public during their visit. The importance of the occasion can be judged by the fact that the Americus newspaper printed a large notice in the advertisement section and also printed an editorial article by Charles Hancock which appeared on the front page.

The Brass Band attached to General Doles' brigade, many of whom belonged to the original Brass Band of Americus, has arrived and will give a grand concert Saturday night at the College Chappell [sic]. They richly deserve a full house, and let them have it. And we know of no surer way to secure it than for every man in town to be sure to go, and take two ladies with him.<sup>60</sup>

Hancock had been a member of the Sumter Light Guards when the band enlisted and remained a loyal fan of the

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<sup>59</sup>John O. Casler, Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade (Girard, Kansas, 1906), p. 202.

<sup>60</sup>The Sumter Republican, January 22, 1864, p. 1.

musicians. Other former soldiers helped with publicity, including William W. Ford, a former member of the band who was discharged from the army in 1862. Ford helped to arrange the concert and placed the notice in the newspaper announcing the concert.<sup>61</sup>

The musicians hoped to raise money for needed supplies and to help defray costs encountered on their leave. A \$2.00 admission charge was levied, with children and servants admitted at half price.<sup>62</sup>

The program was billed as "A Grand Musical Entertainment" by "The Brass Band." B. W. Smith, a local businessman who owned two businesses, sold tickets for the concert at both locations. Ford includes a short plea for a good crowd and a personal endorsement for the musicians.

The members of the brass band, after remaining in service nearly three years, are happy to announce to the citizens of Sumter County that they have received a short furlough to come home, and will give their friends a chance to enjoy some good music. Come one. Come all. And you shall have worth of your money.<sup>63</sup>

There must have been rumors about Americus that the College Chapel was unsafe. The building was a large wooden structure and was used for public meetings of all kinds. Ford adds a postscript after the notice of the concert chastising those who spread the rumor and vouching for the safety of the building.

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

There is a strange and unfounded fear in the minds of some that the College Building is unsafe. I state after a careful examination that there is not a brick house in Americus that is more safe. This I do, not for this occasion alone, but for all future time, and the statement I now make is based upon a practical knowledge of the facts. So away with such foolishness and let us hear no more of it.<sup>64</sup>

The concert was a great success, drawing a large and appreciative audience which packed the auditorium. Charles Hancock reviewed the program in his newspaper. There is no mention of how much money was raised by the band. Newspaper reports which mention the College Chapel refer to it as "large" or "spacious."<sup>65</sup> Since there was a full house for the concert, it can be assumed that the band made a healthy sum with which to purchase needed supplies and perhaps a few luxuries. Hancock's review appeared on January 30, 1864.

The Brass Band belonging to the Fourth Georgia Regiment honored our citizens on last Saturday night with one of their rich and interesting musical entertainments. The spacious College Chapel was filled to its utmost. It was a complete success and all in the house were highly delighted with the evening's entertainment. The performers won for themselves the good opinion of our entire community, and well do they deserve it, for a more noble, generous, and gentlemanly band of amateurs, can't be found anywhere.<sup>66</sup>

The members of the Fourth Georgia Band returned to their winter camp where they remained through April of 1864.

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid.

<sup>65</sup>The Sumter Republican articles examined from 1860 through 1866 use these adjectives to describe the size of the College Chapel.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., January 30, 1864, p. 1.

The war renewed as the weather became warmer, and another series of battles began in May, 1864. On May 8, 1864, the Doles-Cook Brigade suffered a tremendous loss of men in the battle of Spotsylvania. According to M. V. B. Estes, who participated in the battle, the Confederates were outnumbered by a ten to one margin. While many of his brigade were killed or captured during this battle, thousands of Union soldiers were killed before finally overwhelming the Confederates in the first portion of the fighting. As the Confederates were forced to retreat, they were met by reinforcements who, with the remnants of retreating soldiers, regained their lost ground.<sup>67</sup>

Estes reports another version of the battle of the bands which took place on May 10, 1864 in the evening after the bloody battle. The soldiers were not sure whether there would be more fighting that evening, so they remained awake in their earthworks. Although Estes does not identify the bands involved, the Fourth Georgia Band was actually the brigade band for the Doles-Cook Brigade. Because there were no other regimental bands in the unit, it was probably the Confederate band in the story. The fact that this band was near the brigade headquarters occupied by Estes lends credibility to the assumption that the band involved was indeed the Fourth Georgia.

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<sup>67</sup>Thomas, pp. 478-479.

When night closed in on us, we were back in our breastworks all awake and ready for a renewal of the engagement at any moment, for we knew the battle had not been fought to a finish. By midnight our wounded had been moved off the field, leaving only the dead of both armies scattered in front and rear of our breastworks. The situation was a sad one, and to vary the monotony a little, a Confederate band moved up to an elevated position on the line and played "Nearer My God to Thee." The sound of this beautiful piece of music had scarcely died away when a Yankee band over the line gave us the "Dead March." This was followed by the Confederate band playing "The Bonnie Blue Flag." As the last notes were wafted out on the crisp night air a grand old style rebel yell went up. The Yankee band then played "The Star Spangled Banner," when it seemed, by the responsive yell, that every man in the Union Army of the Potomac was awake and listening to the music. The Confederate band then rendered "Home Sweet Home," when a united yell went up in concert from the men on both sides such a one as was never heard among the hills of Spotsylvania County before or since.<sup>68</sup>

Why Estes failed to identify the Confederate band as the Fourth Georgia is unknown. Since the accounts of his regimental history were written for Henry Thomas' book more than forty years after the incident, he may simply have forgotten, or perhaps he did not think the identity of the band was important enough to mention.

The Fourth Georgia Volunteer Infantry Regimental Band participated in the remaining year of the Civil War with their regiment and brigade and suffered several losses. Of the remaining bandsmen, James Ford was captured on July 13, 1864 near Washington, D. C., and Ansler Stern was captured

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 479.

at the Battle of Winchester, Virginia, on September 19, 1864.<sup>69</sup>

Bandmaster Louis Zitterbart was seriously wounded while on duty as a bugler. According to his service record, Zitterbart was severely wounded during the Virginia Valley campaign in 1864. The bandmaster was also chief musician for the Fourth Georgia Regiment and the Doles-Cook Brigade. Zitterbart also served on occasion as a field musician and was serving as bugler for brigade sharpshooters when he was wounded. He recovered from his wounds enough to return to duty with the band in late 1864.<sup>70</sup>

John Lemon, the band's tuba player, was captured at Farmville, Virginia, on April 6, 1865, only three days before Lee's surrender. John J. McCants evaded the Yankees until April 20, 1865, getting as far south as Forsyth, Georgia, just a few miles north of Macon, before being captured.<sup>71</sup>

The band was with the Fourth Regiment when Lee surrendered his Army of Northern Virginia on April 9, 1865. Six bandsmen are listed on the surrender roll. David C. Freeman, James G. Hester, William Harwell, James R. Harwell,

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<sup>69</sup>This information was gathered from service records of the individual soldiers on microfilm at the Georgia Department of Archives and History in Atlanta, Georgia. Other sources used were Henderson's Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia, and the regimental muster roll information found in Thomas' History of the Doles-Cook Brigade.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

Lewis A. Smith, and Henry Westheimer were paroled at the surrender.<sup>72</sup>

There is no mention of the surrender or capture of Louis Zitterbart, Henry Gecks, or C. A. Kendrick (also listed as Hendrick on some rolls). They may have left the unit in the confusion that resulted after the Battle of Petersburg, or they may have not been included through faulty record keeping at the time of the surrender.

Four of the Fourth Georgia bandsmen were wounded during the war, and five were taken prisoner by the enemy. The band served the Confederacy from April of 1862 until the final day of the war.<sup>73</sup>

Most of the musicians returned to their homes in the Americus area after the war and took up their former occupations while reverting to the status of amateur musicians of the Americus Brass Band. Louis Zitterbart did not return to Sumter County with the band. Instead, he returned to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where he resided for the remainder of his life. Henry Westheimer, who did not reside in the Americus area prior to the war, moved to

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<sup>72</sup>R. J. Broch and Philip Van Doren Stern, editors, The Appomattox Roster (New York, 1962), p. 98.

<sup>73</sup>The last day of official Confederate service for the Fourth Georgia Regimental Band is listed in several sources as April 9, 1865, the date of the surrender at Appomattox. Among them are individual service records preserved on microfilm in the Georgia Department of Archives and History in Atlanta, Georgia; The Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia; and The Appomattox Roster.

Americus after the war and continued to perform with the band. He apparently made such close associations with the residents of Sumter County during the war years after being transferred to the band company from Company B of the Fourth Regiment that he decided to relocate in Americus after being paroled at Appomattox.

The Americus Brass Band was continued after the war and in 1866 was under the direction of one of the band's biggest supporters during its founding in 1860. The leader of the ensemble was Confederate veteran and former bugler for Cutts' Flying Artillery, F. W. Erdman.<sup>74</sup> Erdman, with his wife, continued to operate a school of music, teaching voice, piano, strings, wind instruments, and percussion.

The Wednesday evening concerts in the Courthouse square were resumed, and there was an occasional performance on the lawn of Colonel C. T. Furlow's home. By 1869, the popularity of the band was as high as before the war, and the band boasted fourteen members and a new leader. There is no record of Erdman's departure as bandmaster or reasons for the change. Six of the members were veterans of the Confederate band. Veteran John Lemon (also spelled Leamon) was the organization's president, and veteran Peter Twitty served as band secretary. The new bandmaster lived in Columbus, Georgia, and traveled to Americus each week to

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<sup>74</sup>The Sumter Republican, October 25, 1866, p. 1.

teach instrumental music and to hold rehearsals and concerts with the band.<sup>75</sup>

Fourteen men were affiliated with the Americus Brass Band in 1869.

Professor W. E. Pound, 1st Eb cornet and Bandmaster  
 W. A. Palmer, 2nd Eb cornet  
 \*William C. P. Cleghorn, 3rd Eb cornet and piccolo  
 B. W. Peterson, 1st Bb cornet  
 Charles Hawkins, 2nd Bb cornet  
 \*Louis A. Smith, 1st Eb alto horn  
 Sam Fogle, 2nd Eb alto horn  
 C. P. Foster, 1st Bb tenor horn  
 Louis Cohen, 2nd Bb tenor horn  
 \*Peter S. Twitty, baritone horn and Secretary  
 \*John R. Lemon, [Leamon] Eb tuba and President  
 \*Pat B. Sims, snare drum  
 \*Henry Westheimer, bass drum  
 W. P. Laramore, cymbals

\* = Veterans of the Fourth Georgia Regimental Band, C. S. A.<sup>76</sup>

In addition to the Wednesday evening programs, the Americus Brass Band performed other programs as well to the delight of the citizens of the city. Any departure from the regular concert schedule was noted in the local newspaper, now named The Tri-Weekly Republican.

We are requested to state that the Brass Band will entertain the city with a few pieces of choice

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<sup>75</sup>Charles Hancock, "A Short Outline of the History of Americus" (Americus, Georgia, 1869), manuscript located in the Blackshear Regional Library, Americus, Georgia. In an effort to advertise the city of Americus and Sumter County in much the same manner that a modern Chamber of Commerce promotes a community, the booklet lists entertainment, social, fraternal and church organizations, fire companies and the Americus Brass Band. The citizens were obviously proud that they could boast of a fourteen piece brass band.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

music Friday afternoon at 5 o'clock, from their stand in the Court House yard. Good!<sup>77</sup>

This version of the Americus Brass Band, while popular with local citizens, lasted only about four years. In 1872 the band was reorganized and continued much as before. New members were added to the group as the original members of the band became too old to continue or lost interest.<sup>78</sup>

Another reorganization took place in 1879 after the band had been inactive for several years. One of the problems that had plagued the musicians was the lack of a suitable bandmaster in the Americus area who possessed the necessary qualifications and enthusiasm to revitalize the town band. That problem was solved when a new musician moved to town in June of 1879.<sup>79</sup>

The local newspaper announced that the brass band was being organized under the direction of Professor Carl Schneider, instructor of music at Furlow Masonic Academy. Two original Americus Brass Bandsmen were part of the new group. C. M. Wheatley, the band's first bass drummer and Civil War Veteran Quartermaster's Secretary of the Fourth Georgia Regiment, and John R. Lemon, original tuba player,

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<sup>77</sup>The Tri-Weekly Republican, May 12, 1870, p. 1.

<sup>78</sup>The Sumter Weekly Republican, November 30, 1872, p. 1.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., June 20, 1879, p. 2.

former band president, and veteran of the Fourth Georgia Band, were listed among the twelve names.<sup>80</sup>

Brass bands continued to be popular in southwest Georgia through the turn of the century. During the 1880's, the Americus Brass Band was quite competitive. The ensemble entered many brass band contests throughout the South and usually earned high scores. Money was raised for uniforms and equipment on several occasions, and the city of Americus continued to support the instrumental music that began in 1860.<sup>81</sup>

The name of the Americus Band changed to the Americus Silver Cornet Band in 1894 when a former resident of Americus began commuting from Macon to lead the ensemble. Professor Kaler, leader of Kaler's Brass Band of Macon, was an instructor and performer who enjoyed celebrity status in middle and southern Georgia.<sup>82</sup>

Instrumental music declined in the early 1900's in Americus for a few years until public opinion spurred by newspaper editorials called attention to the fact that the lack of a band in the Americus area was deplorable. On July 17, 1911, the editor of the Americus newspaper lamented the

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid., July 25, 1879, p. 1.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., February 2, 1886, p. 1; March 31, 1887, p. 1; and April 21, 1887.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., August 17, 1894, p. 1.

decline of the brass bands in an editorial entitled, "Americus Needs a Brass Band."<sup>83</sup>

By this time, most of the veterans of the Confederate Fourth Georgia Band were dead or too old to perform with a band. The original members of the Americus Brass Band and most of the second generation of bandsmen were gone. There was little connection made between the band that was organized in 1860 and the competitive community bands of the late 1890's in the minds of most residents of Sumter County.

The contribution of the original Americus Brass Bandsmen, and those who served in the Fourth Georgia Band, was the building of a tradition of band music that was revived several times because of community effort even after dormant periods. The contributions of the Americus bands to the community were realized by Sumter County leaders just as military leaders came to realize the importance of the Fourth Georgia Band during the Civil War.

New instrumental programs were started in Americus and Sumter County which provided band music for the area until the establishment of music in the public schools. Built on the tradition that was started by the first members of the Americus Brass Band, and continued after the War Between the States by veterans of the Confederate band, instrumental

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., July 7, 1911, p. 1.

music is a strong part of the cultural and educational life of Americus and southwest Georgia.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE TWENTY-SIXTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENTAL BAND

The immigration of the Moravians to the shores of the American colonies in the mid 1700's was perhaps the single most important event in the development of music in general, and instrumental music in particular, in North America. The rich musical heritage of these German Christian churchmen established music performance linked to European tradition. This provided a strong contrast to the vernacular folk tradition of music practiced by most Colonial Americans.<sup>1</sup>

Whereas, New England was nurturing the simple Psalm Tune and the ingenious fugging tune, the Moravians were composing elaborate concerted anthems which they accompanied with string quartet, or a larger ensemble consisting of strings, horns, clarinets, trumpets, trombones, and flutes. Perhaps most interesting is the fact that modern musicians are inclined to rank some of this music with the finest of the eighteenth-century choral masterworks.<sup>2</sup>

As the Moravians moved into North Carolina in 1753, establishing Wachovia with Salem as its principal township, the South became the beneficiary of a rich musical heritage that would help to shape and influence musical performance and practice for many future generations.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Donald M. McCorkle, The Collegium Musicum Salem: Its Music, Musicians, and Importance (Winston-Salem, N. C., 1979), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

As early as 1786, the Salem Moravians established the Musical Society of the Congregational Community in Salem, better known as the Collegium Musicum, Salem. This extremely active and prolific group of musicians performed from a musical library of almost five hundred compositions. These compositions range from violin duets to large orchestral symphonies. The members of the Musical Society were all amateurs who were skilled craftsmen, storekeepers, or Moravian clergymen. The Collegium Musicum performed music by the great classical masters such as Haydn and Mozart, as well as music composed in the classical European style by their own Moravian composers.<sup>4</sup>

Instrumental music was a very important means of artistic and spiritual expression for the Moravian musicians. In addition to the Collegium Musicum, Salem, bands and orchestras were formed through the church to participate in worship services, and ensembles were formed for special occasions.

The Home Church Band of the Home Moravian Church and the Easter Band of Home Church have been active ensembles since the early 1800's. The Easter Band is formed every Easter Sunday Morning to march through the streets announcing the resurrection of Christ. These and other ensembles, such as the famous Moravian trombone choirs, have

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

trained many young musicians in the art of wind instrument performance for many generations.<sup>5</sup>

As early as 1831, young Moravian men of Salem were performing music of a secular nature in an organized Salem Band. Using the musical skills learned through participation in church instrumental ensembles, the young ensemble soon earned a reputation for excellence in performance long associated with Moravian musical ensembles. During its first four years, the Salem Band earned a statewide reputation and performed in North Carolina cities for prestigious political and civic events. One of these engagements took place in Charlotte on May 20, 1835 for the commemoration of the signing of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. The band received rave reviews of their performance for this celebration in a number of North Carolina newspapers.<sup>6</sup> On April 12, 1844, another prestigious performance of statewide importance took place as the band traveled to Raleigh to perform for Henry Clay.<sup>7</sup>

The popularity of the Salem Band continued to grow over the years so much that the ensemble was constantly

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<sup>5</sup>Interviews with Timothy Pyatt, Conservator of the Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and with Dr. Thomas Halpert, Curator of the Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>6</sup>Harry Hall, A Johnny Reb Band From Salem (New York, 1980), pp. 3-5.

<sup>7</sup>Bernard J. Pfohl, The Salem Brass Band (Winston-Salem, 1953), p. 32.

asked to perform. The amateur musicians provided music for public gatherings of almost every conceivable variety for the next two and one-half decades. The instrumentation of the band began as a combination of brass and woodwind instruments whose members were also members of the Collegium Musicum, Salem.<sup>8</sup> This rather odd combination of eight woodwinds, seven brasses, and one percussion gradually developed into all brass and percussion instruments as the influence of brass bands dominated North America.<sup>9</sup>

The change of the band's instrumentation is attributed to Edward Leinbach, who began his tenure as organist and choirmaster with the Home Moravian Church in the mid-1840's.<sup>10</sup> Leinbach taught all musical instruments and was a talented and artistic performer on stringed instruments and keyboards. He began the first brass band in 1850 as brass horns with valves became available, and

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<sup>8</sup>Hall, pp. 4-5; McCorkle, pp. 19-20. Hall concludes that the 1831 instrumentation of the Salem Band was one flute, five clarinets, one trumpet, one bugle, four horns, two bassoons, one bass trombone, and one bass drum.

<sup>9</sup>Richard Franco Goldman, The Concert Band (New York, 1946), pp. 44-46, 130-144.

<sup>10</sup>Lebenslauf, or memoirs of Edward Leinbach located in the Moravian Church Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The Moravian tradition of Lebenslauf, which translates as life path, is the story of a Moravian's life written partially by the church member at middle age, and completed by a Moravian minister at the time of the church member's death. These records may be called Lebenslauf, memoirs, or life story and contain family information, personal stories, and other personal information similar to a long obituary.

either made arrangements for the band or wrote original compositions for the ensemble.<sup>11</sup> Under the direction of Leinbach, the popular brass band became so noted for its ability to create a larger variety of tone colors than previously available that it gradually replaced the trombone choir and became the church band. Most of the musicians who performed in the secular Salem Brass Band received their musical instruction on brass instruments through the church ensembles and the teaching of Edward Leinbach.<sup>12</sup>

By 1860, the ensemble was named the Salem Brass Band and performed for many political meetings and rallies connected with the national elections.<sup>13</sup> Even though North Carolina eventually seceded from the Union, there was strong pro-Union sentiment in the Wachovia area of North Carolina in 1860. The band that was to become one of the Confederacy's most celebrated musical ensembles was one of the main attractions at a pro-Union rally. On October 13, 1860, the participation of the Salem Brass Band at a barbecue given by the Constitutional Union Party probably helped to attract many people who might otherwise not have attended, to hear speeches of Union party candidates.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Pfohl, p. 34.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>The People's Press, October 12, 1860, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

The Constitutional Union Party candidate for President was John Bell of Tennessee; Edward Everett was his running mate. Considering themselves the alternative to secession, which they predicted would be the outcome of electing Abraham Lincoln, the rally was billed as the Forsyth (county) Union Feast. A plea was issued to area citizens, regardless of previous party affiliations, to attend to hear these pro-Union candidates.<sup>15</sup>

A good time is generally anticipated. Come one, come all, without distinction of party, and hear for yourself what our able advocates of the Union, the Constitution and the laws have to say. This is no time for the patriot to hesitate, but all should burst the shackles of party, and march together, hand in hand, like a band of brothers to rescue the Union.<sup>16</sup>

The contribution of the Salem Brass Band to the gathering was considered to be very important by rally organizers. The announcement of the events makes it seem too good to miss. "Eloquent and patriotic speaking will be present, a free barbecue will be given, and the Salem Brass Band will discourse sweet and patriotic music on the occasion."<sup>17</sup>

All of Forsyth County was in an uproar in 1861 when North Carolina seceded from the Union to join the Confederacy, and regiments of soldiers from nearby towns and villages were being raised and almost immediately departing

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

for distant battlefields. Although members of the Salem Brass Band did not enlist in the service immediately, they provided a valuable service for the new Confederate organizations as they left for battle. The band was present at the major events and ceremonies for every local military unit leaving the Salem area in 1861.

One of the first units to leave from the Forsyth County area was the Forsyth Southrons, officially known as the Third Forsyth Volunteers, a volunteer infantry company. On Saturday June 22, 1861, the band performed for a flag presentation by the ladies of Winston in honor of the Southrons. Amid speeches exclaiming "the patriotic feelings which swell in the hearts of Southern sisters," and boasting that Southern men will "live free, or die brave," the contributions of the band were noted in the Salem newspaper. "The Salem Brass Band was present and enlivened the scene with its patriotic music."<sup>18</sup>

The following Monday morning as the Forsyth Southrons left Salem for Danville, Virginia, a ceremony of a much more solemn nature than the festive flag ceremony of the weekend before took place. Several area ministers were on hand to pray with and for the departing soldiers, and families and friends prayed for the safe return of their loved ones. After the religious observance, the soldiers "took up the

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<sup>18</sup>The People's Press, June 28, 1861, p. 1.

line of march, passing through Main Street, led by our band of music, accompanied by a large number of persons, on foot, horseback, and in vehicles, [and] took passage in the wagons waiting for them on the outskirts of town."<sup>19</sup>

The Salem Brass Band not only played for the parade of the soldiers, they traveled with them as far as the neighboring town of Kernersville. The musicians played at the head of the march as the soldiers entered the town, accompanied by the cheers of the citizens lining the streets.<sup>20</sup> Captain F. P. Miller, commanding officer of the Southron's, expressed his thanks on behalf of his company to the band. " . . . We feel ourselves under many obligations to the Salem Brass Band for meeting us at the camp on the same morning, and escorting us from the camp to Kernersville, reviving and cheering our feelings which were somewhat wounded by having to bid our friends farewell."<sup>21</sup>

Excitement continued to mount in the Salem area as ever-increasing numbers of military units departed for Virginia battlefields each day. At least two other military bands composed mostly of Moravian musicians enlisted in the service of the Confederacy, leaving the Salem Brass Band to perform for patriotic gatherings, troop departures and flag presentations on the home front. The Bethania Brass Band

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>The People's Press, July 12, 1861, p. 1.

from the Moravian community of Bethania became the Thirty-third North Carolina Band, and Moravian musicians from Moravian communities became the bandsmen of the Twenty-first Regiment, later called the Eleventh North Carolina Regimental Band.<sup>22</sup>

The Salem Brass Band was very much a part of the Confederate war effort long before it became an official military band through enlistment. The participation of the musicians in recruiting rallies probably provided as great a service to the fledgling nation as any effort that could have been made by the band at the front. These rallies encouraged the young men of Forsyth County to volunteer immediately in units of their own choosing while space was available, or before being subjected to conscription.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Many references were examined to gather this information. Among the sources are Muster rolls of the Eleventh, Twenty-first, Twenty-sixth, and Thirty-third Regiments located in the Confederate Files of the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh, North Carolina; The memoirs and reminiscences of O. J. Lehman, Bandmaster of the Thirty-third North Carolina Band in manuscript form in the Confederate files of the North Carolina State Archives; The People's Press, February 21, 1862 and March 7, 1862; John W. Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops in the War Between the States (Raleigh, North Carolina, 1881); Walter Clark, Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of North Carolina, 1861-65, 5 vols. (Raleigh, North Carolina, 1901); Hall, pp. 7-9; and Pfohl, p. 13.

<sup>23</sup>The People's Press, June 28, 1861; July 5, 1861; July 12, 1861; July 19, 1861; and August 2, 1861. Salem newspapers often featured notices for recruits for companies being formed in the Wachovia area. The most popular units were filled quickly. Even for those who volunteered only to avoid conscription, enlistment in a popular unit was socially acceptable.

When recruiting rallies were not held, Confederate recruitment officials, along with the Salem Brass Band, went to gatherings where young men were known to be assembled.

Several gentlemen, accompanied by the Salem Brass Band, attended the several tax gatherings in the County, during the past week, for the purpose of encouraging our young men to enlist in the defense of their country, a good opportunity being offered in a company of state troops now forming in this county, to which we have therefore alluded . . . it is much better and more patriotic to volunteer than to be drafted into service. And we assure the citizens of Forsyth that if the requisite number of troops cannot be procured voluntarily, a draft will most assuredly be resorted to.<sup>24</sup>

There were many patriotic and charity events that made increasing demands on the time of the bandsmen. Because the musicians were amateur performers who were also employed in various full-time occupations, September of 1861 must have been a particularly busy time.

On September 13th the musicians marched past the town of Winston, North Carolina, to meet the Yadkin Stars Volunteer Infantry Company from Yadkin County and escorted them into Salem, playing stirring military music.<sup>25</sup> The band was also involved in performing for Soldier's Relief Concerts sponsored by the ladies of the Relief Society held on Friday evenings in September.<sup>26</sup>

One of the biggest efforts to raise money for soldiers' organizations was organized in early November of

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<sup>24</sup>The People's Press, August 2, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., September 20, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

1861 by the Salem Ladies' Relief Society. For the benefit of the Forsyth Volunteers, William Augustus "Gus" Reich presented his famous magic show, with the Salem Brass Band assisting on the program. Reich, who later became a member of the band after it enlisted in the Confederate Army, was known as a very skillful slight of hand artist and magician. Called "Reich's Magic Mysteries," "Grand Soirees Magique," and "Dixie Magic," the show was described as "illustrating the philosophy of science--its deceptive character, and immense power of modification."<sup>27</sup>

The program was held at the Town Hall on November 29, 1861, and featured Reich in "Numerous Amusing Illustrations! Everything Transformed! The eye deceived, the ear amused and the mind astonished."<sup>28</sup> In an effort to assure the potential audience that the act would be suitable for the entire family, notice was given saying that "Nothing [will be] introduced to offend the most fastidious."<sup>29</sup> This was the first of many occasions which featured Gus Reich and the Salem Brass Band during civilian and military life.

In late February, bandsmen of the Twenty-first North Carolina Regiment were home on leave for several weeks and received much attention as they performed in the Salem

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<sup>27</sup>The People's Press, November 22, 1861, p. 2..

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

area.<sup>30</sup> Wearing their uniforms about town and playing concerts, the musicians of the Twenty-first Regiment probably excited their friends in the Salem Brass Band with tales of army life and war stories.

With so many fellow Moravian musicians, friends, and family members already in the Confederate service, there was a strong notion among the Salem bandsmen that they should find a suitable regiment with which to associate. The time that the band had spent playing for recruiting missions and listening to the inspiring patriotic oratory had affected the impressionable young men. The bandsmen selected leader Samuel T. Mickey to actively seek a military connection for the band.<sup>31</sup>

The Salem Brass Band was to have become Wheeler's Battalion Band, but during the Battle of Roanoke Island on February 7-8, 1862, Wheeler's Battalion was captured by Union forces commanded by Brigadier General Ambrose E. Burnside.<sup>32</sup> Sam Mickey continued to look for a unit needing a band.

Finding a Confederate military unit for the Salem Band to join was not difficult. Sam Mickey and his band were so well-known by the people of Northwestern North Carolina that they probably had offers to join several regiments. Finding

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<sup>30</sup>The People's Press, February 21, 1862, p. 4.

<sup>31</sup>Hall, p. 9.

<sup>32</sup>Clark, Vol. II, p. 398.

just the right unit to join was important to the Moravian musicians because they wanted Sam Mickey to be able to bargain with the officers of the unit to be sure that they would continue to enjoy celebrity status. Sam Mickey's meeting with Colonel Zebulon Vance of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Infantry Regiment ensured that the musicians would receive proper treatment and the respect they had earned.

Mickey's diary describes his meeting with Colonel Vance in a hotel lobby near New Bern, North Carolina, where an agreement was made affiliating the Salem Brass Band with the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment. It seems that while Mickey was looking for Colonel Vance, the Colonel was trying to locate Mickey to enlist the band. They agreed that the band would become part of the regiment and that pay for the band would be contributed by officers of the regiment.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Hall, p. 10. Hall quotes from the diary of Samuel T. Mickey, which he states is in the possession of Mickey's grandson, the Reverend Edward T. Mickey. Reverend Mickey no longer has the diary. In a letter to this writer dated April 1, 1986, Reverend Mickey says, "I regret that some years ago I came across a mouse eaten diary of my grandfather's which, try as I would, could not be pieced together. However, Harry Hall had that when he was gathering information, so he would have had all that was in it. I have long ago lost track of it anyway."

Hall, in a letter to this writer dated May 29, 1986 states ". . .there is the matter of Samuel Mickey's diary. Bishop [Edward T.] Mickey is mistaken in stating that I have access to this record. It had already been misplaced or lost at the time that I inquired about it, so that proved to be a real disappointment."

The origin of the quote from Mickey's diary by Hall remains a mystery. No other reference is available for the events surrounding the meeting of Hall and Vance, although a number of sources mention this meeting and cite Hall's book.

The first edition of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band was actually more like a brass octet than it was a military band. The eight brass players, all former members of the Salem Brass Band, became Confederate bandsmen on Wednesday, March 5, 1862, when they arrived at the encampment of the Twenty-sixth Regiment near New Bern, North Carolina.<sup>34</sup>

Salem must have been a somber place without the band music to which it had become accustomed over the years. As the Twenty-first Regimental Band ended its furlough on Tuesday, March 4, 1862, to return to the front, the last remaining civilian band, the Salem Brass Band, left for military service the following day.<sup>35</sup> After the spring of 1862, only old men, women, and children were left in Salem. So many men who formerly served the Moravian Church as musicians were now members of the Confederate armed forces that there were times when only two instrumentalists could be found to play for funerals.<sup>36</sup>

There were eight members of the original Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band.

Samuel T. "Sam" Mickey, Bandmaster and Eb cornet  
 Abraham B. "Abe" Gibson, 1st Bb cornet  
 Joseph O. "Joe" Hall, 2nd Bb cornet  
 Lewis Augustus "Gus" Hauser, 1st Eb alto horn

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<sup>34</sup>Clark, pp. 257-258.

<sup>35</sup>The People's Press, March 7, 1862, p. 1.

<sup>36</sup>Pfohl, p. 52.



Figure 16--The Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band posed for this photograph while on furlough in Salem, North Carolina, in July, 1862.

William Henry "Bill" Hall, 2nd Eb alto horn  
 Daniel T. "Dan" Crouse, 1st Bb tenor horn  
 Alexander C. "Alex" Meinung, 2nd Bb tenor horn  
 Julius A. Leinbach, Eb bass

There were no percussion players in the band when it enlisted.<sup>37</sup>

There was a relaxed atmosphere for the band during the initial days of military service. The musicians were well known as a group and were treated as celebrities. Upon arriving at the regimental camp near New Bern, the band quickly became the pride and joy of Colonel Vance and often received special treatment. For the first few nights after arriving in camp, the musicians were guests of the officers of the regiment, and shared the officers' quarters.<sup>38</sup>

The initial successes of the new regimental band were due largely to the efforts of Bandmaster Samuel Timothy Mickey. A very respected and talented musician, Mickey was usually referred to as Captain, Mickey, although he did not formally hold officer's rank.<sup>39</sup> At the age of twenty-three, he was appointed band leader of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band, a position he took very seriously. "He was [a] painstaking and indefatigable [sic] master, gathering

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<sup>37</sup>Clark, Vol. II, p. 397; Moore, Twenty-sixth Regiment section; individual service records of the bandsmen of the Twenty-sixth Regiment preserved on microfilm at the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh, North Carolina.

<sup>38</sup>Hall, p. 12.

<sup>39</sup>Clark, Vol. II, p. 398.

gathering music from every available source, copying it by hand, drilling the band with great thoroughness, and thus developing one of the best bands in the entire Southern army."<sup>40</sup>

As the war progressed, Mickey developed and nurtured associations and friendships with regimental officers that ensured good treatment for the band. Mickey and all the members of the band were respected for their strict adherence to the Christian discipline which they practiced faithfully. They were known as good musicians and good Christian gentlemen during a time when many soldiers maintained religious attitudes only when in danger or during battle.

The band was involved with the Twenty-sixth Regiment at the Battles of New Bern and Malvern Hill in the first several months of their enlistment. During this time, two new bandsmen were enlisted. Julius A. Transou, from the Moravian community of Pfafftown, near Salem, joined the band as a Bb cornettist, and William Augustus "Gus" Reich, the magician, became the band's bass drummer.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>The lebenslauf of Samuel Timothy Mickey, located in the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. This seven page handwritten manuscript is the official Moravian church record of Mickey's life.

<sup>41</sup>Muster rolls of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band for spring and summer of 1862, located in the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina; Clark, Vol. II, pp. 395-399.

After serving only four months as a Confederate military band, the Moravian musicians were allowed to return to Salem on furlough. The arrival of the musicians received much attention from the citizens of Salem, as reported in The People's Press. Rumors had circulated that Colonel Zebulon Vance ordered one of his men to be executed for some minor offense, and the Colonel was a tyrant in dealing with his men. The bandsmen, who served as Vance's regimental musicians, were in the presence of the Colonel most of the time and were able to calm the rising panic in Salem by reporting the rumor to be "not a word of truth."<sup>42</sup>

Another bit of excitement surrounding the visit of the band to Salem was provided by Bill Hall, who returned to town with twelve letters found on the battlefield written by a Yankee soldier. Hall delivered these letters to the editor of the newspaper, who amused himself by reading the letters. Although the content to the letters was not revealed in the newspaper, the article states that they were "personal in nature," and that "the orthography is certainly amusing and the composition primitive in the extreme."<sup>43</sup> Even newspaper editors used every opportunity to print derogatory and often inflammatory statements about the enemy

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<sup>42</sup>The People's Press, July 25, 1862, p. 1.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

to fuel the heated emotions of local citizens in both the North and the South.

The Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment Band was more popular with the citizens of Salem as a musical ensemble while on furlough than they had been as the civilian Salem Brass Band. The performances for the home audiences were especially well-received.

The Salem Band, composed of young men from this place, and attached to Col. Vance's Regiment, (now home on furlough), treated our citizens with a serenade of exquisite music, a few evenings since. This Band of music have improved very much since they entered the service, and is now acknowledged to be one of the best bands in the army.<sup>44</sup>

It would seem that this was to be one of the happiest periods of the war for the Moravian musicians, but their homecoming was marred shortly after they arrived. When Bill Hall left Salem with the band, his wife was left alone with four children less than five years old. On July 14, 1862, Hall's youngest son Gussie died.<sup>45</sup> The bandsmen of the Twenty-sixth Regiment were among the brass musicians who played the chorales at the funeral in observance of an old Moravian tradition.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>The People's Press, July 18, 1862, p. 1.

<sup>46</sup>The People's Press, July 18, 1862, p. 1; Edwin L. Stockton, "A Brief Sketch of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band North Carolina Troops C. S. A.," Moravian Music Journal, XXVI (Fall, 1981), 54.

Because several of the band members were suffering from poor health, the band applied for an extension of their leave. It is thought that one of the reasons that Colonel Zebulon Vance approved the request was that he was a candidate in the forthcoming North Carolina gubernatorial election. The band had been used in Vance's campaign several times, and his allowing the band to remain in Salem a little longer may have helped to influence some voters that the Colonel would make a good governor.<sup>47</sup>

The band left Salem to return to the Confederate front lines joined by Edward Peterson, a well-respected young Moravian trombonist from Salem. Peterson's contributions as a tenor horn and trombone performer were significant; however, they are overshadowed by his contributions to history through letters to friends and relatives in Salem.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Hall, pp. 16-19.

<sup>48</sup>The Peterson letters were donated to the Moravian Music Foundation by Mrs. Thomas J. Boyd, a great-niece of Edward Peterson. Some attempt to study the letters was made by Miss Mary Wiley, associated with the Moravian Music Foundation in its early days, and by Dr. Donald McCorkle, a former director of the Moravian Music Foundation. No previous attempt has been completed to incorporate these letters into a comprehensive examination of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band. The letters are particularly valuable to historians and bandsmen interested in this ensemble because they provide the only eyewitness accounts of the actions of the band. The letters are very revealing because they were often written in an explanatory style for relatives who were not familiar with the life of the military musician or the routine of the Confederate soldier. Peterson wrote from the unique the point of view understood by bandsmen through the ages who were musicians first and foremost by choice, and soldiers only by circumstance.

The letters contain nineteen different dates of correspondence, but this is misleading. There is much more material than one would expect to find in nineteen letters because of the manner in which the young musician made use of his limited supply of stationery. In one particular example, Peterson used a double page for a letter, writing on front and back, then he turned the paper upside down and wrote another letter between the lines of the first. Feeling that there was still more room for writing, he wrote still more in the margins of all four sides and often wrote even more between those lines, using a different color of ink or switching to pencil for contrast.<sup>49</sup>

Several of the letters examined for inclusion in this study were written on unusual paper. One of the letters is written over a pass signed by several company officers allowing the musicians to pass through sentry points to try to attend church.<sup>50</sup> Another is written on a blank check from the Bank of Wilmington, North Carolina,<sup>51</sup> while yet another is written on top of a list of tunes used for one of the

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<sup>49</sup>Edward Peterson letter dated September 12, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>50</sup>The Edward Peterson letters, letter dated September 4, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., July 24, 1864.

band's concerts.<sup>52</sup> Peterson's methods of using and conserving paper provide much more information than one could expect to find in letters written in ordinary fashion, but they are often difficult to read. This may explain why this valuable information has heretofore escaped thorough examination.

The bandsmen returned to their regimental encampment near Petersburg, Virginia, with the largest band they would muster. Another new musician, Edward Brietz, also a Salem Moravian, performed on the Eb alto horn.<sup>53</sup> Evidently, Brietz was assigned to the band for such a short time that he was never added to the official records of the unit and never drew pay or equipment as a bandsman because his name does not appear on any regimental muster roll or roster.<sup>55</sup> A short time after he joined the band, Brietz was promoted to Lieutenant, reassigned to a Twenty-sixth Regiment rifle company and was captured shortly after the Battle of Gettysburg.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., found on back of the letter on the face of the blank check dated July 24, 1864.

<sup>53</sup>Hall, p. 19.

<sup>54</sup>Muster rolls for the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band from November 1, 1862 through June 30, 1864, located in the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

<sup>55</sup>Confederate service record of Edward A. Brietz, preserved on microfilm in the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh, North Carolina.

Although it seems irregular, the fact that Brietz' name was omitted from the official regimental rolls was not unusual. He may have been recruited by the band with the knowledge that he would remain with the musical ensemble for a short time to fill in for one of the three bandmen who remained in Salem on sick leave.<sup>56</sup>

Irregularities in recruiting practices were common in the Twenty-sixth Regiment, according to a former regimental officer. Recruits may have enlisted for a short period and transferred before an official record could be made, as seems to have been the case with Brietz, or there may have been a reason not to have too much information added to the record.

While in camps near Kingston, North Carolina, early in the war, many recruits were added to the rolls of the Twenty-sixth Regiment. Two young men were assigned to Company F who seemed to be inseparable. In fact, one refused to enlist unless both were allowed to sign up for the same unit. Their names were listed as Luke and Samuel Blalock.

Sam is described as a good looking boy, aged sixteen . . . who drilled and performed duties as any other soldier, and was very adept at learning the manual and drill. In about two months L. M. Blalock was discharged and Sam

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<sup>56</sup>Muster roll of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band for 1862, located in the Twenty-sixth Regiment file of the Confederate papers section of the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh, North Carolina.

informed the Company Captain and Colonel Vance that he, [Sam Blalock], was a woman, whereupon she was discharged.<sup>57</sup>

It seems that Luke Blalock told his recruiting officer that he would only sign on if his young wife could go along with him. With the promise of the officer that Sam's identity as a woman would remain secret, the Blalocks became privates in the Twenty-sixth.<sup>58</sup>

There was little time for the band to really settle in to the routine of camp life after returning from their furlough since major changes were taking place in the regiment. The band's old friend and commander, Zebulon Vance, was successful in his gubernatorial campaign and was preparing for the change of command and his departure for the North Carolina State Capitol at Raleigh. The new commander of the Twenty-sixth Regiment, Harry K. Burgwyn, was promoted from his position as Lieutenant Colonel to Colonel. The new regimental commander, only twenty years of age, was known as "the Boy Colonel" by his men.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>The memoirs of Lieutenant Colonel J. T. Adams, Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment, a manuscript located in the Confederate collection, Twenty-sixth Regiment files, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Memoirs of Lieutenant Colonel J. T. Adams, Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment, manuscript located in the Confederate collection, Twenty-sixth Regiment files of the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina; Hall, p. 20.

The Inauguration of Zebulon Vance was a festive celebration which took place on September 8, 1862, in Raleigh.<sup>60</sup> The ceremony was held in Capitol Square with the oaths of office administered by the Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court. The Twenty-sixth Regiment was represented at the Inauguration by the Moravian musicians of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band.<sup>61</sup>

Newspaper reports of the festive occasion do not indicate that the nation was split in a raging war or that it was unusual that the new governor had been living beside the campfires on the battlefields of Petersburg, Virginia, only a few days before. No mention is made of the many men who must have been dressed in Confederate Gray for the ceremony. Except for the mention of "The 26th Regimental Band (Vance's old regiment),"<sup>62</sup> reports of the event probably differ little from an inauguration during peaceful times. In startling contrast, the columns of articles surrounding the inaugural reports contain little other than war news and casualty reports.<sup>63</sup>

The Salem musicians made the most of the opportunity to perform for Zeb Vance's Inauguration and were able to

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<sup>60</sup>The People's Press, September 5, 1862, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., September 12, 1862, p. 1.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

take additional time to perform several concerts en route to and from the ceremonies. They often added the magic show of bass drummer Gus Reich, "The Wizard of the Blue Ridge," to their regular fare of music.<sup>64</sup>

One of the most exciting events surrounding Vance's Inauguration for the musicians occurred when the band premiered a piece of music written especially for the festivities. Edward Leinbach, brother of Julius Leinbach, wrote "Governor Vance's Inaugural March," named for and dedicated to Zebulon Vance on this occasion. Edward Leinbach, long prominent in the musical life of Salem, was one of the early leaders of the band. He contributed many arrangements and original compositions to the musical repertory of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band during the war, and to the Salem Brass Band before and after the war.<sup>65</sup>

Almost from the beginning of their time in the military, one or more of the bandsmen were unfit for duty because of illness.<sup>66</sup> Rarely was the ensemble at full

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<sup>64</sup>Hall, p. 23.

<sup>65</sup>The band books of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band are in excellent condition in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Some of the music in the collection played by the bandsmen and composed or arranged by Edward Leinbach are "Dead March," "Easter Gallop," "Colonel Hoke's March," "Ever of Thee," "Serenade Waltz," "Carolina Waltz," "Parting," and probably many more pieces which do not indicate who arranged them.

<sup>66</sup>Muster rolls of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band from November, 1862 through June 30, 1864, located in the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

strength. Eb alto horn player Gus Hauser contracted a malady so serious that he was unable to rejoin the band after their first furlough in the summer of 1862.<sup>67</sup> Hauser died on November 23, 1862, at his home in Salem. He was twenty-one years old and the only member of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band to die during the war. He is buried in single men's square of "God's Acre," the Moravian Cemetery at Salem.<sup>68</sup>

Charles E. Transou was seriously ill in 1862 and 1863 and was listed on the muster rolls as "sick, in the hospital," from November 1, 1862 through December 31. He rejoined the band before January 1, 1864 and remained on duty for the duration of the war.<sup>69</sup>

During Transou's absence, Henry Siddal joined the band to play second Bb cornet and Bb tenor horn. Transou had originally decided to enter the army as a rifleman, but was convinced by Sam Mickey that as a musician his place was with the regimental band, where he would have preferential treatment among friends and fellow Moravians from Salem.

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid.

<sup>68</sup>Information from the Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Hall, p. 23; Stockton, p. 54.

<sup>69</sup>Muster rolls of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band for the dates from November 1, 1862 through June 30, 1864, located in the Confederate collection, Twenty-sixth Regiment files of the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

With this encouragement from bandmaster Mickey, Charles Transou joined the band on November 30, 1862.<sup>70</sup>

During the band's travels, civilians who were sympathetic to the Southern cause occasionally provided them with home-cooked meals, if they had food to spare. If the host refused money in return or if the musicians were temporarily short of funds, serenades of favorite tunes were often traded for full stomachs.<sup>71</sup>

Edward Peterson describes a meal prepared and served by a family who lived about one mile from the band's camp near New Bern, North Carolina, in 1863. The musicians enjoyed the food and fellowship before their host's warm fire so much that they stayed until too late in the evening to perform for their supper. Realizing the late hour, the bandsmen promised to return the next morning to play for the family.<sup>72</sup>

When the musicians had money to purchase supplies, there were times when food could not be bought for any price.

At Greenville we can't buy anything but occasionally a shad or two. Everything eat [has been eaten] up

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<sup>70</sup>Muster rolls of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band, located in the Confederate collection, Twenty-sixth Regiment files, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina; Hall, p. 23.

<sup>71</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister, March 15, 1863. Manuscript located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid.

in this country. We get nothing but cornbread and bacon, you can imagine we get tired of the same thing, for every meal yellow corn meal.<sup>73</sup>

When rations were available or supplies and food stuffs could be purchased, there were problems in preparing meals. Food was almost always cooked over an open fire fueled with pine. The smoke from pine fires blackened everything in the encampments and was so greasy that it couldn't be removed easily, even with soap and water. After cooking over the fires with only pine for firewood, the Confederate soldier had a greasy black face and greasy black food that tasted of turpentine.<sup>74</sup>

Camp life in the eastern North Carolina pine woods in the winter of 1862-1863 was also hard on the musicians. While snow is rarely a problem so close to the Atlantic, cold rain is frequent in winter. The Moravian musicians spent their time drying out wet clothes, finding and cooking rations, reading, writing, and, for amusement, playing marbles.<sup>75</sup>

Occasionally, the bandsmen were fortunate enough to draw rations from the Confederate commissaries. Several

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid., March 30, 1863.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., May 15, 1863.

<sup>75</sup>Peterson Letters, March 30, 1863. While it may seem rather odd to the twentieth century reader that the men of the Confederate armies would be playing marbles, it should be remembered that most of these men were teenagers about seventeen or eighteen years of age.

of the musicians became good cooks and bakers. Bandmaster Samuel Mickey became proficient at baking bread and often prepared wheat bread and fried bacon.<sup>76</sup>

Even though much time was spent in routine chores which were necessary for survival in camps, the musicians maintained both individual practice schedules and ensemble rehearsals. Edward Peterson mentions practice by the group in several of his letters. Despite his preoccupation with the war and hardships he was forced to endure, he was still proud of the music produced by the band. He wrote to his sister, "We practiced some this morning. I wish you could have heard us."<sup>77</sup>

The veteran soldier musicians received their second furlough to return to Salem in late April and May of 1863 for a very profitable stay. While on leave, the bandsmen presented four concerts in the Salem area and one in Raleigh. The concerts featured the band's usual fare of music of many different styles and were a great success. The People's Press praised the concerts as "undoubtedly the best we ever heard by this well known band."<sup>78</sup> The following article appeared in the newspaper on May 1, 1863.

Our citizens were agreeably surprised on Thursday evening, the 23rd ult., by the enlivening strains of the 26th Regimental Band, composed of young men

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<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid.

<sup>78</sup>The People's Press, May 1, 1863, p. 1.

from this place, who unexpectedly arrived here, for the purpose of giving a series of concerts for their own benefit.<sup>79</sup>

In addition to the music, the "Wizard of the Blue Ridge," magician-turned-bass-drummer Gus Reich, presented a magic show which thrilled those present. Now called the "Southern Magician," Reich's program was described as "quaint, cute and comical sayings and doings."<sup>80</sup> The newspaper compared the Salem magician with the most famous professional magician of the day, and further described his work as "surprising feats . . . not often met with."<sup>81</sup>

As a result of large numbers in attendance and a few donations, the musicians made a total profit of \$896.00. When asked how the money was spent, one of the musicians responded, "There was not much left after paying such bills as at the hotels, 3 dollars a day for each one, & the railroad fare too."<sup>82</sup> In addition to purchasing these

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid.

<sup>82</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister dated September 28, 1862, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. It was previously assumed that this letter and another dated October 12 were written in 1863 because there was no date for the year placed after the month and day. Examination of these letters reveals that they contain information regarding General Pettigrew and Colonel Burgwyn, who were both killed in battle before September 28, 1863; therefore, the letters logically could not have been written in 1863. Furthermore, the tone of the letters and the detail of camp life described by Peterson indicate the rather excited style of a soldier who is still in awe of his surroundings and the trappings of military life. The Peterson letters of one year later are written from the viewpoint of a war-weary veteran who is more than ready to come home.

necessities, the musicians needed funds for food and clothing for their camps, but also used some of the money to buy a Bb tenor horn for Harry Siddel to play.<sup>83</sup> The editor of The People's Press referred to the performances as "chaste, elegant and instructive, reflecting credit of the members of the [Twenty-sixth Regimental] Band."<sup>84</sup>

On at least one occasion, the band rented a hall and presented a concert at which admission was charged to raise funds for their own needs and as a benefit for charity. The musicians printed handbills advertising their fare for the programs, which caused some concern from the Twenty-sixth Regiment's new, young Colonel, Harry Burgwyn. One bandsman reported that the Colonel gained a greater admiration and respect for the abilities of his regimental band after this particular series of concerts, and explains the regimental commander's absence from the first evening's concert. "I believe the reason that he [Col. Burgwyn] did not go over the first night was that he was fearful we could not perform what our bills stated. He said, too, he was agreeably surprised."<sup>85</sup>

The concerts were quite successful and profitable. Expenses were over \$200 (\$60 for rent of the concert hall

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<sup>83</sup>Hall, p. 26.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>Letter of Edward Peterson to his sister dated October 12, 1862, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

and hotel and accommodations for the musicians), and each man received \$15. The remainder of the money was given to the Confederate hospital fund.<sup>86</sup>

The Commander of the Twenty-sixth Regiment was proud that his musicians were highly respected and could draw large audiences. The close relationship of the bandsmen to Colonel Burgwyn was based upon a genteel friendship of mutual admiration and respect. The Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band was a unit which had proven itself as a capable ensemble on numerous occasions while Burgwyn was Zebulon Vance's Lieutenant Colonel and again after he became a full colonel. A member of the Twenty-sixth Band offered his opinion of Burgwyn in a letter to his family.

I have quite a different opinion of him [Burgwyn] since our last concert. I think a great deal of him. He is a good looking man, only 21 or 22 years of age. He is very strict with his officers and men. He is a strict drill master. I am glad that I am no private.<sup>87</sup>

This very special relationship between the "Boy Colonel" and the band was further enhanced when members of the band were included in Burgwyn's many travels in search of the company of refined young ladies. The bandsmen were accomplished chamber musicians on a number of instruments and were able to perform many of the popular tunes of the day. Colonel Burgwyn, accompanied by a few of his musicians, often hosted concerts in the parlors of eligible

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<sup>86</sup>Ibid.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

young ladies. Burgwyn's favorite musical combination consisted of Sam Mickey as cornet soloist accompanied on piano by Alex Meinung. Other outings featured woodwind instruments and sometimes a quartet of stringed instruments played by the bandsmen. These concerts delighted and impressed the young Southern belles and further enhanced Harry Burgwyn's reputation as a ladies' man.<sup>88</sup>

Sometimes the entire Twenty-sixth Regimental Brass Band accompanied Colonel Burgwyn on his journeys to the homes of young Southern debutantes. One can imagine how the efforts of the young Confederate officer must have flattered and impressed many young ladies while they were being serenaded by an entire military brass band. Some thought that perhaps Colonel Burgwyn was preparing the way for his return to the Petersburg, Virginia, area after the war.

On Friday night we had a great time of it serenading over in town by the request of the Col. I think the Col. has some idea of marrying in this place after the war. At any rate he went along on horseback and told us where he wished us to play.<sup>89</sup>

The bandsmen were impressed by the beautiful homes that were chosen by the Colonel for their serenades, and all realized that Burgwyn was serenading some of the wealthiest and most prominent families in Virginia. The

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<sup>88</sup>Hall, pp. 31-32.

<sup>89</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister dated October 12, 1862, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

luxury that surrounded the musicians made them feel a little self-conscious.

I don't think our clothes suited to the finely furnished rooms. I felt somewhat out of place. I think they [the serenaded families] are the upper tens [upper crust, highest society] of Petersburg, what you might call in New York of the Fifth Avenue class. My home won't suite me as well as the wealth of this man we serenaded.<sup>90</sup>

Although the bandsman was impressed by the wealth and splendor around him, he did not forget the opportunity to suggest that if he had been as wealthy as his hosts, he probably wouldn't have been there as a soldier. "If I was rich I could hire a substitute. That would be a great consideration, wouldn't it? I guess it's all for the best."<sup>91</sup>

The musicians were treated well by their hosts, and in return for an enjoyable performance of popular and patriotic tunes, a token of sincere appreciation was enjoyed by all.

We were all called in to take something stronger than water, the Colonel with some of the officers choosing to see the ladies first. In the after room they were singing and playing while we were partaking of some of the choicest liquor the country affords. I chose for myself some good rum that had slipt [sic] the blockade [sic] some time ago.<sup>92</sup>

The serenading lasted most of the night as Colonel Burgwyn, his officers, and his regimental band traveled from house to house of the richest and prettiest young ladies of Petersburg. The music and frolicking lasted into the early

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<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid.

hours of the morning. Finally, the bandsmen retired for the night at a Petersburg hotel, returning to the routine of camp life the following day.<sup>93</sup>

The normal camp routine was interrupted by notice that the regiment was being transferred to another brigade. The Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment was part of General Robert Ransom's Brigade when the Moravian bandsmen enlisted. As the only band in the brigade, the musicians were in a position to know their commanding officers far more intimately than the average soldier or company grade officer. It seems that there was a real dislike, even hate, for General Ransom. After the Twenty-sixth was transferred to Pettigrew's Brigade, Edward Peterson expressed his relief in a letter to family members.

I was glad our regiment was transferred out of Ransom's Brigade; otherwise we would have been in some of those fights up on the Potomac. I notice Ransom was wounded. It's a pity that he wasn't killed, such a mean man as he, but this is rather a hard wish. I'll take it back.<sup>94</sup>

Apparently Brigadier General Pettigrew was more to the liking of the Twenty-sixth Regiment Band because they rarely missed an opportunity to play for him. When Pettigrew stopped near the band's camp on September 25, 1862, he was vigorously serenaded by the musicians. The General was so

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<sup>93</sup>Ibid.

<sup>94</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister dated September 28, 1862, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

delighted by the music that he treated the musicians to whiskey and brandy.<sup>95</sup>

The bandsmen probably enjoyed the gift of whiskey from General Pettigrew but practiced moderation even while in the Confederate camps. Unlike many soldiers who were often drunk and disorderly in camp, the Moravian musicians were respected for continually practicing their religious beliefs. Edward Peterson's letters are full of examples of the band members' continued faith in their God and the contempt that one would expect from practicing Christians for the killing and maiming of men. The Moravian bandsmen took advantage of the opportunities provided to them for worship in camp and were usually present for services conducted by their regimental chaplains. Being accustomed to the order and dignity of the Moravian service, the musicians had to adjust to the camp meetings. They were impressed with their new chaplain as a speaker but found the service somewhat confusing. Ed Peterson described the camp meeting for his family. "Since he [the Chaplain] is here the soldiers sing Methodist songs of an evening [all evening] it sounds strange of an evening, the singing, drumming, and piping all at the same time, all mixed up together."<sup>96</sup>

Shortly before Easter of 1863, Peterson wrote to his niece expressing his disgust that men who called themselves

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<sup>95</sup>Ibid.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid.

Christians continued to murder each other during a season which should have been celebrated as the holiest of the year.

I believe that the Sky weeps for the lamentable condition our country is in, no wonder either. Think of it, in this memorable and Holy week such an enlightened and Christianized nation as ours to prepare for fighting and expect a bloody fight too. It is too dreadful to think about it, if peace and goodwill would only be restored once again between the North and South.<sup>97</sup>

Even with a raging war, the bandsmen attended civilian church services as often as possible. Because there were few Moravian congregations outside of North Carolina and the Bethlehem, Pennsylvania areas, they visited churches of differing denominations. On Friday, March 17, 1863, Edward Peterson accompanied fellow musicians Julius Leinbach and Abe Gibson to Holy Week services at an Episcopal Church where the sermon particularly impressed them. Since the day was a "day of fasting and humiliation," as proclaimed by Confederate President Jefferson Davis, the text was entitled "If God be with us, who can be against us."<sup>98</sup> There can be little doubt that churches in both the North and South heard similar messages during the Holy Week services of 1863.

Peterson explained in his letter that he agreed with the Episcopal Priest's sermon stating that the condition of

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<sup>97</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his niece dated March 30, 1863, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid.

the entire country, both North and South, was caused by both sides, and that if God "had to kill every man, woman, and child in the land, our sins were the sole cause of this fratricidal and unnatural war."<sup>99</sup> It is interesting to note that many people, like the Episcopal Priest, still considered the North and South as one country. That this feeling existed on both sides of the war, particularly as late as the spring of 1863, seems indicative of the desires of many patriotic Southerners and loyal Northerners that the nation be reunited in peace.

The regular Sunday schedule of military activities was staggering for the musicians who were obliged to perform numerous times for military ceremonies and functions. Edward Peterson describes a typical Sunday in a letter to his niece.

I must give you some idea how we spend our Sundays. We get up about 6, take breakfast about 1/2 past 6, at 1/2 past 7 the drum beats for guard mounting . . . . After that we have inspection of arms, the band played continuously for both guard mounting and inspection of arms, which takes about 3/4 of an hour. In the evening at 1/2 past five dress parade comes off. At this we play about 4 pieces. In the evening after supper we generally play a few pieces for the benefit of the Colonel.<sup>100</sup>

This rigorous schedule was obviously not kept during battles or while on forced marches but was probably necessary to keep the tedium of camp life from interfering with military discipline.

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<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid.

During the week in camp, other military activities were added, such as drill practice, manual of arms practice, and of course, band practice for the musicians. Peterson's letter continued, "you can now imagine what our occupation is in the week, every guard mounting at 1/2 past 7 & in the evening at 1/2 past 5 dress parade, unless when on an march."<sup>101</sup>

The musicians were usually not as conspicuous during times of combat. In the battles surrounding Washington, North Carolina, in March and April of 1863, the Confederates concentrated all their energies on the fighting troops and seemed to have forgotten about noncombatants. Always concerned with finding and preparing food, the bandsmen were alarmed when the unit's rations were reduced so much that the musicians could not sustain themselves on the amounts of food issued to them.

Yesterday we were told that our rations were to be reduced by 1/4 lb. of meat a day. Scarce times coming don't you think [?] as it was, we drew scant enough at 1/2 pound a day, how are we to do at 1/4.<sup>102</sup>

Although bothered by the cut in rations, Peterson seemed to take the typical private's view that he was better off with the attentions of the commanding generals diverted to the battle at hand.

[There are] Enough Generals down there [at the front] to take the place. I am satisfied [that] they leave

<sup>101</sup>Ibid.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., Good Friday, April 3, 1863.

us where we are. If they even don't feed us enough we can shift for ourselves by walking 5 or six miles into the country and buying something to eat. We have been getting milk and eggs quite lately.<sup>103</sup>

In periods of combat, the Twenty-sixth bandsmen found themselves separated from their regiment on a number of occasions and were left to fend for themselves. When the musicians arrived in Petersburg in May of 1863, they received orders to join their regiment near Fredericksburg. The Twenty-sixth musicians along with men from the Eleventh and Fifty-second regiments were ordered to report to the Forty-fourth North Carolina regiment to draw rations until they could reach their own units.<sup>104</sup>

Death and destruction surrounded the musicians daily and usually evoked little emotional response unless a close friend or relative was killed. The wounding and death of General Stonewall Jackson at the Battle of Chancellorsville, however, left the bandsmen badly shaken, as they joined Southerners in mourning. Even though the clash of armies at Chancellorsville resulted in an apparent Southern victory, the news of Jackson's death left little for the Confederates to celebrate. Rumors about the incident seemed to compound the shock felt by the Southerners.

I don't know what to believe these times. I don't think the fighting is over with up their [sic] yet, it is said this morning, we have about 5000 wounded, besides what are killed. Quite a severe loss. I guess they are apt to call out the conscripts . . .

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid., May 6, 1863.

Gen. Jackson was wounded . . . he's not expected to recover. Gen Paxton [was] killed, also A. P. Hill [was] slightly wounded, Jackson and Paxton being shot by our own men. I write all of this as I hear it, false or not, I can't say.<sup>105</sup>

In the same letter, Peterson described the scene around the Confederate capitol city as Union forces became more daring in their fighting near Richmond. He reported that quite a number of Yankee prisoners were taken in and around the city and that the civilian residents were quite alarmed.

The people at Richmond were terribly frightened on Monday. Jefferson Davis called out the militia right away. They mustered up about 7000 citizens. When we arrived there yesterday morning the citizens were collecting at the State house square in order to flee, I suppose. The streets were alive with people, a lively time I assure you. Boys but 14 years of age were called upon to guard the prisoners.<sup>106</sup>

In the band's encampment near Richmond, Peterson met an elderly German lady who had fallen prey to the times and was selling cakes to earn money for food and provisions for her family. The young musician befriended the old lady who had witnessed the Union raid on the Confederate capitol city and conversed with her in German. The Moravian musicians were fluent in German and often wrote portions of letters to their families in German. This practice usually only continued for a few lines. Peterson's ability to understand

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<sup>105</sup>Ibid.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid.

and speak German allowed him to learn about the Union activity in the area from an eyewitness.

I had a chat with her, talked German with her, she seemed to be delighted to hear me talk German. She says she never saw the like how people were excited, expecting the Yankees every minute, and said it was certainly a bold raid not equaled by any other that's happened since the war commenced.<sup>107</sup>

As Edward Peterson sat on the steps of the Confederate Capitol building in Richmond writing to his sister, the musicians were ordered to Hanover Junction, Virginia, in what was the beginning of the first moves of the Gettysburg campaign.<sup>108</sup> Peterson went to the local train station to meet Julius Leinbach and Henry Siddal, who had remained in Salem due to illness after the band's furlough. While at the train station, young Peterson was lucky enough to see an American hero, an incident which he would remember for the rest of his life.

In the train J. L. [Julius Leinbach] and H. S. [Henry Siddal] came in, Gen. Lee and Gen. Stewart were likewise. I had a good view of Lee. He is a grey headed and bearded man, much older than I expected to see, stout built. I did not get to see Stewart. They were on their way to Fredericksburg and they had been down to Richmond, I guess to consult with Davis or the war department.<sup>109</sup>

Peterson lost few chances to make his views on the war clear to his family when writing to them. He concluded his

<sup>107</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister dated May 6, 1863, found in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., May 18, 1863.

writing for the day with a wish that Lee and Stewart, in consulting with whomever, "would conclude to stop the war and make a compromise that would be a sensible move, wouldn't it?"<sup>110</sup>

Although basically opposed to war and killing, the Moravian musicians and other members of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment dutifully answered the call of their country. There were those left behind in Salem that some believed to be shirking their patriotic duty. There was suspicion by some soldiers that a number of citizens who had encouraged volunteering at the beginning of the war took unfair advantage of the families of Confederate soldiers who were away from home and amassed fortunes for themselves.

Edward Peterson evidently thought this was the case when his brother William tried to sell a crop of corn to a Mr. Vogler. Peterson was outraged by what he considered to be Vogler's taking unfair advantage of an absent soldier's family. He suggested the same treatment for Mr. Vogler that a neighbor had suggested for Yankee politicians.

Vogler will some day or other get his doom and I don't care how severe it may be. These men like him that brought on this war, or helped bring it on are now extortion [extorting] and remain at home and make their money off the soldier's wives and families ought to be killed. No, they ought to be tortured by fastening fish hooks all over them and have lines attached and drag from Virginia to Texas. That would not be too severe. I would like to see

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<sup>110</sup>Ibid.

that curly headed rascal served in that way and let me play Dixie as he would perform.<sup>111</sup>

As the march toward Gettysburg began with the Twenty-sixth Regiment's orders to move toward Fredericksburg, there was much speculation among the troops about the purpose of the campaign that was about to start. The bandsmen thought that there was the possibility that the South could conquer the entire North with the planned invasion. This move was the beginning of the end for the Twenty-sixth. The regiment was practically annihilated at Gettysburg, earning the name of "The Bloody Twenty-sixth."<sup>112</sup>

It is difficult to know whether Ed Peterson was serious or simply being facetious with his sister when he suggests a complete Southern rout of the North. He was correct, however, as he speculated that the invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania was about to begin.

I expect they [Confederates] are to invade Maryland again. If we take Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, you know . . . N. Y. is bound to fall, Boston too . . . If we conquer the North we are bound to play mash with all the free states. There is no other chance for them. I am a little uneasy about Canada. We'll be in such a sweep when we take New York, that we can't stop ourselves. We'll be apt to take Canada and that will be accomplished in a short while. England will soon back up, but I think we can put her down--we'll tell her she can't get cotton anymore and all will

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<sup>111</sup>Ibid., May 20, 1863.

<sup>112</sup>Julius A. Leinbach, "Scenes at the Battle of Gettysburg," Salem's Remembrancers (1906; Winston-Salem, 1976), pp. 66-79. The "bloody Twenty-sixth" explanation appears on page 73.

be right; as you know, cotton is king and we'll  
have a powerful time . . .<sup>113</sup>

With the impending invasion of the North, there was a great deal of concern among the Salem Moravians about the welfare and safety of their brothers and sisters in the Bethlehem area. Friends and family of the Confederate soldiers from Salem were always anxious for news. There were rumors floating around Salem that an entire band of Yankee Moravian musicians had been captured by the Confederates. Members of Edward Peterson's family had inquired about truth of these stories and asked what Edward knew about them. Edward Peterson responded to these questions in a kind of postscript written upside down in tiny scrawl in the top margin of the second page of his letter of May 21, 1863.

I do not know anything about a Bethlehem band being taken prisoners, as to that I am confident. Lensaman was one of the band that was taken, but he was from Philadelphia, and another one, I don't know where he was from, were the only two that belonged to a band. Lensaman played tener [sic] and the other one an e flat or leading instrument.<sup>114</sup>

Peterson was hoping to meet one of his Yankee brothers who were taken prisoner so that he could buy Union government issue items from them that were not available to the ill-equipped Confederate soldiers. He mentioned that he

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<sup>113</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister dated May 21, 1863, found in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid.

would like to purchase either an "india rubber coat, or a blue overcoat."<sup>115</sup>

The Salem Moravians seemed concerned with the views of the Bethlehem Moravians on the state of the war and were curious as to whether their Northern brothers had altered the political opinions that they had voiced before a Southern invasion of their soil seemed likely. Peterson answered his family's questions on that subject as well. The Salemites hoped that Ed would get news from the Northern prisoners. He stated that he really didn't know whether or not "the Bethle [sic] ministers had changed their opinions, but I doubt it."<sup>116</sup>

The Twenty-sixth Regimental Band performed music composed and arranged by a number of different arrangers and composers. Among those pieces that were well-received and well-liked, was "The Washington Greys," by W. H. Neave of Salisbury, North Carolina. Neave wrote and arranged several pieces for the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band and was the principal arranger-composer for the Fourth North Carolina Regimental Band, directed by his brother Edward.

Edward Peterson's sister was an amateur musician who played piano. She was quite fond of the band's arrangement of "The Washington Greys" and wanted a copy of the music arranged for piano. She asked brother Ed to try to get this

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<sup>115</sup>Ibid.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid.

music for her. Peterson arranged for Professor Neave to transcribe the music for piano and had it forwarded to his sister in Salem. He wrote to his Aunt that he was glad the music was sent to his sister and asked if his sister was able to play the difficult music, and if the arrangement was a good one. He offered to have the other pieces in the Twenty-sixth's Band's repertory by Neave sent to Salem "if he [Neave] don't charge much."<sup>117</sup>

Edward was always on the lookout for tunes which would interest his sister. He wrote that the band had acquired many new pieces and that one in particular, "Here's Your Mule, is a very good one, tell Sis to learn it before I get back. I think Ed Leinbach said one of the [Salem] Academy girls has it for the piano."<sup>118</sup>

In late May and early June of 1863, J. A. Transou had not yet returned to the band, and his absence was of some concern to the musicians. As a musician who performed on both the Bb cornet and the Eb alto horn, Julius Transou was sorely missed. There were rumors that Transou might not be able, or allowed, to return to active duty and that perhaps he would be reassigned to a job in a civilian industry

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<sup>117</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his aunt dated May 30, 1863, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>118</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister dated October 12, 1862, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

deemed crucial to the Confederate war effort. Ed Peterson was concerned that Transou had not arrived at the band's camp by May 30, 1863 when he wrote to his family at home. "Well, Transou has not returned yet. What does he mean? Does he expect to remain at home all the time, or is he going into the wagon shops of Nissen?"<sup>119</sup> Little did Peterson, or any of his colleagues, know of the effort that would be required of Transou, who walked for more than two weeks through hostile territory to make his way back to join the band just before the Battle of Gettysburg.<sup>120</sup>

Oddly enough, Edward Peterson's extant letters both before and immediately after the historic Gettysburg fight include little about the horrible battle that cost the Twenty-sixth North Carolina so many lives. He mentioned in early June, 1863, that the Twenty-sixth Regiment was at Hagerstown, Maryland, and that the band was sent to join them. He mentioned Gettysburg only to say that he heard that "the Yankee army at Gettysburg has fallen back to Baltimore," and that "I wouldn't be surprised if they met us in Virginia long there after."<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his Aunt dated May 30, 1863, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>120</sup>Hall, p. 46.

<sup>121</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his Aunt dated May 30, 1863, but probably written during the first week of early June, 1863, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Fortunately for modern students of American wind band history, the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band's activities were well-recorded by Julius Leinbach, who recognized the need to preserve the history of the band in his old age.<sup>122</sup> On November 26, 1906, Julius Leinbach made an important contribution to his preservation efforts when he presented a paper for a meeting of The Wachovia Historical Society of Salem. His paper, "Scenes at the Battle of Gettysburg," provides a complete narrative of the activities of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band at Gettysburg and also provides historians with an eyewitness account of the fighting. From an elevated vantage point behind the Confederate lines, the bandsmen watched the action until they were called to attend the wounded in the battlefield hospitals.<sup>123</sup>

According to Leinbach, no major fight was expected when General Pettigrew was ordered to take three regiments and three pieces of artillery into Gettysburg to restock dwindling supplies. The only resistance that was expected was from the small force of the Gettysburg home guards

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<sup>122</sup>Harry Hall's A Johnny Reb Band From Salem preserves incidents from Leinbach's diary that were reprinted in a Winston-Salem newspaper in the early 1900's. The book by Hall has become an invaluable source of information about the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band because none of the original materials written by Leinbach (the diary and newspaper articles based on the diary) have survived.

<sup>123</sup>Leinbach, pp. 66-79.

composed of older men and young boys who would scatter when they realized that they were hopelessly outnumbered. Unexpectedly, members of Heath's division of Confederates ran into superior forces and suffered heavy losses. As Confederate officers rushed to reinforce Heath, battle lines were drawn in and around the town of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in what was to become one of the most bloody and hard-fought battles in the history of warfare.<sup>124</sup>

The fury of the fighting which took place as the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment advanced and broke through the first line of Union forces was so heavy that "heavy enfilading fire tore the Confederate line almost into fragments."<sup>125</sup> The regimental color bearer, who carried the regimental battle flag into battle, was positioned six paces in front of the charging Confederates. Before the Union line was penetrated, "the colors had been cut down ten times," resulting in the deaths of ten men.<sup>126</sup>

As the Twenty-sixth Regiment advanced again, an officer sent by General Pettigrew to convey a message of

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<sup>124</sup>From a paper read to the Wachovia Historical Society of Salem by Julius A. Leinbach on November 23, 1906. This paper has been reprinted in several publications that have been examined for this study: Edwin L. Stockton, Jr., editor, Salem's Remembrancers (Winston-Salem, 1976), pp. 66-79; Donald M. McCorkle, editor, "Regiment Band of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina," Moravian Music Foundation Publications No. 5, (Winston-Salem, 1958), pp. 226-234; and Bernard J. Pfohl, The Salem Band (Winston-Salem, 1953).

<sup>125</sup>Leinbach, pp. 68-69.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid.

praise to Colonel Burgwyn picked up the flag while leading the second charge and was mortally wounded. A young lieutenant retrieved the flag from the fallen officer and managed to take several steps before falling from wounds. As the color bearers were shot to death and the flag fell repeatedly, the confidence of the advancing Southerners was severely shaken. Seeing the line falter, Colonel Harry Burgwyn clutched the battle flag and led his men forward shouting "Dress on the Colors!"<sup>127</sup>

Inspired by the courageous efforts of their commander, the North Carolinians rushed forward into a rain of Union rifle fire. As the charge began, a young private was so emotionally charged by Burgwyn's example that he ran toward the Colonel, requesting the honor of carrying the regimental standard forward.

Turning to hand the Colors to the brave young soldier, Colonel Burgwyn was struck by a ball in the left side, which passed through both lungs. The impact of the ball turned him around and he fell with flag wrapped around him.<sup>128</sup>

The young private then took the flag only to be killed as well. Lieutenant Colonel Lane, now commanding the regiment, heard a Lieutenant say, "No man can take these colors and live."<sup>129</sup> Men who were near Lt. Colonel Lane report that he answered the Lieutenant saying, "It is my

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<sup>127</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., pp. 69-70.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

turn now," and shouted to his men as he ran forward with the flag, "Twenty-Sixth, follow me!"<sup>130</sup> Looking behind him to try to determine the exact position of his men, Lane was severely wounded just as the firing was coming to an end.<sup>131</sup>

The battle flag of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment had fallen fourteen times during the charge. Fourteen brave men died. In a heroic effort, fourteen men had seized their flag and raced forward into walls of lead shot. The Confederates broke through the Union lines but at a cost of human life that staggered even war-hardened veteran soldiers.<sup>132</sup>

The musicians of the Twenty-sixth Regiment had been given orders to stay with the wagons to await the wounded soldiers from the battle and to guard the haversacks of the Confederate soldiers who were ordered to leave them behind. From a hill overlooking the battle lines of the opposing armies, the bandsmen watched helplessly as their comrades were slaughtered. The scene must have been horrible, for as Leinbach reports, they watched for hours.

We could see the smoke of the infantry firing, while the roar of the cannon was almost continuous. After a couple of hours, the firing ceased; and soon the prisoners and our own wounded men began to come in, bringing sorrowful news from the fight. Our hearts sickened from the harrowing details.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>130</sup>Ibid.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid.

The once bold and proud Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment was almost completely destroyed. Colonel Harry Burgwyn, "The Boy Colonel," was dead. The People's Press reported that "out of 750 men of the Twenty-sixth Regiment that went into battle, less than 100 came out unharmed."<sup>134</sup> The newspaper reported 88 men killed and an additional 488 men wounded. Eighty-seven men were reported missing in action.<sup>135</sup>

Leinbach gave the following summation of his regiment's losses.

Our dear Colonel Burgwyn was killed. Lt. Colonel Lane was seriously if not mortally wounded. Major Jones was hurt--and we knew not how badly--as was Adjutant Jordan and nearly every Captain in the regiment. Nearly or quite three-fourths of the men were either killed or wounded, but none taken prisoners.<sup>136</sup>

The Twenty-sixth Regiment musicians were deeply shocked by the condition of their regiment. They lost many relatives and friends but had no time to dwell upon their grief because they were so busy taking care of wounded comrades and assisting the surgeons with operations. The musicians-turned-medics worked feverishly at the side of physicians until late in the evening. After collapsing for short naps, they worked through the night and all the next day caring for the wounded.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>134</sup>The People's Press, July 31, 1863, p. 1.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid.

<sup>136</sup>Leinbach, pp. 70-71.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid.

As the second day of the battle raged on, the exhausted musicians were called upon to perform for the Confederate soldiers on the front lines in an effort to boost sagging morale. The remnants of the Twenty-sixth Regiment who had fought so bravely the day before were not engaged in fighting, but were held in reserve behind the right flank of the Southern lines where the band was to play.<sup>138</sup>

As the bandsmen prepared to obey their orders, the surgeon in charge of the hospital where the musicians were working sent Sam Mickey to regimental headquarters with a note asking that the band be allowed to continue their nursing duties. The doctor explained in his message that the bandsmen could not be spared since there were so many wounded soldiers in need of their services. The request was denied and the band reported to the front, instruments in hand.<sup>139</sup>

The musicians were rather anxious about the condition of their compatriots. After their losses in the first day's fighting and seeing so many of their friends and relatives mutilated and dying in the field hospitals, they expected to find the regiment completely demoralized. To their surprise, the bandsmen found the men of the Twenty-sixth in amazingly high spirits considering the beating of the day before. The men of the band felt considerably better after

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<sup>138</sup>Ibid.

<sup>139</sup>Ibid.

seeing the cheerfulness of their fellow soldiers, and the morale of all within hearing range was raised by the band's music. Leinbach reports that as the band played during heavy Yankee cannon fire, "the men cheered lustily."<sup>140</sup>

Because the artillery shells were not landing in the immediate area where the band played, the musicians assumed that they were relatively safe, and that their performance had gone unnoticed by all except those near the area. The concert drew quite a bit more attention than the musicians realized at the time. Shortly after they returned to their duties at the hospital, a Union cannonball exploded near the position previously occupied by the band. Northern gunners were able to zero in on the Confederate position by aiming in the direction of the music.<sup>141</sup>

The music played by the band on the Gettysburg Battlefield actually caused quite a stir. Bands normally didn't play at the very height of a raging battle, and there was more than a little curiosity about the music heard by the Union soldiers. Was it a brazen act intended to flaunt Southern bravery and determination in the face of overwhelming odds, or was it merely a fleeting attempt to rally broken troops? These and other questions were probably asked by many who heard the Twenty-sixth Band perform on the battlefield at Gettysburg.

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<sup>140</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid.

One of those who noticed the band was Lieutenant Colonel Arthur J. L. Freemantle of the British Coldstream Guards. The observations of Freemantle's three-month visit to Confederate command headquarters from Texas to Pennsylvania are recorded in his book, Three Months in the Southern States.

When the cannonade was at its height, a Confederate band of music, between the cemetery and ourselves, began to play polkas and waltzes, which sounded very curious, accompanied by the hissing and bursting of shells.<sup>142</sup>

The musicians of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band were joined for battlefield concert by their fellow musicians of Pettigrew's Brigade, the Eleventh North Carolina Regimental Band. Although it was not a normal practice for regimental bands of a brigade to be combined, there were several occasions during the war when the Twenty-sixth and the Eleventh North Carolina Bands performed together.<sup>143</sup>

Noting that the size of the average Confederate band ranged from ten to fifteen musicians and the Twenty-sixth Regiment Band was much smaller (from eight to eleven men), it would seem that the musicians would be happy to be able

<sup>142</sup>Arthur J. L. Freemantle, Three Months in the Southern States (Mobile, Alabama, 1864), p. 131.

<sup>143</sup>Several instances of combined performances by the musicians of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band and the Eleventh Regimental Band are recorded in Julius Leinbach's reminiscences of the battle of Gettysburg in Salem's Remembrancers, Harry Hall's A Johnny Reb Band From Salem, and the letters of Edward Peterson.

to combine forces, especially when trying to play above loud noises. This was not always the case with the Twenty-sixth Regiment Band. Composed of sensitive musicians who were conscious of musical considerations such as intonation and balance, even when they performed on the battlefield, the Salem musicians were annoyed by Confederate musicians who were not as professional. Edward Peterson wrote about a particular concert for which the bands of his brigade were ordered to perform together. "We were called out to play last night. The 11th and 44th Bands let loose. They play poorly [and] their music tunes miserably."<sup>144</sup>

As the bandsmen returned to the field hospital to continue the work of nursing the wounded that had been interrupted by the performance at the front, they were saddened to learn that a number of the men who received their care before the concert died while they were away. The absence of the musicians caused such a shortage of help at the hospital that they found many men needing attention on their return. They tried to dress wounds and make the wounded as comfortable as possible, fed those who needed nourishment as long as food lasted, and carried water from a spring near the hospital to the wounded.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>144</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister dated May 17, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>145</sup>Leinbach, p. 72.

There were so many wounded that supplies of prepared food were quickly depleted. On July 3, 1863, Julius Leinbach and Dan Crouse were sent to the commissary wagons to get more rations during the heaviest fighting of the Gettysburg campaign. This was a particularly treacherous excursion because the wagons were located about two miles closer to the front than the hospital.<sup>146</sup> Leinbach describes the scene at the height of the battle.

While we were on the way, cannonading--which had died down during the morning--was renewed and soon became fearfully furious. The concussion of the air was considerable, and even the ground under our feet seemed to quiver from the continuous explosions. This was while that famous charge, usually called Picket's . . . was being made. It has been estimated that, for about an hour, 100 guns per minute were being discharged. Add to that the bursting of bombs and the imagination fails to grasp the awful thundering of those death dealing implements of war. The slaughter of human beings was terrible beyond description.<sup>147</sup>

Once again the Twenty-sixth Regiment was in the thickest and heaviest part of the fighting. Many of the soldiers who were involved in the famous Picket's charge thought that it should have been called Pettigrew's charge because most of Pettigrew's brigade was involved. The North Carolina troops suffered sustained casualties in the charge. The losses in Pettigrew's Brigade during the campaign included "every Field Officer . . . either killed or wounded: every Captain in [the Twenty-sixth] Regiment, but

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<sup>146</sup>Ibid.

<sup>147</sup>Ibid., pp. 72-73.

one; and every Lieutenant, but three . . . . Out of 800 men of the 26th Regiment who went into the battle on July 1st, but 83 were left to answer roll call on the morning of July 4th."<sup>148</sup> There was no Independence Day celebration on July 4, 1863, at Gettysburg for Pettigrew's Brigade.

The large numbers of wounded lined the roads near the battlefields as the medical corps worked around the clock to try to help each soldier. There were so many wounded that the dead were often left where they fell and could not be buried because those still living needed the attention of the overworked musicians, nurses, and doctors who faced an impossible task. The men who were assigned to duty helping the wounded worked until they literally passed out from exhaustion. Upon awakening, they immediately resumed their work.<sup>149</sup>

As the massive Southern retreat finally began, the musicians of the Twenty-sixth Regiment were ordered to place as many wounded soldiers as possible into every available wagon and to make a list of the names of the wounded.<sup>150</sup> This kind of hasty record-keeping contributed in large measure to the confusion which still exists today about the exact time and place of the deaths of many soldiers who fought at Gettysburg. There is no way to determine how many

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<sup>148</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid.

names were left off the list or how many names of soldiers were not known to those compiling lists.

There were so many seriously wounded soldiers who could not be moved that many nurses and physicians, including the bandsmen's superior, Dr. Warren, stayed behind to care for their patients, knowing that they would be captured as prisoners of war along with their charges. Warren was aware of this and did not want the musicians to share his fate. He ordered the bandsmen to go to the rear. Barefooted and in a pouring rain, the musicians walked through the mud, separated from their comrades, in a completely demoralized condition. Even though they were traveling as quickly as possible to avoid capture, they were soon exhausted and dropped under a tree beside the road as the rain poured "too tired to care whether the Yankees picked us up or not . . . with blankets over our heads meditating over our forlorn condition until daylight."<sup>151</sup>

The musicians were soon united as they continued their southerly retreat. The Eleventh North Carolina bandsmen and all of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band were present or accounted for except W. H. Hall. It was thought that Hall was further down the road and perhaps temporarily separated from his colleagues. Although the exact date is unclear, William Hall was captured and taken prisoner by Union forces

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<sup>151</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

near Greencastle, Pennsylvania, during a raid by Yankee cavalry.<sup>152</sup>

Edward Peterson described the destruction and interruptions of normal life caused by the movement of the large armies.

I pity the people where an army passes. They were enjoying peace out in Pennsylvania like you at home and all at once an army of 100 thousand passes thro' [sic] and devastates the country. Fences are burnt where they camp, and the cattle and hogs are turned into the most beautiful clover & wheat fields. Everything tramped down, cherry trees torn down, limbs cut down, the trees ruined, currents eat up or tramped into the ground, onions pulled up & vegetables, chickens killed, hogs run round the lot, knocked down & stuck with the bayonet, houses closed up, the inmates trembling with fear, bee stands robbed, the man of the house looking on but has to hold his peace.<sup>153</sup>

The retreat from Gettysburg was anything but orderly for the musicians of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band. As they made their way south toward safety, they were separated several times, crossing and recrossing the Potomac River badly swollen by torrential rains. Most of the bandsmen were

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<sup>152</sup>Muster rolls for the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band located in the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh, North Carolina list July 3, 1863, on the roll dated April 30, 1864 through June 30, 1864, July 5, 1863, on the roll dated November 1, 1862 through December 31, 1863, and July 3, 1863, on the roll dated January 1, 1864 through February 29, 1864. Harry Hall lists the date of W. H. Hall's capture as July 6, 1863.

<sup>153</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his family dated July 9, 1863, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

reunited in Maryland, where they found their commissary wagons and were issued food and drink.<sup>154</sup>

By mid-July, the Confederates settled into a more normal routine as camp was made near Martinsburg, Virginia. The remains of the once strong Twenty-sixth Regiment were now commanded by a Major Jones.

The harsh reality of the losses suffered by the regiment at Gettysburg was comprehended by the bandsmen in the relative tranquility of camp. This was a time of grief and sorrow for all. Not the least of the worries was a real concern for what was to become of their band. As Leinbach reports, "our future position seemed to be very precarious."<sup>155</sup>

At the lowest point of their feelings of despair, an incident took place that raised sagging spirits and provided band historians with one of the most used quotes of the entire American Civil War. On July 15, 1863, the band was summoned to the headquarters of General Robert E. Lee. Rather than elation at the invitation to meet their highest ranking commander, the bandsmen thought that their ensemble was to be disbanded and that they were to become riflemen to bolster the ranks of their devastated regiment. The anticipation of this kind of order would cause panic for any military musician, but this was particularly distressing to

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<sup>154</sup>Leinbach, p. 76

<sup>155</sup>Ibid.

those members of the band who objected for religious reasons to becoming riflemen. Leinbach stated that the musicians "went . . . much in the same state of mind . . . as a prisoner awaits the verdict of a jury."<sup>156</sup>

On their way to Lee's headquarters, the bandsmen stopped at the headquarters of General Heath to offer a serenade, suggested (more likely ordered) by Major Jones. After playing several tunes for Heath, the musicians were treated to some brandy, which helped somewhat to relieve their gloomy feelings.<sup>157</sup>

The band continued to General Lee's headquarters where they were received graciously and discovered that all their fears and worries had been for nothing. "He [Lee] received us very kindly and said that he considered us one of the best bands in the Army and hoped that we would play a great deal for the men, to cheer them up."<sup>158</sup> The bandsmen were elated at this vote of confidence and appreciation from the most senior and most respected officer of the Confederacy. The musicians played their best tunes for Lee as their spirits soared. It must have truly been an inspired performance.

This incident and Lee's remarks may have been the cause for historians to quote the General as saying, "I

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<sup>156</sup>Ibid.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid.

don't believe we can have an army without music."<sup>159</sup> There is no evidence from Leinbach, or other members of the Twenty-sixth Band, that Lee spoke those exact words, but this meeting was certainly indicative of Lee's strong feelings about band music and the value of a good military band.<sup>160</sup>

Fall of 1863 was a particularly hard time physically and mentally for the musicians of the Twenty-sixth Band. The soldiers were moved about from one camp to set up another for reasons which were neither understood by nor explained to the bandsmen. Food was difficult to find even if money was available to buy it, and almost impossible to draw from the army under any circumstances. Inflation was uncontrolled in the South, causing the musicians to have to pay exorbitant prices for necessities. Sixteen soda crackers could be bought for \$1.00, salt for fifty cents a half pint, imitation coffee for \$1.00 for a small package,

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<sup>159</sup>Francis A. Lord and Arthur Wise, Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War (New York, 1966), pp. 67-71.

<sup>160</sup>There are several accounts of the meeting between Robert E. Lee and the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band. Harry Hall's A Johnny Reb Band From Salem includes the story and cites Julius Leinbach's diary excerpts, Leinbach's paper to the Wachovia Historical Society read in 1906, and the McCorkle edition of the same paper printed in Moravian Music Foundation Booklet No. 5. The version used for this study is Julius A. Leinbach, "Scenes at the Battle of Gettysburg," Salem's Remembrancers (1906, Winston-Salem, 1976), pp. 66-79.

and if flour could be found, it sold for twenty-five cents a pound.<sup>161</sup>

There was no opportunity to bathe properly because soap was almost impossible to find, and lice were a severe problem for all of the soldiers in the field.<sup>162</sup> These problems faced by the men of the Twenty-sixth Regiment, combined with the recent tragedy suffered at Gettysburg, were certainly reasons enough for morale to be low.

The worst was yet to come. The lowest ebb in the spirit of the musicians came when they learned that they were no longer to be considered a special unit paid by the officers of their regiment, but had been conscripted, or drafted, with neither their knowledge nor approval. To add insult to injury, the musicians learned that the new officers of their own regiment had made this decision. The future for the bandsmen as soldiers would certainly be different without the relationship based upon mutual respect they had enjoyed with Colonel Vance and Colonel Burgwyn.<sup>163</sup>

After suffering this indignity, compounded by the miserable conditions of camp life, the musicians decided to try any honorable method they could find to leave the unit. The musicians sought orders for reassignment to a prison camp near Raleigh, or to some location in North Carolina. They wrote letters to politicians and influential people who

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<sup>161</sup>Hall, p. 59.

<sup>162</sup>Ibid.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid.

they thought could help them. They relied on their old friend and former commander Zebulon Vance, now Governor of North Carolina, to lend his influence to their transfer efforts. Although Vance secured a position for the band at Camp Holmes, North Carolina, the arrangement to have the band transferred was held up as the regiment moved again, and it was finally forgotten.<sup>164</sup>

While the bandsmen made camp as part of A. P. Hill's Third Corps at Culpepper Court House, they were able to hear many other Confederate bands. The Moravian musicians struck up friendships with many of the other musicians and directors of bands. The bandsmen actively took part in searching for new music. They traded arrangements and even asked for musical instruction and lessons from musicians they respected. One of these bandmasters, William Hartwell of the Sixteenth Mississippi Regimental Band, was particularly admired by the Salem bandsmen, who sought his advice about many musical matters. The Twenty-sixth Bandsmen liked Hartwell's arrangements and compositions and added several of his works to their library of band music.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>164</sup>Ibid., p. 65.

<sup>165</sup>The band books of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Edward Peterson's letter dated August 14, 1864 mentions Professor Hartwell as a musician and arranger of music who was greatly admired by the Moravian musicians; Also see Harry Hall's A Johnny Reb Band From Salem, p. 64.

Perhaps the most spectacular military ceremony of the war for the Twenty-sixth Regiment Band took place during the grand review of General A. P. Hill's entire Third Confederate Army Corps. Thousands of men paraded before commanding generals including General Robert E. Lee, "formed in three parallel lines four deep . . . . It took us fifty minutes to pass around the corps, two hours to pass in review."<sup>166</sup>

What a sight it must have been to see the Confederates looking their best with clean but ragged uniforms, polished brass, well-groomed horses for officers, and seventeen Confederate military bands. The Moravians heard the famous Sixteenth Mississippi Band during this review and were so impressed that they "thought it the finest thing we had ever heard."<sup>167</sup>

The brigade that was formerly commanded by General Pettigrew and called Pettigrew's Brigade was now under the command of General W. W. Kirkland. Kirkland was commanding the Twenty-sixth during the grand review and was so impressed with the Moravian band that he wanted to use them as a brigade band rather than a regimental band.<sup>168</sup>

Although the bandsmen had no desire to leave their regiment, they had little choice other than to go along with General Kirkland's wishes. The General was fond of the

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<sup>166</sup>Hall, p. 63.

<sup>167</sup>Ibid.

<sup>168</sup>Ibid.

music of the band and gave them a great deal of attention. He requested that several additional concerts be performed, and even ordered a special arrangement of an operatic aria from a Richmond arranger. The aria from Il Trovatore by Guiseppi Verdi, was presented to the band by General Kirkland after a command performance.<sup>169</sup>

Along with the General's interest in the band came unwanted attention. Few military musicians through the ages who happen to be brass players have escaped being called upon to perform bugle calls for military functions. General Kirkland requested Sam Mickey to provide a bugler for brigade drill and sent a manual composed of many bugle calls representing various commands. Mickey selected Julius Leinbach for the task. Leinbach had no idea which calls would be used, and no time to learn all the calls in the book. He figured that if he didn't know the calls well enough to recognize them, neither did General Kirkland, so he reported to the drill acting as if he had performed the duty thousands of times before.

As the General gave a command, Leinbach boldly blew whatever part of the call he remembered and simply made up the rest. This drill and the calls lasted for two hours as Leinbach improvised what he thought would best suit the command. Nothing was said about the incident, but Leinbach

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<sup>169</sup>Hall, p. 63.

was never asked to play bugle calls for brigade drill again.<sup>170</sup>

As winter approached, the musicians of the Twenty-sixth Regiment made camp with other regiments of their division near Orange County Court House, Virginia. Julius Leinbach, Dan Crouse, Henry Siddall, and Charles Transou constructed a cabin to shelter them from the cold weather but were forced to abandon it and move with their brigade to a new winter camp. The bandsmen set about building a new cabin in their new winter camp near Orange County Court House and finished their home, complete with a fireplace, on Christmas Eve of 1863. The musicians were able to celebrate the Moravian Christmas tradition of Lovefeast by dining on a gallon of oysters they had purchased for \$20.00 and with extra trimmings that they bought for \$12.00.<sup>171</sup>

On New Year's Eve General Heath himself honored the bandsmen with a visit to their cabin to see for himself if the stories of the comfortable lodgings made by the musicians were true. As they waited for midnight, they passed the time by talking around the campfire. When the new year came, the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band ushered

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<sup>170</sup>Hall, pp. 64-65.

<sup>171</sup>Leinbach, p. 78; Hall, p. 74.

in the new year by playing the Hymn Tune 146, "Now Thank We All Our God" in the Moravian tradition.<sup>172</sup>

There were many photographs taken of Civil War soldiers and camp scenes, but photography was still a very new development and not always possible. Some scenes from the lives of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Bandsmen were preserved through the sketches of bandsman Alexander Meinung. Although the drawings are rather primitive in style, the camp scenes are detailed enough to give the viewer an idea of the conditions that existed. Meinung's sketch of the band's winter quarters near Petersburg in 1862 vividly shows the cabins that the bandsmen constructed out of logs, mud, and parts of tents, and clearly shows the chimney construction that provided the musicians' cooking facilities and heat.<sup>173</sup> (See Figure 17 on page 337.)

Alexander Meinung was a very talented musician as well as a good artist. As an accomplished organist, Meinung was quite active in the music ministry of the Home Moravian Church in Salem. He often substituted for Edward Leinbach as church organist and organ teacher in later years, and he also became the instructor of orchestral instruments for the Salem orchestra after the war. Meinung's artistic interests

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<sup>172</sup>Leinbach, p. 78; Hall, pp. 74-75; Stockton, pp. 78-79.

<sup>173</sup>The sketches of Alexander Meinung are preserved in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

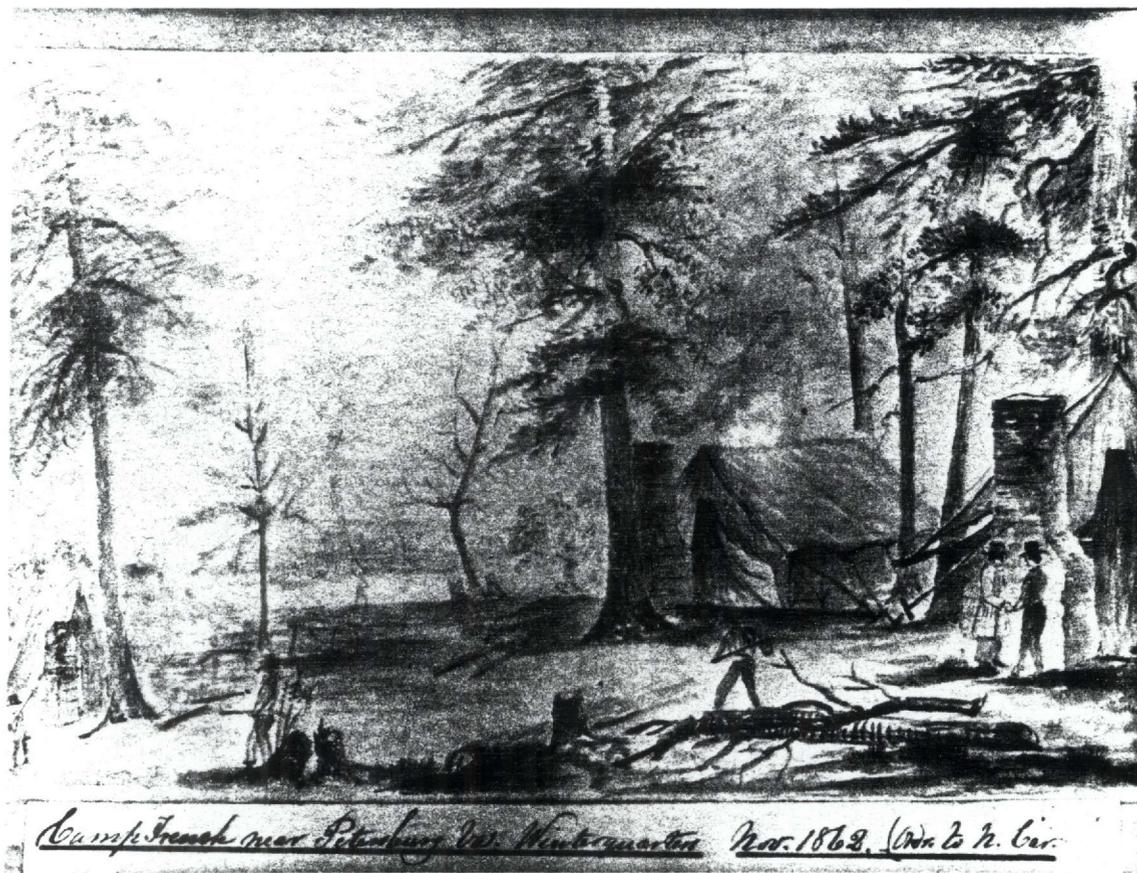


Figure 17--Alexander Meinung's sketch of a typical encampment of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band was made in November, 1862. Note the construction of fireplace chimneys near each tent. The original drawings are preserved in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.



Figure 18--Photo is of Samuel Mickey, Bandmaster of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band. (Photo courtesy of Sam Mickey's grandson Harold Mickey of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.)



Figure 19--Edward Peterson of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band. (Part of the photograph collection of the Moravian Music Foundation)



Figure 20--Alexander Meinung, artist of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band. (Part of the photograph collection of the Moravian Music Foundation)

consumed a good part of his life after he graduated from the Salem Boy's School so much that he enrolled for a time as a student in a course of painting in Philadelphia. This artistic interest continued throughout his life and was a pastime for him during the war, so he drew scenes of the Twenty-sixth Band's camps.<sup>174</sup>

The Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band received a furlough in late January, and arrived home in Salem on February 1, 1864, in the middle of the night, waking the whole town as they "drove up the street--playing our very best."<sup>175</sup> On their way home, the musicians met Governor Vance at the train station in Raleigh while changing trains. The Governor was excited to see his old friends again and mentioned that he had an important speaking engagement in Wilksboro, North Carolina, during the time that the band would be on leave. He asked the bandsmen to accompany him to Wilksboro to perform.<sup>176</sup> This proved to be a very profitable meeting for the Salem musicians because Vance was able to have their furlough extended to make up for the time the musicians took from their leave.<sup>177</sup> Once again the Governor cut through the red tape of the Confederate

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<sup>174</sup>Lebenslauf of Alexander Meinung, located in the Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>175</sup>Leinbach, p. 79.

<sup>176</sup>Ibid.

<sup>177</sup>Hall, p. 78-79.

bureaucracy so that he could have the music of his favorite band.

On March 1, 1864, the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band left the comforts of their homes in Salem several days after their furlough extension ended. Neither the musicians nor Confederate authorities seemed to have been too concerned about their being absent without leave. In Raleigh, they rented a hall and performed a concert, realizing \$480.00 with which they purchased material for uniforms from the North Carolina State Quartermaster.<sup>178</sup>

This money, combined with profits of \$350.00 made from another concert, allowed the musicians to buy many of the necessities that their government failed to issue. In this respect, the bandsmen were much more fortunate than the average soldier who had no means of securing money to purchase needed items.

The musicians returned to camps along the Rapidan River only to be moved to another camp near Orange, Virginia, a few days later.<sup>179</sup> The second half of March and all of April were inactive months for fighting, but they were busy months for the musicians because of inspections, reviews, and the chores involved in routine camp life. The bandsmen performed many times during the day, and there was

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<sup>178</sup>Hall, p. 81.

<sup>179</sup>Ibid.

also time for individual and ensemble practice.<sup>180</sup> An exciting new element, which gave the ensemble a new sound, was added to the band's performances when they returned from furlough. Snare drummer Bill Lemly joined the band in Salem and performed with the ensemble for the first time on the Raleigh concert. This addition must have been particularly pleasing to the musicians because they played martial music for the many routine musical performances of the day, and particularly on occasions for which they had to march. The band now boasted twelve pieces, including a percussion section consisting of Lemly on snare and bass drummer Gus Reich.<sup>181</sup> (See Figure 21 on page 344.)

In May of 1864 the Salem musicians were camped at a field hospital near Spotsylvania Court House, Virginia. As the Wilderness campaign began, the musicians of the band were more involved than ever in their duties as medical assistants, tending to the wounded, rescuing the wounded from the field, and assisting the hospital surgeons in operations. The hospital commanding officer divided the

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<sup>180</sup>Ibid., pp. 81-88.

<sup>181</sup>Edward Peterson's letter dated September 19, 1864 mentions that Bill Lemly was the band's snare drummer. Before this discovery, it was assumed that Lemly performed on snare but there was no verification. Another discovery found in the Peterson collection of materials is a photograph of the Twenty-sixth Regiment in formation with snare drummer Lemly and bass drummer Reich prominently pictured. These materials are located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

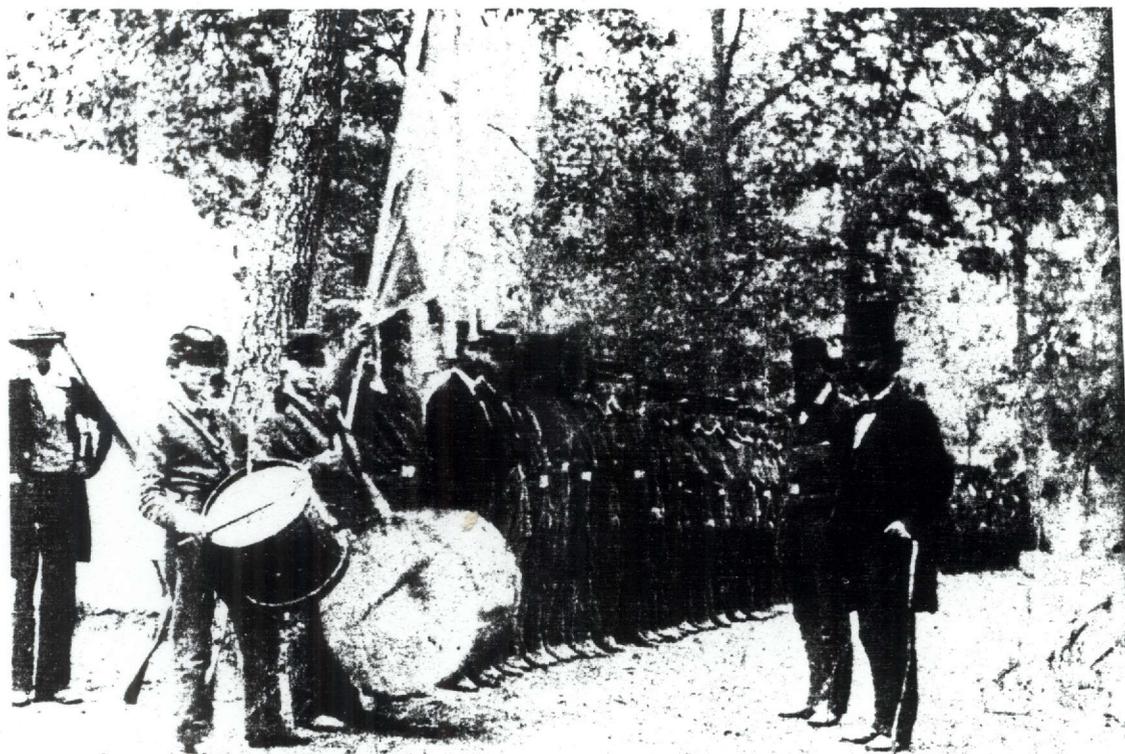


Figure 21--The Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment in formation with Twenty-sixth Regimental Band drummers Billy Lemly on snare, and Gus Reich on bass drum. This may be the only photo of the band's drummers. The original is preserved in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

bandsmen into teams of three men each. While one team cared for the wounded, the other groups were assigned to duties ranging from burial details to housekeeping chores.<sup>182</sup>

While on duty at the Spotsylvania hospital, it was the sad task of Moravian bandsmen to comfort and nurse a mortally wounded soldier from Salem. Lee Gibson, brother of first Bb cornet player Abe Gibson, received a fatal leg wound. The slow death and suffering of Lee Gibson was particularly hard on the bandsmen because there was nothing that could be done to improve Gibson's situation or to ease the pain of his wound. Edward Peterson wrote of Lee Gibson's last moments in a letter to family members in Salem.

A shell struck him [Lee Gibson] on the knee and badly mangled his leg horribly. I have not seen a worse wound since I have been out than his. All the bones were mashed, his whole knee was smashed to pieces, only hanging to the skin and meat. Abe took it very hard to see his brother die such a death. He was brought to the hospital. I saw him in his last moments. He died happy.<sup>183</sup>

Having seen so many men die, the Salem musicians had become rather calloused to death. They could usually go about their duties as a military band without becoming too personally involved or emotional after caring for many mortally wounded soldiers who would soon die. Peterson wrote, "I used to think I couldn't bear to see a man die,

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<sup>182</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his brother dated May 11, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>183</sup>Ibid.

but I am hardened to it now."<sup>184</sup> But, when the dead soldier was a fellow bandsman's brother whom each of them had known all their lives, grief overcame them.

As we couldn't procure a coffin, we buried him in his blanket. I helped dig his grave and helped lay him in. We laid cedar bushes in the bottom of the grave and wrapped him in his blanket and covered him with earth. The Chaplain of the 44th Regiment read a chapter out of his Bible and offered up a prayer. I can't describe in words how I pitied Abe. It made me shed tears to see him cry. I sympathize with him. The Chaplain spoke to him consolingly. We marked the spot he was buried in case they want to remove his corps, and can easily be found. He was buried aside of a sargeant [sic] from our brigade.<sup>185</sup>

One of the most gruesome scenes of the entire war took place at the Battle of the Wilderness as heavy cannonading started forest fires in the thick underbrush that quickly enveloped the entire area. Wounded soldiers who were too severely injured to flee were burned to death. Those soldiers who were already dead were burned beyond recognition.<sup>186</sup>

The Twenty-sixth bandsmen were on duty in a field hospital during the fight. The Confederates constructed breastworks and earthen fortifications that effectively shielded them from the superior Union forces. The Union troops were so well-reinforced that they managed to overpower the Southerners, even though they suffered

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<sup>184</sup>Ibid.

<sup>185</sup>Ibid.

<sup>186</sup>Lamont Buchanon, A Pictorial History of the Confederacy (New York, 1951), pp. 226-227.

staggering casualties. It may be true that "Spotsylvania, of the Wilderness campaign, introduced trench warfare to the science of war strategy,"<sup>187</sup> but to the Moravian musicians who witnessed the results of the battle, it introduced mutilation, death, and destruction. A Twenty-sixth bandsman describes the Battle of the Wilderness in a letter written from the battlefield.

The battle was one of the bloodiest fights of the war . . . the whole country around here is a hospital. We have our hands full attending to the wounded . . . . The Cannonading . . . is past description . . . it fairly shook the earth . . . . Yesterday it was one incessant roar of artillery.<sup>188</sup>

After the retreat from Gettysburg the year before, the consensus of opinion from the Moravian bandsmen was that the war would end soon with the Union army victorious. Even though they thought at the time that the Confederacy was doomed to defeat, there was still hope that the struggle would be over soon. After the Wilderness campaign around Spotsylvania had begun, such hopes were shattered and cast aside. Edward Peterson was not optimistic for a peaceful solution.

I think peace is far distant now. More distant than ever. There has been terrible fighting done this spring. Heavy fighting will be done yet in the next few weeks and lots and lots of blood will

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<sup>187</sup>Buchanon, p. 227.

<sup>188</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister dated May 17, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

be spilt [sic], and to what purpose I can't see.  
All for nothing.<sup>189</sup>

It was not unusual, as band historians had previously thought, for Confederate regimental bands to perform on the front lines for the Southern troops. The Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band played for the Confederate troops behind breastworks constructed from rail piles near Spotsylvania.

We were frequently ordered up to the breastworks to play for the regiment . . . . On last Sunday morning we were sent to play for them [the Confederates] at our line . . . . We generally remain only a short time at the front. As it frequently happens when some band is playing, the Yankees would commence shelling and then they the band would have to skeedaddle.<sup>190</sup>

As of late May, 1864, the Twenty-sixth bandsmen had not been fired upon when they performed at the front. The Twenty-seventh North Carolina Band, from the same brigade to which the Moravians belonged, was not as fortunate.

Night before last, the General sent for us to play at sunset. The 27th Band remained up at the lines, sleeping in the church; at daybreak the Yankees began shelling terribly and the 27th had to move off double quick.<sup>191</sup>

The artillery fire was so heavy on May 19, 1864, that the musicians were ordered to move out of harm's way. Because they performed vital services in the field hospitals, senior medical officers tried to keep them out of heavy shelling as much as possible.<sup>192</sup> In the case with the

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<sup>189</sup>Ibid.

<sup>190</sup>Ibid.

<sup>191</sup>Ibid.

<sup>192</sup>Ibid.

Twenty-seventh Regimental Band, the orders did not always come soon enough.

As if performing concerts at the front lines were not troublesome enough, the Twenty-sixth bandsmen were forced to worry about whether or not bandmaster and solo Eb cornet player Sam Mickey would be able to play. It seems that some thief took Mickey's horn during the night as the bandmaster slept.

Somebody stole Sam Mickey's horn the other night. He had it hanging on a tree aside of his tent. He's had to borrow ever since when we have playing to do. I doubt whether he'll ever see it again. It was a German silver instrument.<sup>193</sup>

Mickey was not negligent with his cornet as it might seem to modern instrumentalists. Since instrument cases were not commonly used during the Civil War, hanging a horn from a tree overnight was a good way to keep the instrument from being trampled or dented. Obviously, someone recognized the value of the silver from which the instrument was crafted and took it from its resting place.

When the fighting moved to the Petersburg, Virginia area later in the summer of 1864, Edward Peterson's letters to his family became even less optimistic for any chance for the dying Confederacy. The pessimism of previous letters turned to gloom and defeatism.

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<sup>193</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister dated May 20, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

I expect that in the course of time there will be but one Southern army and one Northern. They will concentrate all the forces on both sides at one point and then have a grand finale battle and wind up the war in this way. I hope it may soon be ended but I fear it may be some time before that takes place. My belief is, as it always was, that they'll wear us out in the end. I don't see how it can be otherwise . . . . I have often studied how the South is to get herself out of the scrape she got herself in, but I can't for my life see how she is going to do it. She'll come out at the little end of the horn anyway you take it.<sup>194</sup>

The musicians of the Twenty-sixth Regiment witnessed the evacuation and destruction of the city of Petersburg as they were employed in their regular tasks. Seeing the civilians of Petersburg in trouble reminded some of the bandsmen of family and friends in Salem. When food supplies ran low or were of poor quality, the young Moravians dreamed of favorite dishes cooked by wives, mothers, or girlfriends. If a particular crop were due to be harvested, the young men fondly remembered the dishes that were prepared for them from the bounty and often wrote to relatives telling them how much they missed home cooking.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>194</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister dated July 5, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>195</sup>Edward Peterson's letters are full of references to favorite foods from the garden at home and favorite dishes prepared by his sister or aunt. He remembered the taste of meats butchered in Salem, especially when he drew meat rations of inferior quality from the Confederate commissary. Although Peterson and the other musicians of the old Salem Brass Band learned to bake, cook, and provide adequately for themselves, they were always a little homesick and really missed the food, family, and fellowship of old Salem.

The bandsmen suspected that something big was about to happen around July 14, 1864, while they were stationed at a hospital camp near Petersburg. There was a great deal of excitement concerning General Jubal Early invading Maryland again. The best sign that something was about to happen was not based on rumors but on the fact that numerous inspections were taking place, from the division level down to the regimental level.<sup>196</sup>

The bandsmen did not want to march north again but suspected that some move was imminent. Wagon and equipment inspections were ordered for the entire brigade. Peterson's writing indicated the fear of the unknown that prevailed among the musicians who hoped to avoid a forced march. "These inspections generally imply something of the kind. I would dread such a move in the heat and terrible dust as we have had no rain in two months or more."<sup>197</sup>

No large scale move came for the members of the Twenty-sixth Regiment, who were employed around Petersburg for the remainder of the summer. There were several smaller marches that took the men as far as Chaffin's Bluff, Virginia, on the James River, but the unit always returned

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<sup>196</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister dated July 5, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>197</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his uncle dated July 14, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

to the Petersburg area.<sup>198</sup> In addition to regular musical and hospital duties, the bandsmen were detailed as guards for wagon trains and even as cooks for the regiment. What a predicament for the musicians who only a few months before enjoyed not only the company of regimental and brigade officers, but were often served by their own cook.<sup>199</sup>

Morale was at its lowest since the musicians discovered that they had been conscripted. Nothing seemed to be going well for them with all the extra duties added to a camp routine that was strenuous enough under normal conditions. To make matters worse, the band's instruments were badly in need of repairs. Sam Mickey secured a two-day leave and permission to take all the instruments by wagon to Petersburg for repair.<sup>200</sup>

Instruments were not the only repair problem that concerned the Salem musicians during July of 1864. The clothes that the men had worn for months were so badly worn that they could no longer be repaired. Cloth was so scarce that there was little hope of securing new clothes, and the idea of Confederate government issue working out had become a cruel joke. Most of the bandsmen wrote to family members at home asking for new pants, underwear, shirts, and socks to be made and sent to them as soon as possible.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>198</sup>Ibid., August 1, 1864.

<sup>199</sup>Hall, pp. 95-96.

<sup>200</sup>Ibid.

<sup>201</sup>Ibid., p. 97.

As gloomy as the situation seemed for the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band that summer, there were some bright spots. Sam Mickey's horn was recovered from a Negro who said he found it when he tried to sell the cornet to the musicians. To make the picture a little brighter, Mickey's trip to Petersburg to have the horns repaired was a success, and the entire ensemble now had properly functioning instruments.<sup>202</sup>

On July 24, 1864, Edward Peterson wrote a letter to his sister, Theressa Peterson, in Salem that is of little interest to historians except that it mentioned that Gus Reich was in the hospital suffering from dehydration caused by chronic diarrhea. What is interesting to band history scholars is that the letter was written on a blank check of the Bank of Wilmington, with the order of tunes for a band concert written on the back of the check.<sup>203</sup>

The concert was mentioned by Ed Peterson in his letter to his sister as one that was played at the Salem Academy on the band's last furlough. The program consisted of fifteen selections. The titles of two of the pieces are illegibly written. The remaining pieces played were "The Washington Greys," "Brightest Eyes Quickstep," "Slow March" from the Opera "Belisario," "Bettraite Polka," "Fannie Lee Quickstep,"

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<sup>202</sup>Ibid.

<sup>203</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister Theressa Peterson dated July 24, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

"Melange Waltz," "India Rubber Overcoat Medley," "Cast That Shadow From Thy Brow," "War Path Quickstep," "Canary Bird Waltz," "Carolina March," "Rose Medley," "Lorena," and "Scotch Medley." Peterson included no indication of composers or arrangers of these tunes on his program list.<sup>204</sup>

The Battle of Petersburg was one of the last gasps for the Confederates in the American Civil War and the first time that black troops were used in mass by Northern commanders. There were atrocities committed by both sides against the black soldiers. Yankee commanders used black troops to shield white soldiers from the enfilade of Confederate shelling, and Confederates showed no mercy to the black troops.

. . . when the Yankees charged it is said the blacks hollered out, "No quarter for the Rebels." The fighting was desperate, the blacks fought most furiously. There were two battle lines of Negroes and the third line was composed of whites. Our men showed no quarter to the blacks, shooting them down like dogs . . . . Why do the Yanks put blacks in their ranks? It's no wonder our men get so enraged when they see blacks fighting us . . . . When they [Yankee prisoners] were marched off, they would make them pair off, an officer and a Negro together and in that way they marched them off through town . . . the Yankee officers begged hard not to be made to march off with the blacks, but they had to.<sup>205</sup>

The use of the black soldiers by the Federals seemed only to make the Southerners fight harder. With the killing of black soldiers, neither those who shot at them nor those

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<sup>204</sup>Ibid.

<sup>205</sup>Ibid., August 1, 1864.

who forced them into battle while hiding behind them could claim a real victory. Peterson reports that the musicians "heard a good many reports of what occurred during this fighting, but a person doesn't know what to believe. I fear the black flag will be hoisted on both sides yet before this unnatural war is ended."<sup>206</sup>

The camp of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band was the scene of lively selling and trading of whatever goods local poor people could gather. The bartering continued as artillery shells passed over or struck some distance away. When an occasional shell would explode close to the camp, but not close enough to cause any real harm, the trading suddenly stopped.

. . . some Negro women came loaded with their baskets of pies and something to eat for the soldiers. When the shells commenced falling near the camp, how wild they looked and stopped trading, taking to their heels. Our camp is swamped with Negroes, mostly women, trading in pies, apples, apple dumplings, ice cream and peaches. They make money by the operation, too. I see one now with an ice-cream freezer and table on her head!<sup>207</sup>

Ed Peterson wrote the letter containing the above description on an old pass that allowed him to go to Petersburg to have his shoes repaired. This pass, which is signed by a number of Confederate officers, gives Peterson

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<sup>206</sup>Ibid., August 1, 1864.

<sup>207</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his family in Salem, dated August 6, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

permission to go into town and return by eleven o'clock a.m. on the same day.<sup>208</sup>

The Twenty-sixth Regimental Band received their pay on August 8, 1864, and went to the market in Petersburg to buy food. Inflation was rising daily in the war-stricken South, which caused the money pooled by the bandsmen not to go as far as they hoped it would. The musicians drew \$12 in Confederate money each month, but it was only paid to them every two months, with each man receiving \$24.<sup>209</sup> Each man in the Twenty-sixth Band received the same amount of pay, even though regulations stated that Sam Mickey should receive more in his position as bandmaster.<sup>210</sup>

The musicians bought fruit and melons in the Petersburg markets and also purchased ice cream. The soldiers' diet was better in the summer with the availability of fresh produce. They had drawn rations of flour and some meat to cook for their meals. Even in the summer months, rations from the Confederate commissary were seldom issued when they were needed or expected. The men relied on purchased food items, packages from home which

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<sup>208</sup>Ibid.

<sup>209</sup>Ibid., August 10, 1864; and muster rolls of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band located in the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

<sup>210</sup>Muster rolls for the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band from November 1, 1862 through August, 1864, located in the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

would occasionally contain a cured ham or some other edible, and conservation of the supplies on hand. Not even the grease left over from cooking meat was wasted. When a little meat and flour was available to the bandsmen, breakfast was enjoyed by all. Peterson wrote, "I've just eaten my breakfast which consisted of a thin cake of cornbread baked in grease in the pan, a cup of coffee, and a small piece of meat."<sup>211</sup> This must have seemed like a feast to the soldiers who had so often been without food.

During this time, the Twenty-sixth Regiment was on duty at the front lines in the breastworks, leaving the band members with few duties to perform and a great deal of time on their hands. The musicians did not care for the boredom, but neither did they care to be on duty at the breastworks with their compatriots.

We have no duty to perform now as long as the reg. is on the front lines. Cook's Brigade was nine days in the breastworks. It's a terrible hot place, no shade, and they can't raise forks to put up shelters as they fire shelters and the balls can glance down and strike the men so they are obliged to stand in the sun. They say it's almost insufferable. As soon as anyone shows himself above the breastworks, he is fired at. Last evening one of the 48th was killed by exposing himself for only a short time. Their sharpshooters do some accurate shooting. They are hard to beat.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>211</sup>Edward Peterson letter dated August 12, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>212</sup>Ibid.

While the rifle companies of their regiment were on duty in the breastworks, at least one Confederate officer found something for the musicians to do. Captain Heath, a member of General Heath's staff and probably a relative of the General, decided to take the band on a trip to serenade his friends some distance from camp. The bandsmen were ordered to load into two ambulances that Captain Heath secured for the evening and stand by until the Captain arrived. The musicians grew restless after being transported to Jarrett's Hotel near Petersburg where they waited for the Captain, who finally arrived about nine p.m. There was some excitement among the musicians who thought that they might be allowed to stay in clean hotel rooms for the evening. They were soon disappointed as the entourage left the hotel and traveled several miles to the town of Weldon.<sup>213</sup>

As they reached their destination, they were surprised to discover that another band had beaten them to the house and was serenading the occupants. Captain Heath appeared not to be discouraged and ordered his party to stand by. Ed Peterson wrote that the Captain was still determined to try to impress the occupants of the house, so "we waited until they were gone, and then we pitched in and played a number

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<sup>213</sup>Edward Peterson letters, August 11, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

of pieces."<sup>214</sup> There must have been a very eligible Southern belle in the house to have military bands lined up to serenade her or a very important and high-ranking Southern official that the Captain wanted to impress. Regardless of the reasons for the serenade, the presence of two Confederate bands during a very active military campaign on a non-military errand must have been unusual.

The ambulances transported the musicians to several other homes selected by Captain Heath until late into the evening. Heath kept the musicians out so late that Peterson wrote that the band was allowed to sleep late the next morning.<sup>215</sup> What a treat for tired soldiers during a war!

Good news for the Confederates was scarce during the Petersburg campaign, but hearing that Zebulon Vance had won his bid for a second term as Governor of North Carolina raised the morale of the North Carolinians. The bandsmen were still very fond of their former commanding officer and feared that he might not have been reelected. The close relationship between the musicians and Vance was strengthened when the band accompanied the Governor on campaign tours of the camps of North Carolina Confederate troops before the election.<sup>216</sup>

The excitement generated by Vance's reelection was tempered by the news that the few young and old who were

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<sup>214</sup>Ibid.

<sup>215</sup>Ibid.

<sup>216</sup>Ibid.

left in Salem had been ordered to report to Raleigh for duty in the Confederate army. This information was not well-received by the musicians who felt that they and the other members of the Twenty-sixth Regiment had served well enough and long enough to ensure that the boys and old men at home should be left there to protect the town in case of enemy attack.<sup>217</sup>

The bandsmen remained in the Petersburg area, free to move in and around the town as the battle raged and shelling continued. The Union forces used the intimidating tactic of beginning artillery fire about three a.m. and continuing until after daybreak. This ensured that there was little sleep for the Southerners during that time. Edward Peterson was amazed that the civilians who were left in the city seemed to carry on just as if there was no war.

As we passed through the city on our way to the hospital, we could hear the chiming of the church bells and at the same time the terrible cannonading. . . . all was confusion. Ambulances, cavalry, and infantry passing to and from, non-combatants looking anxiously on, everybody being suspended as to the results of the fight. As we passed along, I noticed that to the children it appeared to be a frolic. I noticed too the cats. It did not seem to have any effect on them, they slept soundly in front of several houses, although there was so much stir and excitement.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>217</sup>Ibid.

<sup>218</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his brother dated August 22, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

The mission of the bandsmen as hospital workers was never more demanding and important than during the battle of Petersburg. This final campaign of the Civil War resulted in thousands being killed or wounded. The bandsmen had been assisting with complicated surgery in field hospitals for so long that most of them felt that they could perform many of the operations without help from the physicians.

Julius Leinbach felt that he had learned enough to perform a major surgical operation.

We had considerable experience in giving first aid to the wounded and I for one got myself to believe that I could amputate a man's leg as well as some of the doctors having so often helped in the several processes . . . . There were no antiseptics used.<sup>219</sup>

Edward Peterson wrote that the bandsman's place during any battle was with the ambulances or in the hospitals. During the Petersburg campaign, the hospitals were particularly busy and bloody places. The sights witnessed by the musicians as they went about their ministering to the wounded and dying were horrifying indeed. Peterson related his experiences at the Confederate Division Hospital at Petersburg.

When we got up to the hospital, we found a number of wounded there, several having died after they got there. 5 or more were lying in their coffins ready to be buried; their coffins having arrived this morning first. Immediately upon arriving, we attended to the wants of the wounded, assisting them out of the ambulances [and] helping to dress their

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<sup>219</sup>Hall, p. 96.

wounds. The doctors had their hands full in amputating legs and arms. Some of the men were most horribly mutilated by shell. I heard of one case in our brigade where one shell killed 5 or 6 men, and another case where two brothers were lying side by side . . . when a shell . . . cut off the head of one and striking a log, cut off a piece of it, which struck the other brother, fracturing his skull . . . . When I saw him, he seemed to be suffering much. The doctors seem to think his case is a hopeless one. I saw them cut his scalp open and examine his skull and I saw it was all full of cracks like ice will crack if you throw a stone on it. He was a youth not 18 years old. You can form no idea what suffering this war has caused unless you see the awful wounds. I saw yesterday a piece of shell cut out of a man weighing half a pound and he is doing quite well. I saw another whose leg had been cut off above the knee and all the bones smashed to jelly. He died soon after we unloaded him. No one knew where he belonged to. At last he was claimed by the 44th. A number I saw had their whole feet shot off and several their hands. One in our regiment had his right arm shot off below the elbow. He was partly paralyzed. Just now I was called to help load up the coffins with the dead. They were all buried in rough, pine, flat topped coffins.<sup>220</sup>

Amid all the death and destruction of human bodies, it would have been easy for the bandsmen to think that anyone who was severely wounded would surely be unfit for further duty if he survived. Fortunately for the men of the Twenty-sixth Regiment, this was not always the case. General Kirkland, the brigade commander who had been wounded, returned to duty as did the Twenty-sixth Regiment's beloved Colonel John R. Lane. Lane's wounding, as described by Julius Leinbach, was thought at the time to be fatal.

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<sup>220</sup>Letter of Edward Peterson dated August 22, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

A Union soldier "took aim and fired, the ball striking Colonel Lane in the back of the head and passing quite thru . . . ."221 It was a miracle that Lane survived the ordeal, and even more miraculous that he returned to the command of his regiment.

The return of John Lane was indeed good news for the band. Lane, who served as Lieutenant Colonel under Colonel Harry Burgwyn, appreciated the talents of the musicians and treated them with the same respect and admiration as did his former Colonel. Almost immediately on his return, Lane sent for the band to play for the Twenty-sixth Regiment.<sup>222</sup>

The bandsmen rarely missed an opportunity to attend worship services. The musicians attended church as a group in Petersburg at an Episcopal Church that they had attended before. The letter that Ed Peterson wrote to his sister describing the service was written on the pass permitting him to attend church signed by Confederate officers.<sup>223</sup>

The service was a little unusual for the musicians who were so happy to attend worship service that they forgot the dirty clothes. Ed Peterson wrote that he forgot about his

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<sup>221</sup>Hall, p. 48.

<sup>222</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his family dated August 22, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>223</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister dated August 28, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

dirty clothes until the lice bothered him so much that he had to scratch. The preacher for the service was none other than the Confederate General William N. Pendleton.

I was surprised to hear him preach. I don't think it proper for a minister to be a general, it's out of place. Polk, who was killed in Georgia was a Bishop. Had he remained in his proper sphere, he would not have been killed. It looked odd to see a man preach in military clothes. His sermon was short and not a very eloquent one either . . . .<sup>224</sup>

As the end of the summer neared, the ranks of the band grew thin because of sickness. At one point, the musicians were unable to play because they had only six men well enough for duty. Gus Reich was so ill that he was on sick furlough at home in Salem.<sup>225</sup>

In late August, General Heath sent for the band to report to some breastworks near a road where hundreds of Union prisoners of war were to pass. Even though they were captured by the Confederates, spirits were high among some of the prisoners who joked that the band should play "The Rogue's March."<sup>226</sup>

<sup>224</sup>Ibid.

<sup>225</sup>The muster rolls of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band list Reich as absent with leave because of illness. Edward Peterson's letter of August 22, 1864 mentions Reich's absence, and he asked family members to write with news of Gus Reich's condition.

<sup>226</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister dated August 28, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

The Twenty-sixth Band presented a performance after the Yankee prisoners passed and the Confederate soldiers of Cook's Brigade began to pass.

After the Yankees had passed on, our troops arrived with Cook's Brigade being in front, General Heath at the head. He wished for us to head the brigade and play for them going back into town. He in the front with his staff and next the three men with the Yankee colors the three men had captured and then we immediately behind the Stars and Stripes.<sup>227</sup>

Grand plans were being made in mid-September for a number of musicians from several Confederate bands to join together to form an orchestra for a series of benefit performances in Petersburg. The extravaganzas were to be under the direction of Professor William Hartwell, bandmaster of the Sixteenth Mississippi Regimental Band. Proceeds from ticket sales were to go to poor and homeless war victims of Petersburg.

Edward Peterson was sincerely flattered that Hartwell had asked him to be a part of the performance, but was a little uneasy that none of the other members of the Twenty-sixth Band were asked to play. All the members of the ensemble except Ed Peterson were to be bandmasters and teachers of music. Other musicians were to include Charlie Siegel, bandmaster of the Fourteenth South Carolina Band performing on flute; Hagedorn, a professional musician, and

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<sup>227</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister dated August 28, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Jackey, a music teacher, both from the Fifty-fifth North Carolina Band, instruments unknown.<sup>228</sup>

The concerts were to consist of instrumental, vocal, and keyboard music. Instrumentation for the orchestra was to be violins, flute, clarinet, viola, violincello, contrabass, and trombone. Peterson was more than willing to play, but wrote that he was afraid that he might not be able to keep up with such distinguished musicians. In spite of his lack of confidence, Peterson must have been a very good trombonist to have been asked to perform, and he was assured by Professor Hartwell that he would have no trouble with the music.<sup>229</sup>

Like many grand schemes, these gala concerts did not materialize.<sup>230</sup> No evidence exists to indicate what the reasons for the failure might have been, but it can be assumed that the battles of the Petersburg campaign made it impossible for so many people to get away from their military units for rehearsals. It is also likely that the continued artillery shelling of the city made it dangerous to meet for practice.

Edward Peterson wrote that he missed Gus Reich more than ever. The two men seemed always to have been together

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<sup>228</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his family in Salem dated September 13, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>229</sup>Ibid.

<sup>230</sup>Ibid.

from the time Peterson joined the band until Reich went home on sick leave. Peterson always asked about him in his letters home and requested that whomever he wrote give his regards to Gus, or Gust, as he was often called. Peterson finally realized that Gus was to be out of the band permanently. On one occasion, Peterson received a letter from Reich who wrote about how horribly sick he had been. Peterson thought that maybe Reich was stretching the truth a little, or it could have been that Peterson was somewhat envious of his old friend being able to enjoy the comforts of home at a time when conditions for the bandsmen were less than satisfactory.

According to his [Reich's] letter, no one ever was as sick as he, but you know how he magnifies. He was sick when he started from our hospital, but I had my own thoughts about his actions. He fell down and went on at a dreadful rate. You have no idea how glad I was, when he was sent to the corps hospital, to get rid of his fuss. He wrote us that when he got to the corps hospital, that he crawled about on his hands and feet in search of water.<sup>231</sup>

Although the bandsmen acknowledged that they missed Gus Reich as a friend and for his entertainment as a magician, Peterson writes that they didn't miss him much musically.

We don't miss him much in the band in the way of playing. He does us but of little good. What a pity that we did not get Sam Brietz in place of Charlie Transou so that we could now have two

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<sup>231</sup>Ibid.

trombones and Elic [Alex Meinung] could have played second alto.<sup>232</sup>

When the band was forced to move from one camp to another during a spring or summer campaign (movements from camp to camp were ordered very frequently in these last months of the war), the musicians were reluctant to make their quarters too permanent for fear that they would soon have to leave. When moved to a camp that they thought was to be temporary, they "never put up tents unless the weather [was] threatening."<sup>233</sup>

Before the band's numbers were reduced by sickness toward the end of the war, there were times when there was little fighting, and the routine of the bandsmen was rather peaceful. In a letter to his family, Edward Peterson described the activity around him as he composed his letter.

I wish you could see how it looks in camp just now and what we are doing. The Regiment is all gone, and we are left with a few others in camp. Billy Lemly I hear about a hundred yards from camp practicing on his drum. And in another direction I hear C. Transou practicing on his horn. Abe and H. Siddall are baking their flower up, and Sam Mickey is sitting aside of me copying out a new piece, and J. Leinbach is talking and I am writing. So we are employed at present.<sup>234</sup>

Alexander Meinung sketched a similar camp scene in which he captured the spirit of the practice sessions that took place whenever there was free time. The drawing

<sup>232</sup>Ibid.

<sup>233</sup>Ibid., September 19, 1864.

<sup>234</sup>Ibid.

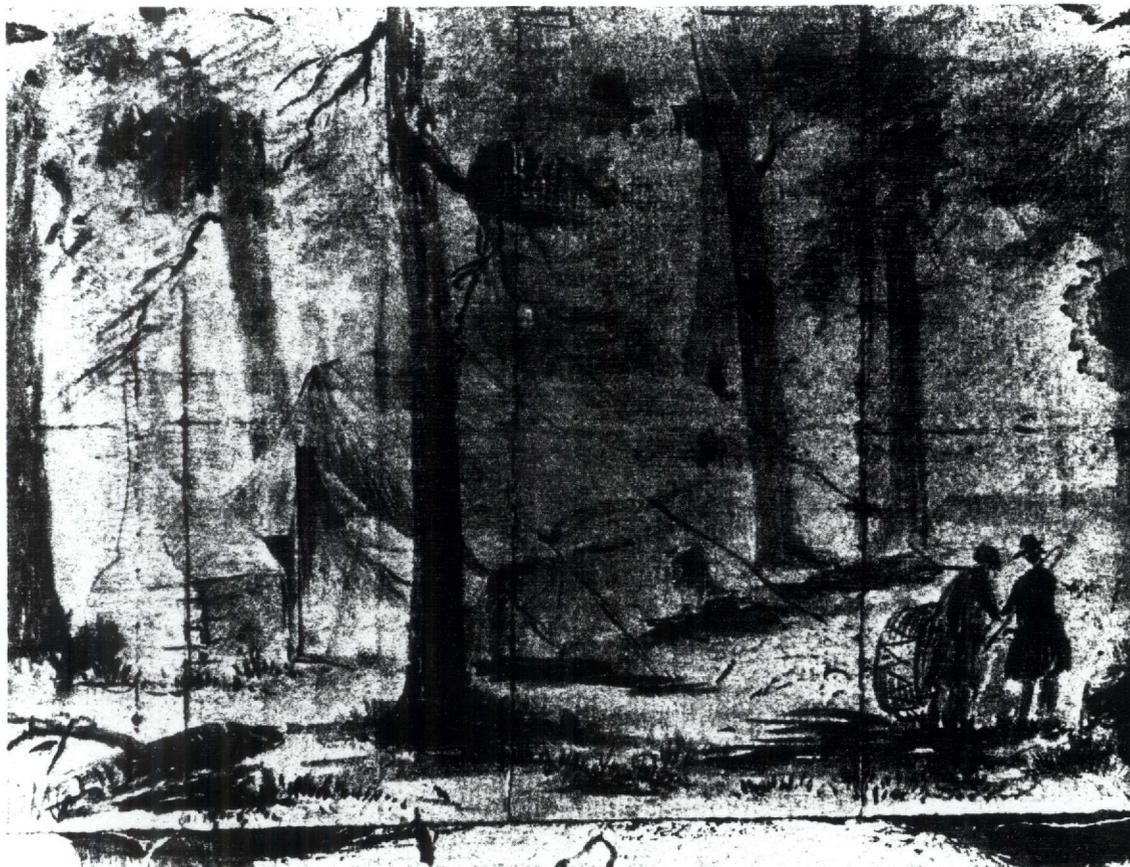


Figure 22--This drawing by Alexander Meinung could be entitled practice in camp. The sketch features the bass drummer and trombonist of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band working to perfect an unknown tune. The original drawing is preserved in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

depicts the band's tents pitched in camp, and bass drummer Gus Reich and trombonist Ed Peterson practicing under the trees. (See Figure 22 on preceding page.)

Edward Peterson's last surviving letter was written on October 3, 1864, as the ragged Confederate armies prepared for the coming winter and made ready for winter camps. The Salem musicians were camped near Petersburg and were occupied in the usual routine, but with plenty of idle time. They were visited often by Professor William Hartwell and were so impressed with him that they arranged for lessons and coaching from Hartwell about their ensemble playing. Hall states that the first lesson from Hartwell was received on December 22, 1864.<sup>235</sup>

A gloomy Christmas was spent by the band in their camp, and they were ordered to perform for various events for the soldiers. The winter and early spring of 1865 were times of deep depression for the Confederates because news of numerous defeats was received almost daily. The talk was of defeat everywhere as the commanding officers used the musicians more and more to try to lift morale. News of defeats of Confederate forces in North Carolina must have weighed heavily on the minds of the Salem musicians, who worried about friends and family members in the area of the fighting.

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<sup>235</sup>Hall, p. 98.

On March 31, 1865, as the Twenty-sixth North Carolina bandmen hastily retreated to the South only minutes before advancing Union forces, they were befriended by a lady who gave them some bread and meat. To show their appreciation for the favor and to try to repay the lady for her kindness, the band played "Lorena." This was the last time that the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band would perform as an ensemble of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia.<sup>236</sup>

Fearing trouble from the advancing Yankee soldiers, the lady who was so friendly to the musicians told the men that she could no longer risk giving them food and shelter. Neighbors had already reported her to the Federals for harboring Confederates, so there was no point in the bandmen staying there any longer. Without food or a safe place to stay, the musicians decided that it would be better to surrender on their own terms than to be caught and possibly shot as the Yankees combed the area. On April 5, 1865, the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band surrendered to Union soldiers.<sup>237</sup>

The musicians of the band were sent to a Union prisoner of war camp at Point Lookout, Maryland, after incarceration in a series of Yankee jails.<sup>238</sup> Each

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<sup>236</sup>Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>237</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>238</sup>Individual service records located in the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina; Lebenslauf files located in the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Hall, pp. 106-107.

musician's instrument was confiscated by Union soldiers except for Sam Mickey's silver Eb cornet, which he managed to conceal in his haversack.<sup>239</sup> The irony of the situation was that if the bandsmen had only delayed their surrender just a few more days, they could have been paroled with the rest of the Army of Northern Virginia when Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox on April 9, 1865.

The imprisonment was particularly hard for the musicians, but they survived, were eventually released, and arrived in Salem on the afternoon of July 2, 1865. Having survived many hardships and the horrors of war, they were probably exhausted, but also happy to be home.

As incredible as it may seem, the first post-war performance for the former Confederates was on Independence Day, July 4, 1865, as the town of Salem celebrated the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The Salem newspaper reported the events and ceremonies held in the town square.

The large number of persons assembled, is the strongest indication, not to be misunderstood, of the deep interest felt by the people generally, in this section of the country, in the restoration of peace and quiet to our late distracted country, and the re-establishment of the Union of all the States. The auspicious day was ushered in by the ringing of the bells and the firing of cannon. The Salem Band of music passed through the principal

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<sup>239</sup>Samuel Mickey's silver Eb cornet is now in the Old Salem Museum in the restored village of Salem, North Carolina.

streets of Salem and Winston discoursing sweet music.<sup>240</sup>

The musicians of the Confederate band were in town only three days before they were again playing for the townspeople that they had reluctantly left for war several years before. There is no record detailing the preparations that were made to secure instruments or exactly who played for the Fourth of July ceremonies, but one can assume that the old band reunited along with other musicians who had been in Salem at the close of the war.

The bandsmen returned to their old vocations as clerks, shopkeepers, and craftsmen in Salem. As they readjusted to civilian life all were active in the Moravian Church and most continued their participation in Salem musical ensembles.

The former Confederate bandsmen became leaders in the Salem community in business, church, and music. Considering the many hardships that these men endured during the war years, it is amazing that most of them lived long lives even by today's standards.

The Lebenslauf files in the Moravian Archives in Old Salem contain biographies on most of the men who were members of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band. These men contributed a rather remarkable record of accomplishments through business and civic achievements for many years.

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<sup>240</sup>The People's Press, July 8, 1865.

Julius Leinbach operated several small businesses after the war, participated in the town and church bands, and became Secretary-Treasurer of the Moravian Church. He was 96 years old when he died.

Bill Lemly became a prominent banker with the Wachovia Bank and died in 1928 at age 84. Harry Siddall moved to Sumter, South Carolina where he operated an iron foundry and died in 1918 at 73. Gus Reich continued to practice his magic act and plied his craft as a tinsmith. He died in 1917 at the age of 84.

Alexander Meinung became very active as a musician in Salem. He was a member of the Salem Orchestra, and served as organist of the Home Moravian Church. He was an accomplished performer and teacher of keyboard instruments and the clarinet. He was teacher of music at the Salem Female Academy, and was 91 years old when he died in 1908.

James Edward Peterson earned his living as a cabinet maker and wood worker. He continued to perform as a musician with the Salem Orchestra and the Salem Cornet Band. His business as a cabinet maker thrived, and he became very famous for his work. He died in 1906 at 79 years of age.

Samuel Timothy Mickey is still remembered daily because of the giant coffee pot which he made from tin. It stands at the entrance to Old Salem on South Main Street. Mickey worked as a tinsmith but was very active as a musician. He was known as a virtuoso Eb cornetist and later

as an accomplished trumpeter. He was a member of the Salem Orchestra and several of the Salem Bands. He was 75 years old when he died in 1914.

Daniel T. Crouse became a brass instrument teacher and leader of the Salem Cornet Band. He taught band in Salem for more than fifty years and taught the sons and grandsons of the original Salem Brass Band members. He died in 1903 at 67 years of age.

Joe Hall owned and operated a bakery on South Main Street in Salem. He was 56 years of age when he died.

William Hall was the only member of the band to be captured prior to the band's surrender in 1865. Taken prisoner in Pennsylvania after the Battle of Gettysburg, Hall was incarcerated for more than two years. He became a candy maker and operated a confectionary shop on South Main Street in Salem. He died in 1897 at 58 years of age.

Charlie Transou died at the young age of 30 in 1875. He was studying for the ministry.

Julius Transou continued to perform as a musician and was a skilled piano tuner. He lived in Pfafftown and wrote articles for a local newspaper. He was very active in politics and was a candidate for Governor of North Carolina. He lived to be over 98 years old.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>241</sup>The biographical information used here was found in the Lebenslauf files located in the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. All of the band members were included in these files except James Fisher and Abe Gibson.

The rich tradition of Moravian brass music was continued in Salem after the war as new bands and orchestras succeeded the Salem Brass Band. Through the efforts of talented musicians like Sam Mickey, Dan Crouse, Julius Transou, and Alex Meinung, former members of the Confederate Band were active in performance and teaching of instrumental music well into the twentieth century.

Sacred and secular instrumental music thrives in the Winston-Salem area today. The brass tradition continues in the Moravian Church and brass ensembles still perform on the streets of Old Salem at Christmas, Easter, and for other holidays and special events.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONFEDERATE MUSIC MEN AND THEIR BANDS

The histories of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band, the Fourth Georgia Band, and the Stonewall Brigade Band can be written because diaries, letters, music, and other references were considered important enough to be saved through the years. Although little is known about many of the other bands in the service of the Confederate armies, there are adequate sources which identify several outstanding musicians who contributed much energy and talent towards directing and improving Confederate instrumental ensembles.

Some contributed simply by leaving a record of their personal experiences during the Civil War or by writing about the activities, performances, or living conditions of the ensembles and men for whom they were responsible. Most of these men were music teacher/performers prior to the war. Some were college professors or public school teachers, while others taught in their own private studios. Most were directors of town bands or orchestras, and some were also involved in church music in their communities as singers or choir directors.

One characteristic that was common to all of these men was their competency to perform on several instruments, to be a singer, a keyboard player and also to perform well on stringed instruments.

### William Henry Hartwell

Perhaps the most well known of these Confederate bandmasters was William H. Hartwell of the Sixteenth Mississippi Volunteer Infantry Regimental Band. He was a music teacher in Sharon, Mississippi, and was known as Professor Hartwell. There were two colleges in Sharon, Mississippi, Sharon Institute for women, and Madison College for men. Professor Hartwell taught at both schools.<sup>1</sup>

Before the outbreak of war, Hartwell was a singing master who traveled to Jackson and Vicksburg, Mississippi, to conduct singing schools. He is remembered for his fine singing voice and his ability to perform on any instrument. Trained in the European style of performance and teaching, Hartwell regularly made trips to the New England Conservatory of Music to study.<sup>2</sup>

Evidence of Hartwell's contributions to bands and band music during the Civil War comes from members of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band who described the Sixteenth Mississippi Regimental Band directed by Hartwell as the best band in the Confederate Army. When the Moravian musicians (who were superb performers themselves) heard Hartwell's

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<sup>1</sup>Interview with Clyde E. Noble on February 4, 1985, based on his taped interview with Rev. James Spencer of Crystal Springs, Mississippi, grandson of Professor Hartwell, on October 23, 1984.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

Sixteenth Mississippi Band for the first time, they were very impressed. As the Sixteenth Band passed the reviewing area in a grand review, they performed a tune entitled "Dearest I Think of Thee." The North Carolina Bandsmen remarked, "We thought it was the finest thing we ever heard."<sup>3</sup>

There are numerous references in Civil War history citing the Sixteenth Mississippi Band as being a fine ensemble. In Bell I. Wiley's The Common Soldier in the Civil War, a private in the Sixteenth Mississippi is quoted as saying, "Our Band is a great institution. It always keeps its numbers undiminished, and labors with the greatest assiduity."<sup>4</sup> Although an endorsement by a member of its own regiment is hardly accepted as critical acclaim, this enthusiasm, along with the professional opinions of the Moravian bandsmen of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band, seems to indicate that the Mississippi Band was indeed a quality ensemble.

Although the Moravian bandsmen were competent musicians who had completed years of instruction through Moravian Church ensembles, they felt the need for additional instruction and asked William Hartwell to teach them. It is

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<sup>3</sup>Harry Hall, A Johnny Reb Band From Salem (New York, 1980), p. 65.

<sup>4</sup>Bell Irwin Wiley, The Common Soldier in the Civil War (New York, 1958) p. 157.

not known how often such lessons were arranged, but the Twenty-sixth North Carolina bandsmen made themselves available to learn from Professor Hartwell on several occasions in 1863, and again in winter quarters near Petersburg in 1864.<sup>5</sup>

Hartwell was a master arranger of music for military bands, and his arrangements were so popular that they were bought or traded by many Confederate bands. Unfortunately for modern band historians, most of this music has failed to survive, except for a few pieces which remain in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation. We can safely assume that the Sixteenth Mississippi Band played these arrangements by their bandmaster as well as many of his other works.

The arrangements by Professor Hartwell found in the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band's music are part of a seven volume set of band books carefully preserved in the Moravian Music Foundation collections in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The music heard by the musicians of the Moravian band the first time they saw the Sixteenth Mississippi Band, "Dearest I Think of Thee," was one of the pieces that they obtained from Hartwell. It is included in the fourth set of band books. Other Hartwell arrangements in Volume Four are "Rock Me to Sleep Mother" by John Hewitt,

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<sup>5</sup>Hall, p. 63-64, 97.

arranged by Hartwell; "Canary Bird Waltz;" and "Invitation to the Dance."<sup>6</sup>

Two of the pieces arranged by Hartwell in Volume Five of the band books feature titles which are reminiscent of camp life in the backwoods of Virginia. "Rappahannock Polka" was named for the Rappahannock River, which the Confederates of the Army of Northern Virginia crossed and recrossed many times. The colorful title, "Screech Owl Gallop" is not explained but could well have been inspired by an evening around the campfire. The "Dream of Home Waltz Medley," "Double Quickstep," "Mazourka," and "The Southern Victoral March" of Volume Five were also arranged by Hartwell.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to his regular duties as a bandmaster, Professor Hartwell planned a series of benefit concerts as well as an orchestra composed of the best musicians from several Confederate military bands. Even though the concerts were cancelled, Hartwell must have been well respected by fellow musicians and Confederate officials to be able to begin to plan such large scale performances.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Volume Four of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band Books located in the Archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>7</sup>Volume Five of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band Books.

<sup>8</sup>Letter from Edward Peterson to his sister Theresa dated September 14, 1864, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Little is known of William Hartwell's war record, and even less is known of the activities of the Sixteenth Mississippi Regimental Band. It is acknowledged that the Sixteenth Mississippi served in Lee's Army of Northern Virginia and that the regiment was part of Posey's Brigade.

After the Civil War, William Hartwell married one of his former students from the Sharon Institute and settled down to the life of raising his family and teaching music. Four daughters and three sons were born to the Hartwells. Each child studied under the tutelage of the elder Hartwell to become proficient as a performer on various musical instruments. The family often performed together as an ensemble called the Hartwell Family Orchestra. Hartwell served as concertmaster of the group, playing the violin.<sup>9</sup>

Hartwell became a member of the faculty of Grenada College in Water Valley, Mississippi, where he taught music. He composed more than one hundred pieces and many musical arrangements. Hartwell's "Wildwood Gallop" was a very popular piece that underwent three printings. He composed at least one operetta, which toured the Mississippi towns of Kosciusko, Grenada, and Port Gibson.<sup>10</sup> William Hartwell was considered a pioneer of music education in Mississippi.

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<sup>9</sup>Interview with Clyde E. Noble on February 4, 1985, based on his taped interview with William Spencer of Port Gibson, Mississippi, grandson of William H. Hartwell, on October 20, 1984.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

## Oliver J. Lehman

The Moravians of the Wachovia Region of North Carolina produced three military bands that served the Confederate armies. The Salem Brass Band became the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band, another band from the Forsythe County area became the Twenty-first Regiment Band, and the Bethania Brass Band became the Thirty-third North Carolina Regimental Band.<sup>11</sup>

Oliver J. Lehman, known as O. J. Lehman, was a Moravian musician from Bethania, North Carolina, who enlisted in Lane's Brigade and was assigned to the Thirty-third Regimental Band. Known by reputation as a cornet player, Lehman was heavily recruited to join several Confederate bands in 1862 but chose to serve with his fellow musicians who were formerly members of the Bethania Brass Band.

Upon being ordered to report to active duty as a rifleman, Lehman risked arrest when he ignored the order. He traveled from Bethania as a fugitive, dodging Confederate checkpoints to join the Thirty-third Regiment near Fredericksburg, Virginia. The Thirty-third Regimental Band, although assigned to regimental status, was actually the brigade band for General Lane's Brigade, which included the

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<sup>11</sup>Information gathered from the Wachovia Museum in Old Salem, North Carolina, the Moravian Archives memoirs files, and the Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Seventh, Eighteenth, Twenty-eighth, Thirty-third, and Thirty-seventh North Carolina Regiments.<sup>12</sup>

The Thirty-third Regimental Band performed the regular routine of military band duties while in camp. Lehman wrote, "Our duties were playing for guard mounting at 9 a.m. When the weather was favorable [we played] for drill. Dress parade [was] about sunset, [and] also general reviews."<sup>13</sup>

The Thirty-third musicians were also kept very busy during battles according to Lehman.

During all battles until the final surrender, General Lane's Band was in the opening of each, caring for the wounded and taking them to the field hospital just behind the line of battle. So our duties were not only as musicians but also as ambulance corps.<sup>14</sup>

The bandsmen were often subjected to enemy fire from both artillery and small arms but escaped injury. In addition to medical and musical duties, Lehman's band served as guards and riflemen. "Occasionally we were given rifles to protect the ammunition and commissary trains when they were being attacked by the enemy."<sup>15</sup> It is not known whether the bandsmen took part in fights with Union soldiers while they served with rifles.

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<sup>12</sup>Oliver J. Lehman, "Reminiscences of the War Between the States," manuscript of Civil War experiences, Confederate Collection, Thirty-third Regimental files, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina, p. 1-3.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

The Lehman manuscript presents a detailed sketch of camp life in winter quarters. Over four months of the year were spent in winter quarters in Northern Virginia, where the weather was much harsher than in the deep South. The camps were established with planning for streets and avenues. Winter camp was in many ways similar to a small city with different types of shelter for the soldiers.

The houses or quarters as they were called, were of many styles of architecture. The most comfortable were built of rough logs covered with split boards which were held in place with heavy poles as no nails were to be had, and a stick chimney daubed with mud. Others were about four feet high with logs and covered with tent cloth. Officers usually occupied tents. If we were encamped on a hill side, quite a number lived in dugouts underground.<sup>16</sup>

Lehman states that his band performed the usual camp duties, such as drills and parades on fair days, but were often excused from those duties when there was foul weather. He reports that the Confederate musician's worst enemy was boredom from the routine of camp life, and that "by far the most of the time was occupied by writing letters, card playing, social games [with] no gambling, and other amusements"<sup>17</sup>

Obviously, events are often augmented and efforts become more noble in some memoirs because of the years that

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<sup>16</sup>Oliver J. Lehman, "Camplife," August 23, 1921 manuscript of Civil War experiences, Confederate Collection, Thirty-third Regimental files, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

passed between the Civil War and the time of the writing. Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine military bandsmen of any era playing cards without gambling, or as Lehman says, "social games, no gambling."<sup>18</sup> If there were no gambling, soldiers wouldn't have been ashamed to be found with cards in their possession if they fell in battle. The former Confederate bandmaster describes a typical incident before battle that indicates a marked difference in accepted moral behavior of 1860's American soldiers and modern military personnel.

When camp was broken at the opening of the Spring campaign and a battle was pending, the roads were strewn with playing cards and hundreds of letters which our boys tore in pieces and threw away. A soldier did not like the idea of being killed with a pack of cards in his pocket, neither did he want anyone to read his letters.<sup>19</sup>

The Thirty-third North Carolina Band performed at least one concert per day on fair weather days. The programs were presented each evening and usually lasted for about an hour. The concerts were really appreciated by the Confederates as Lehman reports that "the cheers of the soldiers could be heard [for] miles around."<sup>20</sup>

There were times when the Confederates were not the only soldiers listening to the Thirty-third Band perform. The band leader of the North Carolina Band wrote of yet another of the famous battle of the bands episodes.

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

"Frequently after playing a popular air, a Yankee band in our front could be heard playing the same selection, followed by yells from their comrades."<sup>21</sup>

The Thirty-third Regimental Band was present at the Battle of Chancellorsville and the Gettysburg Campaign and retreat. They were on duty in the Shenandoah Valley Campaign and the Battle of Richmond. The band served at the Battle of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania. There is no record of the Thirty-third Band performing under enemy fire, but they distinguished themselves as hospital assistants on many occasions.<sup>22</sup>

Lehman and his men were present at Appomattox after the retreat from the heavy fighting around Petersburg in early April of 1865. The Confederate escape ended the campaign which had consumed much of the final months of the war. Lehman was there as the events unfolded resulting in the surrender of Lee's Confederate Army of Northern Virginia. He remembered the last days vividly.

. . . under the most terrific cannonade by 400 pieces of artillery, our lines were finally captured and we commenced our retreat . . . abandoning Richmond and Petersburg to the enemy. After this there was a running fight, Grant being in our rear and on the left flank until Sunday morning April 9, when he appeared on our front

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>22</sup>Oliver J. Lehman, "Reminiscences of the War Between the States," manuscript of Civil War experiences, Confederate Collection, Thirty-third Regimental files, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina, pp. 1-5.

at Appomattox Court House and was moving around to our right. Thus being completely surrounded, there was nothing to do but surrender which closed the war . . . . On the day after our surrender we were marched between General Grant's troops where we stacked arms, receiving our paroles and turned loose. The final act of this terrible drama was closed the next day when General Jno. B. Gordon formed the remnant of Lee's magnificent army in a hollow square and delivered his [Lee's] farewell address to us, advising us to go to our homes and help to build up our devastated country, complimenting us on the gallant fight we had made.<sup>23</sup>

The musicians of the Thirty-third Regiment Band started for home in Moravian North Carolina on April 12, 1865, and arrived in Bethania on April 19, 1865, having walked for seven hard days. O. J. Lehman and the musicians of the Thirty-third Band left little behind in the way of documents that are important to modern musicians or historians. There is no indication that Lehman was known as an arranger or composer, nor has there been any discovery of band music performed by the bandsmen.

The instruments played by the musicians of the Thirty-third Band were safely returned home by the end of the Civil War and preserved. The complete set of instruments used by the band was not saved, but several instruments were kept in excellent condition and are on display in a musical instrument exhibit in the museum on Main Street in restored Old Salem. An upright Eb bass horn,

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

a bombardon Eb bass horn, and an Eb alto saxhorn used by Lehman's band in the war are exhibited.<sup>24</sup>

Lehman's reminiscences and sketches of camp life as experienced by the Thirty-third Regimental bandmen may not contain earth-shaking revelations about Confederate musical ensembles, but his account of events corroborate the writings of others. The routine of the Thirty-third Band as recorded by Lehman is the same kind of activity that was experienced by many other Confederate bands. The manuscripts of O. J. Lehman are important as an account of the service and activities of an average Confederate band.

#### Thomas J. Firth

Thomas J. Firth was bandmaster of the Thirteenth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regimental Band, which became Gordon's Brigade Band. T. J. Firth left a fairly thorough record of his band's activities through his writings, which are located in the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

Thomas J. Firth was born in the west Tennessee town of Lagrange in 1843.<sup>25</sup> He and his brother Silas Firth joined the Fourth Tennessee Regimental Band, which was organized on April 15, 1861. After only a few days in camp at

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<sup>24</sup>Moravian musical instrument exhibit on display in the museum of Old Salem Inc., Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>25</sup>Thomas J. Firth, "Manuscript #1383," Civil War reminiscences, Confederate files, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee, p. 1.

Germantown, Tennessee, the Fourth Regiment was ordered to Randolph, Tennessee, where the Fourth Regiment Band was transferred to the Thirteenth Tennessee Regiment.<sup>26</sup>

The Thirteenth Tennessee Regimental Band was composed of twenty men, most of whom were natives of west Tennessee. They were present at the Battle of Belmont, Missouri, where the regiment answered an alarm call sounded on the bugle by falling in by companies on the parade ground. In the confusion, each company, including the band, formed up and pursued the Union forces across the river. It is not known whether the musicians were part of the armed pursuit, but they did not cross the river with the regiment.<sup>27</sup>

On April 6-7, 1862, the Thirteenth Tennessee Band was part of the Confederate army assembled near Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee River during the battle now known as the Battle of Shiloh. The bandsmen accompanied their regiment as it charged up a hill to take a battery of Union artillery after Mark's Louisiana Regiment had been repulsed. Firth records the incident as follows.

General Clark rode up and asked us . . . "Can you take that battery which is annoying our troops so much?" Colonel Vaughn replied, "We can take it." The regiment was ordered by the right flank undercover of a hill until in proper position and then fronted the battery and charged up the

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<sup>26</sup>The Confederate service records of Thomas J. and Silas Firth are preserved on microfilm in the Tennessee State Library and Archives in Nashville, Tennessee.

<sup>27</sup>Firth, p. 3.

hill. All was well until we reached the top of the hill when the enemy opened fire with grape canister and musketry. Tho' [sic] checked for a moment, our men stood their ground and poured into the ranks of the enemy such a deadly volley as to make them waver, and then with the rebel yell, rushed upon them. The enemy could not longer stand, fleeing the field leaving battery, dead and wounded. The band was with the regiment as Infantry Corps, and carried the wounded to field hospitals.<sup>28</sup>

Union gunboats in the Tennessee River fired at the Confederates, who escaped injury because the steep bluffs along the riverbank forced the Yankee navy to overshoot their targets. This did not stop the gunboats from trying to zero in on the Southerners, and they kept up their cannonade all night. After the first day's battle, the Confederates thought they had been victorious because they drove the Yankees to the river.<sup>29</sup>

Every officer and soldier went to sleep serenaded by the guns from the river and thought that the battle was won, that the victory was ours. But the next morning we were badly disappointed when it was learned that [Union General] Buell had crossed the river with his army of about 30,000 troops and was in line with fresh troops to renew the contest.<sup>30</sup>

Firth reports that the Confederates were completely surprised by the reinforced Union troops. The tired and outnumbered Confederates fought desperately in a deadly rain

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>29</sup>Wiley Sword, The Battle of Shiloh (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1978), pp. 17-26.

<sup>30</sup>Firth, p. 4.

of artillery fire and musket shot. Bandsmen joined their compatriots in the ranks.

. . . we were formed into line and moved forward to meet the enemy, but the batteries in easy range supported by infantry opened such a deadly fire of grape shot and cannister and forced us to seek shelter beyond the next ridge. All of the Confederate forces were engaged and from right to left a continous [sic] roar of Artillery and musketry. It was an awful struggle. Closer and harder fighting was never done on any battlefield. Tho' [sic] we held them back until noon, it was apparent that the contest could not be much longer continued, so the Confederates were withdrawn . . . .<sup>31</sup>

The retreat from Shiloh took the Thirteenth Tennessee back to Corinth, Mississippi, where they had a chance to regroup and rest. Since the initial enlistment of the Tennessee volunteers expired at this time, many of the units reenlisted. The Thirteenth Tennessee Regimental Band reenlisted for the duration of the war.<sup>32</sup>

The Confederates suffered heavy losses at Shiloh. General Albert Sidney Johnson was among those mortally wounded.<sup>33</sup> Those who survived the battle faced an equally serious threat while in camps at Shiloh as sickness and disease ravaged the Southern soldiers. T. J. Firth wrote that the sickness was caused from "the use of bad water," and that many soldiers were given furloughs to recuperate.<sup>34</sup> The Thirteenth Tennessee bandsmen were apparently a healthy

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., pp. 4-5.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Sword, pp. 38-39.

<sup>34</sup>Firth, p. 5.

lot. Only one member of the band became sick, and he missed no duty as a result.<sup>35</sup>

As a result of reorganization of Confederate troops after the Battle of Shiloh, the Thirteenth Tennessee Band was reassigned to Cheatham's Division, Preston Smith's Brigade. Prior to this time, Thomas J. Firth was enlisted as a private and performed on Eb cornet in the regimental band under the direction of bandmaster John R. Millen. When Millen was discharged because of sickness, Thomas Firth was promoted to the position of Bandmaster.<sup>36</sup>

Under the reorganization, the Thirteenth Tennessee Band became Smith's Brigade Band, and the Brigade bandmaster usually held the rank of Captain. As Smith's Brigade launched a campaign into Kentucky, several bandsmen became ill and were taken to Chattanooga to a hospital. When the sick musicians recovered, the band rejoined the brigade in Harrodsburg, Kentucky. Smith's Brigade Band was present at the Battle of Richmond, and after marching through much of the state of Kentucky, participated in the Battle of Perryville, Kentucky.<sup>37</sup>

The Confederates thought that they would soon be able to claim Kentucky for the South after several hard fought victories, but they were mistaken. The Union armies forced the Confederates into retreat towards Tennessee. After

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 5-6.

Smith's Brigade reached Knoxville, Tennessee, by forced march, they were transported by train to the town of Tullahoma, Tennessee. Bandsman James H. Mitchell, who had been wounded at the Battle of Perryville, Kentucky, was not recovering from his wounds and was taken to a Confederate hospital where he died several days later.<sup>38</sup>

The bandsmen were allowed to rest at Tullahoma for several weeks before being moved to Murfreesboro, Tennessee. As they reached Murfreesboro, an epidemic of smallpox swept through Smith's Brigade, forcing the Confederate authorities to quarantine the troops and initiate the vaccination of all personnel. These precautions stopped the spread of the disease, and soon the soldiers were back to a more normal routine.<sup>39</sup>

The band of Smith's Brigade was present during the Battle of Murfreesboro or Stones River on December 30, 1862, where one of the most famous incidents of a battle of the Confederate and Union bands occurred. Although Firth did not mention the performance of the bands, it is likely that his brigade band was part of the performance for which Union and Confederate bands alternated playing to the cheers of

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<sup>38</sup>A. J. Vaughn, Personal Record of the Thirteenth Regiment Tennessee Infantry (Memphis, 1897) p. 39; Firth, p. 6.

<sup>39</sup>Firth, pp. 6-7.

their fellow soldiers followed by a highly emotional combined performance of "Home Sweet Home."<sup>40</sup>

The bandsmen retreated with Smith's Brigade towards Chattanooga and into Georgia where they were present at the Battles of Chickamauga and of Missionary Ridge. It was at Missionary Ridge that the band suffered the loss of an important member of their unit. Charles Firth, a black servant of T. J. Firth before the war, was killed during the battle. He had served as the band company cook.<sup>41</sup>

Smith's Brigade Band accompanied the brigade during the Battles of Resaca, New Hope, Marietta, Peachtree Creek, and Atlanta. Bandsman Charles McNamee died of wounds received at the Battle of Peachtree Creek.<sup>42</sup>

Firth's band participated in the Battle of Franklin, Tennessee, but there is no evidence to indicate whether the band was involved in the bloody charge where Confederate bands played and marched into battle with their fellow soldiers. Shortly after the Battle of Franklin, Smith's Brigade Band received a furlough to visit family and friends in Shelby County and Lagrange, Tennessee.<sup>43</sup>

While in the city of Augusta, Georgia, on April 27, 1865, the bandsmen heard that General Joseph E. Johnston

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<sup>40</sup>National Park Service, Stones River, No. 461-441/10040 (Washington, 1985).

<sup>41</sup>Firth, pp. 2, 8.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

had surrendered the Confederate Army of Tennessee of which Smith's Brigade was a part. The bandsmen were paroled in early May of 1865, and started a long journey home to western Tennessee.<sup>44</sup>

Having neither money nor transportation to get home, the former Confederate bandsmen often traded performances of band music for their meals and for transportation. They serenaded anybody that could help them on their way home or give them food to eat. The serenades were performed for officials ranging from ferry boat operators to Union generals.<sup>45</sup>

They played so well that on one occasion they were offered a chance to become the band for a Union regiment that had no band. The ex-Confederates politely declined the invitation saying they were family men who were anxious to get home again.<sup>46</sup> After various detours which took the musicians to Paducah, Kentucky, Cairo, Illinois, and finally down the Mississippi River to Memphis, Tennessee, they arrived at home in Lagrange, Tennessee, in July of 1865.<sup>47</sup>

In 1929, Thomas Julian Firth claimed to be the only surviving bandmaster of the Civil War. There were other Confederate bandmasters who were alive at the time that Firth made his claim, but he probably didn't know of them. The

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., pp. 10-11.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., pp. 12-13.

former bandmaster had fallen on hard times in his old age, and was trying to sell some of the music he had written and sought the help of Confederate associations to support himself. In a letter written on Confederate Historical Association stationery on November 7, 1929, Firth made an appeal to John F. Knox of Oak Park, Illinois, to purchase some of the hundreds of songs he had composed between 1829 and 1865. He wrote that he was the author of "The True History of Dixie, Our National Song."<sup>48</sup>

T. J. Firth ended his letter to Knox saying that he was in poor health and unable to walk. He enclosed a picture of himself in Confederate uniform holding an Eb cornet adding as a postscript, "I would like to sell you some of these songs to help me."<sup>49</sup>

T. J. Firth was a performer, arranger of band music, and prolific composer of music. He served honorably as a Confederate musician, and returned to teaching and performing in the Memphis, Tennessee area after the Civil War. He died in poverty in 1930.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Letter from Thomas Julian Firth to John F. Knox dated November 7, 1929. A copy of this letter was given to this writer by Kenneth E. Olson of Austin Peay State University, Clarksville, Tennessee.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Confederate pension record of Thomas J. Firth, located in the Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

## Douglas J. Cater

When the War Between the States began in 1861, the Cater brothers, Douglas, Rufus, and Wade, enlisted in the Confederate service. Like many cowboys, the Caters would never walk any distance when a horse was available, so they joined the Third Texas Cavalry, where Douglas was appointed chief musician. In 1862, D. J. Cater was transferred to the Nineteenth Louisiana Infantry Regiment as a musician.<sup>51</sup>

D. J. Cater's first duty in his new position was to organize a drum corps for drills and parades. The regimental drummer and two new recruits were assigned to Cater, who decided to perform on field drum so that the drum corps was actually a drum quartet.<sup>52</sup>

The Nineteenth Regiment was in camp for so long a time near Pensacola, Florida, that boredom set in. As head musician, Cater was asked by his Colonel to try to organize an orchestra. A collection was taken from among the men to raise money to purchase instruments in Mobile. "We secured a good violin, a guitar, a bass violin and a piccolo."<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Confederate service record of Douglas J. Cater, recorded on microfilm at the Louisiana State Archives, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

<sup>52</sup>Douglas J. Cater, As It Was (New Orleans, 1981), p. 154. This privately printed book is sold at the Confederate Museum in New Orleans as a method of raising operating funds for the Museum. A copy is in the Louisiana State Archives in Baton Rouge.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

Cater played the piccolo, and found three men who could pay the remaining instruments. They performed regularly to the delight of their Colonel, who loved the music. One of the men, John Bonham, the guitarist, was considered a fine singer who knew many songs. He was featured regularly with back-up harmonies provided by the other musicians, who soon discovered that the orchestra could also perform as a vocal quartet. The orchestra often serenaded civilians, especially young ladies, and was always treated to the best food and drink that was available.<sup>54</sup>

The Nineteenth Louisiana, along with the other regiments of the brigade to which they were assigned, was ordered to Vicksburg, Mississippi, to reinforce the Confederate troops under the command of General Pemberton. While camped in the Mississippi State Capitol of Jackson on the way to Vicksburg, the Cater brothers found the grave of their brother, Wade. A member of the Twenty-seventh Louisiana Infantry Regiment, Wade Cater fell ill and was moved to Jackson where he died. Before leaving for the same trenches where their brother spent his last days, the Cater brothers found a piece of marble which they engraved with Wade's name and placed on his grave.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 155.

<sup>55</sup>Confederate service record of Wade Cater, Twenty-seventh Louisiana Infantry, preserved on microfilm in the Louisiana State Archives in Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Cater, pp. 162-163.

When the Nineteenth Louisiana Regiment arrived in the besieged city of Vicksburg, they reported to the breastworks at the rear of the Confederate line. As chief musician, Douglas Cater was considered a noncombatant and was not ordered to bear arms. Cater chose to answer a call for sharpshooters and volunteered to go to the front lines where he was issued a rifle and cartridges. Cater and a party of four other soldiers were placed on duty in the yard of a mansion that had been hastily vacated by its occupants, who had left all of their furniture and possessions except those that they were able to carry.<sup>56</sup>

Fearing that the enemy would take the house and gain an advantage against the Confederates because of its strategic location, orders were issued for the structure to be burned. Sympathetic Confederate soldiers who were given the task of torching the old house saved as many of the furnishings of the home as possible, including a piano from the parlor.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Several sources refer to the house where Cater and his men were stationed by different names. A newspaper clipping found in the Mississippi State Archives in Jackson, Mississippi refers to the home as that of a Mrs. Barnes whose son was Timothy Cooper. Douglas Cater calls the house Captain Cooper's home; others refer to the house as the May house. The name May for the home is incorrect. Mrs. Albert May, the granddaughter of Mrs. Barnes inherited the furnishings of the home which survived the war.

<sup>57</sup>Unidentified newspaper clipping dated November 29 with no year given, located in the Mississippi State Archives, Jackson, Mississippi. It is estimated by librarians at the archives to be from the 1890's.

As the house was torched, the men of Slocum's Battery moved the piano to their redoubt. The Nineteenth Louisiana was to the right of Slocum's men in connecting trenches of the Confederate earthworks. Finding the piano near the cannon manned by the Confederate battery, Cater noticed that it was in an extremely well-protected spot where it could be played without endangering the pianist. Cater, however, didn't volunteer to play the instrument because he had other duties.<sup>58</sup>

After several charges by the Yankees were repulsed by the Southern soldiers without revealing the presence of Slocum's guns, Union troops amassed for an all out effort to take the Confederate breastworks. Slocum sent for Cater at the request of his men, asking the musician to play the piano as the Federals charged. Rufus Cater accompanied his brother to the gun emplacement. D. J. Cater played the piano as the Northern soldiers charged and reported that he was "enjoying the music, paying no attention to the shells and minnieballs [sic] which were passing over us."<sup>59</sup> Captain Slocum, commander of the battery, was standing at the piano with the Cater brothers when he heard the yell of the Union soldiers as they came closer to the Southern position. He ran to his cannon as the Caters ran back to their regiment's position just as the Yankees attacked the

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<sup>58</sup>Cater, p. 167-168.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 168.

gun in force.<sup>60</sup> After the firing stopped, Doug Cater went back to the gun emplacement and resumed playing the piano. Men joined in singing their favorite songs.

The piano played in the Confederate trenches during the Battle of Vicksburg was inherited by Mrs. Albert Q. May. Mrs. May donated the instrument to the New Orleans Washington Artillery, the regiment to which Slocum's Battery was assigned. The piano remained in the armory of the Washington Artillery for many years and now is displayed in an exhibit in the Confederate Museum of New Orleans.<sup>61</sup>

A truce was called during the Battle of Vicksburg shortly after the piano playing incident so that the opposing armies could bury their dead. The musicians of the regiments involved were among those ordered to retrieve the bodies, as was often their duty. Douglas Cater remembered the battlefield scene.

. . . in two days of fighting the stench of dead men was so great that an armistice of several hours was agreed to, that we might bury the enemy's dead. Two hundred sixty were counted a short distance . . . in front of our breastworks . . . this number added to the prisoners and wounded made a loss of 570 men from the division that charged us.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Unidentified newspaper clipping dated November 29 with no year listed. Librarians at the Mississippi State Archives estimated the clipping to be printed no later than the 1890's. The article is located in the Confederate music subject file in the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi.

<sup>62</sup>Cater, p. 168.

D. J. Cater received a furlough after his regiment left Vicksburg and later reported to the Nineteenth Louisiana Regiment at their new headquarters in Dalton, Georgia. Upon his return from leave, Cater learned that a brass band had been organized, and he was ordered to assume the duties of bandmaster of the regimental band.<sup>63</sup>

Cater was also offered a position as brigade bugler to General Daniel Adams which the musician declined in order to stay with his regiment and work with his band. The job of teaching the new brass band was bittersweet for Cater as he tried to get the ensemble ready to perform.

I worked faithfully with my band. We were excused from all other duty for the time, but there were no musicians among my men and this made the task really hard. They were determined not to relax their efforts to learn, and we spent the balance of the time we were at Dalton in practice with those brass horns.<sup>64</sup>

So that the men chosen for the band could have some chance for successfully learning to play as an ensemble, the bandmaster was forced to rely on his talents and abilities as a music arranger to have music that was within the grasp of most of the beginning musicians. Cater made his arrangements as easy for his men to play as possible, and eventually the group was performing for military functions.<sup>65</sup>

The new Nineteenth Louisiana Regimental Band probably was not one of the Confederacy's best military bands, but

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

its members were enthusiastic. Most band directors can identify with Cater as he struggled with the problems and challenges of trying to teach people who, no matter how interested and enthusiastic, lacked musical aptitude.

One of the men selected for the Nineteenth Louisiana Band was very faithful in attendance of rehearsals and practicing his music. He was one of the organizers of the band who helped to locate and purchase the brass instruments, but try as he might, the man was not able to learn to play even on the most elementary level. Cater was determined that this man would stay with the band because he tried so hard and assigned him to the third alto horn part, the simplest and easiest part to play. Even with all the care and attention of the bandmaster, the untalented soldier had such a difficult time with his music that the other bandmembers jokingly called him "professor." Cater kept the man in the ensemble, and the nickname "professor" stuck with the poor soldier through the war.<sup>66</sup>

During the retreat following the Battle of Resaca, Georgia, the Nineteenth Louisiana Band was assigned to duty as an infirmary corps, caring for wounded soldiers and assisting with all duties in the field hospitals. Bandmaster Cater was assigned to duty taking care of the band instruments and the baggage wagons of the Nineteenth

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid.

Regiment. A few days later during the Battle of Atlanta, Cater was ordered to leave the baggage wagons and help to distribute ammunition to the Confederate soldiers at the front lines. The musician distinguished himself for his valor as he dashed through earthworks, which served as the front line of defense for Atlanta, dodging enemy rifle fire to supply cartridges to the soldiers.<sup>67</sup>

While serving in various capacities in the hospitals in Atlanta, Griffin, and Forsyth, Georgia, the bandsmen of the Nineteenth Louisiana were often assigned to hazardous duties which subjected them to enemy fire. The musicians were allowed to return to duty as a band while they were camped near Jonesboro, Georgia. As the fighting around the town ended, Cater was saddened to learn that one of his cornet players had been killed and that another member of the band had been wounded. The industrious Douglas Cater found two musicians from the Fourth Louisiana Band, which had disbanded because most of its members were wounded or killed, and made arrangements to have the men transferred to his band company. The bandmaster rehearsed his band with the two new musicians and began performances to try to cheer the demoralized Confederate soldiers, and they also serenaded some of the civilians in the area. In spite of their problems, the Nineteenth Louisiana Band was on duty again.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., pp. 191-205.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 209.

On May 21, 1864, as Confederate troops crossed the Coosa River into the city of Gadsden, Alabama, the order was issued by Colonel Turner of the Nineteenth Louisiana Regiment that there was no longer a need for a regimental band. Cater and his fellow musicians were ordered to report to the companies from which they came when they were assigned to duty with the regimental band. The ensemble was officially disbanded, the former musicians were issued rifles, and they were stationed in the ranks with other private soldiers.<sup>69</sup>

D. J. Cater served honorably as a rifleman through the surrender of the Confederate forces in April 1865. After being paroled, Cater returned to Texas where he continued his musical career as a teacher and performer in the town of Rush, Texas in Cherokee Country.<sup>70</sup>

#### Andrew Benjamin Bowering

On April 22, 1861, Andrew B. Bowering was enlisted in the Confederate army as a rifleman in Company B of the Thirtieth Virginia Infantry. Within three months he was transferred to the regimental band and was soon serving as principal musician and bandmaster.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 209.

<sup>70</sup>Service record of Douglas J. Cater, located in the Louisiana State Archives, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

<sup>71</sup>Service record of Andrew Benjamin Bowering of the Thirtieth Virginia Volunteer Infantry Regiment, preserved on microfilm in the Virginia State Library, Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia.

When Bowering became bandmaster in July of 1861, the regimental band of the Thirtieth, a rather large band by Confederate army standards, was composed of fifteen men.<sup>72</sup> The band was known by reputation as one of the better ensembles in the Southern armies and was able to maintain its strength through the years of the war. When the Army of Northern Virginia was surrendered at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, there were nine men listed on the roster of the Thirtieth Virginia Regimental Band in addition to Andrew Bowering.<sup>73</sup>

The death of General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson and the celebration of mourning that followed catapulted Bowering into a national prominence that he probably never would have achieved under normal circumstances. Jackson's old outfit, the Fifth Virginia Infantry was so devastated after the Battle of Chancellorsville that the brigade band, later called the Stonewall Brigade Band, could not be spared from duties as hospital corpsmen to accompany the fallen General's remains through the period of public mourning.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Muster rolls and rosters of the Thirtieth Virginia Volunteer Infantry Regiment, located in the Virginia State Library, Archives Section, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>73</sup>R. J. Broch and Philip Van Doren Stern, editors, The Appomattox Roster (New York, 1962).

<sup>74</sup>John O. Casler, Four Years In the Stonewall Brigade (Girard, Kansas, 1906), p. 155; also unidentified papers and newspaper clippings from the collection of Frank Holt, historian of the Stonewall Brigade Band.

The Thirtieth Virginia Band was stationed near Richmond along the road to Petersburg when orders were received for the musicians to report to General Pickett's headquarters. Bowering soon learned that the nature of his mission was to accompany the body of General Jackson through the ceremonies in Richmond leading to the burial in Lexington, Virginia.<sup>75</sup>

Bowering and his band probably would have remained obscure in the annals of American history if the Fifth Virginia Band had not been ordered to remain on duty in the field hospitals of Chancellorsville, and if someone other than General Pickett had been chosen as the Confederate dignitary in charge of the procession to Jackson's final resting place.

Making their way to Richmond by foot and by rail, the bandsmen of the Thirtieth Virginia Regiment prepared as well as they could for the public ceremonies that were to follow. Because the band was ordered to leave their camps in the middle of the preceding night, Bowering left some of the music behind in his haste to obey his orders to report to Richmond.<sup>76</sup>

On the evening of May 11, 1863, the night before the funeral procession through the city of Richmond, Bowering

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<sup>75</sup>Chester Goolrick, "He Didn't Like Dixie," The Virginia Cavalcade, XLV (Spring, 1960), 5.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

discovered that he had forgotten the music for "The Dead March From Saul." This was the only piece in the band's repertory that was solemn enough for the sad occasion and no substitute would do. Bowering recorded the incident in his memoirs.

I at once began my preparations which was to equip myself with the very best music for the sad occasion. As I looked over the music which I had, and I had considerable prepared by my own hand as we had no facilities for other music arrangements, I discovered that I had lost in the confusion of army movements, the one piece that I desired above all. I at once called two or three of my comrades to me and told them to assist me in the preparation of the piece . . .<sup>77</sup>

Bowering and his men wrote the parts from memory in the pre-dawn hours of the morning of May 12, 1863, using the light of torches made from pine lighter.<sup>78</sup>

Richmond was crowded with mourners who came to pay their last respects to General Jackson. There was black bunting draped on lamp posts, and most civilians were dressed in black clothes. An order was issued by the Confederate government "for all persons to suspend business after 10 o'clock in token of respect for the departed hero . . . Flags were hung at half mast . . . large crowds filled the streets . . . in the intense heat . . . and a deep silence reigned over the Capitol."<sup>79</sup>

The body of General Jackson was placed in state first in the Executive Mansion, and later in the Capitol Building.

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<sup>77</sup>Ibid., pp. 5-6.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid.

<sup>79</sup>Casler, p. 156.

The funeral procession was led by the Thirtieth Virginia Infantry Band.

General Pickett in charge rested his sword, the cannon boomed, the command was given and the solemn strains of the Dead March from Saul mingled with the tears and expressions of sorrow of the stricken people . . . . We proceeded on our way through the street, through the throngs which pressed close by . . . .<sup>80</sup>

In April of 1865, Bowering was on duty with the Thirtieth Regimental Band during the events preceding and during the Appomattox surrender. After being surrounded by Federal forces, the Confederate commanders felt that there was no escape without suffering many needless deaths, and the surrender was arranged.

On Sunday morning April 9, 1865, Bowering asked permission from the Colonel of the Thirtieth Regiment for the band to play after the Union soldiers came through the Confederate line under the white flag. Permission was denied, and Bowering returned to his tent to rest. Shortly after, he was ordered to play church call on the bugle.

. . . I was called to make the assembly call for services, this being Sunday morning. I gave the call at Appomattox Court House and Walter Moncure of my regiment . . . preached to the soldiers . . . . That assembly call was my last note that I played during the war.<sup>81</sup>

Some have made more of the bugle call played by Bowering than the record indicated. Chester Goolrick gives the Thirtieth Regimental Bandmaster credit for performing

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<sup>80</sup>Goolrick, p. 6.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

the last notes played by a Confederate soldier of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. This is not a fact. There were probably many other bugle calls played on April 9, 1865, as well as drum and fife music used for routine signals by the Confederates. Bowering's bugle call was overshadowed by the fact that at least one Confederate brass band performed after Lee's surrender on April 9, 1865.<sup>82</sup>

Another myth about Bowering is that he composed the music that was played at Stonewall Jackson's funeral. Many people confuse the talent of arranging music for band with that of composing new music. Bowering simply arranged the music that was played by his Thirtieth Virginia Band at Jackson's funeral procession.

Bowering may have helped to perpetuate some of the falsehoods about his role in the Civil War in his later years. He was appointed to the post of official Bandmaster of the United Confederate Veterans organization. The United Confederate Veterans were very active as an organization during the years from 1880 through the 1920's when the veterans enjoyed their golden years. Bowering was chosen to lead Memorial Day parades on many occasions and was quite vocal about his duties as a Confederate musician.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>The Fourth North Carolina Regimental Band, said to have serenaded Lee as he returned from signing the document of surrender, kept their instruments and stayed organized as a band unit during the Appomattox surrender.

<sup>83</sup>Goolrick, p. 8.

Andrew Bowering became known as the Confederate bandmaster who did not like "Dixie." Since he didn't care for the tune, the Thirtieth Virginia Band only performed the piece when ordered to do so. Bowering's favorite tune was "Lorena." He recalled that "Maryland My Maryland," "Who Will Care for Mother Now?" and "Molly Bawn" were some of the tunes played by his band that were most often performed and best liked. When asked to comment on "Dixie" in his last years, he said, "I never played 'Dixie' unless I was forced to."<sup>84</sup>

It seems only natural that more would have been made of the accomplishments of Andrew Bowering as the passing of time made the Civil War seem more romantic and chivalrous than horrible and destructive. When the falsehoods and untruths are separated from his real accomplishments, Andrew Benjamin Bowering was actually a very talented musician. He had a flair for arranging that was obviously appreciated. Having arranged all the music that his musicians performed, Bowering was able to improve the sound of his ensemble by scoring to favor the band's strengths while covering the weaknesses.

Bowering was probably a good band leader who conducted a competent group. It is hard to imagine a bad military band receiving the kind of exposure that the Thirtieth

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<sup>84</sup>Goolrick, p. 1.

Virginia Band received without at least one high-ranking official recording a poor performance by the group. Perhaps Bowering did feather his own cap a little by not denying some of the stories about him, but he and his band did perform with distinction for functions which would be recorded as important events in American history.

Andrew B. Bowering taught music for a short time after the Civil War. He relocated in Fredericksburg, Virginia, where he continued his musical activities as an amateur while serving as the Commissioner of Revenue. He died in 1923.<sup>85</sup>

Edward B. Neave and William H. Neave

The Neave brothers of Salisbury, North Carolina, were two of the most active contributors to the music and organization of Confederate army bands. Born in Scotland some twenty years apart, the Neaves were half brothers who moved to America in 1842 with their parents and settled in Ohio. William was twenty-one years old when the family moved to the United States. Edward was only eighteen months old.<sup>86</sup>

Edward lived with his parents in Ohio while William, an accomplished musician, left the family to seek his fame

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<sup>85</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>86</sup>Unidentified manuscript entitled, "The Neave Family," located in the vertical files of the History Room of the Rowan Public Library in Salisbury, North Carolina.

and fortune. He joined the John Robinson Circus in Memphis, Tennessee, and traveled extensively in the United States as music arranger and musical director. The circus band, formerly Volant's Band of Baltimore, Maryland, was known as one of the best German bands in the United States at the time.<sup>87</sup>

William Neave had been leader of the circus band for about three months when the circus played for several days in Salisbury, North Carolina. Several prominent members of the community liked the circus band's performance so much that they asked Neave if he might like to develop a music school in Salisbury. There must have been interest in the proposition by all concerned parties. William Neave was formally asked to relocate and begin teaching music in Salisbury as soon as possible. Neave soon established himself as a good teacher enrolling many music students. One of his accomplishments was organizing and teaching the Salisbury Brass Band.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>The Carolina Watchman, August 7, 1860.

<sup>88</sup>Sources for information on Edward and William Neave come from a number of newspaper articles beginning in 1857. Articles featuring the Neaves appear in Salisbury newspapers through 1965. The biographical information for the time from 1820 through 1858 comes from The Carolina Watchman, October 19, 1858, August 7, 1860; The Salisbury Evening Post, September 27, 1927, April 27, 1953, and January 6, 1965. Other sources include the Brawley Files, and the R. M. Eames Files in the History Room of the Rowan Public Library in Salisbury, North Carolina.

William H. Neave became very influential and well-liked in Salisbury. He wrote long essays, in the style of a singing schoolmaster's thesis, on the reasonableness of singing and music in general. These articles, more than sixteen in number, were quite lengthy and appeared printed verbatim in the Salisbury newspaper. Neave had indeed established himself as the music man in Salisbury, and was known by the title of Music Director of Salisbury, North Carolina. <sup>89</sup>

The Neave School of Music thrived for more than sixty years. Together, Professor and Mrs. Neave taught voice, piano and organ, strings, bass, woodwinds, and percussion lessons in addition to choirs and instrumental ensembles. The show group of the Neave School of Music was the Salisbury Brass Band.

As early as October of 1858, the Salisbury Brass Band was making headlines in North Carolina newspapers by accompanying local militia units to parades and competitions in neighboring cities and towns. While attending a military function, the band would perform in concert as much as possible.<sup>90</sup>

In 1859, the Salisbury Band was acclaimed as one of North Carolina's finest brass ensembles when the musicians

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<sup>89</sup>The Carolina Watchman, weekly from April 4, 1859 through July 18, 1859.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., October 19, 1859.

performed nightly concerts in Raleigh during the North Carolina State Fair. The critical acclaim was no simple feat since North Carolina could boast of some of the nation's finest brass ensembles, including the Moravians.<sup>91</sup>

William H. Neave, his wife, and now his younger brother Edward, who had moved to Salisbury, enjoyed a celebrity status by 1860. The senior Neave's letters to editors and dissertations on how music should be taught, performed and appreciated appeared in newspapers all along the East Coast, but not everybody in Salisbury liked and appreciated W. H. Neave.<sup>92</sup>

On July 31, 1860, the editor of The Salisbury Banner wrote an editorial in which he said that for the good of the public, he was accusing Mr. Neave of "drunkenness, atheism, infidelity, attempting to outrage the feelings of a bereaved family and being a carnival person with the circus."<sup>93</sup> He finished his editorial by calling Mr. Neave "a low down blackguard."<sup>94</sup>

W. H. Neave was outraged and responded with a lengthy letter to the editor of the rival Salisbury newspaper in which he eloquently defended himself. The musical community of Salisbury was quick to come to the aid of their beloved

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., October 4, 1859.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., October 19, 1858, October 4, 1859, August 7, 1860.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., August 7, 1860.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid.

musical conductor with letters of condemnation for the editor of The Banner and support and encouragement for Mr. Neave to continue his work.<sup>95</sup>

The Salisbury Brass Band performed for the many patriotic ceremonies and celebrations that took place as the new Confederacy began to form. The band played for militia drills and competitions in March, for flag presentations in April and for patriotic speeches by Zebulon Vance, serving as captain of a volunteer regiment, in May.<sup>96</sup>

In June, enlistment fever had overtaken the musicians of the Salisbury Brass Band. The ensemble joined the Confederate military as the Fourth North Carolina Regimental Band and was sent to Virginia.<sup>97</sup> The Fourth Regimental Band was the pride of the regiment by September. Members of the Rowan Guards, the old hometown militia which became Company K of the Fourth North Carolina, regularly wrote home bragging about their band.<sup>98</sup>

The role that William H. Neave played with the Fourth North Carolina is not clear. Military records do not indicate that he enlisted with any Confederate unit, but newspaper accounts and recollections of relatives mention him as either a member of, or leader of the Fourth North

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<sup>95</sup>Ibid.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., March 25, 1861; April 23, 1861; May 9, 1861.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., June 13, 1861.      <sup>98</sup>Ibid., September 12, 1861.

Carolina Regiment Band.<sup>99</sup> An article written in The Salisbury Sunday Post says that "Mr. Neave joined the Confederacy as a bandmaster and music director in the Army of the Potomac. He continued through the war and played Lee's last music at Appomattox."<sup>100</sup>

Several other articles written long after the Civil War in the Salisbury newspapers also refer to W. H. Neave as a Confederate bandmaster and musician, but all official Confederate records indicate that Edward B. Neave was bandmaster of the Fourth North Carolina Band.<sup>101</sup> The son of E. B. Neave said in an interview conducted in 1965 that both William and Edward Neave were Confederate musicians during the war. He also added that his uncle William served as "bandmaster for the Army of Northern Virginia."<sup>102</sup>

Salisbury historian and writer James S. Brawley stated that "W. H. Neave was appointed bandmaster for Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. In this capacity Neave arranged,

<sup>99</sup>A search of the Confederate service records of the Fourth North Carolina Volunteer Infantry Regiment, located in the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh, North Carolina, reveals no record of service for William H. Neave.

<sup>100</sup>The Salisbury Sunday Post, April 12, 1953.

<sup>101</sup>Confederate service record of Edward B. Neave, preserved on microfilm in the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina; Walter Clark, Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of North Carolina (Raleigh, 1901) pp. 12-13.

<sup>102</sup>The Salisbury Sunday Post, January 6, 1965.

instructed, organized and wrote martial music for the many bands that the Confederacy supported."<sup>103</sup>

There is some evidence to support Brawley's conclusion. "Body Guard Polka," a piece composed during the war by Neave for Confederate military bands, was published by the Dodsworth and Sons Publishers, who also published the Brass Band Journal. The cover of the music bears the inscription, "by W. H. Neave, Bandmaster of General Robert E. Lee's Army of the Potomac."<sup>104</sup>

The inscription contains an obvious mistake. Lee's army was the Army of Northern Virginia, not the Army of the Potomac. Publishers tended to romanticize and elevate the position of any former soldier of the Civil War so much that if the accolade applied to Neave was not accurate, it is not surprising. Although William Neave may have been hired or appointed to write and arrange for some of the bands of Lee's Army from time to time, no evidence has been found to indicate that the Confederate military appointed a senior musician to serve as bandmaster for the entire Army of Northern Virginia. It is more likely that both Neaves served with the Fourth Regimental Band as musicians and that the senior Neave wrote for many bands, particularly after 1863, from his home in Salisbury.

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<sup>103</sup>The James S. Brawley files, located in the History Room of the Rowan Public Library, Salisbury, North Carolina.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid.

W. H. Neave had been bandmaster of the Salisbury Band since he founded the ensemble some years before the war. Edward Neave played solo Eb cornet as a member of the band starting in 1858 when he came to Salisbury to live with his brother.<sup>105</sup> William Neave, twenty years older than his brother, was probably bandmaster of the Fourth North Carolina Band when it enlisted in the Confederate Military in 1861.

Service records indicate that Edward B. Neave became bandmaster of the Fourth North Carolina Band in 1863.<sup>106</sup> Although there is no official record for William H. Neave, it is likely that he left the active duty service in 1863 at the age of 43 to write and arrange music that was performed by many Confederate bands.

Twenty-sixth North Carolina bandsman Julius Leinbach wrote that several Confederate military bands regularly performed music written or arranged by William H. Neave. In addition to Leinbach's Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band, the Fourteenth South Carolina Band and the Thirty-third North Carolina Band are mentioned as playing music by Neave.<sup>107</sup> If other Confederate bands used as many of Neave's arrangements and compositions as did the Moravian musicians of the Twenty-sixth Band, he was a very popular musician.

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<sup>105</sup>The Salisbury Evening Post, September 27, 1927.

<sup>106</sup>Clark, p. 12.

<sup>107</sup>Hall, pp. 58-59.

As stated earlier, the band music of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band is the only complete set of Confederate band music known to have survived the war, and it is preserved in remarkably good condition in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation. The selections by William H. Neave in this collection are "Aura Lee, Mary of Argyle and I've No Mother Medley;" "I Dream of Thee by the Campfire, Lonely Watch and Officer's Funeral Medley;" "Cast That Shadow From Thy Brow Quickstep;" "Carolina Polka;" "Here's Your Mule Gallop;" "Katy Darling Medley;" "Melange Waltz;" "Waltz Olga;" and "March from the Opera Belisario."<sup>108</sup>

Little is known of the activities of the Fourth North Carolina Regimental Band during the War Between the States. Leinbach mentioned that the members of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band once performed brass music outside a house where Brigadier General Kirkland was hosting a military ball after a grand review of his troops. The music was provided by "Professor Ed. Neave and some of his associates . . . playing string music for the dancers."<sup>109</sup>

The incident for which the Fourth North Carolina Band is best known secured its place in American history just after the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia. After

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<sup>108</sup>Band books of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>109</sup>Hall, p. 63.

Robert E. Lee signed the documents of surrender and prepared to bid farewell to his men, the Fourth North Carolina Regimental Band played for the General. Reports of the incident vary, ranging from mention that "the band played Lee's last music at Appomattox and then walked home to Salisbury," to "the band staffed to serenade General Lee . . . who came out of his tent with tears in his eyes and told them goodbye."<sup>110</sup>

The members of the North Carolina Band somehow managed to keep their instruments at a time when other bands of the Army of Northern Virginia did not have access to their equipment. Some of the bands left their horns with baggage wagons in the rear and were not able to get to them. Other musicians had the misfortune of having musical equipment taken from them by Union officials. It is not clear why some bands and musicians were allowed to keep their instruments while others could not, but the Fourth North Carolina appears to be the only ensemble that was able to perform.

The thousands of men who were members of the defeated Army of Northern Virginia silently marched between lines of Union soldiers to stack their rifles and other weapons and waited to be told to go home. Some of them may have been close enough to hear the Fourth North Carolina Band play

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<sup>110</sup>The Salisbury Post, April 12, 1953; January 6, 1965.

"Auld Lang Syne" for General Lee, the last piece of music played by a Confederate band of the Army of Northern Virginia.<sup>111</sup>

The Fourth North Carolina Regimental Band was one of the Southern bands that managed to stay at full strength through the war. They surrendered at Appomattox with a strength of twelve men.<sup>112</sup>

Shortly after the former Confederates arrived home, the Salisbury Brass Band was reactivated. Many of the same men who had been members before the war returned to join the veterans of the wartime ensemble to form the biggest and strongest Salisbury Band ever. Oddly enough, had it not been for the Civil War, there probably would not have been a Salisbury Brass Band organization after 1861.

After meeting with much critical acclaim and success in the late 1850's, the band was in danger of being discontinued in the spring of 1861.<sup>113</sup> It seems that so many of the young men who were members of the band were leaving home to join the Confederate forces that the pool of trained musicians was growing smaller by the day. Those

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<sup>111</sup>Douglas Southall Freeman, Gettysburg to Appomattox, Vol. III of Lee's Lieutenants, 3 vols. (New York, 1944), p. 745.

<sup>112</sup>Brock, p. 255; Muster rolls of the Fourth North Carolina Regiment located in the Confederate collection, Fourth North Carolina Regiment files, North Carolina State Archives, North Carolina.

<sup>113</sup>The Carolina Watchman, May 7, 1861.

band members who were left behind were growing more anxious to enlist as news of early battles and skirmishes reached Salisbury, so bandmaster William Neave kept the band together by having the ensemble enlist enmasse in September of 1861.<sup>114</sup>

Ironically, the catastrophic events of the American Civil War which caused the demise of many town bands that enlisted in the early days of the war seemed only to make the old Salisbury Brass Band emerge from the experience as a bigger and better ensemble. William H. Neave returned to the band as director, and younger brother and former Confederate bandmaster E. B. Neave continued with the ensemble as cornet soloist. The band presented concerts and participated in festivals and parades throughout North Carolina.<sup>115</sup>

During the 1870's, the band's reputation for quality performance had exceeded the fame and popularity of the prewar years. A concert in early December of 1875 was performed to a packed house. E. B. Neave was featured on several cornet solos, including "The Poet and the Peasant Overture," and Professor William Neave was featured as trombone soloist and flute soloist. The Salisbury newspaper

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<sup>114</sup>Ibid., September 13, 1861.

<sup>115</sup>Information gathered from an unidentified manuscript, undated and unnamed newspaper articles, and several handwritten papers located in the Brawley files in the Rowan Public Library, Salisbury, North Carolina.

review of the concert leaves no doubt that the program was enjoyed by those who heard it.

The program was splendid, and the concert was pronounced by competent judges to be the best ever given in Salisbury. The music by the band consisted of selections from some of the best and most popular operas, and rendered in a style unsurpassed by any other band in the country . . . Mr. E. B. Neave's cornet solos were simply exquisite. Salisbury may well boast of the best cornet player in this country. The grand feature of the concert was the Trambone [sic] solos by Prof. Wm. H. Neave. His execution is wonderful. The purity of tone grace and expression in which he rendered those difficult solos, fix him as one of the best, if not the very best Trambone [sic] player in the United States. His flute solo was also specially admired as he produced the richest tones and brought out the most melodious strains with rare skill.<sup>116</sup>

William H. Neave was the "typical" band director when asked to give his opinion of the success of the concert. The newspaper continues "in all, it was perfection in the shape of a concert--so we thought; but Prof. Neave tells us that there will be a decided improvement in the next, which will come sometime in January."<sup>117</sup>

William H. Neave and his wife Josephine continued their School of Music, which Mrs. Neave had operated in her husband's absence during the war. Students trained in music at the Neave school were a major source of talent for the Salisbury Band. By 1876, the Salisbury Band was known as a group that would travel anywhere to perform. "They would go

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<sup>116</sup>The Carolina Watchman, December 9, 1875.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid.

anywhere to play a concert that the old ornate red and gold band wagon they used would take them. This high raked wagon was drawn by four matched horses and was an asset to any parade."<sup>118</sup>

Many prestigious performances by the band took place in the late 1870's, as when they played for the ceremonies marking the reopening of the University of North Carolina, which had closed during the Civil War.<sup>119</sup> The band was honored as the official inaugural band for the second inauguration of Governor Zebulon Vance in 1877.<sup>120</sup> The fact that Zebulon Vance asked the Salisbury Band, rather than his former comrades from the Twenty-sixth Regiment, the Salem Band, was high praise indeed.

Other notable performances for the Salisbury Band include the Yorktown Centennial Celebration in 1881 and concert tours to Columbia, South Carolina, and Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia. The ensemble also performed annual concerts at the North Carolina State Fair.<sup>121</sup>

As the band became popular through tours and many performances, E. B. Neave was developing his reputation as a cornet virtuoso, but not as his profession. He chose to make his career in the business world. After successfully operating a retail business, Edward Neave was elected to

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<sup>118</sup>The Brawley files.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid.

the office of Mayor of Salisbury and served in that position from 1883 to 1887. After his term as mayor, E. B. Neave was elected manager of Vance Cotton Mill, serving for twenty-five years. In 1912, he was appointed secretary-treasurer of the mill, a position he held until his death in 1927.<sup>122</sup>

William Neave remained active as a music teacher and director of the Salisbury Band until his death in 1902. His wife Josephine continued to operate the Neave School of Music until her death in 1927.<sup>123</sup>

Instrumental music continued in Salisbury in the public schools and as a part of the course of study in several area colleges in the Salisbury area largely because of the influence of the Neave family and the hundreds of people who were, in turn, influenced by their teaching. The Salisbury Brass Band was a large part of the music program founded by the Neaves and the beginning of the excellent instrumental music instruction which became a Salisbury tradition.

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<sup>122</sup>The Salisbury Evening Post, September 27, 1927.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., April 12, 1953.

## CHAPTER IX

### BLACK CONFEDERATE MUSICIANS

The presence of black soldiers in both Northern and Southern military units was common. More than 210,000 blacks were members of the Union military forces during the American Civil War. Twenty black Union soldiers were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for valor.<sup>1</sup> The black Union military units were usually commanded by white officers, although there were more than seven thousand Negroes who served as Union officials.<sup>2</sup>

There were blacks who served as members of Confederate military organizations as both freemen and as slaves, although in much smaller numbers than in the Union ranks. Many slaves and servants accompanied Confederate officers to serve as cooks and valets. Other blacks served the Confederate military in various capacities, from supply wagon masters to ambulance drivers at the front lines. While the white soldiers served away from home, blacks served in many

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<sup>1</sup>John McGlone, "Monuments and Memorials to Blacks in Military History, 1775-1891," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of History, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, 1985, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup>William C. Davis, editor, Touched by Fire (Boston, 1985), p. 48

instances as part of the home guard against the Northern invasion of the south.<sup>3</sup>

A few organized units of black soldiers were known to have served in the Confederate military. Free blacks of New Orleans became part of the State Militia after Louisiana seceded from the Union. Called the Native Guards, the unit quickly sided with General Benjamin Butler's Union forces when the Federals occupied the captured city of New Orleans.<sup>4</sup>

Jefferson Davis signed an act of the Confederate Congress into law which authorized the raising of companies of blacks to fight as soldiers, but the war had ended before implementation of the law could be achieved.<sup>5</sup> Several companies of black soldiers were organized to serve as hospital attendants and orderlies at the Chimborazo Hospital in Richmond, and were even paraded through Richmond along with white Confederate companies and a Confederate brass band playing "Dixie."<sup>6</sup>

Several instances of black soldiers serving in battle have been recorded. They served in a Confederate artillery battery near Richmond in 1862, and a few blacks were observed in Confederate uniforms and armed with rifles at the front in the last days of the war.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>McGlone, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Gerald Simmons, editor, The Civil War: The Southern Home Front (Morristown, New Jersey, 1984), pp. 166-167.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>McGlone, pp. 106-107.

The contributions of black men to the military organizations of the Confederacy as musicians have long been overlooked. From the beginning of the Civil War, black musicians served as both field musicians and as military bandsmen in many Confederate military units.

The presence of black field musicians in Georgia Confederate military units was common. The Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia lists these musicians as regimental field and staff soldiers or as members of individual companies with the notation colored appearing after the name in brackets.<sup>8</sup>

#### The Eighteenth Georgia Battalion Field Band

One of the best-known field bands in the Confederate military was the Eighteenth Georgia Battalion Fife and Drum Corps known as the Eighteenth Georgia Field Band. This ensemble of black musicians was part of the military organization known as the Savannah Volunteer Guards of the Georgia Militia before the Civil War. Fifer Joe Parkman and bass drummer Dave Ellison were slaves. Fifer Louis DuBross and snare drummers Joe Verdery and Jack Bolton were freemen. An officer of the Savannah Volunteer Guards indicated the pride and admiration the soldiers felt for their musicians when he said, " . . . it is not too much to say of them that

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<sup>8</sup>Lillian Henderson, editor, Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia (Hapeville, Georgia, 1960).

their skill upon their respective instruments was extraordinary."<sup>9</sup>

When the Volunteer Guards were mustered into the Confederate service, the black musicians of the field band were faced with deciding whether or not to accompany the militia into battle. Joe Parkman, although a slave, was treated as a freeman by his master. Parkman was allowed to "do as he pleased."<sup>10</sup> As leader of the field band, Parkman decided to accompany the unit to war.<sup>11</sup>

Louis Dubross and Joe Verdery decided not to leave Savannah and were replaced in the ensemble by fifer Henry McClesky and drummer George Postel. For some unknown reason, bass drummer Dave Ellison could not leave with the soldiers, so the Eighteenth Georgia Battalion Field Band became a quartet consisting of fifers Joe Parkman and Henry McClesky, and drummers George Postell and Jack Bolton.<sup>12</sup>

The men of the field band were more than willing servants who accompanied their unit into battle. The black musicians served as regularly enlisted soldiers of the

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<sup>9</sup>"The History of the Savannah Volunteer Guards," an unpublished manuscript by a Colonel Bassinger, located in the archives of the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

Confederate States Army and were mustered into service as members of the Savannah Volunteer Guards.<sup>13</sup>

The musicians of the field band were appreciated for their musical abilities and were respected for their loyalty to the battalion even while enduring harsh conditions of life on the battlefield. There are several references to the contributions of these musicians to their unit recorded by members of the Savannah Volunteer Guards in their recollections of the Eighteenth Battalion's activities during the Civil War. On one occasion during a forced march, the soldiers of the Eighteenth Battalion were so fatigued from lack of food, sleep, and close fighting with Union troops that they could barely move. The musicians were called to the head of the march.

The Guards . . . put the their faithful musicians in their front to cheer the weary march. These were Negroes who had long served the corps in peaceful times and accompanied them through all the war, contemptuously resisting all temptations to desert and stood by the colors until the last. The shrill fifes of old Joe and Henry, and the rafting drums of George Postell and Louis Ross, as they made the old Virginia woods ring with the strains so often played at home, woke up the spirit of the men and helped them for a time to move cheerfully.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Service records of many black men who accompanied Confederate military units to the front lines are inscribed, "Colored man not mustered but in service," to indicate the fact that they were not regularly enlisted members of Confederate units.

<sup>14</sup>1886 Historical Sketch of the Savannah Volunteer Guards, located in the archives of the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia.

The membership of the field band was enlarged at some point during the war to include six musicians. Louis Ross replaced Jack Bolton, and William Rose and Jack Rumless joined the ensemble.<sup>15</sup>

When the Confederates of the Eighteenth Battalion came home to Savannah or left home for the front lines, they were always preceded by the musicians of the field band. On one occasion as the unit came home on furlough for the purpose of recruiting new troops, the excitement built to a frenzy as the citizens of Savannah strained their ears for the first sounds of the fifes and drums. The Savannah newspaper reported the arrival of the Confederate soldiers for their first leave since reporting for duty "with their faithful musicians in front awakening the echoes of the City with strains not heard since they had left it."<sup>16</sup>

The extraordinary devotion of the black musicians to their fellow soldiers was never more evident than after the Battle of Sailors Creek, Virginia. The battalion was composed of only eighty-five men at the time of the battle. After the smoke of the rifles and artillery cleared,

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<sup>15</sup>Muster rolls of Companies A, B, and C of the Eighteenth Georgia Battalion, located in the archives of the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia.

<sup>16</sup>The Savannah Morning News, undated clipping probably from March or April of 1862, found in the Gamble Collection vertical files located in the Savannah, Georgia Regional Library.

fifty-two casualties were suffered by the Eighteenth Battalion. Thirty of these men were mortally wounded.<sup>17</sup>

Among the wounded was Lieutenant John Reads Dillon, adjutant of the Savannah Volunteer Guards, and a favorite officer of the musicians. Fearing that their Lieutenant was dead, one of the musicians recovered the officer's sword and uniform coat that had been left on the battlefield when Dillon was taken to a field hospital. Because there was no organized Eighteenth Georgia Battalion remaining, the black musicians walked back to Savannah. Upon arriving in Savannah and before returning to their own homes, the musicians delivered the sword and coat of Lieutenant Dillon to the officer's sister. When asked what was known about the fate of the Confederate officer, the musicians said that they did not know what had happened to the Lieutenant, but they felt that his sword and coat should be returned to the family.<sup>18</sup>

The black musicians served honorably for the duration of the Civil War and returned to Savannah after the Confederate surrender. When the militia units were reorganized as Georgia National Guard units in 1863, the field band again consisted of the same black musicians

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<sup>17</sup>Muster rolls and morning reports for the Eighteenth Georgia Battalion, located in the archives of the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia.

<sup>18</sup>Unidentified and undated newspaper clipping from the Gamble Collection, located in the Savannah, Georgia Regional Library.

playing of fifes and drums.<sup>19</sup> In 1879, the field band was discontinued and a military band consisting of brass, woodwind, and percussion instruments was organized.<sup>20</sup>

Alexander Harris, Chief Musician,  
The Savannah Republican Blues

Another celebrated black musician from Savannah was a member of The Savannah Republican Blues. The Republican Blues became part of the First Georgia Volunteer Regiment of the Confederacy and were quite proud of their military band. The chief musician of the Savannah Republican Blues during the war Between the States was a black musician named Alexander Harris. Although he was designated as "not mustered but in service," Harris was well respected by the members of the Republican Blues.<sup>21</sup> After the war, he became a minister and served as pastor of the First Bryan Baptist Church. Harris was known as a generous man and respected for his service to the needy of the Savannah area. He was custodian for the Poor Fund of Chatham County for many years. Alexander Harris kept his close ties with members of the Savannah Republican Blues until his death in 1909. As a token of their respect and admiration for Alexander Harris,

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<sup>19</sup>Bassinger, "Savannah Volunteer Guards", p. 2.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Muster rolls of the Second Republican Blues of the First Georgia Volunteer Regiment, located in the archives of the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia.

and in honor of his contribution to the unit during the war, the Savannah Republican Blues attended the funeral services of the former chief musician wearing their dress uniforms.<sup>22</sup>

#### The Camp Oglethorpe Band

While the enlisted men of the Union forces captured by the Confederates were often imprisoned at the infamous Andersonville Prison, near Americus, Georgia, Yankee officers were confined in Macon, Georgia, at Camp Oglethorpe.<sup>23</sup> Stationed at the Confederate Prison Camp was a band of black musicians who were assigned to perform for routine military functions for the Confederate reserve units who were assigned to duty as prison guards.<sup>24</sup>

While nothing is known of the instrumentation or individual members of the band, they were appreciated by at least one member of the Fifth Georgia Reserve Regiment who wrote about the ensemble in a letter to his wife. "we have

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<sup>22</sup>This material was gathered for this study at the request of this writer by Gordon B. Smith, Historian of the Georgia National Guard, from muster rolls and other historical records of the Georgia National Guard. The reference to Alexander is included in a letter from Mr. Smith dated May 28, 1986.

<sup>23</sup>A. O. Abbott, Prison Life in the South, 1861-65 (New York, 1865), p. 29.

<sup>24</sup>Letter from Sergeant James Paite of Company E of the Fifth Georgia Reserve Regiment to his wife. The exact date is not known but the letter was probably written in 1862. This letter is one of several Paite family letters written during the Civil War. The letters are part of a private collection of Civil War memorabilia owned by Lee Joyner of Monroe, Georgia.

a vary [sic] fine band of music hear [sic]. I would be glad if you could see and hear it. Thare [sic] is nine negro fellows comes and plays the music."<sup>25</sup>

The black musicians of Macon's Camp Oglethorpe Band performed concerts in at least two other Georgia towns during the Civil War. The band presented three performances at the Andersonville Prison Camp in 1862 and in 1863. Playing at the prison's log wall, it is not surprising that the band received a less than enthusiastic reception, considering the filthy conditions in which the prisoners lived.<sup>26</sup>

In May of 1864, the band traveled to Americus, Georgia, and presented several concerts. It is possible that they stopped to perform at Andersonville Prison, which is not far from Americus, and is on the road from Macon. While in Americus, the black musicians performed a special concert for the editor of the local newspaper.

We omitted in our last week's issue to pay our respects to a Macon (colored) brass band, for serenading during their recent visit to this place. But as it is never too late to do good, we take this occasion to return to them our acknowledgement, and at the same time, hoping that they may at some future day, find it convenient

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Kenneth E. Olson, "Yankee Bands of the Civil War," unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Music, The University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1971, p. 29.

to again visit our place and enliven us with some of their delightful music.<sup>27</sup>

Nothing else is known about the activities of the Camp Ogelthorpe Band. Those who heard their music indicate that the band was appreciated whenever they performed. There is no mention of the length of the band's service to the Confederate units stationed at Camp Oglethorpe in camp records, nor is there any indication of the activities of these black musicians after the Civil War.<sup>28</sup>

#### Black Confederate Musicians of South Carolina

As in Georgia Confederate military units, the presence of black musicians in the Confederate military units of South Carolina was not uncommon. Army regulations stated that rifle companies were allowed two musicians who communicated various signals, ranging from assembly to meal calls. Many South Carolina field musicians were black men.<sup>29</sup>

Maxey Gregg's First South Carolina Volunteer Regimental Band was an ensemble composed of nine black musicians who were members of a brass band in Charleston,

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<sup>27</sup>The Sumter Weekly Republican, June 3, 1864.

<sup>28</sup>Camp Oglethorpe papers file, located in the Genealogy and Historical Room of the Washington Library in Macon, Georgia.

<sup>29</sup>Muster rolls of South Carolina Confederate Volunteer troops found in the South Carolina State Archives, Columbia, South Carolina.

South Carolina. When they became part of Gregg's Regiment, Arthur Mitchell was chief musician and bandmaster.<sup>30</sup>

The black musicians of Gregg's First South Carolina were regularly enlisted Confederate soldiers. The men were not slaves before the war but were "Free Persons of Color." Mitchell and his band of nine musicians enlisted on October 1, 1861.<sup>31</sup>

Haygood's First South Carolina Volunteer Regiment Band was also composed of black musicians. Four of the seven black musicians are identified only by their last names. Three of the men are identified by their last names and a single initial. The band was on duty as a Confederate military band from October 31, 1861, through October 31, 1862.<sup>32</sup>

#### General G. H. Steuart's Drum Corps

Black musicians served as Confederate military field musicians during the Civil War with dignity and honor. Most of these musicians were appreciated, as indicated by the writings of former Confederate soldiers who served with them. This attitude seemed to exist when an entire ensemble was composed of black musicians, but at least one racially mixed ensemble of Confederate musicians did not enjoy

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<sup>30</sup>A. S. Salley, editor, South Carolina Troops in Confederate Service (Columbia, 1913), pp. 218-219.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 438.

compatible working relationships with each other. The white soldiers of General George Steuart's Brigade drum corps objected to the presence of a black drummer in their midst and complained in writing to their commander.

We the undersigned members composing the drum corps of your brigade do most respectfully ask that the negro man (Bartly) be removed from the drum corps. Our reason for asking this removal is that it is quite unpleasant to a majority of us to appear in reviews, parades, guard mountings, &c with the man alluded to as one of our number. We think a drum corps composed exclusively of colored men will do very well, tho' in this instance where your drum corps is composed almost entirely of white men, we think we could do equally as well without as with the negro man's service. We hope that you will give this your favorable consideration.<sup>33</sup>

There is no indication of the General's answer to this request from his drum corps. Neither is there an indication of the offense committed by Bartly, if any. It appears that the sole reason for asking for the black man's dismissal from the drum corps was that the white soldiers did not want to be seen with a black in their group.<sup>34</sup>

#### Confederate Legislation for Black Musicians

Southern military officers were able to secure slaves for many jobs in the ranks simply by confiscating them as

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<sup>33</sup>Letter to General George H. Steuart from Samuel Collins, Chief Musician of the First North Carolina Regiment and members of the Steuart Brigade Drum Corps. This manuscript is located in the archives of the Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

property and pressing them into service.<sup>35</sup> If fifers and drummers were needed, it was relatively simple for a good chief musician to teach a talented man to play the fife calls and/or drum beats by repetition until they were flawlessly committed to memory.<sup>36</sup>

The majority of the black musicians who served as Confederate bandsmen and field musicians were not regularly enlisted soldiers. Most were serving without written regulations to govern their military status, rank, or pay. There must have been concern expressed on behalf of officers who had no orders to tell them how to deal with the black musicians, because on April 14, 1862, Jefferson Davis signed an act of the Confederate Congress into law which governed the pay of those musicians who were not regularly enlisted.

The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That whenever colored persons are employed as musicians in any regiment or company, they shall be entitled to the same pay now allowed by law to musicians regularly enlisted: Provided, That no such persons shall be employed except by consent

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<sup>35</sup>There are many examples of slaves serving their masters in the battlefield camps as cooks and performing other manual labor tasks. The letters of Private Jackie Felder, a common soldier in the Fourth Georgia Infantry Regiment, indicate that he was served by his slave, who did washing and cooking. These letters are located in the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia. Senior officers usually had valets who were slaves, and at least one Confederate Band, the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band had a black cook. It is not clear whether the cook was hired or was a slave, or both. Harry Hall, A Johnny Reb Band From Salem (New York, 1980), p. 25.

<sup>36</sup>See the James Alston section on the following page.

of the commanding officer of the brigade to which said regiments or companies may belong.<sup>37</sup>

If this legislation was enforced, there were many black musicians being paid at least one dollar per month more than white Confederate soldiers in rifle companies.<sup>38</sup>

James H. Alston

When the officers of the Tuskegee Light Infantry Company prepared for service in the Confederate Provisional Army being raised in Alabama, there was much drilling of inexperienced soldiers to be done in a relatively short time. The Tuskegee company had no musicians and desperately needed at least a drummer to keep time, help with the cadence, and to beat the drum calls that announced every part of the routine military day.<sup>39</sup>

When no musicians could be found, the officers of the company decided to solicit contributions from the members

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<sup>37</sup>Legislation passed by the Confederate Congress entitled, "An Act for the Payment of Musicians in the Army Not Regularly Enlisted," passed on April 15, 1862 from the Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America (Washington, 1905).

<sup>38</sup>Legislation was passed in all Southern states to raise a provisional army for the defense of each state. These documents listed pay scales for all soldiers. An example is the Act to Raise a Provisional Force, State of Tennessee, located in the Tennessee State Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

<sup>39</sup>"History of the Third Alabama Volunteer Regiment, C. S. A.," an unpublished manuscript located in the Confederate Regimental History files of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

of the unit for the purpose of purchasing a slave who was able to play the drum. W. G. Swanson, surgeon of the company, was elected to attend the Olcott salve auction in Montgomery as the company representative. With \$1800 raised by the soldiers, Swanson found a black man who had experience as a drummer and bought him.<sup>40</sup>

James Alston, who was also known as Jim Auston by the Confederate soldiers, served through the war as a musician. Although he was an adequate drummer when he was brought to the unit, he became quite accomplished in performing the rudimental drumming tasks which were assigned to him. Alston was soon joined by bass drummer Gilbert Chase who was described as "a giant Negro . . . hired to beat the bass drum."<sup>41</sup> When the Tuskegee Light Guard was merged into the Third Alabama Infantry Regiment, Alston and Chase remained with the Tuskegee Company, but there is no record of their later war time activities.<sup>42</sup>

James Alston became a black political activist after the Civil War and in 1866 was elected to the Alabama State Legislature. He was greatly respected by the black community which he represented because of loyalty and honesty to his constituents. Alston served in the

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Muster rolls of the Third Alabama Infantry located in the Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

Republican legislature during Reconstruction and was a member of the political coalition called the Union League.<sup>43</sup>

Many white Alabamians were harmed in this time of political and social upheaval in their communities and were unable to accept the black representatives of the carpetbaggers and Northern politicians. Efforts were made by some members of the Democratic political party to discredit Alston by offering him money not to seek reelection. A bribe of \$3000 was refused by the legislator, who later testified in a trial that he could not betray the confidence placed in him by the black people of Macon County who elected him to office.<sup>44</sup>

Having failed in an attempt to remove Alston from office through schemes of graft and corruption, violence was threatened and finally enacted. Members of the Ku Klux Klan terrorized the Alston home in Montgomery by shooting at the house and wounding Alston and his wife. The Alstons were forced to leave their home at the State Capitol and return to Tuskegee.<sup>45</sup>

James Alston was an unusual man who overcame many of the adversities of slavery. He learned to read and write and learned the crafts of boot making and rudimental drumming

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<sup>43</sup>Arthur Williams, "The Participation of Negroes in the Government of Alabama," unpublished master's thesis, History Department, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

while a slave. Although purchased by the members of the Tuskegee Light Infantry, Alston was technically the property of Confederate General Cullen Battle, Commander of the Third Alabama Regiment, who referred to the slave as "a valuable servant."<sup>46</sup>

The position occupied by Alston during slavery was one of privilege when compared to the lives of slaves who served their masters as common laborers or field hands. With emancipation and the Northern victory in the Civil War, Alston became an obvious choice as a black leader and politician.

Black musicians played an important role in the everyday routine of the Confederate armies. Whether they served as slaves who were pressed into service, slaves who volunteered for service but were not formally mustered, or freemen of color serving as volunteers who were formally enlisted soldiers of the Confederacy, their contributions were respected at least as much as those of most white Confederate musicians. They were often remembered for loyalty and bravery in reminiscences written by former Confederates.

The treatment of black musicians in the Confederate service seems contrary to the notion often held by Southern

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<sup>46</sup>Peter Kolchin, First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction (Westport, Connecticut, 1972), pp. 166-167.

whites during slavery that blacks were to be considered as property rather than as human beings. The fact that a black man was talented enough to serve as a Confederate musician may have been reason enough for special treatment, often given only to the most loyal slaves who worked as personal servants in the homes of rich white plantation owners. Before the war, slave musicians and entertainers were often rewarded for entertaining their masters and guests by receiving gratuities and special privileges.<sup>47</sup>

The available evidence indicates that there were far more white Confederate musicians than black musicians serving with Confederate forces. There seems to be no reason to believe, however, that there were measurable differences in the duties or services rendered by musicians of either race.

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<sup>47</sup>Eileen Southern, The Music of Black Americans (New York, 1971), pp. 163-171.

## CHAPTER X

### THE MUSICAL REPERTORY OF THE CONFEDERATE BANDS

Confederate bandmasters were usually master arrangers and were sometimes composers as well. Most of the music played in the parlors of homes in Southern cities was arranged for military band by Confederate musicians who often traded or sold arrangements with bandmasters of other Confederate ensembles.<sup>1</sup>

William H. Hartwell, bandmaster of the Sixteenth Mississippi Regiment Band, William H. Neave, bandmaster of the Fourth North Carolina Regimental Band, and Samuel T. Mickey, bandmaster of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band, arranged many pieces that were performed not only by their own military bands, but by other Confederate bands as well.<sup>2</sup>

Forty Southern publishing companies in fifteen Confederate cities published more than 750 songs during the Civil War.<sup>3</sup> Thus, Confederate musicians had little difficulty in securing the latest sheet music to arrange for bands.

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<sup>1</sup>For more information about Confederate bandmasters and arrangers of music for Confederate Bands, see Chapter VIII.

<sup>2</sup>Band books of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>3</sup>William Mahar, "March to the Music," Civil War Times Illustrated, XXIII (September, 1984), 18.

Many songs were played, sung, and enjoyed by both Northern and Southern soldiers and musicians. "Home Sweet Home" by Henry Bishop was a bittersweet piece for most of the soldiers on both sides, who were eager to see loved ones and friends from whom they had been separated for long periods of time. The tune bore even more emotional meaning to these men who saw comrades fall each day, never to return to their homes.<sup>4</sup>

Yankee bandmaster and composer George F. Root was the author of several pieces which were appreciated by both Confederate and Federal sympathizers alike. "The Vacant Chair" and "Just Before the Battle Mother" are pieces which bear titles expressing the highly emotional content of the lyrics and melodies of the tune.<sup>5</sup>

Several music publishers sold arrangements of their music for brass band. Schreiner and Son Publishing Company of Macon, Georgia, with branches in Savannah and Augusta, often advertised music arranged for brass bands in local newspapers. In June of 1861, The Macon Telegraph of Macon,

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<sup>4</sup>"Home Sweet Home" was a popular favorite which was often requested of many of the Confederate bands on the battlefields and during concerts. The piece is often mentioned as the emotional finish to the impromptu "battles of the bands" during lulls in major battles. Discussion of "Home Sweet Home" performances by Confederate bands can be found in Chapters V, VI, and VII.

<sup>5</sup>George F. Root, The Silver Lute (Cincinnati, 1862), "Just Before the Battle," p. 186, and "The Vacant Chair," p. 130. This song book is part of the collection of this writer.

Georgia, featured advertisements placed by Schreiner and Son featuring vocal music, piano music, drums of all sizes, fifes, and music arranged for brass band.<sup>6</sup>

Hermann Schreiner, the son of Schreiner and Son, was a prolific composer and arranger of Confederate patriotic music. Immediately following any event of importance to the people of the South, Hermann Schreiner would write a tune, publish it with his own presses, and sell the sheet music at his stores in several Southern cities. As Bandmaster of the Macon Brass Band, Schreiner made sure that arrangements of his compositions were performed often by his brass band and quickly available to the public. The newspaper editors were quick to mention the availability of these new pieces because the composer always sent free copies for the editor to keep.<sup>7</sup>

Some of Hermann L. Schreiner's most popular compositions published during the Civil War are "Noli Me Tangere," composed and dedicated to the Minute Men South;

<sup>6</sup>The Macon Telegraph, June 3, 1861.

<sup>7</sup>Many issues of The Macon Telegraph, The Augusta Chronicle, The Sumter Republican and The Savannah Daily News during the war years include editorial thank you notes for the latest sheet music which was presented as a gift to the editor. An example appears in The Savannah Daily News of May 7, 1863. "We have received from the author a copy of 'General Mercer's Grand March,' composed by Mr. Herman Schreiner and dedicated to Brigadier General Hugh W. Mercer of this city." These editorials were probably free publicity for the composer who just happened to have many copies of the piece available for sale to the public in his local music store.

"The Battle Flag Polka;" "Soldier's Grave;" "When This Cruel War is Over;" "God Defendeth the Right;" "The Wearin' of the Gray;" "Nobody Hurt March;" "The Empire State Grand March;" "The Secession Quickstep;" "General Lee's Grand March;" and "General Beauregard's Quickstep."<sup>8</sup>

There is no indication that Hermann L. Schreiner served the Confederate military in any official capacity.<sup>9</sup> Through his music, Schreiner made contributions to the Confederate cause. His companies were responsible for the publication and distribution of more than one hundred titles during the War Between the States.<sup>10</sup>

One of the South's most popular Civil War era composers was John Hill Hewitt, a newspaper editor from Baltimore, Maryland. Hewitt, who described himself as more of a writer and journalist than music composer or musician, settled in Savannah after the start of the war and became a partner of Hermann Schreiner in October of 1863.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>The Macon Telegraph, January 10, 1861; June 3, 1861; and February 7, 1863.

<sup>9</sup>Confederate service records of all Georgia Confederate soldiers preserved on microfilm in the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia.

<sup>10</sup>Richard B. Harwell, Confederate Music (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1950), p. 98.

<sup>11</sup>Gilbert Chase, America's Music (New York, 1955), p. 177; Harwell, p. 19 and Laura D. Solomons, "Hermann L. Schreiner: Savannah Publisher and Composer," unpublished paper, Music Department, Georgia Southern College, 1981, pp. 4-7.

Hewitt wrote a number of very popular songs which found their way into the band books of Southern bands during the last two years of the Civil War. Schreiner and Son of Macon and Savannah published a collection of the most popular Hewitt pieces in 1863. Distributed by twelve music companies from Richmond, Virginia, to Selma, Alabama, sheet music was easily obtained by Confederate bandmasters and musicians. "The Music Olio or Favorite Gems of that Popular Southern Composer John H. Hewitt" contained eight pieces, "Rock Me to Sleep Mother;" "I Will Meet You There;" "You Are Going to the Wars, Willie Boy;" "The Stonewall Quickstep;" "The Young Volunteer;" "The Unknown Dead;" "Dixie, the Land of King Cotton;" and "The Soldier's Farewell."<sup>12</sup> Because copyright laws were not enforced or did not exist in some states, Confederate musicians freely copied and made arrangements of any music.

Two Hewitt compositions appear in the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band Books. "Rock Me to Sleep Mother" was arranged for brass band by William H. Hartwell. It was probably played by several Confederate bands. "Soldier's Farewell Quickstep" was arranged for brass band by Twenty-sixth North Carolina Bandmaster Samuel T. Mickey.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>"The Music Olio" by John Hewitt is located in the research room of the Vicksburg, Mississippi Public Library.

<sup>13</sup>Band books of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band, located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

### "The Bonnie Blue Flag"

One of the most popular songs of the Southern Confederacy during the War Between the States was "The Bonnie Blue Flag" composed by Harry McCarthy. McCarthy and his wife Lottie were traveling musicians who presented "variety concerts" of popular music and music from the minstrel shows during the late 1850's through January of 1861.<sup>14</sup>

"The Bonnie Blue Flag" was composed by McCarthy on January 9, 1861, at the end of the Mississippi Convention at which representatives signed the Ordinance of Secession.

. . . immediately after the prayer . . . a beautiful silk flag with a single white star in the center of a blue field was handed to President of the secession convention Barry who, after a brief pause, waved it, and with a tear in his eye and a tremor in his voice, remarked that it was the first flag of the new republic. The members saluted it by rising, the vast audience present united in shouts of applause.<sup>15</sup>

Having witnessed this stirring scene, McCarthy left the convention hall and composed his song. The following evening, January 10, 1861, McCarthy performed his composition of "The Bonnie Blue Flag, that Bears a Single Star" during his concert at the old theater in Jackson.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup>A. J. Thomas, "About Bonnie Blue Flag," The Confederate Veteran, III (October, 1985), 301.

<sup>15</sup>Franklin L. Ripley, School History of Mississippi (Jackson, 1871), pp. 224-225.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

It is not known whether McCarthy, a comic actor by profession, was moved more by patriotism or by the chance to make a profit when he composed his song. It is known that McCarthy persuaded Colonel J. L. Power, Mississippi Secretary of State, to print 1000 copies of the original version of the tune the very day after he wrote the piece, just hours before he premiered the piece at the old theater.<sup>17</sup>

McCarthy lost no time in securing a publisher for his composition. Within six months of the first performance of the tune, A. E. Blackmar & Company of New Orleans published the first edition of "The Bonnie Blue Flag."<sup>18</sup>

The piece was a commercial success from the first day it became available to the public. Before the Blackmar printing, the music was produced and sold in Mississippi by Power and was probably sold by McCarthy at his concerts.<sup>19</sup> The initial popularity of the piece was at least partially because at the time of Mississippi's secession, there was no Confederacy, and therefore no flag of secession.

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Letter from Charlotte Capers, Director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi dated February 18, 1947, to Mrs. Frank Jones of the Sidney Lanier Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. This correspondence is located in the research room of the Cannonball House Museum, Macon, Georgia.

<sup>19</sup>Ripley, pp. 224-225.

The first Bonnie Blue Flag was used by the sixteen coastal Mississippi counties who, through revolution against Spanish control, became the Independent Republic of West Florida in 1810. A flag similar to the one flown during the Texas Revolution of 1836 waved before the cheering crowds at the Mississippi Secession Convention in 1861. This Bonnie Blue Flag was used only a few days as the unofficial secession flag of Mississippi until another flag was adopted.<sup>20</sup>

McCarthy's composition of "The Bonnie Blue Flag" became so popular in the South that it was often mistaken for a kind of national anthem. The piece was probably performed and sung as much as any other by Southern patriots and military musicians. It was a tune so often requested of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Bandsmen that bandmaster Samuel Mickey arranged a medley of "Dixie" and "The Bonnie Blue Flag," which was one of the first tunes in the band's collection of music.<sup>21</sup>

By summer of 1861, "The Bonnie Blue Flag" was being sung and performed almost everywhere in the South. It became even more popular as the war progressed and was used by Southerners as a political protest song to show

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<sup>20</sup>Letter from Charlotte Capers, dated January 14, 1947, to Mrs. Frank F. Jones.

<sup>21</sup>Band books of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band.

their opposition to Union government in cities occupied by Federal soldiers.<sup>22</sup>

No Union officer was more despised by Southerners in occupied territory than General Benjamin "Beast" Butler, the commander of occupied New Orleans. The singing of "The Bonnie Blue Flag" became so irritating to Butler that one of his first official acts in the occupied city was to close Blackmar & Company Publishers. The business was closed without a trial because it continued to publish and distribute Southern patriotic music in general. "The Bonnie Blue Flag" so outraged Butler that all copies were ordered to be found and destroyed.<sup>23</sup>

With the presses of Blackmar's New Orleans facility out of business and the offending music burned, Butler mistakenly thought that the circulation of the music would stop. Blackmar simply moved to his Augusta location and continued his operation, while Schreiner and Son of Macon and Savannah, and Burke of Macon increased their production of sheet music.<sup>24</sup> "The Bonnie Blue Flag" became the most frequently published song of the Confederacy, printed in twelve editions over a period of only four years.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>William A. Heaps and Porter W. Heaps, The Swinging Sixties (Norman, Oklahoma, 1960), pp. 8-11.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Mahar, p. 16.

## "Lorena"

Another piece of popular music that was loved by Southern soldiers had nothing to do with patriotism or the war effort. It was a very sentimental love ballad written years before the Civil War by a Universalist minister from Ohio. Originally entitled "Bertha," Henry de Lafayette Webster changed the name of his lyrics to "Lorena." The text was set to music in 1858 by J. P. Webster, who was not related to Henry Webster.<sup>26</sup>

The song is the typically tragic story of unrequited love which the Confederate soldiers sang with melancholy thoughts of home. It seemed that the more the song was racked with emotion and sadness, the better it was liked. A former Confederate soldier described the effects of "Lorena" on a lonely soldier as the song was sung in the evening after a particularly hard day of fighting. His thoughts turned to the man who wrote and sang the song for his lost love.

Lieutenant Brady . . . sang "The years creep slowly by, Lorena" as I had never heard it sung before or since. I thought that if the sad, wan, heartbroken lover recluse heard that song of his so sweetly sung, the music of the rich, full tenor voice floating upward to the heaven of harmony for which he was loathing and waiting, what dreams of the past must have floated across his memory. What unspeakable sadness must have filled his heart.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>James H. McNeilly, "The Story of Lorena," The Confederate Veteran, XXIII (May, 1915), 211.

<sup>27</sup>John A. Wyeth, "Songs of Soldier Days," The Confederate Veteran, XXIII (May, 1915), 210.

"Lorena" grew to be such a popular hit tune that Mary Boykin Chestnut, wife of a member of the Confederate Cabinet, related a story that she overheard about the song in her diary.

. . . there is a girl in her large hoops and a calico frock at every piano between Richmond and Mississippi, banging on the out of tune thing and looking up into a man's face singing out that song. The man wears a soiled and battle stained uniform, but his heart is fresh enough, as he hangs over her, to believe in Lorena . . . .<sup>28</sup>

#### "Eatin' Goober Peas"

When not concerned with patriotism, thoughts of loved ones far away, or impending death in battle, the Confederate soldier often amused himself with songs purely for entertainment. Many of these popular tunes were so often requested of the regimental bands that bandmasters were forced to write arrangements of them for inclusion in their performances.

One such song was made famous by South Georgia boys from Sumter County, which has always been famous for growing peanut crops. The silly tune tells of a young Confederate soldier sitting on the side of the road with his "mess mates" lamenting the fact that they had little to eat. Often the food they were issued was spoiled or rotten. They

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<sup>28</sup>Mary Lockett Avary and Isabella D. Martin, editors, A Diary From Dixie, The Diary of Mary Boykin Chestnut (Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1961), p. 304.

started to daydream about the taste of home grown peanuts, known to Georgia boys as goobers, or goober peas. There are several nonsense verses which are satires on army life, but the chorus of the song is always the same.

Peas! Peas! Peas! Peas! eatin' goober peas!  
 Goodness how delicious, eatin' goober peas!<sup>29</sup>

Although there is no mention of this music being played by a regimental band, the popularity of this piece with the men of the Fourth Georgia Regiment is reason to believe that the Fourth Georgia Band played the tune. As the soldiers rested around the campfires in the evenings, there were probably many times when they were accompanied by the band while singing "Goober Peas" and other favorites.

#### "Listen to the Mockingbird"

"Listen to the Mockingbird" is a fast tempo tune that was often performed by Confederate military bands to show off the technical virtuosity of a solo Eb cornet player. The chorus features double tonguing and several grace notes which are well suited to be played on Eb cornet.<sup>30</sup> The light and frolicking tune provided the soldiers with a well deserved opportunity to think about something besides war.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup>Heaps and Heaps, p. 136.

<sup>30</sup>This writer has performed "Listen to the Mockingbird" many times as solo Eb cornetist with Clyde Noble's Thirty-seventh Georgia Band.

<sup>31</sup>Books 1 and 2 of the band books of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band.

It probably would have surprised many of the soldiers to know that the happy tune they enjoyed in quickstep style was actually a very sad song. The text of the song tells the story of a poor little girl named "Hally [who] sleeps [lies dead] in the valley [as] the mocking bird sings gayly o'er her grave."<sup>32</sup>

#### "The Girl I Left Behind Me"

Music was part of every Confederate soldier's life each day even though many Southern military units did not include brass bands. Every Confederate soldier was usually within hearing distance of fifes and drums. Almost every company of soldiers, no matter how small, had at least one fifer and one drummer.<sup>33</sup> Most fifers and drummers, no matter how poorly prepared or inexperienced in musicianship, probably played "The Girl I Left Behind Me."

Written in 1818 by the English writer Sir Thomas Moore, "The Girl I Left Behind Me" was popular on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line.<sup>34</sup> As soldiers of Southern militia companies left home for the battlefields, "The Girl I Left Behind Me" was often the marching tune played by the band

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<sup>32</sup>Mahar, p. 16.

<sup>33</sup>Rosters and muster rolls of Confederate infantry regiments located in libraries and archives collections that were examined for this study reveal that few of these organizations failed to include at least a drummer and a fifer.

<sup>34</sup>Mahar, p. 44.

or field musicians. A former soldier remembered the tune years later.

It ever propelled the martial spirit that determined action in battle . . . . I stepped to its dulcet sound like a three year old champing his bit and ready to go. As a soldier boy when the drum and fife played it, I stepped to the tune on the march in harmony with the exact time its martial accents prompted. When the Band played it, I was taken back home to father and mother and loved ones and above all, to the sweet winning smiles of the "Dulcinea" of my youth.<sup>35</sup>

#### Daniel Decatur Emmett and "Dixie"

"Dixie" has become the song most commonly associated with the old South and the Confederacy. Written in 1859 by Daniel D. Emmett, the tune was conceived at the request of minstrel show owner Jerry Bryant, who asked for a "hurrah walk around" melody for the actors of the Bryant Brothers Minstrel Company.<sup>36</sup>

Emmett began to get the idea for the melody on a Saturday and sang some of the tune for Bryant. The show owner was so pleased that he asked Emmett to have the song ready for the Monday rehearsal. The completed tune was so well accepted by Bryant that the company rehearsed the piece all day on Monday and premiered the composition that night.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>B. L. Ridley, "The Girls We Left Behind Us," The Confederate Veteran, XXI (March, 1913), 139.

<sup>36</sup>S. A. Cunningham, "Uncle Dan Emmett, Author of 'Dixie'," The Confederate Veteran, I (March, 1985), 118.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

The first performance of "Dixie" took place in New York on April 4, 1859.<sup>38</sup>

Bryant Brothers Minstrel Show toured the United States during the remainder of 1859 and early 1860. "Dixie" was done as a white face minstrel show with white actors portraying black singers with contrived accents. The tune was a hit with audiences in all regions of the United States almost immediately.<sup>39</sup>

As the show toured the South, large crowds flocked to performances. While in Montgomery, Alabama, "Dixie" was performed as usual, but the events of the evening were far from ordinary. After the performance, Bandmaster Herman F. Arnold of the Montgomery Theater Orchestra rushed backstage to try to speak with Emmett. Arnold was so taken with "Dixie" that he wanted to know where he could buy the music. Emmett replied that he was flattered that Arnold liked his composition but that the piece was unpublished and could not be purchased at any price.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Clyde E. Noble, "The True Story of Dixie," The Banner, LXXX (July, 1976), 5.

<sup>39</sup>Cunningham, "Uncle Dan Emmett", p. 118.

<sup>40</sup>The Alabama Department of Archives and History Building features museum exhibits on three floors. An exhibit on the third floor entitled "The Man Who Made Dixie Famous" features a mural of Emmett dictating the music and Arnold copying the tune on the theater wall. In a display case along with the story is the first manuscript of the tune copied from the wall by Arnold and the Alabama bandmaster's cornet.

Arnold finally persuaded Emmett to allow him to copy the piece as the composer dictated the song to him. Having no manuscript paper, Arnold searched his pockets for any scrap of paper to scribble the notes of the song, but found none. He was afraid that Emmett might change his mind if he delayed any longer, so the Alabama musician copied the tune on the closest wall. As composer Daniel Emmett sang the tune, Frank Arnold scribbled furiously on the wall of the theater. Arnold recopied the music in the correct form on staff paper and arranged the music for brass band as a quickstep march.<sup>41</sup>

Arnold's band was invited to play at the inauguration ceremonies of Confederate President Designate Jefferson Davis. On February 18, 1861, as Davis and his party moved from their Montgomery hotel to the first capitol of the Confederacy at the Alabama State House, Arnold's band led the way. The musicians were followed by the First Alabama Regiment and the President's carriage drawn by six gray horses. When the carriage took its place in the procession, Arnold's band struck up "Dixie." This was the first time that "Dixie" was performed by a band. Arnold and his musicians were located near the steps of the Capitol Building during the ceremonies as thousands of spectators

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

crowded around. "Dixie" was heard from that location many times during the day.<sup>42</sup>

As news of the inaugural ceremonies and celebrations spread through the new Confederacy, people were eager to hear the new music that excited the crowds in Montgomery. The music was first published in sheet music form by Warlein Publishers of New Orleans.<sup>43</sup> The first authorized and official publication was by Firth, Pond and Company of New York in June, 1860.<sup>44</sup>

Soon, "Dixie" was being played on pianos in sitting rooms through the South and became part of the repertory of every Southern brass band through arrangements by bandmasters from the piano score.

Whenever "Dixie" was played during the War Between the States, the music seemed to inspire Confederate soldiers to daring feats of bravery. There are many recorded instances where the strains of "Dixie" played by a Confederate band aroused almost superhuman fighting spirit in Southern soldiers.<sup>45</sup> As the tune was performed from the

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<sup>42</sup>S. A. Cunningham, "When the Band First Played Dixie," The Confederate Veteran, XXXIV (June, 1926), 234.

<sup>43</sup>Mahar, p. 16.

<sup>44</sup>S. A. Cunningham, "Daniel Decatur Emmett," The Confederate Veteran, XIII (March, 1905), 432.

<sup>45</sup>A powerful example of the effects of the playing of "Dixie" upon the Confederate soldiers took place at the Battle of Franklin, Tennessee. See chapter IV, pp. 153-162.

battlefields, on dress parades and reviews, and for ceremonial events, "Dixie" became synonymous with the Confederacy.

After the War Between the States, "Dixie" continued to be a song of fierce patriotic expression for Southerners and Confederate veterans, and took on an even deeper emotional significance as the years passed. The playing of "Dixie" signified a devotion to duty, homage to fallen comrades, and memories of what they considered to be a noble and almost holy cause.

The feeling that the music of "Dixie" possessed an almost magical quality at least partially explains the devotion and admiration that the people of the South, particularly the aging Confederate veterans, felt for the Yankee who composed the piece. Dan Emmett was revered to Southerners because of his contribution of the most powerful of Confederate anthems. Although it is certain that Daniel Emmett had no idea that "Dixie" would gain such popularity in the South that it would be virtually worshipped by generations of Southerners, he did not shy away from the attention and fame his composition provided him when his fortunes were lacking.<sup>46</sup>

Affectionately known as "Uncle Dan" since his early days as a traveling minstrel musician, Emmett was an

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<sup>46</sup>Cunningham, "Daniel Decatur Emmett," The Confederate Veteran, XIII (March, 1905), 432.

American music pioneer who "organized the first band of Ethiopian Minstrels that the world ever knew." Organized in 1843, the troupe toured the United States, England, Ireland, and Scotland with Emmett as the director of music for the company until his retirement in 1888. In his old age, Southerners accorded Daniel Emmett the respect and honor that would be appropriate for a senior statesman or Confederate war hero.<sup>47</sup>

In 1893, The Confederate Veteran reported that "Uncle Dan" at the age of 78 was living in near poverty while working on a life story of Daniel Boone in poetry which he hoped to sell. He received money occasionally from the Actors' Fund of New York and was "suffering from hardships and poverty, aged and forsaken."<sup>48</sup>

As early as 1895, Emmett was capitalizing upon the reverence for his composition that was felt by those who had fought as Confederate soldiers. Because of his popularity in the South and his lack of funds, Emmett toured the Southern states with the Al G. Field Minstrel Show. Field was charitable toward the old man and probably never expected that Emmett would be so popular with Southern audiences.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>S. A. Cunningham, "Uncle Dan Emmett, Author of Dixie," The Confederate Veteran, I (March, 1893), 118.

<sup>49</sup>S. A. Cunningham, "Uncle Dan Emmett, Author of Dixie," The Confederate Veteran, III (September, 1895), 9.

It was on this tour that Confederate Veteran editor S. A. Cunningham and Emmett met in person after much correspondence and became great friends. Cunningham became the old musician's press agent, informing his readership of Emmett's life in retirement and of his needs. Later in 1895, Cunningham traveled to Emmett's home in Mt. Vernon, Ohio, to visit the old man and conveyed "assurances of the friendship of the Southern people."<sup>50</sup> In return, Emmett presented Cunningham with an original copy of "Dixie," which was engraved and published in the magazine's first edition.<sup>51</sup>

Emmett was anxious to show that his ties to the South and to the Southern people ran deeper than music. He was quick to mention that his father was a native of Staunton, Virginia, and that his mother was born in Fredericksburg, Maryland.<sup>52</sup>

Daniel Emmett was forced to ask for charity in 1897 when he wrote to The Confederate Veteran to inform the readership that he had fallen on hard times. He asked editor Cunningham to help him.

You are aware that the Actors' Fund of New York has regularly contributed \$5 each week for my support, but for some unexplained cause this contribution was discontinued about six weeks since. This has caused me to get into debt for my board and certain other necessaries. Now my good friend, if it is not too much trouble to you to help me in my distress, could you, in conjunction with some of your particular friends, get me up a benefit? I have only two more payments

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., pp. 10-11.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

to receive [from the Actor's Fund] and then God only knows what I shall do. I live in hopes of my Southern brethren doing something for me.<sup>53</sup>

The readers of Cunningham's magazine responded generously, allowing Emmett to buy at least "the necessaries." The readers of The Confederate Veteran continued a fund for "Uncle Dan" that sustained him until his death in 1905.<sup>54</sup>

At the composer's funeral in 1905, hymns were sung, and as the casket was lowered into the grave, the Mt. Vernon, Ohio Band played "Dixie."<sup>55</sup> Efforts to honor Dan Emmett did not stop at his death. In 1900, he was nominated for membership in the Hall of Fame for Great Americans but narrowly missed election.<sup>56</sup> In 1915, a monument to the memory of the composer was erected in Mt. Vernon, Ohio. The inscription reads, "To the memory of Daniel Decatur Emmett, 1815-1904, whose song, "Dixie Land" inspired the courage and devotion of the Southern people and now thrills the hearts of a reunited nation."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>S. A. Cunningham, "Daniel D. Emmett, Author of Dixie," The Confederate Veteran, VI (January, 1898), 2.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>S. A. Cunningham, "Uncle Dan Emmett," The Confederate Veteran, XIII (March, 1905), 432.

<sup>56</sup>S. A. Cunningham, "The Author of Dixie and Hall of Fame," The Confederate Veteran, XXII (January, 1914), 21.

<sup>57</sup>S. A. Cunningham, "Monument to the Composer of Dixie Land," The Confederate Veteran, XXIV (February, 1916), 52. Some sources list both 1904 and 1905 as the year of death.

It may not have been Dan Emmett's intention to endear himself to the Southern people or to align himself with the Confederacy, but through the incidental composition of a show tune for the minstrel, he did just that. Emmett and "Dixie" became synonymous during his last years, which proved to be fortunate for him. As he nearly starved in his old age, he was rescued by those who loved "Dixie." The relationship between Daniel Decatur Emmett and the South grew stronger as the participants in the American Civil War grew older and more nostalgic. Although more than 130 years have passed since the last Confederate band played "Dixie," the tune is still as much a part of the Southern heritage and tradition today as it was then.

#### "God Save the South"

If asked the name of the national anthem of the Confederacy, the most common answer from those who are familiar with the music of the period would probably be "Dixie." Although not officially designated as the Southern national anthem, the hymn-like composition by Ernest Halpin and Charles Ellerbrock was often used for those occasions where situations called for the reverence due an anthem.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>The song was written in 1861 and several versions appeared during the war. The Halpin version was the most popular and one of the many Confederate hits published by Schreiner and Son of Macon, Georgia. Material concerning the Schreiner publications is gathered from The Macon Telegraph and News 1858-1865; Solomons, pp. 4-7; and Mahar, p. 18.

The text of the song indicates the strong feeling that was prevalent in the Confederate states that God was indeed on the side of the South. It displays a kind of righteous indignation towards the Union invaders of the war of Northern aggression and upholds the idea that right was on the side of the Christian church people of the South.<sup>59</sup>

The tune, although original, is reminiscent of "God Bless America," or "God Save the Queen." It has a gentle and flowing melody and is harmonized in chorale style. The piece is well suited for brass bands of the size and instrumentation of the average Confederate military band.<sup>60</sup>

#### The Minstrel Influence

Two of the most famous composers of music most often played and sung by Confederate soldiers and Southern partisans during the War Between the States were musicians employed by traveling minstrel shows. There would never have been an Emmett composition of "Dixie" if the composer had not been employed by Bryant Brothers Minstrel Show. Although not as popular as "Dixie," Emmett's "Old Dan

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<sup>59</sup>"God Save the South" sheet music by Ernest Halpin and Charles Ellerbrock, published by Blackmar & Company, Augusta, Georgia, located in the Emory University Library, Atlanta, Georgia.

<sup>60</sup>The writer has performed a transcription of "God Save the South" from the piano score with the Thirty-seventh Georgia Band, which plays restored Civil War era instruments. The melody was played by the writer on a restored Eb cornet from the Clyde E. Noble collection.

Tucker" is a minstrel tune that became very popular and has been performed for generations.<sup>61</sup>

Harry McCarthy, composer of "The Bonnie Blue Flag," was known professionally as a traveling comic actor or minstrel actor. After his Southern patriotic music became popular, he began presenting solo concerts. McCarthy wrote several pieces with the same Southern patriotic texts during the Civil War which were influenced by his minstrel background. "Missouri!" or "A Voice from the South," "The Volunteer," and "Origin of the Stars and Bars" were overshadowed by McCarthy's success with "The Bonnie Blue Flag."<sup>62</sup>

Compositions by Stephen Foster were very popular with Southern musicians. Known as the greatest minstrel composer, Foster was influenced by black folk music as a child when he was often taken to black church services by a black family servant. Foster's pieces that were most popular and minstrel tunes most often played by Confederate musicians were "Camptown Races," "Massa's in de Cold, Cold Ground," "My Old Kentucky Home," "Old Black Joe," and "Old Folks at Home."<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Cunningham, "Daniel D. Emmett," 2.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>Eileen Southern, The Music of Black Americans (New York, 1971), p. 103.

Many pieces that had been used in minstrel shows were performed by Confederate musicians. The original version of "Listen to the Mocking Bird" by Richard Milburn was called a "Sentimental Ethiopian Ballad" for use in minstrel shows.<sup>64</sup>

A comical piece entitled "The Invalid Corps" was a satirical story of a soldier who pretended to be wounded or sick to get out of duty. The tune was first presented as a part of Buckley's Minstrel Show and gained popularity with Union and Confederate soldiers.<sup>65</sup>

Minstrel shows were probably the most popular form of entertainment for both Northern and Southern Americans before the Civil War, and they continued to be popular in the winter camps of the opposing armies. The Confederate Army of Northern Virginia had several units that presented full-fledged minstrel shows and even constructed elaborate theaters to house their productions.

During the winter of 1863-1864, the Stonewall Brigade and a Louisiana Brigade combined to build a theater, produce a minstrel show complete with staging, skits, choruses, and an orchestra at their winter quarters at Orange County Court House, Virginia. They charged \$1 per person admission and presented a show with the most popular minstrel songs of the

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>65</sup>Francis A. Lord and Arthur Wise, Bands and Drummer Boys of The Civil War (New York, 1979), p. 189.

day, with the proceeds going to charity.<sup>66</sup> There were probably many Confederate units that presented minstrel shows that may or may not have been as elaborate as that of the Stonewall Brigade during lulls in the fighting.

Noted historian Bell I. Wiley mentioned the influence of the Ethiopian style minstrel shows on the music played and sung in the camps of the common soldiers of the Civil War. One Confederate unit that caught Wiley's attention was Kenney's Louisiana Brigade, which boasted of a minstrel band of banjos, fiddles, brass instruments, and a "cross fiddle made of a drum head nailed over a whiskey keg with a rough pine neck and strings and screws accordin [sic]."<sup>67</sup>

Some Confederate officers were so fond of minstrel style music that they employed musicians who were known for the ability to perform minstrel pieces. General J. E. B. Steuart liked minstrel music so much that banjo player Sam Sweeney was a permanent member of the general staff who traveled with Steuart wherever he went. Steuart was well known for his flamboyant attitudes and was quick to call on Sam Sweeney for music for its pure entertainment value.

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<sup>66</sup>John O. Casler, Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade (Girard, Kansas, 1906), p. 205. For detailed descriptions of the Stonewall Brigade Minstrel Shows, see Chapter V.

<sup>67</sup>Bell Irvin Wiley, The Common Soldier in the Civil War (New York, 1958), p. 157.

Nonsense minstrel tunes were the favorites of both the General and the banjo picker.<sup>68</sup>

Minstrel tunes found their way into the Confederate band's repertory as they became popular with the soldiers. When a traveling show came through camps performing the latest music, bandmasters would simply make their own arrangements of the music that they wanted to perform.

The music of the Confederate bands consisted of popular music of the day, ballads, polkas, patriotic pieces and religious tunes. Tempi ranged from fast gallops and quicksteps to slow sentimental pieces and waltzes. Many bands included transcriptions of orchestral pieces and arias from their favorite operas in their band books. Some bands played these transcriptions so often and so well that they became known for performances of these works.

#### The Top Ten Confederate Band Tunes

William Mahar compiled a list of the top twenty songs of the Civil War in his 1984 article in the Civil War Times Illustrated. The list consists of the most popular pieces of Union and Confederate music determined by the number of copies sold.<sup>69</sup> Based on an examination of the sources used in this study which mention tunes performed by Confederate

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<sup>68</sup>Emory M. Thomas, Bold Dragoon (New York, 1986), pp. 141, 170, 180, 192, and 280.

<sup>69</sup>Mahar, p. 15.

bands, the following pieces have been determined to be the top ten tunes most often performed during the American Civil War by Confederate instrumental ensembles.

"Dixie" by Emmett  
"The Bonnie Blue Flag" by McCarthy  
"Lorena" by Webster  
"Listen to the Mocking Bird" by Milburn  
"God Save the South" by Halpin/Ellerbrock  
"Home Sweet Home" by Bishop  
"The Girl I Left Behind Me" by Moore  
"Juanita" by Norton  
"Dead March" from Saul  
"The Marseilles"

## CHAPTER 11

### CONCLUSIONS

It is incorrect to imply that there were few organized military bands in the Confederate armies. This study has verified that there were at least 138 military bands serving in the armies of the Confederate States of America during the American Civil War.<sup>1</sup> There were probably additional Confederate bands which remain unidentified because record keeping was not accurate in many Confederate military units. Bands attached to these units were often taken for granted and not mentioned in reports or included in muster rolls.

Most Confederate bands were previously organized as town bands or militia unit bands whose members enlisted enmasse in the Confederate military. There were occasions when bandsmen offered their services to a bandless military unit, but more often regimental or brigade officers would seek the services of a band to add prestige to their organizations.<sup>2</sup>

Bandsmen were normally appointed to the rank of private musician and received a monthly salary of one dollar more than infantry privates. Bandmasters were often appointed as regimental or brigade chief musicians and

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter II, pp. 47-48.

received a higher monthly salary than private musicians. The pay scale for the chief musician varied according to the rank assigned to the position. Regimental bandmasters were sometimes given the rank of sergeant, while brigade bandmasters were often promoted to the rank of captain. The pay for the Confederate bandmasters was not uniform throughout the service and was often determined by the unit to which the band was assigned.<sup>3</sup>

These men were professional musicians and music teachers before the war. Many were accomplished performers on stringed instruments as well as woodwind, brass, and percussion instruments. The bandmaster did not normally serve as a conductor but was a performing member of the ensemble, usually on solo Eb cornet.<sup>4</sup>

The majority of the music that was performed by Confederate bands was arranged especially for each band by the bandmaster. The arrangements of some bandmasters such as William Hartwell and W. H. Neave were so popular that they were performed by several Confederate bands.<sup>5</sup>

While most Confederate bandsmen and musicians were white, black musicians were not uncommon. The available evidence indicates that the black musicians of the Southern

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<sup>3</sup>See Chapter III, pp. 88-92.

<sup>4</sup>See Chapter VIII, p. 383.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

military units provided the same musical service as white musicians and served honorably. Some Confederate bands were composed entirely of black musicians who served either as non-mustered musicians or as regularly enlisted soldiers of the Confederate army. Legislation passed by the Confederate Congress provided for black Confederate musicians to receive the same pay and rank as white Confederate bandsmen and field musicians.<sup>6</sup>

More military bands served in the Union armies than in the Confederate armies. After 1862, Union forces were limited to one military band of sixteen musicians for each brigade. Some Federal regiments, however, managed to keep their regimental bands by having the musicians enlist as regular soldiers and assigning them to duty as bandsmen.<sup>7</sup>

Scholars have estimated that about 500 Union bands served during the Civil War and placed the number of bandsmen who served at about 9,000.<sup>8</sup> Some historians have stated that the number of Confederate bands "was no more than 125 bands and 1600 bandsmen."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>See Chapter IX, pp. 441-442.

<sup>7</sup>William A. Bufkin, "Union Bands of the Civil War; Instrumentation and Score Analysis," unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Music, Louisiana State University, 1973, pp. 62-65.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Mark Elrod and Robert Garofalo, Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments and Military Bands (Charleston, West Virginia, 1986), p. 56.

There were more than 125 Confederate bands. A more realistic estimate places the number of Southern military bands to be in excess of 155 ensembles.<sup>10</sup>

Estimating the number of Southern military bandsmen who served the Confederacy is more difficult. Few bands served their entire enlistment with no additions or replacements to their ranks. Many ensembles had few of their original members remaining at the end of the war. Generally, the attrition rate for Confederate musicians was quite high. A reasonable estimate of the total number of bandsmen who served the Confederacy as musicians during the War Between the States is approximately 2400 men.<sup>11</sup>

Regardless of whether or not a Confederate military band was designated as a regimental band, battalion band, or brigade band, it was often the only band for several regiments and usually was assigned to the same duties as a brigade band. Even though some Union regiments retained bands after the summer of 1862, there was an average of one band per brigade. There were more than three times as many

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<sup>10</sup>See Appendix B, Confederate Bands List.

<sup>11</sup> If the total number of bands in the Confederate military was about 155 with an average strength of 12 men, bandsmen would have numbered 1860. If only one quarter of these men were discharged, or killed, and were replaced, the number of bandsmen who served the Confederacy would have been approximately 2325. There were certainly more than 75 men during the four year period who were absent without leave and replaced. This makes the 2400 estimate of the total number of Confederate bandsmen a rather conservative figure.

Union bandsmen as Confederate bandsmen and more than four Union army bands for every Confederate band.

Estimates of Civil War troop strength indicate that from 600,000 to 1,500,000 men served as Confederate soldiers, and approximately 2,130,000 men served as Union army soldiers. If the low figure is correct for Confederate forces, more than 3.5 Union soldiers served for every Confederate soldier. This figure is approximately the same as the ratio of Northern to Southern Civil War bandsmen. If the larger figure is a more accurate estimate of Confederate strength, Southern soldiers were outnumbered more than two to one.<sup>12</sup>

Evidence seems to indicate that bands in the Confederate forces, when considered in proportion to the number of men in the Confederate service, were only slightly fewer in number than the ratio of Union bands to the total number of federal soldiers. One Union band was authorized for each brigade, although some evidence of illegal regimental bands exists. While not every Confederate brigade included bands, there seem to have been few Southern brigades without the services of at least one small regimental band. Because the average Confederate band was smaller by

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<sup>12</sup>Mark M. Boatner III, The Civil War Dictionary (New York, 1959), pp. 169, 612, and 858; Thomas L. Livermore, Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America: 1861-65 (Bloomington, Indiana, 1957), pp. 1-56.

approximately six men than a Federal brigade band, the difference in the total number of musicians who served is not surprising.<sup>13</sup>

The available evidence indicates that there were certainly Confederate bands of inferior musical ability, as well as a number of ensembles known for consistently high quality in their musical performances. However, the implication that Confederate military bands were routinely substandard in musical performance is generally unfounded.

Statements which mention unsatisfactory performances of Southern military bands during the War Between the States can be traced to individuals who compared a few poorly trained brass bands of seven or eight players to such professional military ensembles as the Coldstream Guards Band or the United States Marine Band of the 1860's. Few Union bands of the day would have fared better in comparison.

There were certainly Union bands like William Gilmore's Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Band which were

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<sup>13</sup>Most Confederate bands were smaller than Union bands and were without the benefit of standard numbers of men or consistently standard instrumentation. They ranged in size from field bands of three to four musicians to large brass bands of more than twenty-five instrumentalists. Instrumentation in these groups was as varied as their numbers of musicians. The instruments played by Confederate bandsmen were usually provided by the individual musicians and were part of the personal property of the bandsman at the time of enlistment. As a result, it was not unusual for Confederate bands to have bell front, bell upright, and over-the-shoulder instruments.

superior to most Confederate military bands in balanced instrumentation and probably in performance.<sup>14</sup> There seems to be little evidence to suggest with any degree of certainty, however, that the majority of the Southern bands were of inferior musical quality when compared to the average Union bands of the period.

It seems somewhat unfair to compare modern school bands with the Civil war era bands of either side as some scholars have done. The sound of the average Confederate band, with its small numbers of performers cannot compete in quality, volume, or brassy sound with larger bands using modern brass and percussion instruments. The brass instruments of the Civil War era were conical bore horns which lacked the cutting edge quality of timbre found in bands with modern brass instruments. The rope tension drums with calf skin heads are no match for the batter head snare drums with mechanical tension used today.

There is no way to state with any degree of certainty that the average band of the Civil War era was as good as some modern high school bands. As with original performances of the music of Bach and Handel, there is no way for modern musicians to know how Civil War bands actually sounded. We are not able to hear an actual performance from the Civil War period. Any comparison of the quality of bands of the Civil War period must be based on evidence gathered by examining the technical demands

required to perform the music played by the Confederate bands and by examining the difficulties involved in performing on the instruments of the period.

Few brass players from the most modern high school bands would be able to satisfactorily execute the technical demands of a Civil War era E flat cornet part. This instrument is more difficult to master than the B flat cornet or trumpet because of problems of intonation and sustaining continually high ranges. Even if the parts were transposed for a B flat trumpet or cornet, the technical level of expertise necessary to perform these parts with accuracy is above the ability of most high school and many college level performers.

Most of the technical demands of other brass parts are not outside the grasp of good modern high level musicians, but the temperamental nature of the instruments, even when restored to mint condition, would severely test the most competent high school brass player. To perform the music played by the musicians of the Confederate bands with an acceptable degree of technical proficiency and satisfactory intonation requires performers who possess at least the musical ability of college sophomore music major.

Considering the rather primitive stage of development of the brass instruments of the Civil War period, the music which was performed, and the conditions to which the musicians were subjected, the average Confederate military

bands were probably not as good as most division I or superior rated high school bands. However, the average Confederate band was probably as good as many of today's small school bands which continually score ratings of III (good) or less.

Some historians have stated that few Confederate military bands remained late in the war because all available manpower was mobilized for duty at the front lines. This statement appears to be incorrect. There were at least forty Confederate bands that served through the war up to the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox, Virginia, and are included on the last muster rolls.<sup>15</sup>

Probably a number of bands were not included on the list. It is known that some bands, like the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Band, surrendered just days before the final surrender and were taken as prisoners of war. It is probable that a number of bands were not identified because of poor record keeping caused by the tremendous confusion that must have existed at the time.

General Joseph E. Johnston's Confederate Army of Tennessee, second in strength only to Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, surrendered on April 26, 1865, seventeen days after the Appomattox surrender. There were bands assigned

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<sup>15</sup>R. J. Brock and Philip Van Doren Stern, editors, The Appomattox Roster (New York, 1962).

to the Army of Tennessee that served for the entire conflict and were surrendered as part of the army. Because no final muster rolls survived the years since the surrender of the Army of Tennessee, the number of bands that served in this Confederate army through the end of the war cannot be accurately determined.

Confederate bands were an essential part of the organization of the Southern armies. This is not to imply that the American Civil War could not have been fought if the Confederate Armies did not include bands. Confederate officers realized the importance of good military bands and relied on their bands to fight a kind of unsophisticated form of psychological warfare. Bands were used to alter the behavior of the Confederate soldiers by cheering them when they had suffered heavy losses, entertaining them when the routine of camp life became almost insufferable, and by exciting them to willingly risk their lives in battle.

Almost as important as the effects of the Southern bands on the moods of the Confederates were the messages that the music of the Confederate military bands sent across the battle lines to Union soldiers and officers who were close enough to hear them. A good military band playing spirited tunes implied a strong and high-spirited military organization. Union officers might have considered that Confederate units which could supply and equip full-sized military bands indicated strength.

Perhaps the most important contribution of the Confederate bands was the feeling of well-being that their music generated among the Southern soldiers. The effects of patriotic band music helped poorly equipped, undertrained, raggedly dressed, and often bafefooted farm boys to feel that they could rise above any obstacle, against all odds to win in no win situations. A good band playing "Dixie" was almost as good as magic to Confederate officers desperately trying to rally their troops.<sup>16</sup>

Just as in the Union army, bands were important to the Confederate soldier for more than music. Soldiers were often rescued by bandsmen from the battlefield when hurt, left to the care of bandsmen when wounded, and nursed to health by bandsmen assigned to field hospitals.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Although Confederate musicians were normally classified as noncombatants, there were times when Southern bands were performing at the front lines and during battles. Southern military bands provided music during raging battles on several occasions. The Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band and the Eleventh North Carolina Regimental Band were combined for a performance to try to raise morale during battles at Gettysburg. Regimental bands participated in the charge of Confederate troops during the Battle of Franklin, Tennessee. Other less spectacular performances were provided for the entertainment of Confederate soldiers at the front lines while some shooting took place, but these occurrences were relatively rare.

<sup>17</sup>Confederate bandsmen and musicians were organized as somewhat self-sufficient units in much the same manner as Union Military bands. The entire Confederate military was patterned after the prewar United States Army by Confederates who were former Union officers. There were few differences in the structure of Union and Confederate armies as written in military regulations. Confederate bandsmen and musicians performed duties similar to those of the Union bandsmen.

The major differences between the Union and Confederate military bands were essentially the same differences that existed between the two opposing armies. The Union bands were more uniform throughout the Federal land units. They were ensembles composed of consistent numbers of men with standard musical instrumentation.<sup>18</sup> Union bands were better clothed, better fed, and were usually supplied with the necessities of military life in the field.

The men who served as Confederate musicians were no different from military bandsmen of other generations. They served their country using their musical talents as military bandsmen. Most of them probably would rather have remained in civilian life rather than join the military, but they did their duty.

#### Recommendations for Further Research

Most available references to the Confederate military bands that have been preserved were examined for this study. It is possible that more information will become available to scholars in the future from private collections and through the estates of descendants of Confederate musicians. Documents and diaries detailing the activities of

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<sup>18</sup>Federal bandsmen generally performed on matching sets of over-the-shoulder saxhorns with drums and cymbals and sometimes a woodwind instrument. Standard instrumentation was two Eb cornets, two Eb alto horns, two Bb tenor horns, two Bb baritone horns, one Eb bass, and three percussion.

Confederate bands that are unknown at present may yield new information of interest to band historians and scholars.

Students of band history may be able to find references to bands that served as Confederate military ensembles by examining newspapers preserved on microfilm in local libraries. This process could yield information concerning bands about which nothing is known at present.

The sources that are available at present seem to be enough for only one comprehensive study of the Confederate military bands. Unless a substantial amount of material from new sources is discovered, further large scale research efforts dealing with the subject of Confederate military bands should probably be discouraged.

## APPENDIX A

### Archives and Libraries Visited

#### Alabama

Alabama Department of Archives And History  
Montgomery, Alabama

The Confederate White House Museum  
Montgomery, Alabama

#### Florida

Department of Archives and History  
Tallahassee, Florida

Florida State University  
Tallahassee, Florida

#### Georgia

Department of Archives and History  
Atlanta, Georgia

Blackshear Regional Library  
Americus, Georgia

Emory University  
Atlanta, Georgia

Forsyth County Library  
Cumming, Georgia

Georgia Historical Society  
Savannah, Georgia

Mercer University Stetson Library  
Macon, Georgia

Monroe City Library  
Monroe, Georgia

Muscogee County Library  
Columbus, Georgia

The Savannah Regional Library  
Savannah, Georgia

The Washington Library History and Genealogy Room  
Macon, Georgia

The University of Georgia  
Athens, Georgia

#### Louisiana

The Confederate Museum  
New Orleans, Louisiana

Louisiana State Archives  
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Louisiana State Library  
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Louisiana State University  
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

#### Mississippi

Atalla County Library  
Kosciusko, Mississippi

Mississippi Department of Archives and History  
Jackson, Mississippi

Old State Capitol Museum  
Jackson, Mississippi

The Old Court House Museum and Library  
Vicksburg, Mississippi

#### North Carolina

Duke University  
Durham, North Carolina

North Carolina State Archives  
Raleigh, North Carolina

The Moravian Archives  
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

The Moravian Music Foundation  
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

The Old Salem Inc. Museums  
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Wake Forest University  
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Winston-Salem Public Library  
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

The Rowan Public Library  
Salisbury, North Carolina

The University of North Carolina  
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

#### South Carolina

The Caroliniana Library  
Columbia, South Carolina

The College of Charleston Library  
Charleston, South Carolina

The Charleston Public Library  
Charleston, South Carolina

The Citadel Library and Archives  
Charleston, South Carolina

Department of History and Archives  
Columbia, South Carolina

The South Carolina State Library  
Columbia, South Carolina

#### Tennessee

Austin Peay State University  
Clarksville, Tennessee

Chattanooga Public Library  
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Tennessee State Library and Archives  
Nashville, Tennessee

#### Texas

North Texas State University Library  
Denton, Texas

Texas State Archives and Library  
Austin, Texas

The University of Texas Library  
Austin, Texas

Virginia

The Museum of the Confederacy  
Richmond, Virginia

The Staunton Public Library  
Staunton, Virginia

The Stonewall Brigade Band Hall  
Staunton, Virginia

The University of Virginia  
Charlottesville, Virginia

Washington and Lee University  
Lexington, Virginia

Virginia Military Institute Library and Museum  
Lexington, Virginia

The Virginia State Library and Archives  
Richmond, Virginia

Washington, D. C.

The Library of Congress  
Washington, D. C.

The National Archives  
Washington, D. C.

## APPENDIX B

### List of Confederate Bands

#### ALABAMA

First Alabama Regiment, Rost's Military Band.  
First Alabama Regiment, O'Neal's Brass Band.  
First Alabama Militia Band, Arnold's Brass Band.  
Third Alabama Regimental Band.  
Fourth Alabama Regimental Band.  
Seventh Alabama Regimental Band.  
Tenth Alabama Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.  
Eleventh Alabama Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.  
Fourteenth Alabama Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.  
Fifteenth Alabama Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.  
Twenty-first Alabama Regimental Band.  
Twenty-second Alabama Regimental Band.  
Eufaula Rifles Company Band.

#### ARKANSAS

Third Arkansas Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.  
McCrae's Brigade Band.

#### FLORIDA

Finnegan's Brigade Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.

#### GEORGIA

First Georgia Regimental Band.  
Second Georgia Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.  
Second Battalion Band, Georgia Volunteer Infantry.  
Third Georgia Regimental Band.  
Fourth Georgia Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.  
Sixth Georgia Regimental Band.  
Eighth Georgia Regimental Band.  
Ninth Georgia Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.  
Twelfth Georgia Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.  
Fifteenth Georgia Regimental Band.  
Sixteenth Georgia Regimental Band.  
Eighteenth Georgia Battalion Field Band.  
Nineteenth Georgia Regimental Band.  
Twentieth Georgia Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.

Twenty-third Georgia Regimental Band.  
 Twenty-fifth Georgia Regimental Band.  
 Thirty-first Georgia Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
     Appomattox.  
 Thirty-seventh Georgia Regimental Band.  
 Thirty-eighth Georgia Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
     Appomattox.  
 Forty-second Georgia Regimental Band.  
 Forty-third Georgia Regimental Band.  
 Forty-sixth Georgia Regimental Band.  
 Forty seventh Georgia Regimental Band.  
 Forty-ninth Georgia Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
     Appomattox.  
 Fifty-third Georgia Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
     Appomattox.  
 Fifty-fourth Georgia Regimental Band.  
 Fifty-seventh Georgia Regimental Band.  
 Fifty-ninth Georgia Regimental Band.  
 Sixty-second Georgia Regimental Band.  
 Sixty-third Georgia Regimental Band.  
 Shoaff's Battalion Band.  
 Wright's Brigade Band.

#### KENTUCKY

Fourth Kentucky Regimental Band.  
 Elizabethtown Brass Band.

#### LOUISIANA

Second Louisiana Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.  
 Fourth Louisiana Regimental Band.  
 Fifth Louisiana Regimental Band.  
 Eighteenth Louisiana Regimental Band.  
 Nineteenth Louisiana Regimental Band.  
 Twentieth Louisiana Regimental Band.  
 Taylor's Louisiana Brigade Band.  
 Jaeger's Brass Band.  
 Washington Artillery Brass Band.  
 Polignac's Brigade Band.

#### MARYLAND

Second Maryland Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.

#### MISSISSIPPI

First Mississippi Regimental Band.  
 Third Mississippi Regimental Band.  
 Seventh Mississippi Regimental Band.  
 Tenth Mississippi Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.

Eleventh Mississippi Regimental Band.  
 Twelfth Mississippi Regimental Band.  
 Thirteenth Mississippi Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
     Appomattox.  
 Fifteenth Mississippi Regimental Band.  
 Sixteenth Mississippi Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
     Appomattox.  
 Twentieth Mississippi Regimental Band.  
 Twenty-first Mississippi Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
     Appomattox.  
 Twenty-fourth Mississippi Regimental Band.  
 Forty-third Mississippi Regimental Band.  
 Fifty-sixth Mississippi Regimental Band.

### MISSOURI

Third Missouri Regimental Band, also served as Cockrell's  
 Brigade Band.

### NORTH CAROLINA

First North Carolina Battalion Sharpshooters Band.  
 First North Carolina Regimental Band.  
 Fourth North Carolina Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
     Appomattox.  
 Sixth North Carolina Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
     Appomattox.  
 Eleventh North Carolina Regimental Band.  
 Thirteenth North Carolina Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
     Appomattox.  
 Fourteenth North Carolina Regimental Band.  
 Sixteenth North Carolina Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
     Appomattox.  
 Seventeenth North Carolina Regimental Band.  
 Twentieth North Carolina Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
     Appomattox.  
 Twenty-first North Carolina Regimental Band.  
 Twenty-third North Carolina Regimental Band.  
 Twenty-fourth North Carolina Regimental Band.  
 Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band.  
 Twenty-seventh North Carolina Regimental Band.  
 Thirty-second North Carolina Regimental Band.  
 Thirty-third North Carolina Regimental Band.  
 Thirty-fifth North Carolina Regimental Band.  
 Forty-fourth North Carolina Regimental Band.  
 Forty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
     Appomattox.  
 Forty-seventh North Carolina Regimental Band.  
 Forty-ninth North Carolina Regimental Band.  
 Fifty-second North Carolina Regimental Band.

Fifty-third North Carolina Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.

Fifty-fifth North Carolina Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.

Fifty-ninth North Carolina Regimental Band.

Sixty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band.

#### SOUTH CAROLINA

First South Carolina Volunteer Regimental Band, also known as the Fifth South Carolina Regimental Band.

First South Carolina Regulars Regimental Band.

First South Carolina (Gregg's) Regimental Band.

Second South Carolina Rifles Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.

Sixth South Carolina Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.

Fourteenth South Carolina Regimental Band.

Fifteenth South Carolina Regimental Band.

Seventeenth South Carolina Regimental Band.

Twenty-fifth South Carolina Regimental Band.

Thirty-fifth South Carolina Volunteer's Regimental Band.

Hampton's Legion Band.

Orr's Rifles Band.

Palmetto Sharpshooters Band.

#### TENNESSEE

Fourth Tennessee Regimental Band.

Thirteenth Tennessee Regimental Band.

Seventeenth Tennessee Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.

Eighteenth Tennessee Regimental Band.

Nineteenth Tennessee Regimental Band.

Twenty-eighth Tennessee Regimental Band.

#### TEXAS

Fourth Texas Regimental Band.

Pryor's Regimental Band.

#### VIRGINIA

First Virginia Regimental Band.

Second Virginia Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.

Fifth Virginia Regimental Band, also known as the Stonewall Brigade Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.

Seventh Virginia Regimental Band.

Tenth Virginia Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.

Eleventh Virginia Regimental Band.

Eighteenth Virginia Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
Appomattox.  
Nineteenth Virginia Regimental Band.  
Twenty-sixth Virginia Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
Appomattox.  
Thirtieth Virginia Regimental Band, Surrendered at Appomattox.  
Forty-second Virginia Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
Appomattox.  
Forty-sixth Virginia Regimental Band, Surrendered at  
Appomattox.  
Forty-eighth Virginia Regimental Band.

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