1995

The darker side of Dixie: southern music and the seamier side of the rural South

Cecil Kirk Hutson
Iowa State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd

Part of the Folklore Commons, Music Commons, Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons, and the United States History Commons

Recommended Citation
https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd/10912

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Iowa State University Capstones, Theses and Dissertations at Iowa State University Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Retrospective Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Iowa State University Digital Repository. For more information, please contact digirep@iastate.edu.
INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.
The darker side of Dixie: 
Southern music and the seamier side of the rural South

by
Cecil Kirk Hutson

A Dissertation Submitted to the 
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the 
Requirements for the Degree of 
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY 
Department: History 
Major: Agricultural History and Rural Studies

Approved:
Signature was redacted for privacy.

In Charge of Major Work
Signature was redacted for privacy.

For the Major Department
Signature was redacted for privacy.

For the Graduate College

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa
1995
### TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 1:</strong></td>
<td>SOUTHERN FEMICIDE</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 2:</strong></td>
<td>DOMESTIC ABUSE</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 3:</strong></td>
<td>VIOLENCE: SAVAGERY IN THE PRE-WORLD WAR II ERA</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 4:</strong></td>
<td>VIOLENCE: BRUTALITY IN THE POST-WAR SOUTH</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 5:</strong></td>
<td>GUNS</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 6:</strong></td>
<td>FEUDING AND LYNCHING</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 7:</strong></td>
<td>MOONSHINERS AND BOOTLEGGERS</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 8:</strong></td>
<td>LIQUOR</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 9:</strong></td>
<td>ILLEGAL DRUGS</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 10:</strong></td>
<td>CONFEDERATE SYMBOLISM</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>CONCLUSION</strong></td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>NOTES</strong></td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>BIBLIOGRAPHY</strong></td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>MUSICOGRAPHY</strong></td>
<td>482</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This study investigates several issues in southern culture that have heretofore been largely ignored. Music has been, and still is, a major force in southern society, and for hundreds of years this mode of communication has reflected regional ideas as much as any social institution. In order for music to reflect southern culture, it must first speak the language of the region, exhibit regional cultural attributes, and accept the distinctive characteristics of the South. By so doing, music becomes culturally accepted and, therefore, it reinforces the messages, the opinions, and the ideas of southern society. This study examines some of the rural cultural themes utilized in southern music. The principal cultural topics to be analyzed include racism, domestic violence, male control over women, drunkenness, brutality, murder, gun ownership, Confederate symbolism, folk justice, and family honor. Since these themes are evident in folk music, early blues tunes, post-World War II country lyrics, and southern rock and roll of the late twentieth century, music illustrates the continuity of southern culture.

This study will show, for example, that for generations southerners have continually called for law and order. In fact, music demonstrates that southerners often blamed the lax attitude of the courts for the high crime rates and, instead of depending on the legal system, they often took the law into their own hands. This was especially true when a family member had been the victim. In the late twentieth century, for example, when Charlie Daniels called for lynchings, and "an eye for an eye and a
tooth for a tooth," and when Hank Williams Jr. claimed that he was going to shoot the man who killed his family, both artists sounded similar to the rural mountain balladeers of the nineteenth century. Not much had changed. In the eyes of these performers, vigilantism worked, and it should be used. Moreover, this study will explore other topics, such as illegal drug use, which have not been major themes in southern music. By doing so, it will address the question whether those southern African Americans who migrated to northern urban areas prior to the World War II deserved to be labeled cocaine fiends, or whether this was a racial stereotype created by northern whites.

The study of music and culture is a relatively new field, but there are basically three theories used to analyze this subject matter. First, there is the Marxist theory. This doctrine holds that the governing class controls the media and uses it to foster hegemonic ideas. Under this hypothesis the media controls the culture. I reject this philosophy because the music examined in this study was not written or approved by the elites of society. In fact, many of the southern folk, blues, country, and rock tunes ridiculed the so-called southern aristocracy. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries one of the last things a white southern planter wanted to see wander into his sharecropping community was an African American bluesman. In the eyes of sheriffs and planters alike, these musicians not only sang about things that blacks should not hear, but the authorities also believed bluesmen set bad examples for "their niggers." Instead of wandering around the countryside playing music, most whites felt African Americans should work at manual labor. They should
pick cotton instead of guitar strings. The second theory holds that the media only reflects culture. In many incidences this particular assumption holds true, except when its advocates claim that the media has no effect on society whatsoever. On that basis, I reject this concept, since several modern psychological studies clearly indicate that the media does effect both society and individuals. The final theory suggests that music and culture have reciprocal relationships. According to this hypothesis, musical lyrics transmit social norms, and they are a significant socializing element. Music not only reflects what is occurring in a particular society, but it also influences how people within that society think and act. Based on the evidence presented by several social scientists, feminists and learning theorists, I accept this theory, especially in the case of domestic violence.

Musical lyrics are of value to historians because they are cultural artifacts of a community and a culture that allow scholars to examine the issues, problems, values, and ideas of the time period in which the lyrics were written. When dealing with gender issues, for example, song lyrics are excellent historical tools because they portray gender roles that illustrate how both males and females think and act, or are expected to act, within a given culture. The study of these kinds of lyrics are also important because the words demonstrate how southern men dealt with gender issues. Since musical lyrics reflect cultural attitudes, if the culture of the rural South approved of the domination of women by men, and if southern men physically abused women, these themes will appear in the region's music.
Besides exploring domestic violence and gender control, this study will also examine how rural southerners responded to other important issues. During the Civil War and Reconstruction eras, for example, what were the major southern symbols, and how did southern songsters deal with losing this all-important war? Music allows scholars to determine if the common people were apologetic or unrepentant. Similarly, in the late nineteenth century how did folk balladeers deal with the increased rates of racial lynchings? Who did they blame for these acts, the victims or the victimizers? How did they explain the brutal mutilations and executions of African American males? By omitting certain realities, did these musicians promote racial hate? Furthermore, in this era of high murder rates, how did southerners view their murderous world? When someone was killed, who or what did they blame? Similarly, were the people shocked, or did they simply consider brutality a regrettable but indubitable fact of southern life? Moreover, how did African American and white women deal differently with domestic violence? Is it significant that in blues songs African American women often grabbed a firearm and fought back, but in folk music Caucasian women usually begged for mercy?

This work will also investigate whether music promoted the new progressivism of the modern South or advanced traditional cultural themes to become, like George Wallace, a conservative backlash to change. During the post-World War II era, for example, when many scholars claimed the rural South began losing its distinctive characteristics, how did southern musicians respond? Moreover, this study will determine why southern musicians disregarded the realities of modern moonshine operations and continued to
view these individuals as rural mountaineers, not as urban gangsters. Despite growing industrialization and urbanization, the myth of the rural South also survived in popular imagination. In that regard, this work will examine the responsibility southern music had for the survival of the region’s rural image that still haunts southerners today. Moreover, it will analyze how southern males historically compared themselves to northern males. In the late twentieth century, for example, did southern redneck rock groups, like their nineteenth-century predecessors, still push the archaic notions that not only could any southern man out drink and out shoot a northerner but also "whip five Yankees" singlehanded. Similarly, this work will examine whether fundamentalism is still a vital force in the contemporary South, and if so, how did some musicians manifest this trait? Finally, when modern country and rock musicians flaunted Confederate symbolism, were they only telling everyone that they were proud to be southerners? In the 1970s, for example, why did Georgia crowds go berserk when Lynyrd Skynyrd's lead singer, Ronnie Van Zant, waved a Confederate flag and screamed out, "Ole' Neil Young should remember that a southern man don't need him around, anyhow?" Southern music gives scholars a unique insight into these, and many other, important social questions.

To accomplish these goals, I have not only utilized traditional methods and sources, such as, dissertations, manuscripts, articles, and newspapers, but I have also employed procedures that go beyond the techniques and sources used by most researchers. Albums and tapes (both audio and visual), for example, are a living history of southern artists. The music of southern performers communicate the messages, the opinions, and
the ideals of the South. Pat Daugherty, a member of the 1970s southern rock band Black Oak Arkansas, maintained, for example, that the music of this group was "like a mirror that just reflected what the youth of the South felt." In fact the musical lyrics of most southern bands replicated the images, expressions, and words of the southern people.⁴

Moreover, video tapes of old southern musical shows enable historians to comprehend the excitement audiences exhibited for particular songs. A 1969 episode of "Del Reeves' Country Carnival," for example, illustrates this splendidly. When Reeves sang "Are You From Dixie," the audience, composed of males and females in their mid-forties, were energized. Similarly, southerners went wild when Johnny Cash yelled out, in his first hit tune "Ha Porter," that he had to "get back" to the South, so that he could "plant my feet on southern soil, and breath that southern air." Similarly, modern concert performances by such southern groups as Lynyrd Skynyrd, Alabama, Black Oak Arkansas, and Hank Williams Jr. offer scholars valuable insight into the culture. At each of their concerts Confederate symbolism emerged as a major theme.⁵

Moreover, for a comprehensive examination of southern bands it is necessary not only to analyze musical lyrics and concert performances, but also album, compact disk, tape, and video-box covers. Covers, for example, are an essential component of all albums. Christopher Austopchuk, a record jacket designer, stated that considerable time and money is spent on album covers in order to sell to specific audiences. Therefore, many southern groups, such as Confederate Railroad and Molly Hatchet, have used southern emblems, such as the Confederate Flag, on their jackets to increase sales.
Since the Stars and Bars are generally associated with the Ku Klux Klan or with other White Supremacy groups, did these covers promote racism? Were their flags really any different than those used by the Louisiana-based Reb Records, which in the 1960s placed this emblem on all of its releases, including the repulsive number, "Some Niggers Never Die, (They Just Smell That Way)? Such groups, of course, did not invent the racial problems of the late twentieth century, but this study will investigate whether they should share a large responsibility for sanctioning and reinforcing the ideas for so many, especially when some, such as Lynyrd Skynyrd and The Willburn Brothers, publicly supported George Wallace in his run for the Presidency.6

Although thousands of songs and hundreds of artists were examined, the recurring problem became the selection of performers and lyrics for examples. Many pre-World War II southern folk song collections exist. If a particular folk tune fit into a certain category, the ditty had to have been popular before it was included in this study. The song, that is, had to have been found in more than one collection or region, or it had to have been sung by, or at least known by, several locals at some time during its history. The folksong about the Kentucky outlaw Talton Hall is a good example. Although the tune was not known outside of eastern Kentucky, in the Big Sandy Valley region (all of Martin, Pike, Floyd, Lawrence, and Johnson counties, and portions of Letcher, and Knott counties) the events described in the song had a considerable influence. In fact, the song was still being performed locally in the 1970s; that is remarkable, since Hall was executed in the early 1890s. Since there were usually many different
kinds of folk songs and ballads that conformed to this criteria, generally only the best examples are given.\(^7\)

The same holds true for early hillbilly and blues music. Although several early country tunes fit into a certain category, usually only those issued by the major stars, such as A. P. Carter, the Allan Brothers, the Ray Brothers, Charlie Poole, or Jimmie Rodgers, are included. Moreover, when jazz bands and lyrics are referred to they generally date from the pre-1920s, because that was the era of its New Orleans influence. In the 1920s, however, this genre moved North, and by World War II Northern urban conditions clearly shaped and influenced mainstream Jazz. Similarly, generally only the pre-1945 blues songs that were popular enough to be reissued were included. After World War II many blues songs became more urban and northern oriented, therefore, most were not incorporated into this study. In addition, although a few of the pre-1945 blues tunes mentioned have not been reissued, they were popular in a certain area at a particular time. Texas bluesman Sam Price, for example, remembered that when white citizens of Robinson, Texas, lynched an African American male local blacks created a song which became popular in that section of Texas. Although the song was never recorded, it had an enormous effect on the local community. Furthermore, before the songs of either an African American or a white musician were included, the artists had to have been born in the South or, they must have resided in that region. If a pre-World War II blues musician was raised in Mississippi, but left that area for Chicago, for example, his or her songs were included, because often the tunes still reflected southern culture. Just because African Americans
left the South, did not mean that they immediately abandoned all aspects of their culture. After World War II various groups were examined. To be included in this study, however, they had to have been major southern performers who either reflected aspects of the culture or stressed their southerness. Generally, the more "popish" renditions were not included. In the country field, for example, for some categories the honky-tonkers and the neo-honkey-tonkers were good sources, because each reflected the views of and generally appealed to blue-collar, working-class southerners. This was especially true with musicians in the latter group, including the "Good Ol' Boys," Moe Bandy, and Joe Stampley. Similarly, country performers or groups, such as Hank Williams, Hank Williams, Jr., Johnny Cash, Willie Nelson, Waylon Jennings, Steve Earle, Confederate Railroad, Alabama, and George Jones fit this criteria. These artists were not only popular, but they also either sang songs that reflected the culture or stressed their southerness. On most of its albums, tapes, videos, and compact disks, for example, Alabama usually included several numbers that either glorified or romanticized the South.

Although at times rock songs by Elvis and Jerry Lee Lewis, and other southern rockers are alluded to, this study generally concerns only those bands that made up the redneck rock-and-roll phenomenon of the late twentieth century. Unlike the earlier rockers, these southern males were not only belligerent, but they always emphasized their southern roots. These men, for example, continually claimed that a southerner could "beat the hell" out of anybody. In fact, most pushed southerness to the extreme.
Many bands told young southerners to be proud of their history. In an age of drastic change and great doubt, these performers reassured young southerners that they were still a unique group of people. Unlike Elvis, these whiskey-soaked, macho-acting, southern males also gathered fans and sold millions of albums by reverting to old negative southern themes, such as the Confederacy, racism, whiskey, guns, and violence. A few of the most prominent bands in this category included Lynyrd Skynyrd, Molly Hatchet, Black Oak Arkansas, The Charlie Daniels Band, .38 Special, The Marshall Tucker Band, The Ozark Mountain Daredevils, ZZ Top, The Allman Brothers, and The Outlaws.  

Finally, I have used my judgement to pick the most important and representative examples of performers, songs, album jackets, and musical genres. The incorporation of every useful and interesting item would have made the manuscript too lengthy and unmanageable. In the final analysis, however, this study indicates that, similar to the culture, there has been and still is a very dark side to southern rural music. Instead of being only a happy and positive place, this music illustrates that for generations racism, sexism, vigilantism, hate, violence, crime, alcoholism, murder, and poverty have been significant aspects of southern society.

In retrospect, although not every person residing in the South would approve of all the themes outlined in this study (not every southerner, for example, hates homosexuals, holds firm to fundamentalism, believes in white supremacy, or thinks that a real man has to be a rugged fighter), music reflects that such ideas have been culturally significant. For instance, even though some of the domestic violence tunes mentioned can also be found
outside the region, the scope of this study is the South. It would be foolish to claim that men only killed or beat women in the South. Court cases, laws, and the overabundance of anti-female music in the region, however, indicated that in the pre-World War II era many southern women suffered physical and emotional abuse. In fact, music reflects that for generations both African American and Caucasian males lyrically intimidated women. This is culturally significant, because it indicates that gender control was deeply ingrained in southern culture.
Because few historical sources deal with the killing of southern women, particularly the rural poor of both races, music offers scholars a unique insight into this hidden problem. Pre-World War II femicide lyrics are of value to historians because they are cultural artifacts of a community and culture that allow scholars to have an unobtrusive look into the issues, values, and ideas of the time period in which the lyrics were written. When dealing with gender issues, such as femicide, song lyrics are excellent historical tools because they portray gender roles that illustrate how both males and females thought and acted, or were expected to behave, within a given culture. The study of southern femicide lyrics is also important because the words demonstrate how some southern men dealt with women when certain gender specific situations arose, such as adultery and pre-martial pregnancy. Of course, not every southern male killed or even sanctioned the slaying of women. In fact, it would be foolish and historically irresponsible to claim that every man who caught his wife in the act of adultery, murdered her. Music, however, is useful because it does indicate that such ideas were firmly established in the region’s intellectual mind-set.

Even though females have been murdered throughout American society, on certain occasions southern culture sanctioned its use more than other areas of the country. Between 1882 and 1927, for example, ninety-two women were lynched in the United States. All but two of these vicious femicides
occurred in the South. In fact, historian Dickerson D. Bruce Jr., pointed out that in the nineteenth-century South, violence was viewed as "an essential fact of human life somehow built into human relationships." In addition to being lynched, burned at the stake, and killed in race riots, in the post-Civil War era African American females were simply "just murdered." In such an environment, music reflects that both black and white women were killed. Similarly, both black and white folksongs show the extent of lethal violence against southern women in the pre-World War II era. In fact, no matter how sensational these folksongs might appear to contemporary observers, in the past rural southerners did not find the stories inconceivable. When the songs dealt with vicious female homicides they discussed events that occurred. Most of the local folktunes were indeed factual.

The most violent act that can be committed is murder, and imported folk ballads that described the killing of women were often more popular in the South than in other sections of the United States. These tunes entered the region via a wide variety of non-North American locations, including England, Scotland, and Norway, as well as several non-southern North American sites. Although the songs originated from different locales, they were popular with both African American and white rural southerners from the Florida Everglades to the Ozark mountains.

According to scholars such as Michael E. Bush, female murder tunes were popular in the South. They were a major part of the oral tradition. In fact, imported murder ballads that depicted the murdering of women were found in every southern state. By examining the most significant southern
folklore collections, the prevalence of these tunes can be seen. Albeit more men were killed in folk music, there were significant gender differences.⁴

Although not every imported femicide song was popular throughout the South, several such violent ballads and their numerous variations were prevalent in one or more southern states. These violent tunes were popular with rural southern audiences for several reasons. Chiefly, rural southerners identified with the message, because as many scholarly studies have shown, murder was an integral part of the culture. Since, according to several music scholars, only songs that mirrored some essential element of southern culture survived in the region's oral tradition, it is important to analyze which events remained unchanged in imported femicide tunes. What was the crucial element in these songs that enabled them to endure in the South, sometimes for generations after they ceased to be sung in Europe, while other tunes simply faded from the region's collective memory?

First and foremost, although several southern versions of a particular female murder ballad might differ in tone or location, one thing always remained the same--a woman was killed. By examining the femicidal ballads Appalachian whites sang, it became apparent that material not essential to the murder did not survive. Similarly, in the Virginia version of the Scottish number "Jellon Grame'," the central theme, the killing of the woman, stayed, but the Scottish dialect and uncommon words were changed or omitted. Because femicides occurred in the region, southern ballad singers did not change that aspect of the tune. Rural southern audiences understood that when certain situations arose, males could and did kill females.
Throughout the region these foreign songs gained widespread popularity because they reflected cultural realities.⁵

Although imported ballads that depicted lethal violence against women remained popular in southern music, southerners did not have to depend on "outsiders" to supply them with femicide tunes. In fact, femicide was one of the most prevalent themes in music that originated in the rural South. Over half of the pre-World War II murder ballads originating from North Carolina, for example, involved the murder of women. In ballads found only in North Carolina murder tunes depicting the killing of women were more common than tunes about wrecks, storms, and moonshining. In addition, such murder ballads were favored by North Carolinians more than songs concerning one of the most historically important events in North Carolina's history, the Regulator Movement. This was not a situation unique to North Carolina. These songs, as well as other sources, demonstrate that women were favorite targets of lethal aggression throughout the region.⁶

Southern femicide tunes are excellent historical sources, because they enable scholars to cut beneath the facade of southern life and see how southern society treated and viewed women. They indicate, for example, that a paternalistic society existed in the South. In fact, they prove that southern culture even condoned the use of lethal violence to control women. This can best be seen in adultery songs. Not only are these tunes filled with deadly violence, but they also reflect that southern males sanctioned this violent behavior. Several southern states have had, and some parts of the region still do have, unwritten laws that allow a man to kill his unfaithful wife. As prominent southern sociologist John Shelton
Reed pointed out, such laws might have been unwritten, but everyone understood them. Even in the modern South juries have "often been inclined to acquit" such murderers. Moreover, at times southern states have even written such laws into their judicial codes. In the eighteenth century, for example, Louisiana had a written law that stated if a married woman was caught committing adultery, she and her lover were to be "turned over to the aggravated husband for punishment." The husband could do whatever he wanted to the pair; however, if he killed one individual, the law stipulated that he had to kill the other person. In fact, until 1974 the state of Texas had a written law (Texas Penal Code 1925, article 1220) that allowed a husband to murder his wife and her lover. The Texas law only required that the couple be seized "flagrante delicto" and that the murderous deed be done promptly. The state assumed that if those stipulations were met, the grief-stricken husband could be presumed to be behaving under an "irresistible impulse."7

Adultery songs are interesting because they show that southern males often believed that it was justifiable homicide to kill women that committed adultery. On the other hand, rarely did a song discuss a woman killing her unfaithful mate and his female lover. This reflected cultural realities. Studies have shown that, unlike a man, a woman who kills her unfaithful husband cannot depend upon the courts to forgive the act. In this regard, folktunes reflected that gender played a major role in adultery killings. The ballad "Arch and Gordon," for example, discusses the 1895 killing of Arch Brown and Nellie Gordon in western Kentucky by Archibald Dixon Gordon, Nellie's husband. By examining several versions of
this song, the actual history of the murder, and the legal aspects of the case, the gender control aspect of the culture is substantiated. First, although both victims were killed in cold blood, the coroner’s jury ruled the murders justifiable homicide. This is an indication that the unwritten law was being enforced. Moreover, records show that Gordon was not punished but instead was given bail the same day he murdered the two lovers. In fact, the song maintains that when Gordon was taken to jail, "a hundred men were ready to go his bail." The singer informed the listeners that Archie Brown had known that such behavior would get him killed. These and other stanzas indicate that males in the community were more than willing to uphold this kind of brutal behavior. This attitude can be seen throughout the song. The singer, for example, told Brown’s father, Governor John Young Brown, to stop crying because "you know your [only] son Arch has to die." Finally, in the final stanza the song warns others that this type of behavior will get them killed, no matter how influential their family.8

In Lawrence County, Kentucky, during the late 1890s, a similar murder occurred when Lucy Adams was shot and killed by her husband. He found her with another man, Ande Kitchen. Not only was her husband, Jesse, acquitted in court, but an interesting song of the events was written. This particular tune again demonstrates that southern culture justified such behavior. First, the community where the killing occurred, Brushy Fork, maintained that Kitchen "must die." Although the singer did not agree, because he thought that law and order should triumph, he understood the community’s point of view. In fact, the song absolved the citizenry of any guilt in
forgetting the law and falling back on cultural norms.\footnote{9}

The brutal treatment of unfaithful women was not only a white southern attribute. In southern history African American females have been lynched and burned at the stake for no apparent reason, thus, it is not surprising that they were also killed for adultery. Lyrically, when African American women ran away from their husbands but then begged to be reunited, they were frequently beaten. Other African American women were not as fortunate--they were slaughtered. In the "Coon-Can Game," for example, (named for a common card game African Americans played in the nineteenth century) a man shot his old lover who ran away with another man. Similarly, in "I Went To The Hop-Joint," an African American man killed his female lover when she deserted him. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries these types of folktunes were popular among southern blacks.\footnote{10}

Prior to World War II bluesmen also frequently sang about killing adulterious African American women. In fact, in the 1920s, 1930s, and early 1940s many of the most popular bluesmen, including Sonny Boy Williamson, Washboard Sam, Peetie Wheatstraw, and the premier Delta bluesman of them all, Robert Johnson, distributed such material. In 1926, for example, Blind Blake made his threat clear when he sang that "the day you try and quit me/baby that's the day you die." Also, in his 1928 hit, "Got the Blues Can't Be Satisfied," when Mississippi John Hurt caught his female lover with another man, he grabbed a gun and "broke the barrel down/Put my baby/six feet under the ground." Similarly, in 1935 Washboard Sam told his unfaithful lover that he felt like "snapping my pistol in you no-good face . . . I'm going to shoot you woman/as long as my pistol will fire."
Finally, in 1941 alone, Sonny Boy Williamson released several such songs, including "Shotgun Blues" and "Shady Grove Blues." In the former tune Williamson maintained that if money did not bring his "baby" back home, he was "doggone sure my shotgun will."11

In black and white tunes the message is clear: women were warned that adultery could lead to death. These songs indicate that both blacks and whites believed that female infidelity was a serious cultural taboo. These songs also reveal that when culturally unacceptable events provoked southern males to commit murder, the community forgave the male killer and chastised his female victim. Although each song had its own particular twist, one thing almost always remained the same: women who cheated on their husbands invariably died, or at the very least were savagely beaten.

Instead of only reflecting the cultural views southern society had towards women who committed adultery, these tunes are also meaningful because they show how the culture perceived males. While both black and white southern men who killed their adulterous lovers were glamorized in the music, men who did nothing about such relationships were depicted as cultural outcasts, not heroes. In one folksong, "May I Sleep In Your Barn Tonight, Mister?," a man who did not punish his adulterous wife became a "tramp" looking for pity and a place to stay on a stormy night.12

In both African American and white southern songs murdering males were romanticized, while less aggressive men were scorned. These tunes demonstrate that southern culture had no sympathy for males who did not react violently when their female family members, who were supposed to be under male control, disregarded cultural norms. When it came to control-
ling women, music indicates that either a man took the law into his own hands and exhibited the cultural traits that were expected or he was ostracized. These songs also illustrate that neither black nor white southern society had any room for males it considered weak. These tunes show that southern culture glamorized domineering and aggressive males. In fact, these melodies gained widespread approval because they reflected cultural realities.

Many southern folksongs and blues numbers also reflected cultural reality when they portrayed males killing males over women. Although this was a common occurrence in tunes that discussed adultery, such as in the African American folktunes "Long An' Tall An' Chocolate To The Bone" and "What's Stirrin', Babe?", and in Pettie Wheatstraw's 1936 blues song "Low Down Rascal," and Lonnie Johnson's 1932 blues number "Sam, You're Just a Rat," other types of songs illustrate that such behavior was not limited to adultery tunes. One Hat Hollow, Kentucky, resident pointed this out when he stated that in the early twentieth century Appalachian fathers "would blow your head clean off your shoulders for fooling with their girls." In fact, in music, and in reality, usually no one was punished when such killings occurred. This kind of behavior emerged in several songs. In the Virginia version of "The Twa Brothers," a man killed his own brother because a woman refused his advances and loved his brother instead. The murderer was not punished for the crime. In a popular Ozark version of the tune, "The Jealous Brothers," two brothers killed the man their sister wanted to marry. The same theme also appears in "The Bramble Brier." In this tune a group of brothers killed their sister's fiancé and then threw
him in a "patch of briers." Although in both of these songs the guilty parties perished, they died of natural causes. None were punished by the courts. Similarly, in "Lovely William," a father killed his daughter's boyfriend, but he was never punished. The precise reason the murder took place was never given, but the song maintained that he murdered the boyfriend before the "feared . . . deed would prove true." Considering that the father was hiding behind a bush before he jumped out and stabbed the man, controlling his daughter's sexual relations was the implied motive.13

Similarly, music also exposes that both black and white southern men believed that males were justified in using lethal force to control "their" women. In 1915 an African American folk songster in Louisiana, for example, advised males to take a gun and shoot their woman "through an' through" if she ever tried to "bully" them around. Similarly, when a woman rejected a marriage proposal it was not uncommon for the jilted black or white man to state that "since I cannot have you no one else can." In the popular African American folktune, "Delia Holmes," a woman is shot with a forty-four by a man she refused to marry. Before Delia was killed, the assailant made it clear why he was going to shoot her: "When the time come for marriage/She refuse' to go./'If you don't marry me/You cannot live no mo'." In "Fair Fanny Moore," a white man also kills a woman who would not marry him. The killer stated "O Fanny, O Fanny, beware your fate!/Except of my offer before it is too late/For I have come here to secure/The hand or the life of the fair Fanny Moore." It is blatant sexual exploitation when a man kills a woman simply because she refuses his marriage propos-
These kinds of songs are important to understanding gender relations in the South, but to fully understand the topic of female control in southern murder songs historians must consider why men also died in these tunes. Scholars cannot contend, for example, that because adulterous black and white males were also killed, these types of murder songs only demonstrate that a powerful fundamentalist morality was in force throughout the rural South. Instead of portraying religious morality, feminist scholars maintain such murders demonstrate that males controlled females. It does not matter if the homicide was committed by a jealous husband, father, or brother because the "same complex of control and male authority is involved when men kill men because of jealousy and possessiveness."^15

When one considers that a significant number of the songs, both black and white, that dealt primarily with murders that involved the control of women, some meaningful cultural observations can be made. First and foremost, these tunes suggest that gender control was an important factor in pre-World War II southern homicide rates. Like oral history sources, these songs indicate that male family members were expected to kill white women and their lovers for being promiscuous. Second, these tunes portray men who did not kill such women as cowards and bums. As a result these tunes show that a patriarchal society, based on lethal force, existed in the South. These tunes indicate that above all else, southern males believed that women had to be controlled, even if that meant committing murder. In fact, the continual emergence of these themes shows that such ideas were thoroughly embedded in southern culture.
Not only did southern culture furnish songsters with ample factual examples, but both black and white society dictated how the events would be lyrically described. The description of how females died is also important to understanding gender roles in southern culture. Many femicidal songs narrated the vivid and gory details of how black and white women died, whether it was by beheading, stabbing, drowning, beating or shooting. In the popular white tune "Pretty Polly" the balladeer not only mentioned that William Chapman brutally killed Polly Aldridge at Buck Creek in Warfield, Kentucky, but he also stated that Chapman viciously cut Aldridge's abdomen open, filled the empty cavity with rocks, and tossed the weighted corpse in Sug River. Although these types of folktunes are numerous, it will suffice to mention two others: "There was a Rich Old Farmer" and a version of "Pearl Bryant." In the former, an unsuspecting female was struck in the face with an eight-foot-long club, grabbed by her curly hair and lifted to her feet, before she was thrown into a deep river to drown. In the latter, the woman was viciously stabbed and beheaded.16

In their tunes, bluesmen also graphically recounted how African American females were killed. Often men seized high-powered pistols, or shotguns, and slaughtered African American women at point-blank range. In a society where guns were prominent, almost everyone understood that a high-calibered firearm caused massive tissue damage. In his 1933 hit "Back Door Blues," Joe Stone sang that he would take his forty-one-caliber pistol and shoot his woman, if she stood still. In case she tried to run away, however, the singer had purchased a "bulldog." Stone warned the woman that if she tried to make a dash for freedom, he would release his dog, and let
the beast tear her to shreds. Similarly, in 1927 Sam Collins was going to shoot his "honey" in the face, and "let some graveyard/be your resting place." Comparable to femicidal folktunes, in blues songs the brutal and graphic murders of females did not always involve the use of firearms. In his 1929 hit, "Dynamite Blues," for example, when Blind Lemon Jefferson's lover ran away from him, this bluesman sang that he was going to place a "keg of dynamite" in her window, and "blow her up late at night." If the explosion did not kill her, Jefferson said he would throw gasoline and fire "all over that woman/and let her go off and scream."17

These sadistic songs help scholars understand gender relationships in southern culture. First and foremost, they show that when dealing with women, males could be brutal. Second, according to criminologists, the use of excessive violence indicates that the men consciously determined to kill their female victims. Third, and on a deeper psychological level, these songs mentioned excessive violence in order to intimidate women. According to Kate Millett, patriarchal societies use violence and the threat of it to keep control. This form of terrorism attempted to keep women from gaining any control over their lives. This is evident when considering that the horrible deaths generally followed some sort of deed done by a woman, usually indications of premarital sex or adultery, which was considered culturally unacceptable for females. In "Pearl Bryant," for instance, the woman had an abortion before she was brutally killed. In case the threat of being murdered was not enough to deter southern women from breaking cultural norms, the songs stressed that torture, ghastly wounds, or mutilation of the corpse could occur. Instead of only being punched or
slapped, for example, blues songs warned African American women that if they "step out of line" they might also be set on fire, beheaded, blown to bits, or have their heads bashed in with a brick.18

White-southern-femicidal tunes also demonstrate that white women were held to a double standard in sexual relations. This goes beyond the lethal punishments females received for adultery. As several scholars have shown, and as oral histories indicate, before World War II white women were expected to remain virgins until their marriage, and afterwards they had to be faithful to their husbands. On the other hand, in the South male indiscretions were generally overlooked. This is reflected in the music. Folklorist Michael E. Bush found that a majority of the southern murder tunes that detailed the deaths of young white girls occurred because the women were pregnant before their marriage. In addition to those tunes, other southern ballads involve the killing of pregnant white women. In fact, some are only found in the South. Although there are many such tunes, the North Carolina song "Omie Wise" serves as an excellent example. In fact, this factual melody was one of the most prevalent songs in the South. In the area around the murder (Randolph County, North Carolina), it was "sung in every neighborhood." Moreover, this tune was found in every southern state. This song described the early nineteenth-century murder of Naomi Wise by Jonathan Lewis. According to court records and oral sources, in 1808, Lewis, a man from a prominent family, promised to marry Wise, an orphaned field hand who was pregnant with his child; but Lewis's mother wanted him to marry the more affluent, and unpregnant, Hattie Elliott. When word circulated about Wise's pregnancy and engagement, Lewis told her
that they would immediately be married. Instead of going to the magis-
trate, however, Lewis took her to Deep River and "tied her dress above her
head, and then held her under beneath [the water with] his foot" until she
died. Lewis was arrested for the crime, but he eventually escaped from
jail. Although he was recaptured a few years later, he was acquitted of
the murder.19

The tunes and the oral histories that surround this femicide are
particularly interesting because they reveal that the "good girl" versus
"bad girl" duality was thoroughly woven into southern culture. Several
song versions, for example, imparted the message that bad things happened
to "good girls" when they turned into "bad girls." As late as the early
twentieth century oral sources pointed out that Lewis "ruin[ed]" Wise's
"fair name" by getting her pregnant. She had been a decent, moral woman,
until she had pre-marital sex. In their eyes, when she engaged in sex
before marriage, she automatically "disgrace[d]" herself. In fact, this
attitude emerged in most versions of the tune. Several songsters, for
example, sang that Lewis promised to marry Wise so that there would be "no
disgrace." One balladeer even pointed out that Lewis had "shame[d] and
disgrace[d]" Wise. In fact, when the singer claimed that Wise begged for
her life and said, don't kill me, "Let me live, full of shame," he made it
clear that he thought that Wise had been immoral. In addition, moral
lessons emerged in many versions of the tune. One songster even cautioned
young women that they must not be fooled into having pre-marital sex, or
"you are sure to meet Naomi's fate." Another songster warned "young
ladies" not to be "ruined" by such men. These songs, plus the oral
statements given by area residents, are clear indications that unwed mothers, particularly white women, were viewed as disreputable persons. In the eyes of rural southern society, an unmarried woman's virginity was all important. Such songs also reflect that women, especially white women, were held to a higher sexual standard than men. Unlike a man, whose "infidelity" was viewed by area residents as "a natural sort of thing," an unmarried white woman who lost her virginity was "ruined." Both Wise and Hattie Elliott had been "good girls" before they met Lewis, but unlike Wise, the "pure" Elliott "baffled" Lewis when he tried to seduce her. In the end, however, Lewis chose to marry the virgin and kill the "ruined" Wise. The moral message was clear; females, especially young white women, had to be "good" or they had to be prepared to face the lethal consequences.2D

To understand fully the cultural implications of these femicide tunes, one must go a step beyond the social justifications Bush gave for these murders. In fact, his analysis of the killings bordered on victim blaming. Bush maintained that males who murdered pregnant females were hanged because they too had broken a significant biblical commandment, "Thou Shall Not Kill." According to Bush both the murder of the female and the execution of the murdering male signified that community standards were restored. More significant, however, instead of blaming the victim's death on her premarital pregnancy, these ballads clarify the double sexual standards for women, especially white women, in the South. By examining these songs, one sees that white women only had to engage in premarital sex to be killed, while white men had to murder in order to be executed.
Premarital pregnancies were not uncommon in the past, of course, and these songs do not imply that all unmarried pregnant women were killed. Instead, the significance of these tunes is that they intimidated and threatened white women with violence if they did not uphold the ideas associated with the "Cult of True Womanhood," particularly the importance of virginity before marriage. It is also culturally significant that generally in these songs and in other types of femicide tunes the victims were young women. Similar to today, this is an indication that in the pre-World War II era, among females, young women faced the greatest risk of being murdered.  

Although in the lyrics there were numerous reasons for murdering women, some culturally significant observations can be made. First, both black and white women were almost always innocent victims; that is, they did not provoke their attacker. Second, in some locations, in forty percent of the murder ballads that involved the death of women, the murderers were not executed. A few of the more popular examples included "The Noel Girl," "There Was a Rich Old Farmer," "Omie Wise," and "Bad Lee Brown." In fact, Brown could not understand why he must be punished at all for killing his wife, when he stated, "Forty-nine years in prison for life,/All I ever done was kill my wife." Similarly, in "There Was a Rich Old Farmer," the killer was only punished by his own conscience, not the authorities. Moreover, the murderer often did not consider that such brutal treatment of women would be punished. In the tune "Rose Conoley," for example, the murder believed nothing would be done to him if he killed the pregnant Conoley. This is evident when the killer stated that he was often told "that money would set me free/If I should murder that dear,
In the blues black males were also astonished when they were arrested for killing females. In his 1931 number, "County Jail Blues," for example, blues great J. T. Funny Paper Smith told the judge, after he had shot his "woman," that he did not know if she was dead or alive. In fact, in this tune he did not even care about her well-being. It, however, shocked Smith when the judge sentenced him to jail. Indeed, in the blues that was a rare occurrence. The singer had thought that the magistrate would behave like other judges and simply dismiss the case. After the verdict was rendered, Smith yelled out that the sentence was unfair and that he should not be punished at all, because the incident was only "a little trouble between women and men." In this tune, shooting a woman at point-blank range with a forty-five caliber pistol was what this bluesman considered "a little trouble."\(^{23}\)

In fact, in many blues tunes men sang about killing African American women for the sheer fun of it, and no punishment whatsoever was mentioned. Several of the most celebrated bluesmen of this era, including Furry Lewis, Sam Collins, James Cole, and Lonnie Johnson, released such numbers. In 1927 Johnson sang that he was going to "buy me a shotgun/long as I am tall/I'm going to shoot my woman/Just to see her fall." Lewis, Collins, and Cole also sang almost those exact words in 1928, 1931, and 1932 respectively. In fact, Lewis and Collins only changed the type of firearm they used. Instead of a shotgun, both men shot their lovers with high-caliber pistols. These kinds of tunes are important, because they indicate that lethal violence against females did not have to be committed in the
heat of rage. In fact, the use of violence as a female control device in both African American and Caucasian tunes is even more apparent when one considers that in both black and white music, femicides were often carefully planned and executed. In white folk tunes, for example, sometimes graves were pre-dug, and in several blues tunes a man even purchased a new gun for the occasion.  

Femicide tunes are also significant because they show the almost total lack of judicial concern in such cases. Of course there were exceptions, such as when a black male supposedly killed a white female, however, regardless of race, historically, the legal system has often taken the killing of certain types of females, such as adulterers, lesbians, and prostitutes, less seriously than the murder of a man. Similarly, even when a murdered female did not fit into one of the categories mentioned, she was in practice and theory often "monitored for the extent to which she provoked her own demise." If the court found that the provocation was great, such as in adultery cases, sentences were frequently lenient or non-existent, and if the provocation was considered low, such as the charge of continual taunting, the male could be charged with manslaughter. Manslaughter was not a capital offense; thus, as music indicates, no execution would have occurred. When a male judge sentenced Bad Lee Brown to forty-nine years in prison for killing his wife, Brown had every reason to be shocked because, as music reflected, historically "laws, legal practices, and ideologies" have allowed men to "walk away free or to serve only token sentences" for killing women.  

Resembling what was happening in court houses across the South, the
"provocation defence" also emerged in southern music. Some folksongs, for example, pointed out that the female murder victims had the habit of scolding their mates. Similar to white southern males, bluesmen also routinely blamed the female victims for their own deaths. For example, in his 1937 hit, "Low Down Woman," Washboard Sam claimed that he was going to buy a shotgun and a pistol to kill his woman, and other "lowdown women," because they drank moonshine. In his eyes, any woman who consumed liquor had to be immoral; thus, she was responsible for her own death. Similarly, in his 1937 hit "Buddie Brown Blues," Arnold Kokomo sang that if he took a razor and cut his woman's "doggone head" to sheds, it would be her own fault. This woman had committed the mortal sin of burning Kokomo's bread. It is significant that the "provocation defence" lyrically appears. Not only does it show that males used the defence, but it also exposes that southern society often rationalized femicide.26

Unsurprisingly, femicidal lyrics also reflect southern race relations. Rarely, if ever, did an African American folksinger or bluesmen sing about killing a white women. On the other hand, however, white singers bragged about battering black women. In fact, some southern whites loved tunes that broadcast brutality against African American women. In 1938 a Pine Bluff, Arkansas, fiddler explained that the popular tune, "The Hickory Hornpipe," had so much "shill squealing in it" because the melody imitated a "nigger" being whipped. He then added that in the past "if a nigger wench didn't behave, they just fanned her ass with a hickory. A young yaller gal will holler and dance mighty lively, and that's what this here tune is about." Neither African American musicians nor black audience
members made similar public statements about the beating of a white woman. Such utterances would not have been tolerated by white males. This is another indication that white males expressed themselves more openly and freely.27

In addition to mirroring southern race relations, these tunes also expose the amount of suffering black women endured. As music indicates, in the South African American females have historically been treated worse than white women. In fact, while seventy-six African American women were lynched between 1882 and 1927, only sixteen white women suffered the same fate. Moreover, unlike when they lynched a white woman, when southerners killed a black female, they frequently engaged in other acts of perversion. After a white Georgia mob, for example, captured Mary Turner, a pregnant African American woman who threatened to swear out warrants of arrest for her husband's killers, they tied her upside down from a tree, soaked her dress in gasoline and motor oil, and set her on fire. One ruffian then took his pocket knife and cut the fetus out of Turner's abdomen, and stomped it into the dirt. Not only did the males laugh as Turner burned and helplessly screamed, but a few days after they had completed their grisly task, one man also bragged, "Mister, you ought to've heard the nigger wench howl!" As this vicious femicide, the sexist act being the crude Caesarean, indicated, white males could actually brag about killing an African American woman without fear of retribution. Considering pre-World War II race relations, it is not surprising that brutality against African American women also lyrically emerges.28

Furthermore, it is significant that although in their music African
American males did not murder white women, they routinely killed black females. In fact, the blues revealed that the legal system often turned a blind eye to the killing of a black woman. Numerous blues tunes exposed that when black males used lethal violence against African American females, they generally had no reason to fear the court system. As music demonstrates, African American women could be beaten and killed without fear of punishment. More significantly, however, because both black and white songsters boasted about the murdering of African American women, but only white songsters sang about the killing of white women, music reflected that black females were at the bottom of the southern social ladder.

Finally, femicide tunes are also culturally significant because they reveal how white southern society expected white women to behave. In fact, there were major gender differences in how white men and white women lyrically met their deaths. While white men often brawled with their would-be killers, and were romanticized for doing so, white women rarely were shown physically fighting their murderers before they were killed. Instead of glorifying white women who fought their attackers, these songs did the opposite—they reinforced the belief that a white woman should not be aggressive under any circumstances. In seventy percent of the murder ballads Bush analyzed, the white women simply begged for mercy. Similarly, in the Virginia version of "Jellon Grame'," the woman "pled upon her knee. . . Oh, please have mercy." Moreover, when Pearl Bryan is about to be killed, she cries out, "I have always loved you" and she then falls "down on here [sic.] knees befor Him/She Pledged for Her Life/When Deep in to Her Bosom/He plunged the fatle [sic.] knife." Finally, in the ballad "Jesse
Adams," Lucy Adams is first shot in the arm as she tries to escape, then she "threw her hand upon her arm [and said] 'Lord a Mercy'" before being "shot through the head." Although many such songs exist, in almost all cases the outcome is the same. Ultimately the pleading does no good, and the woman is brutally killed.29

In fact, instead of stressing the idea that white women should avenge or protect themselves, songs continually reinforced the cultural notion that white men must protect white women. Jeremiah Beechum, the man who killed his wife's ex-lover who had gotten her pregnant and left, was glamorized throughout the South in novels, poems, ballads, and on stage for protecting "womanhood." This is seen in an Appalachian ballad when Beechum becomes a hero and states: "To kill the man that injured you/I surely shall feel free. . . . [for killing] Colonel Sharp/Who injured my poor wife/I always will protect her,/As long as I have life." When southern music reflected the belief that a white woman had to plead for and not fight for her life, and when it reinforced the notion that men had to protect white women, it demonstrated that the "Cult of True Womanhood" was alive and well in southern society.30

It is also significant that white women lyrically pleaded for mercy, because it shows how these southern women viewed their alternatives to male violence. Although there are several factors that cause women to be more "susceptible to the development of a learned helpless response to violence," one stands out in the music of the time period. That is, helplessness is a result of "rigid adherence to traditional sex role stereotypes in the home." This is not a form of victim blaming, because it places the
blame on the society which has conditioned a woman into believing she had no alternative but to be a victim. The music of the common people reinforced the idea of stereotypical helplessness all over the rural South.\textsuperscript{31}

These tunes also show that southern women were in a helpless position. Because the culture expected males to be aggressive and domineering, as the music indicates, women often felt helpless. Studies that deal with the abuse of women in male dominated societies show that when women are abused by males and do not fight back, they are expressing what society expects of them. These women feel helpless to protect themselves when "confronted with a man who had been taught that the hands and feet may sometimes be used as weapons, and that dominance and aggression are justified expressions of his emotion or intent." When southern music showed white women not responding aggressively to male violence, it reflected cultural realities. According to numerous studies, southern males were accustomed to fighting. In 1804, for instance, a traveler to the back country of North Carolina noted in his diary that gouging was prevalent. These were brutal fighting matches in which male combatants tried to scoop out an opponent's eye with their thumb nail. Although the eyes were the favorite targets, noses, ears, fingers, and toes were routinely bitten off in these bloody brawls. These kinds of skirmishes were not uncommon in the South, thus, travelers reported that in Virginia "every third or forth man appears with one eye." These men were "like dogs and bears, they use their teeth and feet, with the most savage ferocity, upon each other." In fact, one man, John Stanley of Bertie County, North Carolina, took matters to the extreme and "sharpened his teeth for his
opponents’ noses and ears." As these examples demonstrate, the South was a male dominated society where brute force prevailed, and music reflected that most females simply had no other satisfactory alternative but to take the abuse.32

In fact, if a woman killed her tormentor before he killed her, southern society overlooked the male abuse and executed her. This is reflected in tunes such as "Frankie Silver," one of the few southern folksongs that depicted a white woman murdering a man. This is an interesting song, because non-ballad evidence indicates that Silver killed her husband in 1831 to protect herself from his brutality. Instead of incorporating this information into the song, balladeers made an important cultural statement by omitting this detail. In many versions Silver killed her husband out of sheer jealousy. "Frankie Silver" not only indicates that the culture condoned the beating of women, but it also demonstrates that society would conceal that brutality even when it was severe enough for the victim to fight back. These songs reinforce studies that trace the cultural history of violence. In fact, studies have shown that even lawyers, who defended women who fought back, historically concealed the abuse.33

In retrospect, music shows that instead of femicides being viewed as foreign concepts or unbelievable ideas, both black and white southerners identified with the brutal message. These kinds of tunes indicated that both races understood that under certain circumstances women could be killed. The widespread popularity of these types of songs also reveals that they reflected everyday situations. In fact, songs rarely portrayed
the events as unusual or against the "unwritten" law, especially in cases of adultery. Similarly, these songs demonstrated that not only did some males not care that they had murdered a female, but the lack of punishment, the shifting of blame, the romanticizing of the condemned, and the commentary of others also exposed that sometimes southern society viewed the murdering of women, especially if she was an African American, as immaterial. Comparably, music also indicates that, unlike white women, black women were often terrorized by males of both races. Therefore, in its own unique way music demonstrates that African American women were at the bottom of the southern social order. In the final analysis, femicidal tunes divulge that in a male dominated society, many females did not have much of a choice; they either had to beg for mercy or accept their fate, even if that fate meant certain death.
Although femicides are historically significant, non-lethal forms of domestic abuse, both physical and emotional, also gives historians a unique insight into how a culture fundamentally reinforces gender inequality and control. All abuse is worthy of scholarly attention, but because battered women have not historically spoken out for fear of violent consequences and social condemnation, and because domestic abuse has generally been considered a "family matter," historically it became one of "those dirty little secrets." The abuse of women, for example, was generally covered up in novels. In fact, it was not until the emergence of the women's movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s that social scientists and other scholars considered the abuse of women an important field of study. As a result, little is known about domestic abuse in the pre-World War II era, especially that which took place in the South. However, since music reflects cultural attitudes, if domestic abuse and gender inequality occurred in the South, these themes will probably emerge in the region's music.¹

Even though women throughout the United States were physically and emotionally abused, at times southern women faced greater hardships. In the colonial era, for example, no southern settlement had laws against wife abuse. Several New England colonies had such laws. In addition, in the early 1800s on the rare occasion when a southern man was finally brought to court for severely beating his wife, judges routinely dismissed the case. Until the Civil War there were "virtually no initiatives by the criminal
justice system to control domestic violence, and a legislative 'vacuum' existed." This was especially true in the South. In fact, in 1824 the Supreme Court of Mississippi became the first state court to recognize a husband's right to beat his wife. Mississippi wanted husbands to enforce "domestic discipline." Moreover, although in the late nineteenth century some southern states adopted anti-wife beating laws, no real enforcement policies existed. These laws were on the books, but criminal sanctions were rarely assessed. When North Carolina finally outlawed the practice in 1874, for example, the state qualified itself by stating the court could not intervene in abuse cases "if no permanent injury has been inflicted, nor malice nor dangerous violence shown by the husband, it is better to draw the curtain, shut out the public gaze, and leave the parties to forget and forgive."^2

Since southern states rarely, if ever, enforced the laws they had against domestic abuse, it is not surprising that such violence appears in southern music. In fact, the beating of black and white women, especially wives, was a familiar theme. In many southern collections, for example, several versions of the folksong, "The Wife Wrapped In Wether's Skin," appear. In this tune a farmer, whose wife would not obey him, placed a sheep's skin on his wife's back and made his "hickory go whickety-whack." Although the song did not directly instruct everyone to undertake such behavior, it did claim that such beatings made a wife mind her husband. Similarly, in the folktune, "If I Had A Scolding Wife," popular with both African Americans and whites, a man tells everyone what he would do to a woman who attempted to reprimand him. In both versions, the husband would
whip her "sho’s you born."\

Similarly bluesman also approved of domestic abuse. In fact, several bluesmen continually bragged about beating women. In 1928 Henry Thomas claimed that he trounced his "girl/with a singletree." In 1937 the greatest bluesman of them all, Robert Johnson, asserted that he would beat "my woman/until I get satisfied." Similarly, in 1936 bluesman Eurreal Little Brother Montgomery sang that on various occasions he had consumed too much "bucket gin/And she [his lover] would be absolutely hospital bound/if she ever even asked me where I had been." This kind of behavior had to have been common among males, since such acts not only appeared in song after song, but Montgomery also warned other men to stop acting this way. Finally, in 1927 Stovepipe No. 1 boasted that he was going to take a "picket/off a graveyard fence," and savagely beat his woman until she "learned some sense." Such tunes are culturally significant, because they indicate that women could be beaten for a variety of reasons. In addition, when singers boasted about such behavior, and when audience members clamored to hear such songs, it reveals that in the South domestic abuse was not hidden. In fact, music shows that at least some southerners openly approved of the practice. This is a clear indication that southern society tolerated domestic abuse.\

Although the above tunes indicate that men beat women for various reasons, one issue stands out in both black and white music: males routinely used and sanctioned the use of violence to control women. Although white folksingers sang many such tunes, it will suffice to mention only a few of the best examples. In "The Dumb Wife," for instance, a
doctor told a man that in order to "make a scolding wife hold her tongue," he should use "The oil of hickory" and "Just anoint her body round until the rooms begin to sound." In other words, he should beat her with a hickory stick until her screams echoed off the walls. In the popular tune, "When I Was A Bachelor," when a man finds out that his new bride was a "scolding Jane," he went to the woods and cut a green hickory switch, and "whipped her well,/Whipped her more than tongue could tell." In a similar tune entitled "The Holly Twig," a man cuts the "toughest" piece of wood he could find so that he could viciously beat his wife. In fact, after he had "lammed" her with his home-made club, he "Kicked her and cuffed her." This woman was beaten so severely only because she had "scolded" her husband.

In a North Carolina tune, "The Wee Cooper of Fife," if a man's wife would not bake, brew, card, or spin for him, he simply "thrash[ed]" her to make her mind.5

African American folksingers also approved of the use of violence to control women. One Durham, North Carolina, songster claimed that if his wife did not treat him right, he simply "knock[ed] her teeth down her throat." In a similar situation, another black man from Texas advised males to "pick up a big stick" and beat the disobeying woman with "all you might." Finally, one African American man sang that when his wife drank whiskey he simply picked up a "stick and beat dat heifer." Black males continued to approve of such behavior in the blues. In 1928, in order to keep his woman "quiet," Blind Blake sang that he simply "knocked her teeth out her mouth." In 1938 Sonny Boy Williamson also lyrically advised men that if their woman did not treat them "right," males only had to "beat her
three times a day." Although all of these black tunes were brutal, the two most ruthless numbers were issued by the same southern performer, Blind Willie McTell. In 1931 this blues star released the hit "Southern Can Is Mine," and in 1933 he followed suit with "Southern Can Mama." In the former number McTell first told his lover that if she stepped out of line, he was "going to give you my fist." If she called the police and had him arrested, McTell warned her that he would be released on bail, and then she had better "kiss the ground/Your southern can/worth two dollars half a pound." If she ran away from the abuse and left the South, McTell said that he would find her no matter if she moved to the North, East, or West. In fact, he warned the woman that she would never "see no rest" as long as he lived.6

Once he located the female, McTell bragged that he would beat her so hard that "Every time I hit you/you think I got a dozen hands." The bluesman then boasted that he would "Get me a brick/out of my back yard . . . and tear your can on down." When he found her, McTell also claimed that he did not care if she was "deathbed sick" or "graveyard bound," he would still beat her senseless. Finally, he told the woman to "Sit here and study/with you eyes all red/What I said. . . . Oh you got to stop your balking/and raising the deuce/I’ll grab you mama/and turn your every way but loose. . . . every time I hit it/you going to holler God dog." Like several other male singers, McTell controlled this African American woman by threatening her with extreme brutality. If she ran away or contacted the police about the abuse, he not only warned her that it would be futile, but he also pointed out that the repercussions would be horrible.7
Not only do these types of tunes demonstrate that some black and white men approved of the use of violence to control women, but they also reflect that neither society, the courts, nor the police helped the female victims. As several songsters clearly pointed out, domestic abuse was considered a family matter. These tunes also show that in the past southern males assaulted women when they attempt to overstep the limitations that males have placed on females and become more self-expressive. Of course not ever southern man practiced such behavior, but the continual emergence of this theme indicates that many males approved of gender control. Similarly, when southern songs justified the abuse of wives who could not bake, or the beating of women who chided men, music demonstrated that southern society expected women to stay in the home and listen to their male relatives. When these tunes spoke of such actions they reflected the values and views of a traditional culture. These melodies also indicate that the rural South was a region where both African American and white women, especially wives, had limited power. In fact, songs that condoned domestic abuse show that the culture even sanctioned the use of physical force to keep women in their traditional sphere.

Although these songs reflect that southerners generally overlooked domestic abuse, they also demonstrate that both black and white males used the "provocation defence" to justify their brutality. In his 1938 tune "You Give an Account," for example, Sonny Boy Williamson maintained that if a woman did not treat her man correctly, he had every right to beat her until she acted properly. As in many other songs, a man shifted the blame away from himself to his female victim. Similar to folksingers, when
bluesmen did not blame their female victims, they seldom assumed total responsibility for their own violent actions. In fact, bluesmen often attributed their brutal deeds to outside forces. In his 1928 hit "Nobody's Dirty Business," Mississippi John Hurt warned his female lover that one "of these mornings" he was going to wake up drunk, grab his gun, and kill her. Resembling many other folk and blues tunes, in this popular number alcohol conveniently became the scapegoat for a vicious man. This is an indication that, similar to today, in the pre-World War II era alcohol was a frequent excuse, used by both males and southern society in general, to justify the battering of women. As long as society continued to blame domestic violence on either liquor or on the female victims themselves, the abuse would not end. These tunes are even more important because few depicted men as naggers or at fault for beating their wives. It is culturally significant that songsters routinely shifted the responsibility for the abuse away from the attacker. This indicates that the culture trivialized the abuse. In such cases, the domestic abuse was almost completely forgotten and glossed over. In fact, in the eyes of the singers, who reflected society’s views, the female victims generally deserved whatever punishment they received.  

Although music exposes that southern society expected males to enforce domestic discipline in their own households, in order to clearly understand how southern culture viewed women, some non-physical abuse tunes must also be examined. When analyzing southern songs it becomes apparent that some men did not respect women. In African American folktunes, for example, although females were often sung about, there was virtually a
complete lack of any suggestion of respect or adoration. In fact, there were "few exalted opinions of women" whatsoever. Instead, sex, jealousy, and physical characteristics predominated. The same can be said about many white tunes. One songster, for instance, suggested that a woman was only good for carrying a man home after a hard night of drinking. In another tune a Houston County, Alabama, man's wife died, but he only missed her good cooking. In fact, he called her a fool for dying. Similarly, in a 1915 song one Auburn, Alabama, sawmill worker did not seem to care that his wife had died. In fact, it seemed to irritate him that he "had to drag her home." Many other black singers typecast African American women as "being of questionable quality." In one popular black song a male stated that no man should ever "let yo' woman have her way;\text{Keep you in trouble all yo' day.}^{10}

Significantly, in both African American and white music, women were also seen as inanimate objects. This could take on many different forms. A woman's looks were seen as essential to her worth. There are many such songs, but a few will suffice. In the popular white tune, "The Burglar Man," when a thief hiding under a bed sees an old woman remove her teeth, wig, and glass eye, he becomes "a total wreck" and is discovered. The woman then grabs a gun and tells the man to either marry her or "I'll blow off the top of your head." In reply, the robber, who could not get away, stated "for the Lord's sake shoot!" In fact, in a Johnson County, Kentucky, version of the tune, the man's hair turns gray at the ugly sight of the woman.\textsuperscript{11}

This is an interesting tune. First, notice that the age and beauty
of a woman was considered significant. This is especially true when one considers that the robber was not condemned for thievery, but instead was pitied because he had to view an unattractive woman. Similarly, in an untitled white ditty collected in Tennessee, a man claimed he would never marry any "old maid," because "her neck's too long and stringy/I'm afraid she'd never die." Others sang that they would never marry a "yaller nigger gal," because her "neck's drawn out so stringy an' long,/I'se afraid she 'ould never die." In the early twentieth century, eastern Tennessee African American males even sang that they wished that their wives were dead so that they could go out with prettier women. Other such songs also showed that unattractive women were left to their own protection, while young and beautiful women would be protected by males. Finally, many white songs discussed the "lily white" hands, the delicate appearance and the child-like behavior of white women. This is not only blatant gender stereotyping, it also reinforced a common view that independent women were unattractive and manly.\textsuperscript{12}

Albeit many songs either described or talked about women as if they were inanimate objects, "When I was a Little Boy" is a perfect example. Although there are several northern versions of such swap songs where a man loses out every time he makes a trade, this particular North Carolina version is significantly different. Instead of starting out trading a horse, this southern man trades a human being. The man first "buy[s]" a wife. He then attempts to carry her home in a wheelbarrow, but it broke, so, he "sold" his wife and "bought" a cow. This man keeps trading his goods until he had swapped for a cow, a calf, a cat, a hat and a mouse.
Fundamentally, this song indicates that women were viewed as objects, especially when females are placed in the same category as a hat and a mouse. She could be bought and sold. In many other songs women were also treated like animals. One man, for example, sang that if his wife reprimanded him, he would "Hitch her to a double plow/And make her plow my corn." In his eyes, his wife was no better than a mule. Similarly, the implication that material goods were more important than women can also be seen in southern tunes. In fact, one songster even claimed that if his wife caused him too much trouble, he would simply "take her down to the still-house/And swap her off for corn." Finally, in the song, "Thimble Buried His Wife At Night," which was only found in Virginia and North Carolina, a man was not sad when his "scolding" wife died. Although the man mourned, he grieved only because his wife was about to be buried wearing her diamond ring. In fact, monetary concerns, not emotional reasons, lay behind his desire to possess the ring.\textsuperscript{13}

Moreover, in the most fundamental social structure of southern society, the family, folksongs demonstrate that it was culturally unacceptable for women to make decisions. In "Father, Father, I Am Married," a newly married man complains to his father that his wife will not obey him. Finally, he tells the woman "O wife, make no objection;/You must live by my direction./Wife, O Wife, I do declare/That the Britches I will wear!" In fact, instead of having a wife reprimand a man, the song "The Scolding Wife," told young men it would be better to marry a woman "blind, deaf, and dumb." Kelly Combs, a popular Kentucky ballad singer of the early twentieth century, sang "Adam" and "Johnny Buck" to emphasize his belief "common
among mountain people" that husbands should rule their wives. In the tune "Adam" the last stanza states that "The woman was not taken/From Adam's head we know/And she must not rule o'er him/It is mighty certain so." This theme also appeared in non-violent African American tunes. One man maintained, for example, that he would be happy if he had his "weight in gold," because he would then "have the women under my control."14

Gender control, albeit of a different nature, can also be seen in the white ballads "Charming Beauty Bright," "The Drowsy Sleeper," "I Dreamt Last Night of My True Love," and "Rainbow Willow," which were not only popular in the South, but were also predominately found only in the region. In "Charming Beauty Bright" a father locked his daughter away, and "treated her so 'vere [severe]," when her lover asked to marry her. The couple was never allowed to marry; instead, the woman died. As in many other tunes, the father was not punished for his cruelty. In numerous songs, male relatives simply did what they wanted, and no one questioned their right to dictate orders to their female relatives. Not only is this blatant gender control, but it is also an indication that men thought of women as reproductive and sexual property that they owned. This music reflects that men were sexually "proprietary."15

The blues also illustrated that black singers considered wives and female lovers the property of men. Lyrically, bluesmen frequently referred to an African American woman as "my woman." This term, appeared in at least 164 blues lines popular enough to be reissued before 1945. Respectively in 1929, 1934, and 1935 the bluesmen Little Hat Jones, Leroy Carr, and Arnold Kokomo yelled the phrase. In many songs African American males
sang about their female lovers as if they were property. This was especially true in sexual matters. In his 1935 tune, "Somebody's Been Borrowing that Stuff," bluesman Joe Williams asked a judge to give him the "lowest fine [because] I killed a man/About that stuff of mine." In 1938 Bo Chatman also implied the same thing when he beat his woman "stone blind" for letting "Some lowdown scoundrel [go]... fishing in my pond." As these metaphors, and many other phrases--such as some other man picking "my fruit" or some other "mule kicking in my stall" indicated, males often thought that a woman's sexual/reproductive organs were under their control, not hers. In song after song possessive expressions repeatedly emerged when males referred to this part of the female anatomy. Similarly, in his 1932 tune, "If You Want Me to Love You," Thomas A. Dorsey sang that any woman who craved his attention had to have sex whenever and however he wanted. This song made it clear that the female had no choice in the matter. If she disobeyed his sexual commands, the bluesman sang, he would kill her. It is significant that such a song, which condoned marital/companion rape, was popular enough to be reissued. Such lyrics are an indication that many men considered the sexual domination of women insignificant. In the lyrics of these males, women were necessary for sex and procreation purposes, but that was about all. In fact, lyrically, females were often seen as disposable items that could be used and abused.16

Moreover, white folksongs often reflect how white society attempted to control the behavior of women in other ways more subtle than threatening physical abuse. In "Jesse Adams," a woman was informed that her two
children would suffer because of her immoral actions. She had committed adultery. In the important last stanza, the balladeer explained that he hoped the children would die, because the "stigma of their mother's behavior" would follow them throughout their lives and either make them "wicked, or at least so miserable that they will wish they had died."^{17}

This type of music cleverly informed women that not only would they themselves endure the community's wrath, but their children would also suffer. By threatening the children with ostracism or evil futures, these songs show that in southern society the middling class tried to control women through their children. According to historians that specialize in women's history and organizations that work with abused women, it is not uncommon for males, or society in general, to use children as bargaining tools in their dealings with women. A male will tell a female that their children are solely her responsibility, and he will not allow her to work outside the home. Moreover, if a woman tries to leave her male lover, he will warn her that she will never see the children again. Similarly, these women are told that their children's friends or teachers will scorn them because of her actions.

These types of tunes indicate that before World War II, society constantly informed women that their children came before all other obligations. If a female did not follow cultural norms, she was told that her children would suffer. In addition, society threatened to take children away from bad mothers. These threats were powerful. In fact, in the nineteenth century society used such warnings to stop divorce. When folksingers bombarded women with the message that youngsters suffered when
their mothers committed unacceptable cultural acts, they reflected that society used psychological control.

Finally, although in southern music both black and white males practiced various forms of gender control, there were major racial differences. Black men, unlike white singers, generally only tried to control the sexual relations of their wives or female lovers, not their sisters or daughters. Furthermore, whereas African American and Caucasian men both physically abused their wives and female lovers, white males were customarily the only ones who sang about harming other female relatives. In "The Mother-in-Law Song," for instance, a white man hates his mother-in-law because she is too outspoken. In fact, he sings that "In Pridemore city they do good shooting/There's never a shoot but what it's a draw./I got seventeen dollars to give anybody/That'll take good aim at my mother-in-law." These racial differences have significant cultural implications. They indicate that the European based patriarchal family structure was more firmly established in white families than in African American households. Similarly, such tunes reflect that in the pre-World War II era a few aspects of the matriarchal family structure still existed in African American families.¹⁸

Even though it is clear that music reflects cultural attributes, a hotly debated topic in scholarly research is whether media affects culture. Modern studies have shown that men use violence against women because it works. When a male abuses a female, it "puts a quick stop to an emotional argument or a situation that is getting out of control." Men who are abusive to women often "learn that women are the 'appropriate' recipients"
of violence. According to social learning theorists, male violence is not an "innate personality characteristic," but a learned behavior; therefore, music can be seen as a vital element in the learning process. Since violent anti-female ballads were popular in the region among all classes of individuals, and with both races, African American and white southern males continually heard that male authority could be maintained by using violence.¹⁹

After many investigations, researchers have reached a consensus on the effects of violence in the mass media. Under "certain circumstances, subjects exposed to portrayals of violence typically display more aggressive behavior." Moreover, many psychological studies indicate that if the events seem real; if the aggressors are rewarded and not punished; if the violent acts are not condemned; if the acts seem socially acceptable, exciting, and justified; and if the person committing the crime is portrayed as aggressive and is seen as "intending to injure his victim"; the story is "most likely to be imitated in the laboratory." Similarly, if the aggressor is depicted as similar to the audience members and if the violent acts contain "cues" which "match cues in the real life environment," the person will act more aggressively.²⁰

Although some scholars maintain that laboratory experiments can never duplicate real life experiences, other scholars, such as social psychologist George Comstock, maintain that such experiences are the best and "most rigorous" methods to use. And, when combined with non-laboratory evidence, these methods demonstrate that "positive correlations" exist between viewing violence and real-life use of violence. Moreover, recent non-
laboratory settings demonstrate that when violence against women is portrayed as "having positive consequences" a male's "acceptance of interpersonal violence against women" increases.\textsuperscript{21}

Pre-World War II folk and blues music contains the criteria psychologists contend must be present before media provokes aggressive behavior. These songs appear to have portrayed real life events. In fact, many of the folktunes discussed actual occurrences. In addition, to make the imported folksongs seem more real, they were often reset in familiar locations. Moreover, when rural performers vocalized these songs they incorporated them into their own lives, which made them seem even more authentic. According to prominent folklorist, G. Malcolm Laws, the singers of such ballads often took these songs and personalized them until the "first person becomes more and more intrusive." In fact, a good singer could make the audience cry and believe the event had happened to family members. In addition, when singing about these kinds of circumstances, blues performers almost always used the first person. This is significant, because singers often use the first person when they identify with a given situation. Similarly, the first person style helps the audience identify with the story more readily, because they think the story is true. Moreover, in both genres the events not only appeared to be real, but they also seemed to have occurred in the recent past.\textsuperscript{22}

The fact that a singer might not know who composed a particular tune was irrelevant because the "song belonged as much to him as to the first man who sang it." When discussing tunes from 1865-1895, Loman D. Cansler stated that songs were such a "part of the day-to-day living itself" that
it would have been "absurd" to ask the singer or the community who wrote
the songs if the events portrayed were real. One old time singer verified
this statement when asked where he had learned a particular tune, "Why,
I’ve known them all my life. I didn’t learn them--I grew up with
them."^23

When acts of violence were depicted, they were often shown to be
exciting and the aggressive people were sometimes rewarded and often not
punished. Similarly, the violent deeds were not condemned and the brutal
acts seemed socially acceptable and justifiable. Numerous types of tunes
that describe the beating of women fit these criteria. First, respectable
and supposedly knowledgeable persons, such as medical doctors, endorsed
such behavior in the songs. In "The Dumb Wife," for example, a doctor told
a man that in order to "make a scolding wife hold her tongue," he should
beat her with a hickory stick. Similarly, well respected local individuals
frequently sang these tunes at community events. Second, men were not
generally taken to court or otherwise condemned by the community in these
songs. In fact, they were often applauded for these acts. Even when they
were punished by the victims themselves, this bit of information was often
shrewdly omitted. In addition, the violent act was rewarded. The man
doing the beating got what he wanted. His fists made his "nagging" wife
shut-up. Men who were able to keep females under their control were also
portrayed as powerful. They were the real men. Therefore, when consid-
ering psychological studies on violence in the media that demonstrate that
men are more apt to imitate the hero who killed, rather than the anti-hero
who acted passively, the effects of this music on southern society become
Psychological studies have generally shown that when the media portrays violence against women, male audience members will view women more negatively and increase their "aggression against them." The more such songs were sung, the less violent and less degrading the acts seemed to southern males. According to several scholars, such as Daniel Linz, Edward Donnersteirn, and Steven Penrod, if males are bombarded with images of violence against females, over time this continual degradation of women will have violent repercussions for women. Although no one can prove that a particular southern male who listened to a singer glorify the abuse of his nagging wife went immediately home and beat his own wife, the prolonged psychological effects of such music cannot be discounted. Modern studies have shown that even if there is no immediate effect, long-range negative consequences can occur.  

Finally, the continual barrage of such songs helps scholars explain why southern males become desensitized to unmerciful violence against women. When men are exposed to messages that depict aggression toward women, "antagonistic orientations" towards women develop. Recent studies have shown that such negative "beliefs are a significant predictor of aggression against women." This form of aggression increases in environments where women are portrayed as less powerful and "justifiable targets of aggression." Music indicates that this was the case in southern society. As several prominent scholars, such as Janet S. St. Lawrence, Doris J. Joyner, Neil M. Malamuth, and James V. P. Check have noted, when the media portrays violence against women, it "creates undesirable social
consequences, particularly in contributing to negative attitudes and behavioral biases towards women." Before World War II, both folk and blues tunes thrust these violent portrayals and biased attitudes into the culture of the South. This had negative cultural repercussions because when violence is accepted, not only are women viewed more negatively, but they are beaten more frequently. In addition, women report the violent acts less and society sees it as a less serious crime.²⁶

Even though the above studies all deal with forms of mass media popular in the twentieth century, the same statements can be made about pre-World War II folk and blues music. Both forms of music were important in the lives of rural southerners. In fact, many of the folktunes mentioned had been in the oral tradition for hundreds of years. Both were also the main forms of entertainment, and each broke down some of the barriers associated with rural isolation. In addition, instead of only hearing songs on the radio, like many late twentieth-century listeners, before World War II, men, women, and children were exposed to these kinds of tunes frequently, in a live format and in a communal setting. Rural southerners, for example, habitually sang these tunes while attending "quiltin', house raisin', bean stringin' and corn huskin' parties." In fact, all of the blues tunes mentioned were popular enough to be reissued. This is important because musical lyrics transmit social norms and are a significant socializing element. The music of the pre-World War II South informed men, women, and children about culturally acceptable behavior. Children especially look to music for "cultural cues to determine what attitudes, behaviors, and characteristics [were] a part of belonging to a
particular sex." When singers sang such songs, they bestowed on the next generation of males and females the idea that men could and should physically dominate women. In the final analysis, since musical lyrics affect cultural attitudes, when musicians approved of the domination of women by men, and when southern men lyrically abused females, neither the songs nor the singers did anything to help southern women. \(^{27}\)

In retrospect, since music reflects cultural realities, when pre-World War II southern songsters glorified domestic abuse, spoke of the bartering of women, asserted that females (either passive or domineering) had to be punished and controlled, and placed an overwhelming importance on a woman's appearance, they reflected the low social position of both African American and white women. Even if many males simply sang these tunes because they felt the songs were exciting or funny, the cultural implications cannot be dismissed. All people have to do is look at what southern males considered humorous, the degradation and torturing of women.

These lyrics also illustrated that some southern males did not hesitate to use violence against females. However, because black singers generally did not sing about controlling their sisters, mothers, or grandmothers, music showed that the patriarchal family structure was more firmly established in white families than in African American households. Nevertheless, when dealing with wives or female lovers, music demonstrated that in the pre-World War II era domestic violence was a serious problem in both African American and Caucasian society. Similarly, these songs indicated that southern males exercised more power and control than women in their relationships with women. In fact, music reflected that some
males thought that they even controlled a woman's sexual and reproductive organs. Marital and companion rape was not condemned, instead some male singers condoned, or bragged about committing the hideous act. In the final analysis, although it would be historically inaccurate to claim that every southern man beat and degraded his wife or tried to control her every move, the prevalence and widespread popularity of these kinds of tunes indicates that the social, physical, psychological, and sexual control of women was firmly embedded in the culture of the South.
CHAPTER 3
VIOLENCE: SAVAGERY IN THE PRE-WORLD WAR II ERA

Although songs depicting brutality against women demonstrated that domestic violence and sexism has engulfed the rural South, many tunes illustrate that other forms of savagery existed in the region before World War II. In fact, by the 1940s violence had been a crucial part of southern music for generations. Brutality not only inundated lyrics, it became a significant aspect of southern bars and dances. Rural southerners did not criticize the harsh melodies; instead they savored them. Music indicates that both African Americans and whites historically accepted violence as an essential aspect of all human relationships. Blues and folk performers even gathered fans by singing such numbers. The savage bar scene of the South and the persisting popularity of vicious songs not only demonstrate cultural continuity, but they also give scholars a unique insight into the dark side of southern life. These melodies show that some locations within the South were deadly, brutal, and unmerciful.

Both the North and the South published hundreds of tunes during the Civil War, but there were major differences in how southern and northern singers and composers communicated the messages. Southern ditties, for example, were less humorous and more "ferocious and savage" than those of the North. Similarly, before and after the Civil War rural southern whites enjoyed singing savage English and Scottish murder ballads. In fact, homicide was one of the most popular song themes. Love melodies that described fatal bloodshed, for example, outnumbered nonviolent love songs
Almost every major folklore collection from the mountain South contained brutal tunes in abundance. These ditties also inundate minor accumulations. Of the ten foreign ballads found in Cannon County, Tennessee, nine detailed beatings, murders, or deaths. Although imported ballads survived in the region, rural southerners did not depend upon other locales to quench their musical thirst for bloodshed. Mountain culture, for example, provided balladeers with an almost unlimited supply of such material. In the nineteenth century many North Carolina ballads detailed the murders or murderous exploits of local citizens, including William S. Shackleford, who murdered John D. Horton in 1889, Tom Dula, who slaughtered Laura Foster in 1866, Omie Wise, assassinated in 1874, and the slaying of Charles Silver in 1831. North Carolina folktunes continued to detail local murders in the early twentieth century. A few of the more popular melodies revolved around the homicide of Birchie Potter in 1937, the Lawson family murders of 1929, and the killing of Nellie Cropsey in 1901.

Mountain balladeers not only wrote many murder ballads, but rural southerners clamored to purchase and hear the tunes. For generations southern mountaineers had exhibited such macabre behavior. In 1824 Jeremiah Beechum killed Colonial Solomon O. Sharp in Frankfort, Kentucky, and tunes, poems, books, and articles describing the event inundated the region. In the late nineteenth century one southern songster, who specialized in writing and selling murder ballads, pointed out that at executions "men and boys hovered around me like bees to buy the ballet" of the condemned man. Moreover, he claimed most southern people had an affinity for this type of music. In fact, rural southerners would purchase a ditty
about a "killin' a heap quicker than a hymn-tune." In 1894 Ozark residents, for example, sang several melodies about the Meeks family murder. One Farmington, Arkansas, man asserted that a relative of the Meeks even followed the fairs and picnics chanting the number and selling a ten cent songbook that contained the tune. In the early twentieth century this behavior continued. In the late 1920s Pete Colvin, a resident of Colvin Hollow, Kentucky, owned a 1905 phonograph and six records. According to visitors, Colvin "never tires of playing," or singing along with, one particular recording about a murder trial, because it had "deep meaning for him." In fact, the old songs that the other Colvin Hollow residents remembered almost always revolved around violence. Throughout the rural South many nineteenth-century murder tunes continued to be chanted well into the twentieth century. Generations of listeners enjoyed these ditties so much that they were always "sure-fire hits." In the Ozarks, for example, the Meeks murder remained in the oral tradition into the 1940s.2

Even though the above-stated tunes generally appealed to mountain whites, before World War II blacks also enjoyed violent songs. In African American folk music bad men not only lived viciously, but they also generally died violently. Black outlaws, such as Stagolee, John Harding, and Railroad Bill, however, were not the only African American males who brawled or killed. There are many songs that described the violent deeds of ordinary black men, including "When He Grin," "I'm De Hot Stuff Man," "Slim Jim From Dark-Town Alley," "I Am Ready For De Fight," "Don't Fool Wid Me," and "I'm De Rough Stuff." Before the World War II murdering and fighting also continued to be popular themes in the blues. Many African
American blues performers sang about killing people. In "Somebody's Been Borrowing that Stuff," for example, Joe Williams claimed he had murdered several men.3

Similar to white southern folk music, other forms of violence, besides murder, emerged in the blues. Blind Willie McTell composed several songs that described fights. In his 1935 number "Bell Street Blues," McTell killed an intruder who unexplainably walked into his room and started a fight. McTell not only sang about murdering people, but like several other performers, he also bragged about brawling. In his 1930 hit "Razor Ball," for example, he discussed such a brutal skirmish at an Atlanta dance and crap game.4

Since violence engulfed both black and white southern music before World War II several cultural ideas and social conditions can be ascertained. The tunes indicate that more than other Americans rural southerners were fascinated with gore. Not only have dog fights, cock fights, bear baiting, and gouging matches historically been more popular in the South, but in the past many southerns also viewed lynching as a sport. In 1893 E. L. Godkin of the Nation wrote that southern lynching parties were often composed of men who go "nigger-hunting" just as they go to a "cockfight . . . for the gratification of the lowest and most degraded instincts of humanity . . . . They do not care a straw about seeing justice." In fact, after a black male was lynched it was a common southern practice to pass a bottle of whiskey around and riddle the corpse with bullets. In the same vain, after someone was killed, men, women, and children all visited the crime scene. According to a Tennessee female, in the early twentieth
century when locals heard of a homicide "they'd flock to the place like a bunch of buzzards. . . . I went to one or two murders myself." In such an environment it is not surprising that rural mountaineers also clamored to hear the bloodier and the more vicious tunes. Many of these songs became a significant part of the region's oral tradition. Through word of mouth, these brutal ditties also spread throughout parts of the rural South. The song about Omie Wise, for example, can be found in various southern states, including North Carolina, Florida, Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, and Mississippi.

Such cruel tunes traveled throughout sections of the mountainous regions, because most southerners identified with the message. Similarly, that is why southern audiences accepted foreign murder ballads, because they too lived in a violent environment. Murder is not a uniquely southern phenomenon; but historically the region has consistently led the nation in the number of homicide deaths per 100,000 inhabitants. From 1865 to 1915 Circuit Court records in eastern Kentucky, for example, reveal that local grand juries returned indictments in approximately one thousand murder cases. Many more murders occurred, but "for one reason or another no indictments were made." In fact, in the 1890s one Knott County, Kentucky, informant remembered that murders were prevalent and that locals "always talked about the killin's." Similarly, from 1920 to 1925 the southern homicide rate was two-and-a-half times the national average.

In such an atmosphere these songs, like visiting death scenes, touched a psychological nerve. Music helped southerners understand, accept, and explain their violent world. In fact, no matter how sensation-
al folksongs might appear to contemporary observers, in the past rural southerners did not find the stories inconceivable. When the songs dealt with vicious homicides they discussed events that could occur. Most of the local tunes were indeed factual.7

The prevalence of fighting and murdering tunes also reflects that in the late nineteenth century the rural South was rocked by "widespread and multifaceted crisis." In times of economic and social stress, southern mountaineers drank too much whiskey, behaved aggressively, and fought freely. This behavior eased their anxieties and emotions. It really did not matter that people died in the process, because that was how these males traditional reacted to their problems. Moreover, as the tunes indicated, a crime wave swept the region in the 1880s and 1890s, and southern homicides and prison populations both increased. In some areas of the rural South, the rowdiness actually grew worse in the years between the world wars. In a small area on the Tennessee and Kentucky line, for example, approximately thirty people died violently between 1890-1919, thirty-three others followed suit from 1915-1940.8

Early twentieth-century mountain balladeers continued to sing and write new murder ballads, because homicides increased. Not only did the old tunes still reflect the culture, but singers could choose from a whole host of fresh material. Similarly, when mountain songsters described common brawls they almost always recounted factual events or characters. In the mines, saw mills, and logging camps of those regions, fisticuffs, stabbings, and shootings commonly occurred. All in all, brutality reigned supreme in these backwoods locations. Even though these workers made more
money than the average farmer, many men simply could not take the ruthless atmosphere. In the 1920s one laborer left Kentucky and a very high-paying job at a saw mill, because "I just wanted to get out of that mess. I'd had all I wanted."^9

The ambience of the mountain social circuit also left a lot to be desired. Between 1880 and 1940 unruly males dominated almost every social event in sections of rural Kentucky and Tennessee. Rough young men rode their mules or horses throughout the countryside, drinking too much whiskey, terrorizing people, flashing knives, and shooting firearms. In the late nineteenth century, for example, Bad John Wright's gang of roughnecks terrorized the upper Big Sandy Valley, near present day Jenkins, Kentucky. This gang, which included Talt Hall, was basically a law unto themselves. The courts, for instance, could not establish control, because the gang killed unobliging jurors and judges. Moreover, even if someone was found guilty of a crime, the gang often helped them escape from jail before their sentences could be carried out. In this area of Kentucky, fear ruled. Similarly, as late as the 1930s overall-clad thugs still virtually ruled by brute force in some sections of the mountain South. According to one old Kentucky ruffian, "People back there drunk a lot. Had nothing to do but just lay around and play cards and get into trouble. Shoot one another." Oral sources also indicated that rural communities in the mountains of Northeast Arkansas had to tolerate the same kind of disruptive behavior.10

In fact, rural hooligans customarily disrupted religious services by loitering outside church building, shooting their guns, drinking moonshine,
talking loud, and cursing at all who passed by. In Kentucky in 1932, while a minister preached his sermon, a whiskey-soaked Ernie Boyer killed Bert Goins at the Rocky Valley Methodist Church. Similar events happened throughout the mountain South. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries churches barely survived in such environments. Moreover, music shows that religion did not have much effect on some church members. Preachers could not even modify the violent behavior of their own flocks inside, much less tell the ruffians gathered outside what to do. Parishioners in Tennessee, for example, disagreed over the naming of a new church. Instead of praying for guidance, members fought each other with fists, knives, and rocks. According to oral sources, and the tune "Taterhill," a fierce battle took place. The song warned people "Ef yer want ter get yer head knocked off/Ef yer want ter giet yer fill/Ef yer want ter git yer head knocked off/Go back ter Taterhill." Vicious tunes can be found in abundance in this era, and they reflect that violence and chaos ruled in several sections of the rural South before 1940. Music and oral sources both show that mayhem could break out at church, in the home, or at parties. In fact, as various scholars have shown, the South has historically been the most violent section of the United States. In fact, in the 1880s and 1890s, when many of these tunes gained popularity, southern homicides and prison populations both soared back to the high levels of the Reconstruction era. Similar to mountain culture itself, in song after song people were commonly shot, stabbed, trounced, or killed. Parallel to the earlier foreign ballads, local mountain tunes often made a simple point that physical violence and ruthlessness could occur at
anytime and at any place. Ozark lyrics pointed out, for example, that in 1900 three men shot Charley Stacey as he casually walked home from church. The song "Taterhill" even demonstrated that rural churches were not unscathed by violence. In its own unique way, therefore, music warned southerners that they could never really trust anyone. In fact, steadfast friends, religious brethren, community leaders, lovers, and close kinsmen all killed people in southern tunes. This reflected reality. A study conducted in one area of the mountain South found that between 1880 and 1939 (a time when, and the places where, many of the folktunes were written) most murder victims knew their killers; 44 percent were friends or neighbors, 13.5 percent were blood relatives, 13.5 percent were relatives by marriage, 6 percent were romantically involved, and 6 percent worked alongside their killers. The fact that so many of the song victims knew their murderers illustrates that the "code of violence" overruled family ties and comradeship in some sections of the rural South. When it came to being killed or mauled, songs indicated that everyone faced the same risks. Although many such ditties exist, five good examples, from different sections of the mountain South, revolve around the Meeks family murder, the killer Lloyd Robinson, and the homicides of "poor Goens," Prewitt, and Sheriff Brown.¹²

In 1894 William and George Taylor, two "prosperous and influential" Ozark men, killed their tenants, the Meeks family of Milan, Missouri. Both brothers were wealthy farmers. In fact, one was a banker and the other a schoolteacher. This was not unusual, since people of all classes killed each other in song. This shows that violence infected the whole spectrum
of southern society, not just the black and the so-called "white trash" elements. On the outside neither brother looked or acted like an assassin. Underneath the facade, however, both were vicious criminals. Gus Meeks ran afoul of the duo when he agreed to testify against them in a cattle rustling case. For his efforts, the government guaranteed Meeks a pardon. Before the court date, however, the Taylors approached Meeks and promised him a good job, if he and his family would only board their wagon and leave the area. The victims did not understand their peril, since all willingly embarked in the middle of the night. In only one song did Mrs. Meeks even question the brothers' sincerity, but her husband quickly told her not to worry. Near Browning, the Taylors murdered all but one child, whom they mistakenly left for dead, with an ax.13

Furthermore, in 1935 Lloyd Robinson of Webster Country, Missouri, killed his unsuspecting "white-haired daddy" by smashing in his head with a horseshoe. The tune also implicated the elder Robinson's wife in the murder. In the locally popular melody, "They Put Me Up To Kill Him," which was printed in the Leader and Press, a Springfield newspaper, Robinson stated he "snuck right up behind him,/While he ate his supper cold/I hit him once upon the head/Just like I was told/He didn't make no holler,/All he did was groan,/My maw she grabbed him by the feet." In addition, Kentucky tunes pointed out Huey Boggs turned his good friend Goens over to his murderers, and drank the dead man's whiskey. Moreover, William Baker killed his trusting friend Prewitt, after he had willingly followed Baker into the woods. He wanted to marry his widow.14

Finally, in West Virginia and North Carolina versions of "Old Joe
Clark," the assassination of Sheriff Brown is graphically described. Unlike the villain Clark, who allowed his hogs and cattle to graze on his neighbor's crops, the song depicted Brown as a "mighty fine man," but his benevolent attitude led to his downfall. When Brown encountered the "murdering old Joe Clarke," he made the fatal mistake of laying his pistol and ammunition down. Instead of instantly shooting Clark, he engaged the scoundrel in a fistfight. After a few minutes, Clark pretended he could no longer fight. Instead of continuing, he suggested that the Sheriff take him into town. When Brown turned his back, however, Clark grabbed a "great long bowie knife/And stabbed him to the core." After the villain murdered the sheriff, he threw him into a shallow grave, but the wind blew the sand off the victim's face. The song then vividly portrayed his morbid features. The singer described Brown's face as being as black as a face could be. Moreover, the tune claimed beetles crawled out of the man's mouth while the worms crawled in. Later, Clark dated Brown's widow, who even helped him escape from jail. He was never punished.15

Similar to many tunes the melody, "They Put Me Up To Kill Him," gave no motive for the crime. In several songs cold-blooded murderers, generally males, simply took the life of innocent victims. While searching for a job in 1930, for example, Sammie Adams checked into a Kentucky room and went to sleep, when Joe Schuster's gang broke in, "knocked him on the head," and cut him to pieces. The 1931 tune, "The Death of Sammie Adams," did not give a motive for his murder. These types of melodies are culturally significant. They indicate that many rural southerners did not always need a good reason to kill someone. More importantly, however, these songs
demonstrate that southern mountaineers believed individuals were naturally cruel and violent. When a group of people view their world this way, their murder songs do not need a motive. Everybody understood people could be sadistic for no reason.16

Moreover, several songsters cleverly pointed out it did not pay to be too trusting or too compassionate in the mountain South. Such tunes show that these individuals thought that their world was an evil place, where people had to be on guard at all times. Many melodies implied that no one should ever really trust anyone, no matter what they said, who they were, or how friendly they appeared. The continuing popularity of such music shows that before World War II mountaineers viewed their world as volatile and violent. Unlike Gus Meeks, Sheriff Brown, Omie Wise, or the "white-haired daddy," songs suggested that rural southerners should never turn their back on anyone, unless, of course, they wanted to die. By examining several murder and assault cases from the mountain South, one can see that these songs imparted good advice. In fact, the melodies generally recounted actual events. The goriness of these tunes also conferred a powerful message. No one would want to end up, like Sheriff Brown, dead and filled with maggots.17

Since antebellum and postbellum folksongs were similar in how they portrayed social relations and human life, they reinforce studies that indicate the South has traditionally been a violent region. Above all else, the code of violence prevailed in both mountain songs and mountain culture. Blacks were not unlike white southerners in this regard. By examining African American folklore scholars have determined that slaves
fought each other for various reasons. In fact, before the Second World War violence engulfed southern African American communities. When it came to brutality, southern blacks were similar to southern whites: they fought over trivial things, cruelty was normal, and violence among adults and children was encouraged. According to one African American rouster, Mississippi river boats were brutal, because everybody was "mighty bad about fightin'. ... Then they'd be killin'. Many a one wuz killed an' knocked ovuhbo'd an' nobody knowed nothin' 'bout it." Southern African American music reflected these traits. Both black and white tunes revealed that violence was an integral part of a southerner's intellectual mindset. Rural southerners of both races sang such tunes because they thought violence was an inherent and unavoidable part of all human relationships. 18

African American folk singers did not generally criticize savage deeds, instead, like whites, they often romanticized violent males. In the tune, "I'm De Rough Stuff," for example, the balladeer pointed out that his toughness made all the males fear him and all the women adore him. Similarly, blacks depicted Bolin Jones as a powerful man, because he could "fit all night." Finally, all the women followed Roscoe Bill, because he "never gets skeered." In fact, songs claimed he was a man "of might" who was "Plum ticked to death/When I raise a fight." The message is clear, in African American communities if a black man wanted respect from other males and admiration from females he had to be a rugged fighter. 19

The blues also adopted this theme. In 1929 Kid Wesley Wilson claimed that when a real man lost a fistfight he should not run away or surrender.
Instead, he told the male to "buy a shotgun [and] start over again." Like their white neighbors, music shows that African Americans did not generally address their grievances in the court room. African Americans were contemptuous of the white legal system because it was not interested in black on black violence. In fact, when blacks were brought to court, the first question the authorities asked was whether the crime was against a white or a black person. That made a major difference. Data from North Carolina, for example, indicates that blacks who murdered blacks often "literally got away with murder." Similarly, African Americans did not customarily take white people to court, because in such cases blacks understood that the race card was stacked against them. As William Pickens stated in 1933, a black person was "like Socrates before his accusers, he had to face a jury which was influenced not only by the evidence just presented, but also by the 'evidence' that had been taught to them in their infancy, in their growing up, in literature, taverns, shops, and from a million other sources." In addition, music reflects that both races despised males who were too weak to take care of their own problems. On river boats when disputes arose among black rousters, for example, most were settled without police intervention. A group of men would simply form a ring around the fighting males, and enjoy the ensuing bloodshed. In music tough African American men rarely, if ever, sang about asking the police or the courts to help them, instead they took a weapon and solved their own predicaments. Similar to white tunes, African American music indicated that blacks abhorred cowardly males. 20

Tunes also demonstrated that both black and white southern males had
hot-tempers, trusted no one, instantaneously turned ruthless at the slightest unfavorable remark, relied on brute force, and fought savagely. Instead of resembling the gallant gentleman of popular imagination, for example, music showed that southern brawlers would do anything in order to win. They stabbed people in the back, they clubbed defenseless individuals, they ambushed their human prey, and they used whatever weapon was available. Instead of formal duels, songs indicated that mountaineers were more apt to shoot someone from behind a tree or grab a stick of stove wood and bash in their unsuspecting victim's skull. In fact, ceremonious duels rarely, if ever, appeared in the music of the backwoods. Songsters generally did not criticize such behavior, because people accepted it as a way of life. Everybody understood that that was how things were done.

Although several such tunes exist, "The Tolliver Song" is a good example. This ditty demonstrated that other southern mountain men besides "old Joe Clarke," did not allow their enemies a fair chance. In this 1884 factual tune a horde of Kentucky males murdered Lent Martin as he helplessly stood-by, with both his hands and feet shackled. Ambush killings also emerged in this and several other Kentucky songs, including "The Irish Peddler." These tunes reflected reality. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ambush killings, for example, accounted for 35 percent of all homicides in one study area of the mountain South.²¹

In their tunes African Americans also fought viciously with clubs, knives, and razors. In his 1931 hit "Rope Stretchin' Blues--Part 1," Blind Blake used a club to crush a man's head. In "Cairo Blues," Henry Spaulding made it clear that people would "Kick you and knife you/beat you and cut
you too." Thomas A. Dorsey even told his woman he would "take a butcher knife [and] cut off your head." Several black singers, including Wilson and Sonny Boy Williamson, sang about trouncing people with their fists. In his 1929 hit "The Gine Done Done It," Wilson walked the streets looking for trouble. In fact, he wanted to "whip/everyone I meet." When this brutal man found his friend John, he unexplainable "Cut his head/till it was a sin," he then chased everyone away from a crap game.22

African American tunes also reflected cultural ideas. Williamson, and a host of other singers did not have to give a motive, because blacks also thought people were simply cruel. In this regard, music shows southern African Americans and whites had a lot in common. Moreover, these tunes mirrored reality. Although African American rousters, for example, were not to carry weapons on river boats, most did. There were so many stabbings and slashings on some boats that everyone would have to line up and throw their knives into the water. In fact, immediately before World War II when black singers sang about using knives, razors, or guns, they discussed real events. Performer Dickie Wells claimed that both black and white musicians carried weapons. Wells always toted a pistol in the South, because his band "ran up against a lot of frightful people" who wanted to "beat up the band or shoot somebody." When Wells pulled his revolver, however, "the cat" generally "cool[ed] down."23

These black tunes also demonstrated that parallel to early twentieth-century white settlements, black communities continued to be violent. Music indicates that the only major difference between the races was that black fighters preferred to use razors more than white brawlers. Razors
rarely emerged in white mountain music, but they appeared in some black folk tunes, such as "Looking for a Fight." In this song an African American male claimed he was going to slice people up. Similarly, razors emerged in numerous blues tunes, including Walter "Buddy Boy" Hawkins’ 1929 hit "How Come Mama Blues," Walter Roland’s 1935 single "45 Pistol Blues," and Bessie Smith’s 1933 tune "Gimme a Pigfoot." In the latter tune, Smith discussed people having to check their razors in at the door before they entered a dance, and in the former song Hawkins claimed he had bought a new razor to cut his lover’s throat.  

In southern music, as in mountain culture itself, razor fights have traditionally been associated with African Americans. Consciously or unconsciously, white musicians rarely discussed fighting with razors, because whites associated them solely with blacks. At least in music, a white southerner hardly ever used a killing tool that might make other whites label him a "nigger fighter." That was the worst insult a white brawler could suffer. In this regard music reinforced racial stereotypes and prejudices. Furthermore, African American ruffians may have in fact used razors more than white fighters, since they were cheaper and more readily available to them than guns. Similarly, there would be no cultural stigma attached to their use. Moreover, in a society where African American males faced serious repercussions if they were caught with firearms, some blacks might have found razors simpler to conceal, or at least easier to explain away, than other weapons. Finally, by examining several southern murder cases one can see that African Americans did fight with razors. In 1931 a Louisiana newspaper, the Rayne Tribune, reported
that two people were injured and one individual died in a dance hall razor fight. African American Evan Thomas, the leader of the jazz band, Black Eagle, had been slashed to death by an irate husband. Similarly, in Atlanta one black performer claimed it "was a tame Saturday night on Decatur Street," because only six people fought with razors and only four individuals died from their ghastly wounds.25

Similarly, these songs demonstrated that tough acting black males continued to be respected immediately before World War II. If an African American man wanted peer respect, he could gain it by viciously asserting himself. When singers continually boasted about being ruthless, they also demonstrated that viciousness was an accepted way of life in this era. These ditties also illustrate that like southern whites, blacks also equated manhood with an "extralegal defense of one's honor." In the late 1920s and early 1930s, for example, several such tunes materialized, including Furry Lewis' "Furry's Blues," (1928) Robert Hick's "Ease It to Me Blues," (1928) Will Bennett's "Railroad Bill," (1930) and Julius Daniels "Ninety-nine Year Blues." (1927) Lewis' anger at being mistreated really emerged when he claimed he would buy his own graveyard and "kill everybody/that have done me wrong." Similarly, Hicks wanted to buy a submarine, a gun, and an airplane to "kill everybody/ever treat me mean." Bennett also said he would "Kill everybody/ever done me wrong." Finally, no matter what happened, Daniels was "Going to kill everybody/broke the poor boy law."26

It is significant that several of the more ruthless tunes appeared immediately before and during the Great Depression, a time which particu-
larly affected black males. Many had abandoned the rural South because of the agricultural depression, only to find similar, or worse, conditions in the urban North. These songs demonstrated that African American males felt their manhood had been challenged. By bragging about killing or beating everyone that ever treated them wrong, these men were fighting back the only way they knew how. As their music indicated they equated manliness with brute force.

Music also illustrates that the situation did not change after they left the South for urban ghettoes. Papa Charlie Jackson made this clear in his 1928 hit "Jungle Man Blues." The singer claimed he was the meanest thing in the jungle, and the "baddest man/ever come from Tennessee." Not only did he have a scorpion watch with a rattlesnake chain, but he also challenged a wildcat and a tiger. In fact, he told a gorilla, a jumbo elephant, and a sea lion what to do. These tunes indicate that similar to white southern males, black southern men believed that personal honor and violence went hand and hand. These melodies reflect that such feelings were widespread in black communities. Such songs also illustrate that twentieth-century African Americans continued to express their anger violently when they faced racism, harsh economic realities, and feelings of helplessness. Instead of passively accepting the situations, they lyrically struck out with clubs, knifes, and razors.27

These tunes also help scholars understand how listeners viewed the world. In order to gain peer respect, both black and white singers understood that they had to boast about their brutal acts. Similarly, most singers want people to listen, thus, if southern audiences hated violent
tunes, performers would have stopped singing them. In the case of both black and white folk musicians, rural southerners were the great majority of their fans. Blues performers also appealed to southerners at home and those who had recently migrated North. Moreover, ballad writers and musicians hoped to sell their products, thus, they emphasized themes their listeners wanted to hear. As oral sources indicated, folk musicians understood that rural southern audiences clamored for vicious ballads. Therefore, when rural musicians sang or wrote such lyrics they were not only expressing their own interpretations on life.

Similar to folk artists, blues singers were also a vital and integral part of their communities. They understood what southerners wanted to hear. In fact, in the depression era African Americans spent their hard earned money to buy these recordings. All of the blues songs mentioned were popular enough to be reissued. The popularity of these tunes demonstrates that in the 1920s, 1930s and early 1940s, although it is impossible to determine if they did so more than white many African Americans felt they too had lost control of their own lives. By purchasing songs in which black men bragged about killing everyone that had ever mistreated them, the listeners gained self-satisfaction. These tunes also showed that violence continued to be a major way for African American males to acquire self-respect, and communal admiration, immediately before World War II.

More importantly, however, when the recently migrated southerners continued to purchase violent music, they fit into a thesis held by many social scientists who contend that when southerners moved to new geographical areas and new cultural settings, they took with them their disposition
for violence. The overwhelming amount of lyrical violence in the blues indicates that a lot of southerners did just that. Before World War II both audiences and performers related to the use of brutal force, because it was simply a part of their environment. Music shows that in the pre-World War II era violence was a fundamental and accepted part of both black and white communities.

Before 1945 the music of southern African Americans and whites also reflected that when violence erupted between the two races, the punishment was generally one-sided. In fact, southern songs rarely, if ever, depicted a white male being punished for killing a black person. In the early twentieth century a rural Alabama folksinger reflected reality when he chanted that "If a white man kills a negro, they hardly carry it to court/If a negro kills a white man, they hang him like a goat." At times black outlaws, slave rebels, and common African Americans murdered whites in music, but unlike whites who slayed blacks, when apprehended African Americans were always executed. In an old Creole slave tune that dates back to Spanish rule, when St. Malo was accused of only planning to kill whites, he was tied to a horse's tail and dragged into town. He was then lynched and his body was left "swinging there,/For carrion crows to feed upon." African Americans still sang this tune in the 1880s. Moreover, in the late nineteenth century, a Washington County, Kentucky African American worker named Miler killed Dr. Alfred, his white boss. Tunes described Miler's escape to Pennsylvania, his capture, and his eventual execution. In fact, lynching tunes demonstrated that black males did not even have to be guilty in order to be hanged.²⁸
Unlike Caucasian criminals, white songs did not allow black offenders the opportunity to repent. In southern music white lawbreakers repeatedly delivered a "sort of homiletic epilogue . . . from the scaffold, or [it was] shouted out just after the execution by one of his relatives." Such a song revolved around the mass murderer Ed Hawkins. Even though this villain killed seven men before the age of twenty-one, execution songs glorified him. In one tune he stated "Come stand a-round me young and old/And see me welcome death so bold/My Youthful heart it is so brave/I do not fear to meet the grave." Moreover, he atoned for his mistakes and asked God to have mercy on his poor soul. The glamorization of Hawkins did not even stop after his death. His song remain popular until the mid-twentieth century, and balladeers themselves "exulted in the courage of Ed Hawkins in the shadow of the gallows." In fact, many recalled with "pride his bold' [and] 'un-afeared' nature." Southern singers exalted the courage of condemned white killers even when they clearly did not deserve the treatment. A nineteenth-century Tennessee tune, "The Ballad of the Braswell Boys," is a good example. Before his execution on March 27, 1878, George "Teek" Braswell did not, as songs claimed, confess his crime, walk bravely to the gallows, and state "It’s a solemn hour/It’s told me that I must die/I am ready and awaiting/Prepared and will to die." According to newspaper accounts, he actually cried and begged for mercy. In fact, his hands even had to be pried loose from the cell bars.29

White songsters rarely, if ever, gave black murderers this kind of positive treatment. These tunes are another indication that a double standard existed in the region. Blacks simply could not fight, much less
kill, a white person without facing dire consequences. In one North Carolina tune, for example, a black male is not only executed, the white executioner would not even allow him a final drink of water. In fact, the lyrics maintained the victim "begged" the man for a drink, but the reply was "No drink, no drink. . . . To Hell, to Hell your soul must fly." Other songs also pointed out that black males were going to hell for murdering white people. Unlike the heaven-bound murderer, James Vance, a white man from the western section of Virginia, Miller was also "bound to hell" for killing Dr. Alfred. Similarly, unlike Hawkins, white songs seldom allowed black males the privilege of asking God for forgiveness.\(^\text{30}\)

In a region where religious fundamentalism ruled, this was the worst possible punishment a person could receive. By not giving African Americans killers a chance to talk to God, or by not even allowing them a final drink of water, especially when most southerners actually believed that the men literally sat on the brink of an everlasting fiery inferno, these tunes served as stern warnings to other blacks. Such numbers forewarned then that they could expect no sympathy from white society, especially when they killed a Caucasian. Furthermore, folksongs often allowed white criminals to blame their vicious acts on whisky or money, which in effect made the males not responsible for their own deeds. White songs did not grant African Americans this privilege, unless, as in some lynching tunes, balladeers claimed a black male's lust for white women caused the crime. Unlike whisky, however, lechery is not an outside force. This indicates that white southern culture held that African Americans were guilty, unremorseful, and responsible for their own acts, especially when they
committed crimes against whites.31

Even when African Americans only fought whites in music, they generally lost. In the early twentieth century an elderly Coffie County, Alabama black farmer sang about an African American and a white man who went possum hunting together, but this tune did not display racial harmony. After the hunt the males fought over who should keep the animals. After they finished brawling, the white man carried home all the possums. There are also African American songs in this era which depict blacks winning at cards, but they were often too afraid to collected their winnings from a white male. In the tune "Ain't It Hard to Be A Nigger?," for example, a songster pointed out that when a "Nigger an' white man/Playin' Seven-up,/Nigger win de money,/Skeered to pick' em up./Ain't it hard, ain't it hard/Ain't it hard to be a Nigger, Nigger, Nigger?/Ain't it hard, ain't it hard?/For you can't git yo' money when it's due."32

These songs indicate that in the South, African Americans understood they had no recourse against a white man. Music also reflected that a white southern male might not care if another white man beat him at cards, or defeated him in some other way, but not even the most spineless white southerner could ever accept that an African American beat him at anything. If a white male did nothing when a black man defeated him, his peers felt he had no honor left. In 1877, for example, a South Carolinian wrote that "I have seen whites who, actuated by religion or cowardice, were more passive under insult from other whites than southerners are wont to be . . . But let a colored person insult them, and their nature seemed wholly altered. To swallow an insult from a negro would be perpetual infamy."
Accordingly, the whites do not think it wrong to shoot, stab, or knock down negroes on slight provocation." A Tennessean added that "The truth is . . . a white can't take impudence from 'em. It may be a long ways removed from what you or I would think impudence, but these passionate men call it that, and pitch in." Music indicates that African Americans understood these facts. In fact, lyrics prove that many whites lived by those very rules.\(^{33}\)

Even when one of the most famous black outlaws of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Railroad Bill, fought the most noted white outlaw of the era, Jesse James, African American tunes, such as "Right On, Desperado Bill," claimed James won the battle. This was only a fictional account, but it indicates that southern African Americans realized that no black man, even if he was an African American hero, would be allowed to defeat a white champion. These songs illustrate that both races presumed, or at least understood, that whites always had to win. Southern music clearly shows that that was a fundamental law in the South. These tunes indicate that when southern blacks won at something even as trivial as cards, they understood the cultural repercussions, therefore, most silently forfeited all outside indications of their victory. Even if they protested, as the possum hunter did, songs illustrated blacks inevitable lost.\(^{34}\)

Music also mirrors that southern whites terrorized blacks more than African Americans killed whites. Again, these lyrics reflect reality. Although blacks could be violent, they generally directed their brutality towards other African Americans. Both the blues and African American folk music demonstrates this situation prevailed before World War II. In both
genres, African Americans usually trounced or killed other blacks. In the folk tune "Looking for a Fight," for example, an African American male claimed he had a razor and a Gatling gun to "shoot dem niggers down one by one." The same theme appeared in the folksongs "Buffalo Bill," "Don't Fool Wid Me," "Shootin' Bill," and "I'm De Hot Stuff Man." In the latter tune a black balladeer claimed "I can cuss, I can cut,/I can shoot a nigger up./Go on, nigger,/Don't you try to buck me." When African Americans did commit crimes against whites, however, they were typically restricted to petty thievery. Although this is reflected in many tunes, two good examples are "Frightened Away From A Chicken Roost" and "I Steal Dat Corn." In the latter melody a black male bragged about stealing corn "From the white man's barn," chickens "From the white man's yard," and "melons/From his patch." Although he pilfered, the man never physically harmed anyone. He only took the produce and resold it to the original white owners.35

Even when southern African Americans lyrically expressed the mistreatment they received from whites, the tone was generally nonviolent. Many black singers, for example, verbalized their resentment with the verse "All for the white man and nothing for the nigger." In fact, in 1914 black plantation workers in Scotland County, North Carolina, still chanted an eighteenth-century slave ballad that stated: "The old bee makes de honeycomb/The young bee makes de honey/Colored folks plant de cotton and corn/And de white folks gits de money." Blacks also described the corruptness of the furnishing merchant in similar terms. Alabama blacks showed their bitterness against this institution by uttering "Ought's a' ought and a figure's a figur'/All for the white folks and none for the nigger."
African American folk and blues balladeers might have expressed this sentiment with various phrases, such as "White folks go to college, niggers to de filed,'" but the style was consistently nonviolent. In fact, Texas bluesman Sam Price remembered that when white citizens of Robinson, Texas, lynched an African American male (a few days later nearby Waco residents also lynched and burned another black man) local blacks created a song. Instead of calling for violent revenge, however, the African Americans only chanted that they would "Pick no more cotton in Robinsonville." When dealing with southern whites, these tunes indicated southern blacks understood that they almost always lost. As one black lyricist stated "Well, it makes no difference,/How you make out yo' time;/White man sho bring a Nigger out behind'." The longevity of the music also illustrates that the resentment endured decades beyond the events. In fact, the early twentieth-century black farm workers who chanted the eighteenth-century slave song demonstrated that this bitterness passed from generation to generation. These tunes also indicated that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries blacks understood that not much had really changed in the rural South. The furnishing merchant had replaced the slave master, but as their lyrics reflected, when someone else kept the records, African American sharecroppers finished last.

Similarly, the pacific tone demonstrates that many blacks knew brutality against a white southerner would only cause them more grief. As the tunes show, blacks could kill each other and no one really cared, but it was cultural taboo to harm a white person. When African American rousters fought among themselves, for example, if someone was killed, the
murderer simply left the boat at the next landing and nobody, black or white, spoke of the incident again. But, striking out against whites was so uncharacteristic of their culture that most blacks did not do it, nor did they sing about doing it. Before 1940 southern African Americans did on occasion resort to physical violence, but considering the black population, and the hundreds of years they spent in the South, the number of participants is insignificant. Even if African Americans had sung such tunes, they would never have chanted them to a collector, especially if the compiler was white. Blacks knew that if a southern white person heard such utterances, they and their families would be in serious danger.  

Although blacks did not generally express their resentment violently, music shows that they sometimes celebrated when someone murdered abusive whites. This did not always have to be a cruel slave owner or planter. In the late nineteenth century Danny Major, for example, killed a vicious Louisville, Kentucky, policeman named Burns. Various songs pointed out all the African American "girls went home and dressed in red" when they "heard old Burnsie was dead." In the early twentieth century a southern African American wash woman still sang about the murder and maintained "All the colored folks was singing that song after Old Burns died. He was always arresting the 'niggers' and they made it up on him, they was so glad he was dead." Instead of being revered, as white leaders often thought, such tunes demonstrate that African Americans despised, and disapprovingly remembered, brutal whites. Such tunes also depicted that intense negative undercurrents existed between the two races. While the harsh realities dictated that African Americans had to publicly mourn when deceitful or
racists whites died, and while circumstances forced blacks to act like the slave owner, planter, or the furnishing merchant was their benefactor, southern music shows that deep-down African Americans knew the truth and bitterly resented the treatment they received.\(^\text{39}\)

The prevalence of violent tunes also reflects that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brutality ruled on southern dance floors. Similar, they mirror the fact that musicians of both races had a rugged life in the South. White southern musicians often performed in rough environments. When these performers sang about killing and fighting, they revealed their everyday existences. Fights routinely broke out at white dances throughout the mountain region. Music illustrates that many square dances were not the stereotypical prim and proper events of popular imagination. In the Ozarks, for example, backwoods frolics were still wild occurrences in the 1920s. People drank too much whiskey, most of the young males carried weapons, and bloody fights commonly occurred. In fact, rival families or neighborhoods met and settled quarrels at Ozark dances. If a gang of Arkansas males felt that they were not "treated with proper consideration," dwellings would be destroyed, lamps broken, and roofs "riddled with bullets." The settlers of Newton County, Arkansas, enjoyed square dances, but when the liquor flowed freely a "free-for-all fight and the use of a long, keen-edged knife, or pistol, was nothing uncommon." When such fights occurred, chaos ruled, and feuds developed. At these events the proprietors customarily built a special shack in which they stored the violent males. The men were held there until they cooled off.\(^\text{40}\)

Arkansas was not the only southern state where dancing and fighting
went together. While discussing Kentucky frolics one local reported that "fighting was closely akin to fiddling—at least there were usually both at dances." Similarly, at most social functions on the Tennessee and Kentucky border, people almost always carried banjos and guns. In such environments, killings or fights routinely occurred. Woody Guthrie also remembered the fighting at Oklahoma square dances in the early twentieth century. Unsurprisingly, the Deep South was not immune. Since antebellum days Natchez's "Under-the-Hill" section had been a place where excessive amounts of drinking, gambling, sex, and killing took place. In 1860 one writer stated this "unholy spot" was the "jumping off place. Satan looks on it with glee, and chuckles as he beholds the orgies of his votaries... . I have repeatedly seen the strumpets tear a man's clothes from his back and leave his body beautified with all the colors of the rainbow." Alabama honky tonk performers indicated that joints in the Deep South continued to be brutal places in the early twentieth century. At these places loggers and farmers often drank too much whiskey. One musician, Jack Cardwell, recalled that in this atmosphere "there were lots of fights." Finally, by the 1930s southern country music bars had gained reputations as "fightin' and dancin' clubs." In these rough honky tonks, performers had to be ruffians themselves, because a "smashed guitar might be the least that a physically endangered musician had to worry about."41

Similarly, when African American performers sang about killing, brawling, and chaos they mirrored their own everyday existence. In fact, the South was so brutal on early black musicians that nine out of ten simply quit performing. After the Civil War African American performers
faced violence as they traveled throughout the region playing for nickels and dimes. One scholar compared the first pre-war generation instrumentalists to "quails flushed from a thicket." In an age of lynchings, black performers literally risked their necks when they traveled into unknown territory, rural or urban. Not only did southern cities such as Dallas, Memphis, and Birmingham have higher crime rates than other American cities, but their bars were also more savage. Although not tame, northern and eastern pubs were not as dangerous as southern juke joints. No southern city, except maybe New Orleans, offered a safe haven for black musicians or their audiences. Throughout the region bar fights and homicides were common events. In fact, the home of the blues, Memphis, was known for its deadly nightclub scene. Murder was so routine at the city's Monarch Cafe, locals labeled it "The Castle of Missing Men." At Memphis taverns dead bodies were simply dumped outside so undertakers could collect them on their nightly runs. The Deep South was no better for black musicians. Even the supposedly safe haven of New Orleans had a horrible reputation. Louis Armstrong recalled that when he played in surrounding areas "Men fought like circle saws and bottles were flying over the bandstand. . . . with lots of just plain common shooting and cutting" taking place.42

This lack of regard for human life also existed in the rural South. In logging camp joints bluesman Little Brother claimed that "Most fellows carried German Lugers. They'd kill somebody and then stand on them and keep gambling." In the 1930s black performers still had to play at such places. Prominent African American author and scholar Zora Neale Hurston, for example, described violent bars on her jaunts into the region.
Furthermore, in rural areas planters and sheriffs often decided who played what and when. These white men were frequently violent and almost always above the law. Bluesman Robert Lockwood recalled a Mississippi planter who told him he could perform at a barnyard dance, but without warning the man changed his mind. Not only did the planter forbid the party, he destroyed Lockwood's guitar and chased him out of the area. Lockwood and bluesman Rice Miller again ran a foul of the white establishment when they toured the Delta in the mid-1930s. They made the mistake of going into the "hill country," where in Sardis, Mississippi, both men were thrown into jail for vagrancy. Here they languished for twenty-one days. Before World War II such treatment was not uncommon for either black blues or white hillbilly performers. As their music indicates, many were falsely arrested for vagrancy. Blues and jazz performers often ventured into tense situations and barely escaped with their lives, but some were not as lucky as Lockwood and Miller. In the 1920s, for example, white males in Miami, Florida, castrated and killed the African American drummer that performed with the Whispering Serenaders of Gold. This jazz musician's only sin was that he had taught white girls how to dance. 43

Finally, both black and white southern music, and the region's musical scene, indicated that a culture of violence existed in the American South. In lyrical terms the region parallels what sociologists Marvin E. Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti called a "subculture of violence," that is, violence and hostility were natural reactions to threats, humiliation, or a show of force in some parts of the rural South. People also beat and killed each other in tunes, but often no one considered the acts incorrect,
because the participants were conforming to group standards. White songsters, for example, did not state that the church members at "Taterhill" acted unfairly; they only pointed out what would happen to a person if they wandered into that community. Similarly, blues performers also talked about hitting or murdering people, but no one generally indicated that such behavior needed to be investigated. Instead the lyrics made even vicious acts seem quite natural.

Furthermore, although some scholars disagree with sociologist Raymond Gastil's theory of regional violence, music also reinforces his key points. Some argue against his contention that southern violence developed before 1850 and persisted as a "traditional mode of behavior." Yet the prevalence of murder and fighting ballads, both local and foreign, indicates that violence was a major part of the southerner's intellectual makeup well before 1850. Similarly, he argues that for a culture of violence to exist, there must be "extensive subcultures of violence" within the larger culture, or a significant percentage of a region's population must be involved in violence. Music indicates that both of these assessments are true. Both black and white lyrics, performers, and the whole southern bar scene illustrated that at least three distinct areas within the South, the Ozarks, the Mississippi Delta, and the entire Appalachian mountain range were hotbeds of violence. Therefore, music suggests that the proposition proposed by the social scientists William B. Bankston and H. David Allen, that only subregions within the South possessed violent traditions, could be correct. Songs from the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina, for example, are not as violent as tunes from Tennessee. In fact, southern
coastal areas did not produce as many vicious tunes as the mountain South. Before World War II every location below the Mason Dixon line may not have experienced extreme violence, but music indicates that at least some key areas did.  

Similarly, Gastil contends that in order for a culture of violence to exist, violence must be a "significant subtheme in the region’s general culture." Again, this is clearly reflected in African American and white lyrics, rural and urban bars, mountain frolics, and early Alabama honky tonk taverns. In fact, as several oral sources and scholars have indicated, murder tunes were one of the most important aspects of the region’s culture. Almost every rural mountaineer clamored to hear and purchase these cruel ditties. Gastil also argues that lethal weapons, and "knowledge of their use," must be an important aspect of a culture before it can be placed in such a category. Music and musicians clearly indicated that blacks and whites carried, and knew how to effectively use, all types of deadly weapons. In fact, a later chapter will show the importance and prevalence of guns in the music of the rural South. Finally, some scholars dispute Gastil’s argument that southern violence spread horizontally "by diffusion and migration from the South to other parts of the nation." As blues lyrics and blues performers indicated, rural southerners stuck in northern ghettos continued to enjoy brutal tunes. In fact, they admired the musicians who boasted the loudest about committing vicious acts. In this regard they were similar to their southern brothers and sisters they left behind.  

In retrospect, violence appeared in all major forms of southern music.
before World War II. In fact, it was the most important musical theme in some parts of the rural South. Although songs cannot prove that the whole South was violent, they indicate that several culturally significant, and extremely large, areas were indeed brutal. Lyrics reflect that scholars were correct when they claimed violence was "an essential fact of human life" in the South. In fact, the whole musical scene demonstrated that both black and white southerners had a predisposition to lethal violence. Before 1945, however, southern music also reflected that when violence erupted between the two races, the punishment was generally one-sided. Although blacks could be vicious, they customarily directed their brutality towards other African Americans. Both the blues and African American folk music demonstrates this situation prevailed before World War II.47

Finally, in this land of staunch fundamentalists, when white songsters pointed out that black criminals could not even have a final drink of water before they spent eternity in a blazing inferno, they demonstrated that southerners reserved their severest punishments for those African Americans accused of killing a Caucasian. Unlike white criminals, these blacks could expect to receive no sympathy from white southern society.
CHAPTER 4
BRUTALITY IN THE POST-WAR SOUTH

After 1940 homicides served less often as subjects for southern music. This reflects that southern murder rates statistically declined after World War II. Brutality, however, did not totally fade from either society or lyrics. The South was still the most violent region in the United States. Music indicates that in the late twentieth century many southerners still resorted to violence when certain situations arose. Similar to their forefathers, numerous contemporary southern males engaged in savagery to solve their problems, to define themselves as macho southerners, and to force others to obey community norms. Of course not every southern male held such views or acted in such a manner, however, music does indicate that violence continued to be firmly woven into the region’s intellectual mindset. Moreover, violence continued to erupt in times of social stress. Comparable to the early blues stars, some country and rock performers also gathered fans by displaying their brutal dispositions. In fact, violence engulfed the whole red-neck rock phenomenon of the late 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. The vicious behavior of some southern superstars, and brutal lyrics, not only illustrate cultural continuity, but they also indicate how dismal life still is for some minority groups in the modern South.

In sections of the rural South, particularly the mountainous regions, World War II signified a new way of life. In areas of the Appalachians, for example, until the outbreak of hostilities, social institutions, such
as churches and schools, local economies, ethics, and "codes of behavior," were all "firmly rooted in the past." With the advent of electricity, better roads, automobiles, and tractors, however, modernity crept into the region. Similarly, when rural southerners left for defense jobs outside the area, and when young males departed for the armed services, boisterous behavior and murder dwindled. Moreover, after the war high school attendance rates greatly increased in parts of the rural South. According to some scholars, new social study courses, high-school athletic programs (which allowed young men to vent their anger on the baseball diamond, instead of with a rifle), or a combination of a host of other diverse social factors made many young southerners of the 1940s realize that drinking whiskey and brandishing a weapon could only lead to trouble. In fact, in the Appalachian region many young males finally began to understand that such a lifestyle did not help them "prepare for the future."  

Whatever the social or cultural reasons, the percentage of southerners killed steadily declined after 1940. Instead of being 2.5 times the national average, as the southern murder rate had been from 1920 to 1925, by 1940 the region's homicide rate had assumed a more national character. In that year killings stood at 18 per 100,000, or only 4 above the national average. By 1983 the number had dwindled to 10, which was only 2 above the national average. In 1990 and 1991 the South as a whole still led the nation in violent deaths per 100,000 inhabitants, but its homicide rate continued to be only slightly higher than the rest of the United States. In fact, in the late twentieth century some states within the West-South-Central sector, particularly Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, habitually
inflated southern numbers. In the early 1990s, for example, the murder rate in those states still stood at 14.2, or approximately 4 above the national average. Notwithstanding those figures, however, since World War II murder rates had drastically dropped in all sections of the South, while they have steadily increased in other parts of the United States; after fifty years southern homicide rates almost paralleled national averages.2

By taking the five southern states as an example from where many of the pre-1940 singers and murder songs originated, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Mississippi, scholars can see that the murder rates in these locations have drastically dropped since World War II. From 1935-1939 homicide rates in these five states stood at 18.87 per 100,000 inhabitants, but by 1987-1991 the average had dropped to 9.44. Although these statistics are striking, lethal violence in Tennessee, Kentucky, and North Carolina, three states that supplied most of the folksongs, plummeted; North Carolina had fallen from 22.06 to 9.38, and Kentucky had tumbled from 15.32 to 7.12, but Tennessee had the largest drop from 25.72 to 9.68. These Department of Justice figures correspond with other tabulations conducted in similar sections of the mountain South. In one study area on the Tennessee and Kentucky border, for example, murder rates dropped from 114 deaths per 100,000 in 1920-1929, to 20 in 1940-1949, 10 in 1950-1959, 0 in 1960-1969, and 24 in 1970-1979.3

Southern music reflected these declining homicide rates. Whereas references to murders and murderers were easy to find in pre-1940 tunes, the number of new tunes greatly declined after that date. Even though such melodies decreased in number, some cultural observations can be ascertained
from those that do exist. Most murderers and brawlers were still men in southern music. This indicates that males continued to dominate public and private affairs in the South. Furthermore, unlike earlier southern music, ambush killings basically disappeared. This reflects the modern world, since most southerners are no longer killed by rural assailants shooting from behind a tree. In fact, in contemporary tunes males generally confronted each other face to face. This is an indication that the idea of a fair fight had finally gained a foothold in working-class culture. It was no longer only a quaint concept practiced by the region's elites. Lyrically at least, the old myth had became the new reality. In addition, although suicides emerged in southern music, in both the pre-and-post war eras their frequency pales in comparison to murder tunes. In one modern tune when Charlie Daniels heard an "orange haired feller singing about suicide," this southerner quickly realized he was out of his environment. The lack of suicide tunes reflects that southerners have traditionally not killed themselves. In fact, since before 1860 northerners have killed themselves more often than southerners. Instead of directing their anger inward, music indicates that hot-tempered southerners usually focused their fury on other people.4

Unlike the past, however, in modern lyrics when someone died violently a motive generally emerged. People usually did not strike out against other individuals for no apparent reason. Of course there are exceptions to the rule. The most chilling example occurred when Molly Hatchet released "The Creeper" in 1978. This song claimed that "People don't know the difference . . . Between right and wrong," thus, "The Creeper" could be
anybody. In fact, this "enemy of Society" might be tall, short, fat, or thin, but, whoever "he" was, on a "cold dark night" he would "cut your throat" with his "shiny and long . . . Steel blade." Similar to early folk balladeers, Molly Hatchet gave no motive for such brutality, the group only cautioned that the world was a violent place where a person had to "Watch out." Contemporary singers, however, usually had to furnish a reason for the brutality, because their listeners needed one. This is a significant departure from the past. Music indicates that unlike their ancestors, modern southerners do not think lethal violence defines their world. Individuals still fight in lyrics of course, but generally a reason is given when someone dies violently. In the past, rural balladeers often did not supply a motive, because their audiences thought violence was a significant part of all human relationships. In the minds and lyrics of those southerners, people were naturally cruel and vicious. When murder rates plummeted, however, music illustrates that this old idea, which had for generations helped define the southerner's intellectual mindset, lost its vigor. Although Molly Hatchet showed that this antiquated concept did not completely faded away, lyrically it rarely resurfaced.5

Finally, in the modern era the lack of murder tunes illustrated that rural southern culture and society had changed. In the contemporary South even grisly southern slayings, such as the decapitation and mutilation of the five Gainesville, Florida, college students, usually do not emerge in song, as did the nineteenth-century murders of Omie Wise, Gus Meeks, and Mary Phagan. Similarly, unlike in the past, vicious southern murderers, like Ted Bundy, are not remembered in verse. In fact, most of the newer
tunes are no longer based on factual events. Not only does this reflect the declining homicide rates, but it indicates that the rural South is no longer an isolated region. Whereas many pre-1940 southerners (especially those in the mountain South, where most of the murderous folktunes originated) generally only knew about local homicides or killers, today the mass media informs almost every one about murderers from around the world, thus, local events no longer seem unique. Moreover, in an age of made for television movies and the nightly news, music no longer serves as a major distributor of information. Why should a balladeer inform southerners about a local murder, when most individuals can see its coverage on their television set?

Old folksongs and ballads filled with lethal violence might still be sang at Bluegrass and folk festivals, but newer melodies are conspicuous by their absence. In the late twentieth century the lack of new murder tunes is another indication that the mass media not only penetrated the South, but it also changed rural southern culture forever. An old regional art form, along with the tunes themselves, basically died, only to be replaced by a national system. On the nightly news a murder in the mountains of rural Arkansas is covered no differently than a homicide in New York City. Unlike in the past, the distributors of the information look, act, and speak the same. In this respect, the rural South is no longer a unique region.

Unlike murder tunes, however, there were enough incidences of both performers fighting and lyrical brawling to justify closer scrutiny. This type of brutality surfaced in several country tunes, but Johnny Cash's
number one hit of 1969, "A Boy Named Sue," was one of the most successful country songs of all time. After Cash sang about hitting his father "right between the eyes," he related that the old man "come up with a knife and cut off a piece of my ear." Similarly, this song is filled with fist-fights, gouging, kicking, biting, and knocking people's teeth out with chairs. In the 1970s and 1980s the neo-honky-tonkers Moe Bandy and Joe Stampley also had several fighting songs, including, "Wildlife Sanctuary," "Just Good Ol' Boys," and "Wild and Crazy Guys." In the latter tune a tough biker stabbed Bandy in a bar fight. The singer had made the cardinal mistake of trying to "pick up" the man's woman. Similar songs also emerged in southern rock and roll in the late 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. In fact, almost every major red-neck rock band released brutal songs. Molly Hatchet, a group from northern Florida, even advertised on a record jacket that the members named the band after Hatchet Molly, a seventeenth-century woman who beheaded her lovers with an ax. Music critics maintained if anyone wondered why six macho southern men named themselves after a woman, they only needed listen to the tunes "Bounty Hunter," "Gator Country," or "Big Apple," and "you won't even worry about it anymore." Every song on side one of Molly Hatchet's first album bespoke of violence. In "Bounty Hunter" for example, the lead singer, Danny Joe Brown, claimed that he would "hunt you down" and blow your head off for $500.6

Modern musical fights frequently revolved around old themes. In Cash's version of "The One on the Right is on the Left," the males trounced each other over political disagreements. In Hank Williams, Sr., "I've Been Down That Road Before," the singer noted that another male knocked out his
teeth when he acted like a "smart aleck." Williams admitted that every time a man behaved in this manner, someone would hit him. Rural mountain balladeers had sung both of those messages years earlier. As in blues and early hillbilly songs, contemporary violence could also be associated with prisons. There are many such tunes, but Cash's 1959 hit, "I Got Strips," is a good example. After three days in jail the singer said he "begged them [the guards] not to knock me down again." Similar to the 1817 song about James Vance, and several nineteenth-century feud tunes, music of the modern South demonstrated revenge still played a role in some altercations. In 1981 Hank Williams, Jr's., released a perfect example, "A Country Boy Can Survive."^7

Although various motives behind lyrical violence existed, a significant theme reemerged in the music of the modern South: some southerners still thought that brute force, instead of debate, solved problems. After World War II white southerners faced major challenges, blacks defied Jim Crow, the federal government demanded desegregation, and African Americans marched for freedom. To many whites it seemed outsiders were trying to change their culture and their traditional way of life. As events throughout the South illustrated, when faced with sweeping cultural changes many individuals refused to discuss issues. As in the past, various segments of the white population resorted to violence. Unfortunately, as numerous civil rights workers found out, the Klu Klux Klan, and a host of other white supremacists organizations, attacked, burned, lynched, and brutally killed anyone, white or black, southerner or nonsoutherner, who challenged the racial status quo.8
With sadistic events occurring throughout the region, some tunes, like the people themselves, began to display a very militant, often violent, attitude. In fact, at times southern music became as repulsive as it had been during Reconstruction. Prominent music historian Bill Malone calls this the "ugliest chapter in country music's history." During the racial upheavals of the 1950s and 1960s, for example, racists country tunes, including "Nigger, Nigger," "Move them Niggers North," "Stay Away From Dixie," "Nigger Hating Me," and "Some Niggers Never Die (They Just Smell That Way)," generally out of Crowley, Louisiana, labeled blacks "coons" and "niggers," or romanticized the Klu Klux Klan, an organization built on hate, violence, and brute force. Although Reb Rebel records was the major supplier of such hate material, other individuals and companies followed suit. In 1964, for example, one Virginia company, Hatennanny Records, released The Coon Hunter’s single "Who Needs a Nigger?" and "We Don’t Want no Niggers for Neighbors." When musicians lionized such hate groups, gave themselves brutal and disgusting names, such as "The Coon Hunter’s," and when listeners enjoyed the tunes, they demonstrated that they also supported physical intimidation. Music indicates that these individuals were similar to their nineteenth-century forefathers, who had relished both the lynchings and the tunes that described the gristly events.9

Music indicates, however, that after 1940 the militant attitude did not always have to revolve around race. As in the past, music demonstrated that some southerners continued to either tolerate or condone violence when people administered it to preserve social norms. The idea that violence
was the answer to a whole host of problems infiltrated folk, rock, and country music. Such lyrics illustrated that like the Klu Klux Klan, many southerners thought physical force would improve things, or at least keep the status quo. In the 1940s, for example, Walter Dibben, an Ozark folksinger from rural Dallas County, Missouri, whose songs "mirrored both his feelings and those of his neighbors," composed a tune entitled "Dora Cansler’s Chum." This factual number revealed how Ozarkians felt a male, who would not support his family, should be handled. When the man refused a job offer, locals did not wish to discuss the issue anymore. Instead Dibben sang that his nephew, Mark Mathews, "just itches/To go to the timber and cut me some switches/And knock all the dust out of the fellow’s britches." Instead of convincing Mathews to act differently, another Ozark native, Green Williams, agreed that the "bum" should be manhandled. He informed Mathews that "you’re on the right line/And if you and old Puny will tan that bum’s rine/I’ll dig up some money to help pay you fine."

When Dibben sung such numbers he not only spoke for himself, but he expressed widely held local opinions. This song warned people to either accept accepted codes of behavior or face physical punishment.10

In the 1950s Hank Williams, Sr., released "Howlin’ at the Moon," and it also revealed the same underlaying idea. Driven insane by love, Williams rode a horse up to a gas station and asked an employee to fill it up. The attendant did not laugh, instead he "picked up a monkey wrench" and beat the singer senseless. Music did not chastise such brutality, instead it condoned the behavior. Williams himself said the gesture cured him and "changed my tune." Like father like son, this same theme emerged a
generation later in several Hank Williams, Jr., melodies; however, the best example is his 1984 number "Attitude Adjustment." This song contained five separate examples, each with its own unique chorus, that showed brutality solved problems. First, when his drunken friend challenged other southern males in a bar, they severely beat him. The singer applauded this behavior. Second, Williams mistreated his wife, thus, his brother-in-law hit him. Instead of running away, the singer grabbed a tire iron and "laid him out as cold as a block of ice." In the next stanza Williams' wife kicked him, so he give her a "little adjustment on the top of the head." The tune claimed that that act made her stop complaining. Finally, Williams' brutal demeanor only changed after the police battered him. Each chorus not only reinforced the message that fighting was justified, but each verse declared violence was a useful way for a man to get his point across. When the males trounced Williams' friend in the first stanza, for example, its chorus claimed "he opened his mouth, and just one appointment straightened him right out. It was an attitude adjustment. Aw, it'll work every time."

Finally, southern rockers utilized this theme. In 1977, for example, The Marshall Tucker band issued "Tell It To The Devil." The singer testified that when he saw a man refuse a beggar's plea for help, he did not turn the other cheek. Instead, the performer wanted to "grab him by the back of the neck, knock him down and never pick him up." When this theme continued to reappear in folk, country, and rock lyrics after World War II it showed cultural continuity. Southerners still thought brute force was the best answer to a host of problems. More importantly,
however, such tunes demonstrated that in the late twentieth century some southerners still possessed a militant attitude. When faced with rampant cultural changes, these tunes showed that many southerners resorted to old tactics and old ideas. These melodies also displayed that southerners approved of physically abusing anyone who stepped out of preconceived cultural norms. There were patterns of behavior people had to follow when they lived in the South. Individuals could only "step out of line" so far, until someone physically forced them back into the fold.

As in the past, southern musicians also continued to imply that the test of a real man was whether or not he could fight. In "A Boy Named Sue" the departing father named his son Sue, because he would not be around to teach him how to brawl. He claimed that that name would make him "get tough or die." Before he understood this, however, the son searched for his dad in hopes of killing him. After losing their bloody confrontation, the old man only "smile[d]" and said "now you just fought one helluva fight/and I know you hate me and you’ve got the right to kill me now . . . But you ought to thank me/Before I die for the gravel in your guts and the spit in your eye/because I’m the Son of a Bitch/That named you Sue." The son then realized that that name had made him a brutal man, and so he forgave his father. In the eyes of both individuals only rugged fighters deserved to be called real men. Similarly, in Cash’s tune "Hardin Wouldn’t Run," John Selman murdered Hardin, because Hardin’s girlfriend "pistol whipped him" and "kicked him in the face." In this song a man could not take such abuse, especially from a woman. He had to regain his manhood through violence. Cash was not the only southern musician to express such
sentiments. Jimmie Dean's hit of 1961, "Big Bad John," re-released by Charlie Daniels in 1988, also employed this trait. Before John's extraordinary strength saved all the coal miners from certain death, the song portrayed him as the ultimate man. He was the tough guy that everyone admired and respected. His claim to fame, however, had nothing to do with being a nice guy. Instead, other males basically worshiped him, because he took "no lip" from anybody, and he had killed a man with one punch.13

Southern rockers also promoted the message that real men fight. In Molly Hatchet's 1978 song "The Price You Pay," the singer stated he killed his second man in Atlanta, "just to build my fame." His first Georgia victim died in a Macon poker game. Lynyrd Skynyrd also had several such songs, including "You Got That Right" and "Mississippi Kid." The former tells about a southern singer (Van Zant) who can't settle down. Instead of ending up in an "old folk's home," this man would rather "drink and dance all night" and if it "comes to a fix," he was not "afraid to fight." One of the most violent songs issued by Lynyrd Skynyrd was "Mississippi Kid." In this song a Mississippi man is going to Alabama with his "pistols" in his "pockets" to "fetch" his "woman." This violent man warns everybody that he was "born in Mississippi. And I don't take any stuff from you. And if I hit you on your head Boy, it's got to make you black and blue." When he "hits Alabama" he forewarns everyone "don't you try to dog him 'round. 'Cause if you people cause me trouble. Then I've got to put you in the ground." This song contained other bloodcurdling lyrics, which are repeated throughout the song. This hit even takes on more meaning, because Van Zant identified himself as the "Mississippi Kid." In fact, when an
interviewer asked the singer why he was so "bad," he stated "because I am," and then he proceeded to sing the words to this particular song.\textsuperscript{14}

It is significant, however, that from the 1960s to the 1990s a host of southern country and rock superstars, such as Ronnie and Donnie Van Zant, Jim "Dandy" Mangrum, Charlie Daniels, Hank Williams, Jr., Johnny Cash, Danny Joe Brown, and Jimmie Dean took the idea of fighting and manliness, and lyrically molded it into a unique southern argument. When singing about such characters, the toughest males are almost always southerners. In 1961 Big Bad John came from Louisiana, for example, and Van Zant's "Mississippi Kid" emerged from that state in 1973. In the late 1970s Molly Hatchet utilized the theme on several of its cuts, including "Big Apple" and "The Price You Pay." In "Big Apple" the band mockingly said "New York City, you're so big and tough," but Molly Hatchet is "pretty damn bad." The members claimed their guns were loaded and they felt rough and tough; they could beat the hell out of any northern boy they wanted. The group had heard of eastern city "punks," but the members were not afraid, because they were "Southern Boys and don't you forget us." In fact, Molly Hatchet advertised on its 1978 album that it was a group of "six street-tough, extremely macho Southern boys." Like most southern bands of the era, its group photo displayed some rough-looking characters. Southern musicians did not try and pass themselves off as "good guys," instead they built reputations as red-neck ruffians.\textsuperscript{15}

In the 1980s the tough southern male theme continued to endure. In 1980, for example, .38 Special released its hit "Wild-Eyed Southern boys." This tune claimed blood spilled when these southern boys partied. Although
the group maintained southern girls hated violence, similar to nineteenth-century mountain balladeers, the band pointed out southern women loved southern males who fought. As the rich male in this song found out, in the modern South money still did not make someone a man in the eyes of most southern males. In order to have sex with southern women, for example, the band implied that a man had to be a rugged fighter. As the reader will notice, the word "southern" reemerged numerous times in these kinds of songs. This ditty was a hit, and during the early 1980s parties and bars in Northeast, Arkansas, played it continually. Moreover, southern concert crowds went wild when the band played the tune live.16

The macho southern male theme reemerged in the late 1980s. In 1988 alone, Charlie Daniels sang about tough southerners in "Midnight Train," "Simple Man," and "Boogie Woogie Man." In the first tune, the ruffian "Louisiana Lou" carried a knife in his shoe, but the toughest man around was "a pot bellied feller from south Alabama." In the latter number, a "Dixie [born]," "blue [collar]," "red [neck]," southern male, claimed he "never feared nothing/And I never did run." Finally, in 1990 this theme reappeared on Hank Williams Jr's., compact disk Lone Wolf. On the disk's cover Williams places himself in the tough male role, with .45 pistol stuck in his belt and a double-barreled .12 gauge shotgun in his hands. In fact, the title song, "Lone Wolf," maintained that he was a "battle scared" southern man who loved to hunt and track, allegedly both people and animals. Unlike other males, however, this southern ruffian (the lyrics made a special point of mentioning that he was born in the swamps of Louisiana, but grew up in the mountains of Tennessee) had not been tamed
and was still "runnin' wild."^17

These songs not only illustrate that like their grandfathers before them, many modern southern males still thought that to be a real man, a male had to not only be a rugged fighter, but they also believed that southerners remained the toughest group of people in the United States. As in the past, however, modern singers generally did not really care about all sections of the country, since they made the issue a North/South debate. This was an old theme in southern music. Such ditties, for example, were popular during the Civil War and Reconstruction. In the tune, "The Southern Soldier Boy," a soldier claimed that he knew the boys in gray would "win the day,/For Southerners never yield." Similarly, one of the Stonewall Jackson "wagon" songs claimed that when the "Yankees took a stand . . . They retreated man to man" when the southerners approached. In the the popular tune "The Southern Wagon" a singer sang that when "Yankees" ran into males from "Dixie," they always retreated. This melody also claimed that "Tennessee boys" could "whip the Yankee boys/Three to one." One Confederate soldier also lyrically pointed out that every time southerners fought northerners, the "Yankees they will run." Finally, the "Confederate 'Yankee Doodle'" alluded that northern boys should leave the fighting to southern men. Instead of brawling, this song advised northerners to "stick to" what they did best, "peddling." In another version of this popular song, that "Yankees" were only good at stealing, but the "South knew how to rifle." As these Civil War fight songs showed, in 1980 when .38 Special claimed that fighting, not money, made someone a real man, the group reinforced old ideas. These tunes indicate that above all,
physical force and athletic ability were still romanticized and cherished in the region. Modern southern fight tunes, such as "Wild-Eyed Southern boys," also prove that like their ancient ancestors, contemporary southerners have not stopped mixing the idea of personal honor and brawling. In this song, for example, Donnie Van Zant yelled out it was a "Southern point of honor" to participate in a fight. When a fight breaks out, Van Zant said that every real southern male had to "get right in on the act."^18

More importantly, however, when southern singers placed people from different regions into distinct categories they showed that southerners still identified themselves as a unique group of people. In fact, an us versus them mentality emerged in several fight songs. In the modern era nonsouthern musicians rarely, if ever, set themselves apart in this fashion, or used such antiquated arguments. Groups from northeastern urban areas, for example, did not habitually yell out that they were tough city men. A nonsouthern performer, such as Bruce Springsteen and Billy Joel, might glorify a particular city or even a specific region, but they simply did not go around singing that they could beat up rural southern boys. There was no need for them to sing such trite lyrics. This indicates that no other section of the United States idolized brute force as much as the South. Moreover, nonsoutherners did not see their region as a distinctive place, or themselves as a unique group of people.

Although these types of songs illustrated that southerners thought they were superior to others on a physical level, on a deeper level a feeling of inferiority emerged. Northerners might have more money, better education, and superior living conditions, for example, but southern
musicians touted that "By God" southerners can out fight them! It is significant that since the Civil War this theme has routinely reemerged in southern music. It is an indication that many southerners not only resented the prosperity of the rest of nation, but they also understood the South's weak points. Like the people themselves, southern singers put on a "big front," but music illustrates that they knew that most southern states habitually ranked last in every positive classification, or first in every negative category. This type of music demonstrates that for several generations many southerners have had a "chip on their shoulder," when it came to "yankees" and northern prosperity.

In the late twentieth century musicians not only lyrically associated the ideas of fighting and southern manliness, but in their public images and actions they also linked the two concepts. Southern country musicians, such as Hank Williams, Jr, Johnny Cash, Willie Nelson, and Waylon Jennings stressed their fighting ability. In his early career Nelson carried "two or three guns and plenty of ammo." When a gun battle broke out in a Birmingham, Alabama, parking lot, members publicized that Nelson did not run and hide like everyone else. Instead they maintained that the singer casually walked out of his bus with two "Hugh Colt .45 revolvers stuck in his" pants and demanded to know "What's the trouble?" Jennings also fits into this framework. When he fired one of his band members for "bugging" his tour bus, in an attempt to catch drug informants, Jennings made it widely known that he told him "Don't you understand one . . . thing? If I heard what the guys in the band are saying about me, I'd have to fight every one of them . . . every day." Moreover, the first time this legend-
ary Texan played before a New York audience he informed them that "Now, you people don't know me, probable never heard of me, but my name's Waylon Jennings, and I'm a country music singer. . . . if you like what we do, we'd appreciate it. If you don't keep your mouth shut or we'll kick your ass!" 19

Similar to country musicians, southern rockers promoted themselves as southern males by stressing the fact that they answered to no one, did what they wanted, and constantly fought. In fact, the hard fighting reputation southern rock groups earned characterized what the early 1970's "Southern music phenomenon [was] all about." Like Hank Williams Jr., and the country music "Outlaws," most major southern rock bands of the 1970s and 1980s found acceptance throughout the South by acting like a bunch of macho, whiskey-soaked, hell-bent men, with a taste for Wild Turkey as great as their desire for a fight. Ronnie Van Zant, for instance, admitted that "the boys in the band booze and fight a lot." He even stated that when "you're tense and uptight it's just natural to fight." Violence became so ingrained in Lynyrd Skynyrd, that savagery became a "hobby." A hobby which caused the group to act "like a wet, sputtering stick of dynamite with a short fuse." This type of behavior continued to occur even after bands became extremely popular. A case in point happened in 1975 when Artimus Pyle, Lynyrd Skynyrd's drummer, was denied a backstage pass at a Who concert (this is a common courtesy among all rock stars, but Pyle was mistakenly unrecognized). Instead of leaving the area as asked, the furious Pyle went wild and fought several policemen. When Pyle was finally brought under control, the police threw him in the Dade County Jail, with a
black eye and "knocks all over his head." According to Tom Dowd, a record producer who was with the band when it heard of Pyle's arrest, Van Zant was so infuriated by the news that he could hardly be kept under control, "if there had been a grenade around he would have eaten it."

This violent behavior was not only reserved for "outsiders," because band members commonly brawled with each other. Similarly to Jennings and Nelson, Lynyrd Skynyrd held firm to a tacit unwritten rule, that is, if one member had trouble with another, they "simply take it outside and settle it." According to Van Zant, this type of violent behavior "usually ends . . . with a few black eyes, etc." Van Zant, for example, once overheard Powell and the road manager fiercely arguing in the hallway of their motel and wished for quiet. When Van Zant stepped outside to tell the men to "cool it," Powell made the cardinal mistake of screaming an obscenity at Van Zant who then proceeded to knock out Powell's two front teeth. Unsatisfied, Van Zant then beat up the road manager. These types of fights were so common that on more than one occasion other musicians had to stop the band members from severely beating each other.

The love of fighting characterized most of the other top southern rock bands of the era. Members of Black Oak Arkansas continually bragged about their fighting ability. Ginger Shiras, a reporter for the Arkansas Gazette, the state's most prominent newspaper at the time, maintained that when he interviewed these ruffians they all sounded like "reminiscing . . . old war buddies." On more than one occasion, the band's lead singer, Jim Mangrum, spoke of their use of violence and claimed that members never hesitated to fight anyone. Henry Paul, rhythm guitarist for the Outlaws,
touted the same message when he stated that its members were "no pushover. We're not gonna take any shit off anyone." Such statements were not idle boasts, since on several occasions all these musicians slugged anyone who got in their way. In Boston, for example, a brawl erupted when a local man made fun of the Outlaw's cowboy hats. Instead of laughing, the ruffians savagely beat the man and his six comrades. This was a bloody affair. Paul suffered a large cut above his eye when someone hit him with a chair. Similarly, in Long Island the Outlaws engaged in fisticuffs. This occurred when someone threw beer on the windshield of the group's bus. Instead of letting the incident pass, the rough necks jumped out of the vehicle and trounced the man. In 1974 the same sort of thing happened to Lynyrd Skynyrd when a Mexican American "invited himself on the bus for a look." Instead of asking questions, Van Zant viciously sluged the male. Instead of letting the fight rest when the man got off the bus, Van Zant followed him outside and continued to brutally beat him, until a group of his "black and Chicano friends" intervened. When this battle finally ended, both Van Zant and Rossington lay in a "bloody heap."

Similar to their predecessors, when some southern musicians stressed violence they reflected their everyday existences. Although southern taverns were not as deadly as before the war, brutality continued to engulf the southern bar scene during and after World War II. In Texas honky tonks the ruthlessness actually got worse during the war years as whiskey-soaked serviceman, locals, and defence workers all mixed together and fought it out on the dance floor. In fact, the most violent period in the history of honky tonks occurred during the 1940s. The same sort of brutality over-
whelmed the places where early southern rockers performed. The Wagon Wheel, a Natchez, Mississippi, bar where Jerry Lee Lewis started his career, was boisterous, but other local bars were "wilder by far." In the 1950s the clubs in that area of Mississippi, such as the Canasta Club and the Blue Cat Club, were still places where people could go and "drink, gamble, kill or be killed."^{23}

In the 1960s and 1970s many of the region’s country and rock bars continued to be brutal. Waylon Jennings remembered performing in a rough Kentucky joint that had a dirt floor. Jennings claimed that not only did the bar owner "beat us on the money," but he also "saw a guy get shot." Although Willie Nelson’s band played numerous rough and dangerous beer joints, band members claimed Gilley’s "was the all-time worst." After completing a gig in this Texas joint, band members generally departed the stage with "bruises and cuts and our shirts torn." Because of all the fistfights that routinely took place there, Gilley’s gained a horrible reputation as a "skull orchard." The rough bar scene of Texas emerged lyrically as well. In 1989 Charlie Daniels released "Play Me Some Fiddle," which discussed playing at a rugged joint in Houston. A large customer told Daniels he was "mad and I’m ornery and I’m ready to fight." He then informed the musician that if he wanted to live, he had to play the fiddle. Daniels obliged, while the man threw someone through a glass door, destroyed the place, and fought off fifteen policeman.^{24}

As Daniels alluded, during the 1960s and 1970s many of the top southern rockers got their starts on what was commonly called the southern "Booze and Brawl" circuit. This experience made many southern musicians
rough and tough. The members of Black Oak Arkansas, for example, had a penchant for bar fights, because in the 1960s they collectively "cut their teeth" in ruthless Delta joints. Savagery ruled the southern "road houses, roller rinks and YMCAs" where Black Oak played. The band members survived in these brutal east Arkansas bottoms because, like the whiskey-drinking customers, they engaged in physical violence. According to members, local men would always "get drunk and want to fight. They're just like us, though--bullheaded. We'd always pack the microphone stands last. They were a big deterrent." Daugherty, for example, always kept his guitar stand "just about unscrewed, so I could undo it and use it to fight with and bust the head" of anyone trying to cause trouble.\footnote{25}

On the 1970s southern bar circuit things had not really changed that much in a generation. Similar to the earlier juke joints, some of these clubs still had to protect their musicians by placing chicken wire between them and the audience. In fact, when singing about tavern violence modern southern performers still discussed their own experiences. Ronnie Van Zant's song, "Gimme Three Steps," for example, discussed a "lean, mean, big and bad" southern man who walked into a tavern with "a gun in his hand." He planned to murder his wife and her lover. After this "bad" man threatened to kill everyone with his "forty-four," the targeted man managed to escape. Van Zant was the human prey "with the hair colored yellow," who barely escaped with this life.\footnote{26}

Violence not only emerged in southern bars, it engulfed the whole southern rock scene of the 1970s. In that era southern concerts often turned into violent affairs. During the Black Oak's performance at the
1979 Arkansas Jam, for example, chaos and violence ruled. When this concert finally ended not only had numerous misdemeanors occurred, but some violent acts had taken place, including one rape and two stabbings. Similarly, violence and general chaos repeatedly erupted at Lynyrd Skynyrd's southern concerts. A typical example occurred at what one rock critic called the "Weirdest rock" show he had ever seen. In 1975 at the Miami Marina, the crowd "rushed the barricades" after being told that the entrance was closed. It took a multitude of police officers and attack dogs to drive them back. After fist fights and several attempts by angry youths to flood the stage with water (they were enraged at the stagehands' attempts to keep them off of the stage), this wild concert ended in confusion. Similarly, the next night's performance, at St. Petersburg, Florida, started with a few fights, some arrests, and a "crowd of cops with sticks raised for action." Instead of trying to calm the crowds, the band would let the fights continue because the type of southern people Lynyrd Skynyrd attracted simply gave Van Zant obscene gestures and shouted vulgar phrases at him if he tried to pacify them. Other southern rock groups, such as the Outlaws and ZZ Top, had similar experiences. At a 1976 concert, ZZ Top's Louisiana fans threw beer bottles, coolers, and fought the police.27

The southern crowds that attended these red-neck rock concerts were extremely wild and after listening to lyrics filled with pro-South and pro-fighting phrases, they could hardly be kept under control. As several concert goers have indicated, the whole scene resembled a madhouse out of control. Instead of trying to calm the unruly mob, these rockers usually
added fuel to the flame. In 1976, Van Zant claimed that he expected the "audience to throw bottles and similar armory at them . . . [but] they then throw them back . . . that's what is called 'audience communication.'" In fact, the band became so used to this type of behavior that it laughed "like hell" when someone knocked Collins senseless with a boot. Van Zant knew that his music and behavior drew "all them rowdy b---- [and] . . . A bunch of drunks." As one rock critic so correctly pointed out, "after a few beers and some reds out in the blazing Florida sun" the kids who listened to Lynyrd Skynyrd demonstrated that "fighting becomes a way of life" in the South. In fact, even 13 and 14 year-old southern males challenged Van Zant backstage. The same sort of southern crowds flocked around all the redneck country and rock acts.28

When modern southern musicians continued to win acceptance by expressing themselves violently in both lyrics and real life, and when brutality continued to characterize southern bars and concerts, it showed fighting was still culturally significant in the late twentieth century South. Instead of hiding the violent outbreaks, band members and their record companies both did all they could to publicize the events. These musicians were not ashamed of their brutal behavior, instead they were proud of it. The music of both the redneck rockers and the neo-honky-tonkers generally appealed to blue collar males in the region, therefore, it reflected their culture. In fact, according to Malone, neo-honky tonk performers are the "most accurate representation of working-class values."29

Although the southern rockers appealed to a slightly different
segment of the region's working class, they also embodied blue collar values as much as country musicians. According to several southerners, who attended secondary schools from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, in most high schools there was a certain group of people who listened to this music. One Arkansas record shop owner stated that the "crowd who listened to Black Oak Arkansas were guys who listened to the other bands such as Lynyrd Skynyrd and the Marshall Tucker Band. . . . Black Oak was big around here." Generally these listeners were white males from working-class families, who possessed a rather boisterous, pro-South streak. The fans of Lynyrd Skynyrd might not "hangout" with the followers of Moe Bandy, but music indicates that they all approved of violence. When the fans of all the bands are taken into account, a large section of the population is represented. In fact, individually all the groups mentioned sold millions of records. Although these bands sold records throughout the United States, they were generally more popular in the South. The South was their financial, cultural and intellectual base. Years after some bands had dropped from the national arena, they found loyal fans in the South. Over twenty years after its first album came out Black Oak still sells in southern markets and Mangrum still draws a crowd on the mid-South bar circuit. In fact, in the mid-1990s stories about the band routinely emerge in southern newspapers. In 1994, for example, The Arkansas Democrat Gazette featured a story on Mangrum. Unlike in other regions of the United States, groups such as Molly Hatchet and Black Oak Arkansas can draw a crowd in the 1990s South.30

When these rockers and honky tonkers both sang that they were simply
working-class southern males who grew up racing cars, fighting, and
drinking beer, they depicted common experiences. Furthermore, when all
these southern "good ol' boys" continually sang about adult lives filled
with hard work, heavy drinking, and brawling, they mirrored significant
cultural traits. This type of music reflects that when many young southern
males walked off the factory line or skipped "study hall" on Friday
afternoon, they looked forward to "picking up" women, filling their tanks
with gas, drinking whiskey, and having a fight or two, so they could brag
about all of it to their buddies. In songs like "Wildlife Sanctuary" Bandy
and Stampley were proud of this kind of lifestyle. In this song the duo
boasted that a "wildlife sanctuary" should be established for the dying
breed of "good ol' boys" who liked to brawl, throw liquor bottles at the
band, and drink until the last drop of alcohol was gone.^^

Finally, fighting tunes also indicated that some modern southerners,
like their ancestors, had no concept of cultural diversity. In their eyes
no gray areas existed, there was only a right and a wrong. Several
fighting songs demonstrated this trait, however, Charlie Daniels' 1988
number, "Uneasy Rider '88," provides an example. In the tune two southern
men, Daniels and his buddy Jim, decided to drive to New Orleans. They were
depicted as two southern "good ol' boys" who were real men, because they
drove a "souped up" car and listened to the music of Merle Haggard and Hank
Williams, Jr. On route the duo stopped at a tavern to consume alcohol.
Unknown to them, however, they wandered into a gay-punk bar. After Daniels
saw the punk band, he quickly decided the pair should leave, because "this
ain't our kind of bar." Jim, however, wished to stay, because he spied a
woman who wanted to dance. After Jim departed, a "funny looking feller" put his hand on Daniels' knee. The singer quickly told the male to remove his hand or he would dislocated his nose. When the man said he loved the fire in Daniels' eyes, the performer knocked him out cold. The whole bar then started fighting Daniels, who claimed he would never surrender, because "where I come from we don't give up/Without a fight." In fact, Daniels pointed out he held his own against the homosexual mob, because he had been in a "scrap or two" before.  

When Jim finally arrived on the scene, his female acquaintance pounded Daniels with her shoe. To make the woman stop, the performer grabbed her hair, but her wig fell off. Both guys now realized the woman was a man. When Jim comprehended that he had danced with another male, he vomited all over the floor. When he regained his composure, however, he acted like a "man" and "dropped that dude like a shot from a gun/Smeared his lipstick made his makeup run." Both men then teamed up and slugged their way to the exit. Daniels appeared to be the real man, since he was "punching and hitting and kicking and pawing," while the gay males were depicted as stereotypical women. Instead of using their fists, they were only "screaming and yelling and scratching and clawing." After this experience, these southerners wanted to go back home to "where the women are women/And the men are men."  

This extraordinarily long tune reflected the culture in many ways. The song, for example, blatantly stereotyped a segment of the population that is hated in the region, homosexuals. Contemporary studies, that examined regional difference about how homosexuals are viewed, found that,
unlike the rest of the United States, a majority of southerners are intolerant of homosexuality. In fact, according to many oral sources, gays are routinely harassed in the modern South. In one major study three-quarters of the participants reported harassment. As this tune indicated, this group was still persecuted openly in the 1980s and 1990s. In the 1980s "Philip," a gay male from South Carolina, reported that southerners habitually called him "faggot" and "queer." Neighborhood youths even egged his parent's house. Moreover, a southern lesbian reflected reality when she pointed out that in "the Deep South . . . they don't like gays." This hate could even turn deadly. In one southern location not only did the stores refuse to serve gay couples, but a homosexual "mysteriously died" in a grain elevator accident.

The tune also reflected how heterosexual southern males often react to homosexual advances. Typical of most, one southern male stated that "If a fag makes a move on me, I'd whip his ass." When a male made a "move on" Daniels, he did not simple say no, he severely beat the individual. Similarly, the song mirrored the culture when it claimed all gay males acted feminine. In the melody, they wore dresses, wigs, pantyhose, high-heeled shoes, lipstick, mascara, and scratched instead of punched. Gay males were not depicted as real men nor were they real women, instead they were characterized as strange creatures. This simply reflected the belief of many southerners. In interviews conducted in the late 1980s, "K. C.,” a homosexual Northeast, Arkansas, male, explained that locals expected all gay men to act dainty. In the South most people still think that all gay males were "sensitive boys with high pitched voices and a fondness for
dolls who grow into effeminate queens dripping with sarcasm." This is a stereotype, since most homosexual adults were not effeminate as children nor do they display that characteristic in adulthood.35

When Daniels placed homosexual males in this role he did more than reinforce stereotypes. When he made all homosexual males take on exaggerated idiosyncrasies of the opposite sex, he supported the belief that homosexuality is perverted. According to a senior faculty member of the South Australia Medical School, Michael Ross, the "view that homosexuality is associated with [a] deviant social sex role implies that all homosexuals will contain attributes of the opposite sex." Lyrically, Daniels did exactly that! Similarly, "Uneasy Rider '88" demonstrated that southerners equate manliness with brute force. Daniels was portrayed as the real man, who trounced all the gay males who got in his way. Moreover, in an age when the South has the fastest growing number of AIDS cases, such tunes illustrate that southerners still think violence will solve their problems. Furthermore, this tune showed that some southerners cannot accept cultural diversity. As the last stanza illuminated, in the South a man had to act like a stereotypical male and a woman had to act like a stereotypical female, or they were not accepted into the community. As a small-town southern lesbian pointed out, "everybody protects everybody else-unless you fall outside the norm. They don't deal with things that aren't normal for them." Daniels' lyrics indicated that homosexuality was one thing modern southerners refused to consider normal.36

The last stanza of "Uneasy Rider, '88," also illustrated that southerners still divide their world into gendered halves. This emerged in
other tunes, but another good example is the neo-honky-tonk number, "Where's the Dress." In this tune Bandy and Stampley, pretending to be two hard-working truck drivers, sing that they cannot understand why the transvestite Boy George makes so much money acting like a female, when real men like themselves barely have any income. But, even if they donned a dress (which they did not do) and took to the stage, the duo claimed they would never change. The pair pointed out, for example, that they would fill their purses with beer, fight, and close all the bars. It was alleged that women could never accomplish these feats. These types of songs show that southern culture views the differences between males and females as more than anatomical facts. Women had their role to play, and men had their own but very different part to play, and these ditties pointed out the two divisions did not and should not ever mix. Neither males or females were allowed to step over the preconceived gender line, without facing severe harassment. When men showed their feminine side, for example, these tunes not only stereotyped and exaggerated the acts, but they made the males look ridiculous. In fact, lyrically the stereotypical southern macho man never showed this side of his character.37

Finally, such music reflected that homosexuals have become the new scapegoats in the South. The Atlanta based organization, the Center for Democratic Renewal (the former Anti-Klan Network) pointed out that the Klu Klux Klan, and other such hate groups, have started to increasingly focus their attention on gays. In 1987 the Southern Poverty League Center's Klanwatch Project reported that "anti-gay sentiment is exploited by white supremacists to organize the bigoted. Neo-Nazis, Skinheads, Identity
followers, white robed cross burners and talk show circuit 'racialists' may be divided over tactics, but they agree on their enemies. And gays, like Blacks and Jews, are categorically hated." These hate groups are active against homosexuals in the South. In the late 1980s, for example, the White Patriot party executed, gangland style, three gay men in North Carolina. Furthermore, The Order, a neo-Nazi group, firebombed a homosexual church in Missouri. In 1994 Larry Tedford, the Klan coordinator in Faulkner County, Arkansas, pointed out in a newspaper article that the modern Klan stands for more than "protecting white rights. . . . [it] also stands for racial purity and equal rights, and opposes homosexuality." Tedford not only claimed that the County's Klan membership had increased by 60 percent in recent years, but he also said that he was optimistic that a large crowd would attend its rally and "cross-lighting" ceremony later in the summer. According to researchers, the fear of AIDS has "contributed to the problem of anti-gay violence." In the 1990s a Georgia man at a white power rally made this clear. Photographs, for example, showed him carrying a sign with read "White Power. . . . PRAISE GOD FOR AIDS."38

In the late twentieth century mainstream southern musicians can no longer lyrically lynch and burn African Americans, but they can still honorably beat and typecast gays. Instead of listening to the "Burning Nigger," as southerners did in the nineteenth century, some now enjoyed newer numbers that bashed another segment of society. Such songs indicated that some individuals had not really changed that much. These ditties, and other fighting tunes, also illustrated that in times of crisis white southerners have always blamed their troubles on someone else or another
group, preferably a minority. Music demonstrated that so called "lazy niggers" and "Damn Yankees" were the traditional targets. In the modern era of forced desegregation and AIDS, however, "bull dykes," "faggots," "queers," and "drag queens" have lyrically began to take their place.³⁹

Music reflects that homosexuals have become the new "coons" of the American South. As with African Americans in the past, harassment and intimidation against gays is simply overlooked or enjoyed in contemporary southern lyrics. In "Uneasy Rider '88," for example, Daniels and his buddy were not arrested for trouncing homosexuals, instead they were jailed for speeding. In the tune, disobeying a minor traffic law was worse than beating gays. In fact, the song implied that bashing homosexuals was the responsible thing for a "real" southern man. In its own unique way, one of the longest-lasting, best-selling, and most popular groups in the history of southern music, the Charlie Daniels Band, justified gay bashing. As studies have shown, many southerners felt that Daniels was correct. Such tunes reflect that some southerners still enjoy treating people, who do not fit into their preconceived notions of normality, brutally.⁴⁰

In conclusion, although music indicates that southern culture changed in some ways after World War II, it also shows that many things remained the same. When both rockers and neo-honky tonkers constantly bragged about using their fists, they illustrated that fighting continued to be a significant pastime among young, blue collar southern males. In the late twentieth century the whole "redneck" musical scene showed that many southerners still hypothesized, like their frontier forefathers, that only rugged fighters deserved to be called real men. Although music reflected
that southern murder rates dropped in the modern era, post-1940 numbers indicated that if someone stepped out of preconceived social norms, talked smart, or tried to "pick up" another man's woman, southern males still resorted to violence, albeit it of a less lethal form. When southern musicians projected themselves onto the musical stage as a gang of ruffians who enjoyed debauching themselves daily on whiskey and made their penchant for physical violence widely known, they gathered a devoted southern following. Like their folk and blues predecessors, modern musicians understood that their listeners related to their brutality. In fact, contemporary southern males perceived violent groups as "extension[s] of themselves," because those bands provided a "justification as well as a medium for what is a normal form of self-expression" in the South. The young southern males who thronged around such groups saw the bands as "larger-than-life cultural heroes." This kind music and behavior clearly indicates that violence is still a viable option in the region. In retrospect, music illustrates that, similar to the past, modern southerners still have a violent frame of mind. In addition, tunes show that they are still prone to resort to violence more than other Americans. Finally, this music reflects that in the modern South past cultural traits not only still exist, but they are also lyrically romanticized.
As music reflects, throughout their history, southerners have often been brutal, thus, it is not surprising that studies show that southerners, more than any other segment of American society, resort to firearms to settle disputes. In the region's past both the back county ruffian and the tidewater elite grabbed guns when social or political differences arose. From the Regulator Movement to the Black Patch Wars oppressed rural southerners have expressed their anger and frustration through smoking rifles. Firearms and fighting were such integral parts of the culture that when southerners, such as Andrew Jackson, John Randolph, and Henry Clay, and many state governors resorted to the convincing power of bullets, it enhanced their political careers. Unlike northerners, southerners have traditionally praised pistol packing men.¹

Since the Civil War the South has undergone Reconstruction, the boosterism of the New South, lost over half of its rural population to outmigration, sanctioned the New Deal, economically prospered during World War II and witnessed the Civil Rights movement, but the region's attachment to guns, and its admiration for "a crack shot," never wavered. Rural southern males still take great pride in their guns and shooting ability. In the mountainous areas of the rural South, for example, oral histories, personal observations, and newspaper articles all demonstrate it is culturally acceptable, if not socially coerced, for males to own and shoot firearms. Target practice and hunting are the two major forms of recre-
ation for rural southern males. In Arkansas, for example, over 300,000 men, women and children hunt. The first day of squirrel, dove, quail, or deer season is a major cultural event. In fact, in the 1980s numerous southern high schools dismissed classes on the first day of deer season, not a common practice in other sections of the United States. Finally, the importance of firearms can be seen when, during turkey and deer season, Northeast Arkansas newspapers routinely print photographs which display males (many as young as ten) holding their prized rifles, muzzle loaders, or shotguns. Being able to shoot a gun is still an important custom in the rural South. This is one way rural southern boys attempt to prove their manhood. In fact, his first gun at "puberty is the bar mitzvah of the rural WASP."^2

The male southerner's continual fascination with firearms, and their habitual use of bullets to rectify arguments, can clearly be seen in the songs of the rural South. Although numerous southern gun songs, tunes in which firearms play a significant role, reflect cultural attributes, factual tunes are extremely important. They demonstrate that throughout southern history gun toting males often ruled. The folk music of the rural South is filled with true gun tunes. One 1900 tune, "The Murder Of Charley Stacey," retold an Ozark man's brutal assassination. In this song Charley Stacey, who is returning home from a church service, is confronted by three pistol carrying drunken men, one of whom hated Stacey for stealing his girlfriend. All of the men shot Stacey, but before he died Stacey drew his own gun and killed one of his murders. Similarly, guns blaze in a factual tune popular with Alabamians and Mississippians in the early twentieth
century, "Sidney Allen." When Allen was convicted of murder in 1912, he "mounted to the bar with his pistol in his hand" and shot Judge Mathey. After killing several other people, he took his .39 special and backed the sheriff against the wall. Finally, an "authentic" melody about an 1884 Ozark vigilante group entitled "The Bald Knobber Song" demonstrates that southerners turned to guns, instead of the police, to solve lawlessness. The composer claimed, for example, that he had armed himself "with weapons," because the gun wielding Bald Knobbers were trying to hunt him down and kill him like they had the "Taylor boys."^3

Country music also produced its own factual gun tunes. These range from Jimmie Driftwood’s 1959 song "Tennessee Stud" to Kenny Roger’s 1970s hit "Ruby Don’t Take Your Love To Town." In his song Driftwood described factual events in the life of his wife’s great grandfather, John Merriman, who settled in Tennessee between 1820 and 1825. In this tune a fight erupts between Merriman and a gambler over Merriman’s horse. In the battle that followed Merriman wins the fight by beating the gambler to the draw. In "Ruby, Don’t Take Your Love To Town" a woman, who is about to go out searching for other men, is told by her disabled husband that "if I could move, I’d get my gun and put her in the ground." This song is more potent because Mel Tillis, who wrote the song, described an actual event that took place in northern Florida during his childhood. Although the song only suggested that Ruby should be murdered, in actuality her husband shot and killed her.^4

Red-Neck southern rock and roll also had its own factual gun tunes, but no groups exhibited this tendency more than Lynyrd Skynyrd. In fact,
its most "evocative" lyrics, were full of "snub-nosed, blood stained boast." Ronnie Van Zant, the group's lead singer, idolized guns in some of his songs. The southerners who listened to Van Zant generally knew that this ex-gang leader, and silver glove boxing champ of Florida, sang about his own experiences. This brutal man from northern Florida publicized the fact that on several occasions firearms had been pulled on him and that he had killed a man. Similarly, he maintained that guns played a major role in his early life. He bragged, for example, that as a kid he owned a gun. In fact, although as a youth Van Zant accidentally "Blew a hole" through his leg, his infatuation with firearms never wavered. Even though there are several songs that demonstrate Van Zant's glorification of guns, the most ruthless is the 1973 tune "Mississippi Kid." This song, which is filled with gun play, has special meaning because Van Zant identified himself as the "Mississippi Kid." The band's popular tune "Gimme Three Steps," also demonstrates the cultural significance of guns. In this song a man, who walked into a bar and threatened to kill everyone with his forty-four, is romanticized. This song also shows how violence was a part of Van Zant's everyday life since it described one of his personal experiences. As earlier chapters have shown, at times guns played crucial roles in the lives of several other black and white southern musicians, including Willie Nelson, George Jones, and Dickie Wells. The latter, for example, always toted a pistol in the South, because his band "ran up against a lot of frightful people" who wanted to "beat up the band or shoot somebody."5

Another type of factual tunes, feud songs, demonstrates that southern males used guns to uphold family honor. Family is one of the most signifi-
cant elements in southern society, and southerners often expected violence when someone verbally or physically attacked a family member. As illustrated by many songs, such as "The Rowan County Crew," "A West-Virginia Feud Song," the "Death of James Vance," "The Killin' in the Gap," "The Death of Fan McCoy," and an untitled number that described the Austins and the Fitches' brawl, guns often roared when someone challenged a family's honor. In almost all feud songs rural southern males used firearms to preserve personal or family reputations. In "Zeb Tunney's Girl," a song popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, words associated with killings or guns appear fifteen times in this eight stanza ballad.6

Fictional tunes also demonstrate that guns played a major role in the life of black and white southerners. Like whites, blacks glamorized guns and gun toting men in their folktunes. In fact, in the 1920s prominent sociologist Howard W. Odum maintained that "Bad Man" tunes were the most popular songs among blacks. These types of individuals were "eulogized by the youngsters and sung by the workers by the side of the road." In African-American folksongs guns are significant. In many black tunes firearms have "speaking part[s]" and they are "fondly and intimately described." In many popular black folktunes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as "Shootin' Bill," "Roscoe Bill," "Bolin Jones," and "Stagolee" the black hero carried a gun. These songs often romanticized males that used gunpowder to settle their disputes. Roscoe Bill, for instance, was "Plum tickled to death/When I raise a fight." When this male shot someone he meant to kill them. The lyrics further glamor-
ized this man by stating "Dat de women all foller" him. Similarly, songsteers praised Railroad Bill because of his shooting ability. Not only could this brutal individual hit a man, but in various versions of the song he shot a lantern out of a train brakeman's hand. In fact, the song praised this skilled marksman because he could "shot a hole in a silver dime."7

Like white southern men, during the early twentieth-century black southern males continued to respect and romanticize pistol packing individuals in their music. Southern black blues singers, for example, frequently relied upon guns. Some of the most popular blues tunes, that is songs that had sales large enough to justify a reissue, mentioned firearms or gun battles. Although melodies such as Blind Willie McTell's 1935 "Bell Street Blues" and Roland Walter's 1935 tune "45 Pistol Blues" spoke of African-American males using guns as defensive weapons, these southern men generally carried firearms for other reasons. Many black singers spoke of using guns to frighten or specifically kill someone, customarily an unfaithful female lover. Blind Boy Fuller, Washboard Sam, Peetie Wheatstraw, Sonny Boy Williamson, J. T. "Funny Paper" Smith, and Mississippi John Hurt are only a few of the southerners who had such songs. In his 1930 hit "Railroad Bill," for example, Will Bennett stated he was tired of everyone telling him what to do. If he wanted to drink whiskey, for instance, he maintained he would, no matter what anyone else said. Bennett then informed his listeners that he was going to buy a gun "as long as my arm," to "kill everyone [that] ever done me wrong." He was especially after Railroad Bill, a man who had threatened his life and taken his wife.
Bennett was going to take his gun, "take my stand," and face that man. Even though the delta blues spoke the words of oppressed black southerners, scholars have pointed out southern whites also liked the music. In fact, this group often turned to the blues when fundamentalist preachers dictated that such songs were off limits in country music. Not only did whites listen to these tunes, but when country musicians wanted to express themselves in a more masculine manner, they often concealed them in a blues format.

Although religious morality minimized the number of gun songs in early country music, such tunes did appear in this genre. Even fundamentalism, a powerful force in the rural South, could not stop southerners from admiring gun-toting males. This character was simply too ingrained in the culture. In addition, even though early country radio stations refused to air such brutal tunes, because they did not promote the down-home image the stations wanted to be associated with, gun tunes were undoubtedly more popular among white southerners than they seem. Not only did county performers use the blues as a safety-valve, but many early country musicians sang traditional favorites for their rural audiences. In fact, folktunes were one of their main sources of material. These old melodies quenched the southerners thirst for guns and murder tunes.

The two top early country performers, the Carter Family and Jimmie Rodgers, both fit into this framework. Although compared to other musicians these performers did not release many such tunes, they did sing them. The Carter Family looked to traditional mountain music for such tunes and the Mississippi born "White Bluesman," who had worked closely with blacks
all his life, turned more to the blues. In both cases the songs were successful. A. P. Carter, for example, had his own 1930 version of the John Hardy ballad entitled "John Hardy Was A Desperate Little Man," in which Hardy "carried two guns every day." Instead of an ruthless killer, Hardy appeared to be a kind family man whose two daughters mourned his death. Carter's version is very similar to the traditional version, because he routinely copied old material. It is significant that the Carter Family sang such a tune, since they were considered the epitome of family virtue by both radio stations and rural southerners. Similarly, in one of Rodgers's most famous songs, "T For Texas," firearms played a major role. In this tune a male got what he wanted by using a pistol and a shotgun. In 1927 when Rodgers first sang this song on WWNC, a radio station in Asheville, North Carolina, his wife became apprehensive. She felt the tune would draw stark criticism from religious southerners. That did not occur. In fact, Rodgers received a lot of positive fan mail from his southern listeners concerning this song. This tune has continued to be popular. Throughout the years several other southern performers have re-released it. Even the southern rock and roll band Lynyrd Skynyrd reissued this tune in 1982.¹⁰

Johnny Cash, the country performer with more chart hits than anyone else, also had several hits in the 1950s and 1960s that mentioned the use of guns. Some of these include "The Ballad of Boot Hill," "Don't Take Your Guns To Town," "Folsom Prison Blues," "Austin Prison" and "A Boy Named Sue." Some of these are still mainstays of his concert performances. One such song is his 1956 hit "Folsom Prison Blues," which won Cash a Grammy
award. Cash did not limit his discussion of guns to his song lyrics. This can be seen in some of the pre-song narratives for which he became famous. Before he sang the traditional song "Danny Boy," on his popular album entitled The Orange Blossom Special, Cash informed the audience that his grandfather, who loved this particular song, carried a gun everywhere. According to Cash, rural southerners carried firearms because the southern highlands were violent places, where a man always had to be prepared for trouble. He basically glorified this behavior.11

Finally, from the 1970s to the 1990s guns were still lyrically popular in country music. Top southern performers besides Cash, such Hank Williams Jr., The Kentucky Headhunters, and even Conway Twitty have used this theme. In his late 1980s hit "Saturday Night Special," which reached number nine on the Billboard charts, Twitty sang about a man who used a gun to terrorize a pawn shop dealer. The dealer had attempted to cheat a woman by buying her wedding ring at a low price. In this song the gun toting male hero took charge and made the owner give his female customer more money for her ring. The female's tearful pleading had no effect upon the man, but the sight of the pistol changed his mind. Moreover, at the end of the tune the man who packed the pistol became the lover of the woman.12

Guns also played a significant role in the southern rock and roll scene of the late twentieth century. Charlie Daniels mentioned guns in many of his tunes of the 1970s and 1980s, including "Jitterbug," "Midnight Train," "Alligator," "Simple Man," and "(What The World Needs Is) A Few More Rednecks." In the later number, released in 1989, he complained that the government was "trying to take my guns away." He said he would
surrender his firearms only after the criminals had turned in theirs, or in other words, never. Like all other southern performers, several southern rock bands spoke of guns in their lyrics, but this is not the only place firearms appear in this genre. Through an examination of photographs, stage antics, and album covers scholars can ascertain how significant the gun continued to be in southern culture. When Black Oak Arkansas was at its zenith lead guitarist Harvey Jett carried loaded guns on stage. His promotional photo exemplified a typical southerner whose temperament was prone to violence: a grim, intense man dressed in black with a Colt .45 strapped to his waist. Similarly, in a 1994 publicity photograph, which appeared in Arkansas' largest newspaper, The Arkansas Democrat Gazette, the band's long-haired and chap-clad lead singer, Jim Mangrum, was shown holding a rifle in a ready to fire stance. He was also standing beside a sign which read "WARNING, NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME WATCH."  

The jacket is an essential component of all albums, and guns can be found on many of the best selling records issued by southern rock bands. southern groups, such as Black Oak Arkansas, Lynyrd Skynyrd, the Outlaws, The Marshall Tucker Band, .38 Special, and Molly Hatchet routinely displayed firearms, because they and their record companies understood working-class southern males identified with these items. Not only did the members of .38 Special, a top southern draw in the late 1970s and early 1980s, name the group after a firearm, but the band pressed the gun image home in most of its album covers. Two of the band's most popular albums, Special Forces and Wild-Eyed Southern Boys stressed guns. In the latter the rough and cocky looking band members are standing underneath a neon
sign shaped like a pistol. This same design can be seen on the back of the record jacket. Similarly, country-rock great Charlie Daniels utilized this theme on album covers and promotional photographs. In his 1976 album entitled *High Lonesome*, in which the cowboy-clad band members can be seen performing on stage in front of a Tennessee state flag, guns are evident. On the back cover Daniels dedicates the album to many things including pistols, whiskey, and fighting. Even in this album’s musical score book, a work which gives the lyrics and guitar riffs, guns are noticeable. On the back page a band member is wearing a revolver. Similarly, a two-page pictorial layout that shows two members wearing and carrying firearms was included. These same photos reemerged when this particular album was reissued in the 1990s in a compact disk format.

Moreover, the most famous, and the best selling, southern rock group, Lynyrd Skynyrd, routinely stressed guns on its record jackets. On the inside gatefold cover of the band’s album entitled *Skynyrd’s First And Last*, photos showed a man holding a large pistol, with the hammer pulled back, between the eyes of Van Zant. While this is taking place, Gary Rossington, Lynyrd Skynyrd’s lead guitarist, is force feeding the singer a bottle of rot-gut whiskey. Another snapshot depicted Rossington pointing a large handgun toward another man who is trying to protect himself. In 1976 the band played upon the gun theme when it entitled its album, *Gimme Back My Bullets*. This album’s cover shows the solemn band members, some with whiskey bottles in hand (a well-known bar weapon), standing outside a rough-looking tavern in what appears to be a stand-off with a sheriff. The officer seems ready for action since his coat has been taken off his
pistol. Guns are also depicted in the band's 1982 Best Of The Rest LP and its 1976 One More From The Road record. The record cover of the former is almost filled by a drawing of a pistol being held by a skeleton with its finger on the trigger. The image of the gun is made even stronger when the pistol is made to give an obscene gesture. It does this by giving the symbolic finger (which is coming out of its barrel) to the world. This same logo appears on the band's Gimme Back My Bullets album. All of these albums sold well. In fact, all achieved multi-platinum status. By placing such images on their album jackets, the band members indicated that in their and their fans eyes, guns were all powerful. It is even more significant that the skeleton holding the obscene gun is unquestionably a southerner, since he wore a Confederate neckerchief and had Confederate flag tattoos. When Lynyrd Skynyrd placed such an image on its albums, it reflected that many southern males believed that not only could a man with a gun do what he wanted, but he could also tell the rest of the world to shut-up about it. 15

Although there are many more examples of southern rock bands stressing guns on their record jackets, the best is Molly Hatchet's 1983 album symbolically entitled No Guts...No Glory. Through an examination of this album the implication becomes clear that unless you use a gun you have "no guts" nor will you ever achieve glory. On this particular album revolvers, rifles, and shotguns are extremely evident. First, on the front cover every band member is wearing or carrying a firearm. The lead guitarist, Duane Roland, and the lead vocalist, Danny Joe Brown, have two guns. Similarly, on the back cover, which displays a separate photograph for each
individual, all but one member is seen holding a gun. In fact, the top three photographs show Roland, Brown, and lead guitarist Dave Hlubek pointing various large firearms towards the viewer. These same types of images reemerged on the record’s sleeve.16

Southern rock and roll musicians were not the only southern musicians that used guns on their album covers or in their promotional photographs. In the early twentieth century many hillbilly records contained illustrations that attempted to evoke "southerness." Besides cotton fields and cheerful "darkies," depictions of gun toting feuding mountaineers were included. By also examining old promotional photographs it became evident that guns were sometimes worn by the old country and western stars. In addition, the top modern country performer from Arkansas, Johnny Cash, played upon this conception throughout his career. In a late 1950s promotional photograph, the tough-looking, denim-clad, cigarette-rolling Cash can be seen wearing a pistol. In the 1960s and 1970s several publicity photographs showed the singer admiring firearms or contemplating his gun collection. One 1966 photo even showed Cash in a tough-man pose clutching a rifle. This Arkansan continued to utilize this image into the 1990s. In a November 1992 special twenty-fifth anniversary issue of Rolling Stone, for example, the older, but still tough-looking "Man in Black" is seen holding a rifle across his shoulders. This photo is significant, since none of the other top musical stars had guns in their layouts. Cash carried a firearm, because it enhanced his reputation as a tough southern male.17

Although throughout the years several country stars have utilized
this theme, the premier redneck rebel, Hank Williams, Jr., is one of the best examples. This Louisiana-born musician prides himself on promoting the gun-toting, hell-raising, whiskey-drinking southern male image. In his early career, 1971 publicity photographs showed the singer, who was wearing a hip holster, loading a pistol in front of his sizable gun collection. The backdrop of the collection, a large Confederate flag, emphasized his southerness. In fact, his Bonneville convertible even exhibited several guns, including rifles riveted into its sides, a rifle bolted onto the hood of the trunk, a pistol-shaped stick-shift, handguns built into the arm rests, and two revolvers fastened to the top of the front seat. Similarly, at times his song books also displayed guns, as did some of his album covers. On the jacket of his 1983 album entitled Strong Stuff, for example, Williams is surrounded by guns. On the chest beside him is a high caliber pistol, on the table behind him is a revolver and in the corner of the room a .12 gauge shotgun can clearly be seen. Finally, in the 1990s this theme reappeared on his compact disk Lone Wolf. On the disk’s cover, for example, Williams had a .45 pistol stuck in his belt and a double-barreled .12-gauge shotgun in his hands.

Although firearms are prevalent on album covers, southern bands and performers routinely used other items, such as bullets, to denote guns. On ZZ Top’s 1979 album Dequello red-hot bullets are the key elements. Moreover, on the inside gatefold cover of Lynyrd Skynyrd’s One More From The Road several bullets can be seen. In fact, a revolver, with a bullet coming out of its barrel, is the dominant image. Similarly, in his later career Hank Williams, Jr’s., guitar strap was a customized bullet belt,
complete with six bullets. On the front of this leather strap, a tooled design of two pistols can easily be seen. He repeatedly wore this belt, with its visible logo, when he performed in concert. Southern rockers also wore bullet belts. In 1983 Molly Hatchet's lead singer can be seen wearing a bandito style, chest belt. In fact, as concert photographs indicate, Black Oak Arkansas' lead singer even wore a bullet belt when he performed on stage during the 1970s. He also wore it in promotional photographs. Northern rockers never wore such gear on stage.¹⁹

Through an examination of both factual and fictional songs, album covers, concert performances and promotional photographs several cultural correlations can be made. First, guns have been a significant element in all forms of southern music, both black and white. This reflects the southerner's love of guns. This admiration for firearms has been detailed in both past and present research. Current research demonstrates, for example, that 97.5 percent of southern men and 59 percent of southern women over the age of 18 are familiar with guns. Similarly, contemporary reports reveal that southern homeowners possess more guns than non-southern homeowners. Recently scholarship has even shown that southerners are also more likely to have shot a firearm at a much earlier age than non-southerners.²⁰

These photographs and lyrics also demonstrate that guns have traditionally had deep psychological meanings for southerners. When looking at the snapshots of early twentieth century folksingers, or reading their lyrics, guns often emerge as major items. In fact, photos and interviews indicated that for mountain balladeers, a banjo or a fiddle and a gun were
essential tools of the trade. Throughout the history of southern music, firearms were not silent nor were they put in the background. It is clear that the songwriters and album designers meant for the weapons to be seen or heard. Not only are they "big," but they "smoke," they "blaze" and they "roar." Moreover, sometimes firearms are supplied with human names or described with human characteristics. In the 1930s Kentucky songster, Kelly Combs, while recounting stories about his "grandpap's" ancient hog rifle, sang an old mountain tune entitled "The Rifle Gun." This gun, which he sang he "loved" and "blest," was described as a "faithful guard and guide" and his grandfather's "dearest pride." Moreover, it took on the attributes of a human servant. His grandfather, for example, was said to be its "master."\(^{21}\)

In some of the tunes guns even have speaking parts. They are the voice of the aggressive male. This is also indicated on the album covers. The powerful, and the obviously obscene gun, did the talking for Lynyrd Skynyrd on the jacket of Best of the Rest and Gimme Back My Bullets. As a member had actually done with his own middle finger on the front of an earlier album, this obscene gun notified everyone that Lynyrd Skynyrd would do or say whatever it wanted. It is significant, however, that even though southern bands constantly stressed the gun theme on their record jackets, in this era rock bands from other sections of the nation rarely even pictured a firearm on their album covers. This is an indication that guns did not fit their image nor did firearms reflect their culture.\(^{22}\)

In addition, these tunes indicate that southerners respected people who fought back instead of surrendering. In the early nineteenth century,
for example, a "legal revolution" was occurring in the United States that 
opposed the English definition of self-defense, which maintained that a 
person could only claim this defense when they had "observed the duty to 
retreat." By the late nineteenth century, the doctrine of "stand-one's-
ground" ruled in most southern states. By then this principle was upheld 
by the region's legal system. The eastern parts of the United States, 
however, still held to the old "duty-to-retreat" doctrine. In the lyrics 
southern males habitually grabbed their guns and fought back. They rarely 
"observed the duty to retreat." In fact, males were romanticized for 
"standing their ground" even when self-defense was not an issue. In the 
éarly 1930s a factual song, "The Fate of Harry Young," described an Ozark 
man killing a city marshal, a deputy and six policeman in a gun battle at 
his farm house. Young escaped, but killed himself in Texas rather than 
surrender to the police who surrendered his house. Moonshine tunes and 
feud songs also reflected that males shot it out with government officials 
or enemy clans. In fact, the melodies generally approved of this kind of 
behavior.23

Similarly, this image of not giving up without a gun fight found its 
way into southern rock and roll. ZZ Top, for instance, stressed this point 
when it showed a white flag, whose shaft had been broken by a bullet, being 
shot to pieces on the cover of its 1979 album Deguello. The band .38 
Special also emphasized this image in its 1979 hit "Stone Cold Believer." 
This tune romanticized individuals who refused to give up. It stated, for 
instance, "Knew a man who could-n't lose,/’cause he nev-er gave in,/He 
stuck to his pis-tol/well it made him a bet-ter man." In the career of .38
Special this hit is significant. Not only did member Don Barnes consider it his favorite tune, but according to the leader of band, Donnie Van Zant, this song turned the group's career around. It brought in listeners. All of the evidence also shows that southerners have traditionally viewed guns as more than simple hunting tools. In the music of the South firearms are generally used to kill humans, not animals. Instead of only being used for sport, in southern society guns have historically been viewed as protection devices for two of the most important elements in southern culture, family and honor. Feud songs were not the only songs that demonstrated this. In Hank Williams Jr's, 1979 hit "I've Got Rights," for example, he spoke of a man who bought a Smith and Wesson .44 Magnum to shoot another male. The man to be murdered had killed the would be assailant's wife and kids. When the judicial system found the killer innocent on a "technicality" the grieving husband-father told him, "Well Hoss you better get you some corks 'cause you're gonna have to plug up a few holes." This kind of behavior was not limited to music. During the early 1980s several southerners romanticized a Florida father who shot his son's rapist to death in a court house. Many southern males and females upheld this behavior and maintained that a "real" southern man would never let such an act go unpunished. When Williams sang this song, he simply reflected cultural values.

These songs also demonstrate that firearms were essential elements of the culture. Numerous songs, especially nineteenth-century tunes, show southern men carrying guns almost everywhere. In many songs men carried firearms to town, work, church, or court. In the 1900 tune "The Murder Of
Charley Stacey," Stacey carried a gun to church. Other males, such as John Hardy, were said to have "carried two guns every day." Similarly, when fights broke out all the men involved generally had firearms readily available. Adultery tunes demonstrate this. A jilted husband, for instance, never had to borrow a gun or travel a long distance to obtain one, instead he generally had a firearm close by.26

The importance of guns in the culture can also be seen when many non-violent songs use firearms as metaphors. In some songs when a male or female singer discussed a man's "big gun," it is obvious they do not mean a traditional firearm. Bluesmen often used guns, or objects associated with guns, like bullets, load, ammunition, or ramrods, as sexual symbols. In his 1931 hit, "Ram Rod Daddy," Bo Chatman sings he "stays up on Main Street/ I keeps my gun loaded : for every good-looking woman I meet/ I'm a ramrodding daddy : Lord my rod is long and slim/ And every time I load a gun for a woman : your know it's too tight Jim. . . . When I get to use my ramrod : I sure Lord take my time/ It ain't no other ramrodding daddy : can put his load below where I put mine." In a similar fashion southern rockers, such as ZZ Top, lyrically used guns to denote sex. ZZ Top's 1990s hit "Gun Love" especially fits this profile. In this melody the words shoot, load, chamber, firing pin, cockin' the bolt, and Russian Roulette appear. This song ends with the phrase "She's a real gun lov-er to-night." Other southern bands used such images on album covers. On one of its albums in the 1980s, for instance, .38 Special used a pistol cartridge to denote both oral sex and a penis. A woman’s mouth and a lipstick canister, which is made out of a pistol cartridge, dominate the front cover. Both
items are drawn in very suggestive ways. The lipstick tip, for example, appears to be a smoking penis. 27

Southern groups also used images of guns to describe other emotions besides sex. Although there are many such groups or songs, it will suffice to mention a few songs by the popular contemporary country group Alabama. On this band’s highly successful 1982 album Mountain Music gun symbolism appears in the tunes “Bridge” and “Words At Twenty Paces.” In these songs the words ammunition, bullets, shot, guns, and “gunnin’ down” are stressed, as the title to the latter song indicates. In “Bridge,” for example, Alabama maintained that “your words cut like a bullet in my side.” When any object is metaphorically used to denote deep psychological feelings it is a significant aspect of that society. 28

Although all types of firearms can be found in southern music, most guns are of a large caliber. Pistols, for example, are generally of the more powerful variety. In fact, these handguns are usually in the forty caliber range, such as a .44 or .45. High caliber pistols were the weapon of choice in both black and white folktunes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the black versions of “Stagolee,” popular with African Americans in Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Alabama, Stagolee kills a man with his “great big smoking” .45. In the Georgia variant, Stagolee kills Bully over a Stetson hat with his .44. In addition, the black murders in “The Coon-Can Game,” “Frankie and Albert,” “Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star,” and “The Hop-Joint” use pistols in the .40 caliber range. Generally all the black men carried large pistols in such tunes. 29
Before the World War II, southern blues singers also sang about high
caliber firearms. In fact, pistols were generally large .44s or .45s.
Such top blues performers as Sam Collins, Leroy Carr, Walter Roland, Fred
McMullen, Roosevelt Sykes, James "Boodle It" Wiggins, Joe Stone, and J. T.
"Funny Paper" Smith had songs that spoke of males using large guns. A
typical example is Smith's 1930 hit "Mama's Quittin' and Leavin'--Part 1,"
in which he told his lover he would kill her with a .45 if she told anyone
else she was going to leave him. Many of the singers had more than one
such song. Even Gatling guns and machine guns made their appearance in
blues lyrics.30

Similarly, when guns are referred to in country music, it is generally
a large caliber pistol or shotgun. The premier country star, Jimmie
Rodgers, spoke of large caliber guns in his very successful 1927 hit "T For
Texas." In this song, for which he received numerous fan mail, Rodgers
maintained that he is going to buy a pistol that is "just as long as I'm
tall," to shoot "poor Thelma just to see her jump and fall. Later country
musicians were also infatuated with large guns, but none as much as Hank
Williams, Jr. Many of his songs are riddled with the mention of large
guns. In his 1979 hit "I've Got Rights" Williams spoke of a man who bought
a Smith and Wesson .44 Magnum to shoot a man. This is one of the largest
pistols available. Moreover, in one of his most popular songs "A Country
Boy Can Survive," Williams wishes he could teach a city man, who killed his
best friend, a lesson with another large pistol, his "old Colt .45."31

This enchantment with large handguns and shotguns also hit the
southern rock scene. Black Oak's lead guitarist promoted the fact that he
carried a Colt .45. Although there are many more examples, the best is Molly Hatchet’s 1983 album entitled No Guts...No Glory. On this particular album cover large caliber revolvers, rifles and .12 gauge sawed-off shotguns are evident. Similarly, when Lynyrd Skynyrd mentioned guns, they were generally large pistols.\(^{32}\)

In addition to large handguns, shotguns have also been routinely used or portrayed in southern music. Top county music performers of different eras, such as Jimmie Rodgers, Hank Williams Sr., Hank Williams Jr., and Charlie Daniels have alluded to shotguns in musical lyrics or portrayed them in album covers or promotional photographs. Besides using a large pistol to kill Thelma, in "T For Texas" Rodgers is going to purchase a shotgun "with a great long shiny barrel" so he can "shoot that rounder that stole away my gal." Successful southern rock groups like .38 Special also stressed shotguns. In its successful album entitled Special Forces, for example, the group combined two of the most intimidating shotguns into one massive gun. They did this by drawing the number 38 in such a way to appear to be the barrels of both an over-and-under, and a side-by-side, double barreled shotgun. Nothing could stop this enormous four barreled shotgun. This weapon was shown, for instance, ramming its way through the pavement of a parking lot. The same shotgun barrel, which is illuminated in key points, is also the main item on the back cover. In fact, when the band released its musical anthology this same gun dominated the front cover. This is significant. It demonstrates that .38 Special and its promoters knew that this image would appeal to the band’s listeners, who were mostly young bluecollar southern males.\(^{33}\)
Similarly, shotguns appear on Molly Hatchet's *No Guts...No Glory*. On the cover of this album the menacing looking, cigar smoking, lead guitarist Dave Hlubek, who is wearing a Confederate Cavalry officers uniform, is shown crouched in a firing position. In his hand is a sawed-off, pump-action, 12 gauge shotgun. In 1989 this type of weapon lyrically reemerged in Charlie Daniels' "(What The World Needs Is) A Few More Rednecks."

Finally, shotguns were the weapons of choice by a host of bluesmen, such as Roosevelt Sykes, Sonny Boy Williamson, Washboard Sam, and Peetie Wheatstraw. Williamson's 1941 hit, "Shotgun Blues," is one such typical song. In this tune Williamson sang that he was "doggone sure" that his shotgun would make things happen the way he wanted.34

From the nineteenth century until today, large firearms have been the weapons of choice in southern music, no matter the musical genre or the color of the performer. There are several reasons for this. First, in rural southern culture high caliber handguns and shotguns are symbols of macho males. Southern males think it is more masculine for a man to carry a .12 gauge shotgun or a .45 pistol than a smaller revolver or shotgun. Although there are songs that mention small pistols, rarely, if ever, do singers mention .16, .20, or .410 gauge shotguns. Generally, the same holds true for rifles, since those mentioned are generally in the thirty caliber range. Southerners, especially young males, routinely brag about the size of their firearms. In fact, in southern society guns such as small caliber Derringers are seen as female weapons. On the Outlaw's album entitled, *Lady In Waiting*, for example, the cover displays a woman, attired in lingerie, holding a small calibered derringer. In the 1930 blues number
"Railroad Bill," Bennett also sang about using two derringers, but he made sure that everyone understood that they were "manly," that is large (.41 calibered), guns. In fact, he sang that they were "as long as my arm." That point had to be related, because audience members had to understand he was going to be a man and use big guns. Besides the macho image, these songs reflect other cultural realities. The South has traditionally led the nation in the number of shotguns. In the late 1960s, for example, while 42 percent of all southern households possessed shotguns, only 18 and 29 percent of northeastern and western households respectively contained shotguns. 35

Even though many gun tunes reflect southern statistical data, this is not always the case. Current research demonstrates, for example, that 59 percent of southern women over the age of 18 are familiar with guns. Moreover, prominent sociologist Robert L. Young found that southern women own more guns than non-southern women. In fact, southern women were "unaffected by the situational factors that increase the likelihood of ownership among women from other parts of the United States." In other words, cultural factors prompted southern women to buy firearms. When discussing these tunes it is culturally significant that white women do not usually possess guns nor do they resort to firearms to settle their disputes. Even though tunes exist that do show white women using guns, these types of songs are rare. In 1942 Al Dexter, for example, wrote "Pistol Packin' Mama" after he saw a scratched up Turnertown, Texas, woman, who had been chased through a barbed wire fence by her boyfriend's gun toting wife. In the song, the jilted wife walks into a bar and shoots her
husband and his girlfriend. This is not a normal occurrence in southern music. In almost all southern adultery songs, it is the woman and her male lover who are shot by the jilted husband. Even more rare are the tunes which show white women using guns to protect themselves or their family. In feud songs, for instance, unlike men, women do not carry guns, nor do they protect their clans in such a manner.  

Although firearms played a significant role in many of the cowboy tunes popular in the South, in these songs women did not customarily possess the guns. Unlike in fued tunes, however, there are a few exceptions to the rule. In one song, "A Fair Lady of the Plains," women were cast in both non-traditional and traditional roles. In various Ozark versions of this ditty, popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a southern man teaches a woman how to "use a six-shooter in each of her hands." There are several significant details about this song. First, the man taught the woman how to shoot. Tunes rarely, if ever, pointed out that anyone, especially a woman, had to teach males how to use a firearm. In fact, songs routinely depicted southern men as natural shooters. Unlike females, males seemed to be born with this skill. Moreover, in this song the gun-toting woman is killed by a group of Native Americans, and her husband is the person who became the real hero by using a gun. He is depicted, for example, as being a man who "jumped in my saddle with a gun in each hand," and told his comrades to "bring on your bright rifles, we'll give them hot lead."

Although traditional southern folk tunes show males protecting females with guns, the opposite never happened. Modern songs also display
the same tendency. In 1988 one of the last major hits of Conway Twitty, "Saturday Night Special," a male is seen as the person who uses a gun to defend a woman. Finally, although southern rock and roll bands from the 1970s to the 1990s stressed guns in their lyrics and album covers, only one band, the Outlaws, ever showed a woman with a gun. This 1976 album does not really challenge the stereotypical image, since the cover of Lady In Waiting displays a woman, attired in lingerie, holding a small-caliber derringer.38

There are several cultural reasons why white women are not shown using guns in southern music. First, southern white males typecast almost all white women as delicate, frail, and overly feminine creatures. This image has been a continual theme in southern music. In both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, southern music depicted firearms as tools of aggressive males. When the songs did mention women using guns, they were generally described as unfeminine. Instead of glorifying women who fought their attackers, these songs did the opposite—they reinforced the belief that white women should not be aggressive under any circumstance. Even though southern men used guns routinely, southern music rarely, if ever, allowed women, even if they were about to be murdered, to grab a gun and protect themselves. Instead they begged for their lives, or a man appeared on the scene and shielded them from their attackers. The culture placed women in a helpless position, and guns had no place in such a concept. Instead of stressing the idea that white women should use firearms to avenge themselves, all forms of southern music reinforced the cultural notion that white men must protect white women. Throughout its history,
southern music supported the idea of stereotypical helplessness. It did this by showing white males using guns to protect white women. All of the above indicates that sexism has, and still does, engulf southern culture. In music, men had to teach women how to shoot, because males had to be in charge at all times. Similarly, females could not protect men, because that would make the males appear weak. Moreover, if music allowed females to physically defend males, women would be the real heroes. That could not occur in a male dominated society. Finally, these types of songs are another indication that southern males have traditionally ruled in both the public and private spheres of southern life. Almost always, for example, it was the men, not the women, who the lyrics depicted as gun toting individualists in charge of all situations.

While white southern women were seen as being protected by the guns of white southern men, one of the most oppressed groups in American society, southern African-American women, were not given such protection. In fact, tunes rarely, if ever, depicted a white male attempting to protect a black female. This simply reflects cultural realities. White southern males have not traditionally viewed African-American women as delicate or feminine. This is a role they specifically assigned white women. According to African-American scholar, Barbara Christian, black women have been stereotyped in literature as the opposite of the ideal white woman. This is the same in music. While white women were seen as delicate and in need of male protection, black women were viewed as robust and unrewarding of male security. By placing African-American women in such confines white males kept "a particular image about white women in tack." If any of these
conceptions broke down, than the entire system was threatened.  

If white males did not protect black females in either literature or music, who did? In her essay on the image of black women in African-American fiction, English professor Elizabeth Schultz maintained that black male novelists frequently represented African-American women as needing the protection of African-American males, because they were conscious of the "white man's attempt to undermine the black man's sense of his masculine responsibility by prohibiting him from protecting the black woman."

Although this can be seen in some of the tunes written by black males, lyrically, at least, it was often the African-American females who protected themselves. This also occurred in the novels written by black women. Schultz, for instance, found that African-American women writers had less faith in the ability of black males to protect them; therefore, they presented black females as "having to protect" themselves.  

In music, African-American women used guns more often than white women. Although such tunes can be found in black folksongs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as various versions of "Frankie and Albert," the image of a gun-toting black female is most evident in the blues. These songs do not prove that African-American women were more violent than white women, but they do reflect cultural realities. First, African-American women felt they had to protect themselves. Second, Department of Justice statistics indicate that there are "sharp racial differences" in spouse murder rates. Percentage wise, for example, in the African American community black women are almost as likely to kill their husbands, as are black males to kill their wives. The statistics are
completely opposite in the white community, where white males overwhelmingly kill their white wives. This could be due to the more pro-active role African American women play in black families. Third, unlike southern white women, black women have not customarily been socialized to speak through indirection. Therefore, it is more logical for black women to express their needs more graphically through music. Until World War II these needs ranged anywhere from sex, such as Lucille Bogan’s 1935 number "Jump Steady Daddy," to a faithful lover. When black women blues singers of the early twentieth century insisted on a faithful man, they, unlike white women, often made the point clear by threatening him with a firearm. In the 1920s Rosie Mae Moore had several songs, such as "Mad Dog Blues," and "Staggering Blues," that spoke of women going to kill their unfaithful lovers with guns. Other black female blues singers who sang such songs include Rosetta Crawford in her 1939 hit "My Man Jumped Salty on Me," Memphis Minnie in her 1941 hit "Me and My Chauffeur Blues," Lucille Bogan’s 1934 hit "Sweet Man, Sweet Man," and Bessie Smith in her 1930 hit "Black Mountain Blues." Each of these tunes were popular. In fact, all were reissued.

Moreover, through gun tunes African-American females expressed their everyday frustrations. In this regard they mirror black and white southern males. Although African-American women used their fists, knives, or razors in the blues, firearms were the most popular tools by which black women told society they were tired of being downcast, ridiculed, and poverty-stricken. A gun represented freedom and independence, two things black women generally lacked. These African-American female blues singers are
early feminists. Unlike white women, who were concerned with what men might think about their actions, these women are talking about their own needs as a person. This is an indication of feminism. In her 1934 hit, "You Got to Die Some Day," Lucille Bogan tells her lover that he did not treat her "like I'm no human being." She was tired of "being dogged all the time" by this man. These African-American women would take the most powerful and most symbolic of all killing tools at their disposal, and use them to defend and help themselves, thus, firearms were expressions of feminist ideology and awareness. In her 1928 tune, "Staggering Blues," Rosie Mae Moore told a man, who said it was none of her business where he had stayed the night before, that if he "quit" her, she would shoot him. In fact, she had her "eye on my shotgun: the other one is on your trunk." This theme is also evident in Victoria Spivey's 1927 hit "Murder in the First Degree." In this tune Spivey let everyone knew she had had enough mistreatment. She maintained, for example, "I scrubbed them pots and kettles; I washed and ironed the white folks clothes," but when her man ran around "with a woman he know I can't stand," that was the final insult. Instead of taking any more abuse this woman "add[ed] one notch on my gun: and the world's rid of one trifling man." Although she was afraid she would be hanged, she did not think she had done wrong. She had only "killed a man what belong to me." Another popular black woman blues singer, Ma Gertrude Rainey, used a gun this way in her 1924 tune "Cell Bound Blues." In this song a female killed her man, but only after he beat her.42

Finally, even southern black male singers like Robert Johnson, Leroy
Carr, Lonnie Johnson, and Blind Black pointed out it could be dangerous to push African-American women around too much. In some of their songs women carried guns. In "My Woman's Gone Wrong," for instance, Carr told of a two timing man who woke up to find an angry female, with a forty-five, standing over him. The same theme is also evident in Furry Lewis' 1929 hit "Black Gypsy Blues." Finally, in his 1937 hit "Stop Breakin' Down Blues" Johnson stated that his woman refused to take his "ninety-nine degree" anymore, but instead she "jumped up: and threwed a pistol down on me." Unlike the white women who either simply begged for mercy or took the abuse, black women fought back. These early black feminists knew they were being mistreated and they were determined to do something about it. As their lyrics, and their everyday lives indicate, these women stood up and demanded fair treatment. They sometimes expressed this lyrically through gun tunes.

Not only have southern gun tunes reflected many black and white, male and female, cultural traits, but they also had cultural consequences. These tunes may help explain the high rates of a specific kind of homicide in the South, killings involving the use of guns. Many studies have explored the causal links between firearms and aggressive behavior. Appalachian historian William Montell, for example, claimed that the abundance of firearms helped explain the high rates of lethal violence in sections of the mountain South. In fact, he showed that almost every killing that took place in his study area involved the use of a gun. Moreover, he found that every family possessed one or more firearms, and he claimed that southern males placed a high value on the ownership and the
display of these weapons. This is reflected in the music of the region. Similarly, taken "collectively, the findings of experimental research suggest that guns not only increase the chances of doing serious injury, but also heighten some people's instigation to aggression." Prominent scholars maintain that when firearms are used violently, the event can represent more than a finger pulling a trigger. In fact, "there is a sense in which the 'trigger may pull the finger' by stimulating impulsive aggression-facilitating reactions." In the weapon's effect theory, which has been upheld in several field and laboratory experiments, it is claimed that "weapons may become associated with aggressive stimuli through their frequent pairing with aggressive acts in real life, in books, newspapers, movies, and television. When an aroused and uninhibited person subsequently is exposed to a weapon, it might elicit the responses that have frequently been associated with guns," aggressive and violent behavior.44

When the media portrays guns and violent acts together a learned association between the aggressive act and the firearms can take place. Guns in southern music are generally paired with hostile acts; thus, lyrically firearms acquired an aggressive meaning. Such pairings can encourage belligerent behavior. Moreover, historically southern music has not criticized the deadly use of guns; instead lyrics glorify pistoll-toting-males and justified their acts of lethal violence. This reinforced the idea that when males were challenged they should grab a gun and shoot first and ask questions later. All forms of southern music frequently portrayed males, who used guns, as winning arguments or upholding their honor. By resorting to firearms these men got what they wanted. It does
not matter if the singer happened to be black or white, or if the melody was recorded in the early nineteenth or the late twentieth centuries, the fastest gunslinger almost always won. These tunes were popular in the region among all classes of individuals; therefore, southern males continually heard that male authority could be maintained through the use of firearms. As studies have shown, "environmental events that are associated with rewarded aggression might later facilitate further aggression." When southern males were bombarded by the messages that this sort of behavior was expected, at a later date when they faced similar situations, they might have taken that advice and used a firearm to kill someone. The circumstances that provoked the violence did not have to occur immediately after a person heard such a song, since studies have shown that learned aggression remains viable over an extended period of time. Since, according to social learning theorists, male violence is not an "innate personality characteristic," but a learned behavior; this type of music must be seen as a vital element in the learning process.45

Gun tunes also contain the criteria psychologists contend must be present before media provokes aggressive behavior. These songs, for example, appear to portray real life events. In fact, many of the tunes discussed actual occurrences. In addition, most were set in familiar locations. Moreover, the gun fights were depicted as exciting and the gun-toting males were generally rewarded. Lyrically, for instance, Conway Twitty's firearm not only forced the pawn shop dealer to increase his cash payment to a woman customer, but that act also made the female fall in love with the singer. Bands also visually reinforced this belief. In the
photographs released by Lynyrd Skynyrd, for example, a man with a pistol forced Van Zant to drink a bottle of rot-gut whiskey. Moreover, when guns were drawn and killings occurred, the acts were often not condemned. In fact, in many cases the use of guns seemed socially acceptable and justifiable. This occurred in the tunes sung by early nineteenth-century folk singers as well as in those melodies made famous by musical stars of the late twentieth century. There are numerous types of southern gun tunes of all genres which fit into each of these categories. Therefore, when considering psychological studies on violence in the media that demonstrate that men are more apt to imitate the hero who killed, rather than the anti-hero who acted passively, the effects of this music on southern society becomes clearer.46

When folk, country, blues, and southern rock singers filled their songs with firearm violence they added to the already high rates of aggression, and when guns were depicted in promotional photographs, or on album covers, as essential tools of males, aggression could have increased even more. University of Rome psychologists G. V. Caprara, P. Renzi, P. Amolini, G. D'imperio and G. Travaglia, for example, proved this through experimentation. When they exposed subjects to pictorial depictions of weapons, aggression increased. These studies also showed that aggression escalated when personality variables, such as a preexisting penchant for violence or a tendency to be hot-tempered, were taken into account. Several psychological studies and numerous historical and sociological investigations have demonstrated that southern men have traditionally possessed such negative traits. According to prominent sociologist John
Shelton Reed, for instance, historical evidence and crime statistics both indicate that southerners have the "tendency to appeal to force" more often than other groups of people. Moreover, he said they "view such a resort as legitimate more often than do non-Southerners." In fact, Reed claimed that southerners not only owned more guns, but they also had the potential to be "more trigger-happy than other Americans." Southern historian Sheldon Hackney also maintained that people must realize that the use of lethal violence is an important "key to the meaning of being southern." Similarly, as earlier chapters have shown, lyrics illustrated that southerners have traditionally thought that violence solved a whole host of problems.47

Considering the southerner's intellectual mindset, and the continuing prevalence of the lethal, but romanticized images of the gun in southern music, music may help explain why the South customarily dominates the nation in the number of homicides and aggravated assaults committed with firearms. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, for example, 72 percent of all southern homicides involved the use guns. Conversely, firearms only played a role in 44 percent of the murders committed in the Northeast. In fact, these cultural realities are clearly reflected in southern lyrics. Although in all forms of southern music killers used several types of murder weapons, such as clubs, razors, knifes, axes, horseshoes, and even guitars, when southerners wanted to kill someone, lyrics indicated they usually grabbed a gun. Even though there are other reasons behind gun violence, southern culture, of which music has historically been a major element, helped train individuals to act in such a manner.48
Finally, the continual emphases on guns in southern music is significant because they demonstrate one way in which the region never accepted northern cultural norms. The North might have defeated the South economically and militarily, but guns tunes show that culturally the region refused to surrender. According to some scholars "total assimilation is not achieved until a people have attained a unity of thought that underlies the 'veneer' of acceptance of traits of a material culture." As these tunes and photographs showed, in the late twentieth century the common people of the South held on to their traditional beliefs. As late as the 1990s the image of a man holding a rifle, for example, could still be used to sell records and pack bars in some southern states. Music indicates that similar to their antebellum ancestors, modern southerners continued to praise individuals who, instead of depending on the courts, the law, or the government, grabbed a gun to solve their own problems.\(^{49}\)

In retrospect, southern music in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries reflected societal views. Although these songs demonstrate several things about the culture, one thing stands out. They reveal that firearms have deep psychological and cultural roots in the South. The music shows that firearms have been one significant way males expressed themselves throughout southern history. As music reflects, throughout their history southerners, more than any other segment of American society, have resorted to firearms to settle disputes. Although black females also utilized this image to communicate their everyday frustrations, by not allowing most white females to do the same, the culture continued to stereotype white women as delicate creatures. All of this illustrates
southern cultural continuity. Finally, southern gun melodies reinforced existing attitudes and values regarding violence and contributed to its occurrence in the rural South.
Considering that angry southerners have historically had the bad habit of solving their disputes with firearms, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it is not surprising that mountain music indicates that trivial events easily deteriorated into clan warfare. Even if a southern man had to brutally kill someone, songs show that he would defend his honor at all costs. Similarly, sadistic lyrics illustrate that racial tensions engulfed the South, white supremacy ruled with an iron fist, and white mobs would do anything, no matter how cruel or perverted, to keep the racial status quo in place. In fact, when "law and order" were the issues at stake, mobs would even lynch a white man. Although lynching and burning tunes diminished in the early twentieth century, a host of similar songs reemerged in the modern South. These tunes demonstrate that comparable to their southern ancestors, contemporary white southerners thought they were also lost in a world of crime. Instead of depending upon the judicial system, in the late twentieth century musicians again reflected the culture when they called upon the people to retaliate with "an eye for an eye."

Feud tunes demonstrate that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries white families in the Appalachian region fought, but more importantly they also indicate that these rural southerners understood they lived in a violent environment. Innocent events, such as a dog killing a hog or people walking across someone's land to fix a telephone wire, could easily end in bloodshed. The former was the grounds of the late nine-
teenth-century Appalachian feud between the Hatfields and McCoys, and the latter was the cause of the Austin-Fitches fight, a Lawrence County, Kentucky, battle that took place in the early twentieth century. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries several people died in Kentucky as a result of clan warfare. On November 9, 1902, John B. Marcum, a United States Commissioner, local attorney, and Kentucky native, wrote to the editor of a Lexington newspaper that in less than one year more than thirty people had been murdered, and many more wounded, in Breathitt, a southeastern Kentucky County. In fact, songs later detailed Marcum's own assassination.\textsuperscript{1}

With clan warfare occurring around them, Appalachian people sang foreign feud tunes. These ancient ditties remained in the region's oral tradition, because they reflected cultural realities. In the 1930s, for example, a small boy with a guitar and a little girl with a banjo were walking to a rural Kentucky store, when a song collector asked them if they knew any ballads. Immediately the children started singing "Bonnie George Campbell," a tune they had learned from the region's elderly inhabitants. This ancient Scottish feud song described the battles between the MacGregors (Highlanders) and the Campbells (Lowlanders). Rural Kentuckians continued to sing this tune in the 1930s, because it still described current social conditions. In fact, the tune depicted their contemporary environment to such a degree that the children, and possibly the older people, did not understand "Bonnie George Campbell" was a foreign tune.\textsuperscript{2}

Although imported feud tunes remained popular, southern mountain culture produced its own fight songs. Legendary altercations, such as the
Tolliver-Martin carnage and the Hatfield-McCoy melee, became the bases for many ballads, but other lesser known disputes also found their way into southern music. In the Appalachians, for example, several feud tunes were popular, including "The Rowan County Crew," "Death of James Vance," "John Brownfield," "A West-Virginia Feud Song," "Bloody Breathitt," "The Killin' in the Gap," "The Death of Fan McCoy," "The Stolen Bride," and an untitled ditty that described the Austin and the Fitches conflict. The song "The Rowan County Crew," for example, was "sung throughout eastern Kentucky." Parallel to the culture, brutality and death engulfed most feud tunes. In "Zeb Tourney's Girl," for example, Danny Kelly, who had been told by his father to "shoot every Tourney on sight," loaded his shotgun and decided to "slaughter and kill" the opposing family. Lyrically, Kelly murdered the whole Tourney clan.3

Besides demonstrating that violence overwhelmed the mountain South, Kelly, and a host of other song characters, illustrated that southern mountaineers thought that family loyalty reigned supreme. During the era when most of these melodies were written, Appalachian families were more than a group of kinfolk, they were social, religious, political, and economic groups. Rural families were "vital to individual self-identification . . . generated intense loyalties, fueled rivalries among themselves, and were thought to possess a character of their own," and, locals passionately defended their clan's honor. This idea emerged in several feud tunes. In "The Stolen Bride," an Appalachian ballad popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, a father informed his daughter, who tried to marry a man from a feuding clan,
"traitors must die, dear... You have betrayed your own blooded kin-
/Kneel you both down, for nothing can save/Here you shall rest, both in the
same grave." The events in this song are not as preposterous as they
appear. Devil Anse Hatfield did not murder his son Johnse when he attempt-
ed to marry Roseanna McCoy, but the elder Hatfield never allowed the mar-
riage to occur. Finally, when the pistol-toting Austin clan assassinated
the ax wielding Homer Fitches, the tune pointed out that his brother Reck
Finches refused to leave the scene. Even through he understood that he
would be killed, and although he only had a broken shotgun to fight with,
Reck could not be a "coward" and leave his dead brother's side. In fact,
the tune lionized the man because he "fought until they shot him down."
These songs indicate that families were very important institutions in the
region. In the mind of these southerners, ancestry was something signifi-
cant enough to kill for or die defending. These tunes reflect that many
rural southerners held to one firm rule, "My Family right or wrong!"

Although southern mountaineers did settle many of their disputes in a
court room, feud songs demonstrate that when someone offended or murdered a
family member, southern highlanders did not always rely on the law.
Sometimes the victim's relatives took action. When Tolbert, Framer and
"little" Randolph, Jr., McCoy, shot and stabbed Ellison Hatfield, Devil
Anse Hatfield, his brother, did not inconvenience the courts. Instead he
formed his own "unofficial posse," seized the McCoy males, and took them to
an abandoned schoolhouse, and here, the Hatfield gang initiated a "death
vigil." If Ellison Hatfield recovered from his wounds, the McCoy men would
be freed, but unfortunately Hatfield died. The elder Hatfield then tied
his captives to pawpaw bushes and ritualistically "shot them in cold blood."\(^5\)

Revenge killings emerged in various feud songs. In mountain tunes describing the Martin-Tolliver feud (a vicious and bloody Kentucky fight that started in 1884, but lasted for several years) the singer pointed out the death of Lent Martin and Floyd Tolliver had led to "Great trouble in our land/Caused men to leave their families/And take the parting hand./Retaliating still at war/They may never, never cease." Tolliver even requested that his kinsmen revenge his death. In fact, his last words were "You men swore you would kill him-keep your oath." After slaying Tolliver, Martin turned himself over to the sheriff, who then placed the criminal in the Rowan County jail. Judge Stewart and Taylor Young, the County Attorney, however, knew that this penal institution was no safe haven, so they transferred the prisoner to Winchester, Kentucky. Nevertheless, Tolliver's comrades and relatives forged a release order. The fact that his friends were also involved reflects that southern families were more than simple kinship groups. When the mob handed this piece of worthless paper to the jailor, he released Martin, who now clearly understood he was a dead man, into their custody. Soon afterwards the group "plugged [Martin] with so much lead that even his poor wife" had trouble recognizing him.\(^6\)

The popularity of such songs in the mid-twentieth century demonstrates that these cultural ideas continued to influence the mountain South. In 1933, for example, a gun toting, bouquet carrying, young man appeared at a school in Garder, Kentucky. The flowers were for the teacher, but the gun was not for squirrel hunting. Instead the gunman was
stalking a man who had merely insulted his father. When local songster Kelly Combs heard of this incident, he sang an ancient mountain tune, entitled "A Long Time Ago," that discussed a similar event. Although the number was old, it was still culturally viable, thus, another feud tune, "A Long Time Ago," found its way into folklore.⁷

Many of these songs also revealed that when feud killings transpired, southern mountaineers generally forgave the culprits who upheld family honor, unless, such as in "The Killin' in the Gap," a significant cultural norm had been disregarded. In "The Killin' in the Gap," the Owens clan assassinated Steve Allen as he tried to summon a doctor for his sick baby. This song reveals that mountain society considered such behavior unethical. The ditty depicted Allen as the hero, but portrayed the Owens family as villains. The song stated the "Lord will make them pay and they'll surely rue the day" they killed Allen. Southern balladeers also maintained in "no uncertain terms" they did not "hold with no such" actions, because "hell's foir' was waiting" for persons who committed such deeds. Similarly, a songster from the notorious Hatfield clan even claimed she was "proud ... that no such killin' can be laid to the door of the Hatfield's or McCoy's either."⁸

When cultural norms were not disregarded, however, killers were forgiven for upholding their family's honor. In 1817 a Russell County, Virginia feud song emerged that retold the murderous exploits of the Baptist preacher, James Vance. Vance received a reprieve for killing Lewis Horton, but the letter did not arrive in time; therefore, the sheriff executed him. Although the officials legally hanged Vance, many people in
171

the community felt he should have been forgiven, because Horton had "debauched" Vance's daughter. The issuance of a reprieve indicates that this idea was widespread. Vance's family had been offended and several local residents felt revenge was in order. The tune also claimed that he acted in self-defence, and that the witnesses lied. Thus, the brave Vance would go to heaven, but his cowardly accusers would suffer in hell.9

Forgiving people who upheld their family's honor also emerged in songs which described the most famous feud in southern history, the conflict between the Hatfields and the McCoys. Both clans had songs in which this theme surfaced. In "The Death of Fan McCoy" the singer stated "now judge and jury have a heart/When trying this same lad/ [Jeb McCoy, who the lyrics claimed had been told by his mother Fan, on her deathbed, to kill every Hatfield] Remember that he's staunch and true/To the oath of his own clan/Judge not too harshly [the] lawless deed, Committed by this boy/Just bear in mind the parting words Of dying Fan McCoy." The Hatfield clan also utilized this theme. In one untitled song (written by a Cumberland Gap man, Elias Dutton, who wrote the song while attending the hearing of a Hatfield accused of killing a McCoy) a Hatfield boy told the judge, who sentenced him to life imprisonment, that "may-be you don't know, judge, that I'm Jim Hat-filed's boy." He then proceeded to inform the judge, jury, and the bystanders that he killed Bill McCoy, because no one in his family could forsake the Hatfield clan. Moreover, he claimed that his mother had received a letter from her dying husband that told her to give the boy "Grandpap's rifle gun/And teach him how to fight/Teach him to hate the name 'McCoy,'/To trust none of their clan/To never turn his back to
When rural songsters wrote such tunes they implied that judges, juries, and the public had to consider several things, before they passed judgement in a murder trial. Yes, these boys killed someone, but their families had ordered the deeds performed. These tunes show that in their eyes this factor reduced the criminal intent. When the balladeers had the Hatfield youth stand up and point out why he had executed McCoy, and when they had the boy say that maybe the judge, who found him guilty, did not recognize that he was indeed Jim Hatfield's son, they indicated all of these issues made a big difference. In fact, the songs had the youth notify the magistrate that he only committed murder, because "I've tried to mind my Pap." Moreover, even if Fan McCoy did not actually utter such words, the fact that folk balladeers wrote and sang that she did, is evidence that some rural southerners thought judges and juries had to contemplate these facts. This is compounded when the popularity of the melodies are taken into account. In fact, these tunes described reality. When a feud killing occurred, people were not generally found guilty of murder. No one, for example, was legally punished, or even arrested, for killing John Martin.\textsuperscript{11}

Such tunes also illustrate that southerners had no concept of "Blind Justice." Juries, for example, customarily considered a person's background, their family history, outside evidence, and many other conditions. As one southern mountaineer stated, "If I get into trouble, even if I am
not to blame, there is no use going to law if the judge is kin to the other side, or if the lawyer has succeeded in getting his own men on the jury. It doesn't make any difference what the evidence is, the case goes the way they want it to go." This theme emerged in several songs, including "The Vance Song." Vance pointed out, for example, that when he was a juror in an 1817 Virginia murder case, he had shown "friendship" and set John Elliott free. He also expected such treatment, but, unfortunately, instead of friends, his enemies held power. The song even alluded that Vance had no chance, because a "partial judge" presided.\textsuperscript{12}

Such tunes reflect that throughout the nineteenth century, southern juries and judges were not impartial. In the early twentieth century this kind of justice could still be found in many sections of the rural South. Mountain songsters continued singing the old tunes, because they still described recognizable events. During the election of 1933, for example, a man was murdered in Garder, Kentucky, but locals did not even try to apprehend his killer. According to oral sources no one really cared, because "everybody said he had needed killing all his life." Moreover, these particular songs illustrate that southern highlanders had long memories; they simply could not forgive anyone who slandered their family's name. When one generation suffered insults or injuries, southern music reflects that they conveyed the emotional scars to future generations. The best lyrical example occurred when Jim Hatfield's son told his wife, after he killed Bill McCoy, to raise their small baby "the same old way/My dying Pappy said/To never fail the Hatfield clan... And shoot McCoys on sight."\textsuperscript{13}
These songs also indicate that rural southerners expected both males and females to support their family, even if that required them to forfeit a marriage, kill another person, or die in the process. These numbers are indications that in the rural South families were important social institutions. Such melodies were also sung to glorify the bold exploits of dead relatives. By singing such songs, everyone within "ear shot" would know about the balladeer's brave kinsmen. In a culture where people believed that family traits were passed down to descendants, these songs also fortified a songster's own reputation. After a man finished singing about the Austin-Fitches dispute, for example, he showed the collector a tintype of the two dead men and said "My race . . . is sturdy built--fight a buzz saw or a catamount if they had it to do." He than added that, "Them two fellers . . . arms joined in death as they were in life, made as peert a lookin' corpse you'd ever want to lay eyes on."

Feud tunes not only glorified men who killed protecting their family’s honor, but they romanticized the victims who died defending that idea. In the song about the Austin and Fitches feud, when "Poor Reck" saw his brother die he understood his own "death was certain," but he continued to fight until they "shot him down." This made him a "brave young boy" who "was no coward." Besides showing the southerner's overemphasis on personal and family honor, such feud tunes illustrate that being seen as a coward was a fate worse than death in southern society. Even when facing certain death or conviction, southern males were expected not to give up. The songs about the Hatfield youth who killed Bill McCoy glorified him, because he said he would never "ask for mer-cy/A Hat-field does not whine." The
lyrics even claimed that a Hatfield man would "never bend his knee" because they were "born to fight/To never be afraid to die." These tunes not only illustrate how Appalachian highlanders lived, but they also indicate how they envisaged their world. In the late nineteenth century, for example, an informant in eastern Kentucky pointed out that a man had to fight, because the "thing is, you've just not goin' to take notin' off this other guy. Don't matter who it is. If you did, you's considered a coward. And a coward—people just ignored 'em. You'd become a laughingstock." That was way locals admired such killers as Talt Hall when they killed anyone who questioned their "masculinity." As another southern mountaineer in the nineteenth century pointed out, a man had only three choices if he took a case to court and lost. He could accept the decision and stay in the area, but that would make him look like a "coward." Similarly, he could move, but he would still be considered a "coward," or he could gather his "kinfolk and friends together and clean up the other crowd. What would you do?"

Southern music indicates that rural males often took the latter advice, and fought, instead of surrendered. Many had to have felt they had no real choice in the matter, since in their lyrics southerners reserved the term coward for only those males the culture despised the most, such as child molesters, black rapists, males who submitted, or people who unceremoniously killed cultural icons, such as the "dirty little coward" who shot Jesse James in the back. In a culture where most males firmly believed in personal and family honor, no southern man wanted to be placed in such a category. When a drunken Floyd Tolliver challenged John Martin, for
example, the lesser intoxicated Martin walked away. As a result, his comrades made fun of him "freely." When the two males encountered again at the Galt House, a local barroom, Martin did not wish to be labeled a coward again. Instead of walking away, when Tolliver taunted him this time, Martin yelled out "Well, if you must have a fight, I'm ready for you." When he uttered that phrase, both males drew their guns and fired, but only Tolliver fell dead. As several tunes indicated, a local songster might actually inform everyone of the cowardly deed, and that would smear his family's name for generations. If a man died like Reck Fitches, however, he almost guaranteed himself lyrical lionization. Thus, in its own unique way, southern music reinforced the idea that brave southern males simply could not yield without a skirmish. Lyrically, it was much better to die fighting then to live by running away. Therefore, music must share some responsibility for southern violence.

Moreover, tunes demonstrate that southerners were not surprised when feud killings occurred. In fact, they anticipated trouble in several songs. In the Tolliver-Martin affair, Martin's wife knew that when the family traveled into the settlement to buy supplies, her husband might die. In fact, some songs pointed out several people "seemed to be uneasy" that day. In "The Killin' in the Gap," Allen's wife also knew that death lingered close by, since she "prayed like mountain wives have prayed before" when her husband had to go to town. Similar to many wives, she understood that "death was waiting in the Gap." Such tunes demonstrate brutality was an integrate part of the region's intellectual mindset. In the mountain South people wrote and sang such ditties, because they
believed violence could happen at anytime and at anyplace. In a way, these tunes served as warnings. Music informed people that they simply had to be ready to defend themselves at a moment's notice.\textsuperscript{16}

Although brutal feuds occurred, songs unsurprisingly indicate that not everybody approved of families taking the law into their own hands. In the last stanza of a version of the Fitches and Austin ballad, for example, the singer said people should "Take warning from these boys' sad fate/Let family troubles be forgotten/Or you'll regret it when too late." The same theme emerged in renderings of the "Rowan County Troubles" and the "Feuding Song." In the former, for example, the singer declared that he wrote the melody as a "warning" to "young men!" that whiskey and pistols would only lead their "souls to hell." After he sang this verse, a male in the crowd shouted out "You're right!" The singer later reinforced this idea when he informed his audience that he was glad the day had finally arrived when he could sing to the relatives of both sides, without murders or fights occurring. Before he departed, the balladeer told the multitude, "I'm proud to see you all at peace." When songs, lyricists, and audience members all made such statements, they demonstrated that not everybody in the rural South approved of the violence. Oral sources also indicated that some residents of Pike and Logan counties, where the Hatfields and McCoys fought, were indeed frightened and shocked by that feud. One local woman said, "We didn't know we lived in a place where such things could happen."\textsuperscript{17}

Tunes such as the "Rowan County Troubles," a "West Virginia Feud Song," and the "Feuding Song" also reflect that liquor played a major role
in some feud killings. That was one reason the above singer claimed whiskey would only lead young males to hell. Raised in a region where personal honor meant everything, when southern men drank too much alcohol they often took offence at the slightest remark. Since 1829, for example, tensions between the Evans clan and the Hill family had been rife, because the leader of the Hill clan, Captain John Hill, had physically stopped Dr. Hezekiah Evans from continuing to beat a female slave. Over the years both sides argued, but a major feud did not break out until alcohol got involved. In 1849, after he drank too much whiskey, Dr. Evans became combative at a Kentucky political barbecue. Jesse Hill teased the doctor by saying "Look out, Doc.... we'll get that ol' she-devil of a negrah after you ef you don't look keerful." The drunken Evans, however, did not laugh, instead he struck out at Hill. Hill's inebriated kinsmen then pelted Evans with rocks, which rendered him an invalid for several months. After this drunken fray, both sides resorted to the rifle. Oral sources also indicated the role of whiskey in family disputes. One Kentucky mountaineer, for example, said alcohol "help[ed] along many a feud."\(^{18}\)

Similarly, politics only made "feuding worse." Scholars have suggested politics played a major role in the Hatfield-McCoy feud, since 45 percent of the McCoy-Cline group were either Republicans or from Republican families, while only approximately 12 percent were Democrats. On the other hand, many of the Hatfields were Democrats. In fact, Devil Anse Hatfield, a Confederate war hero and leader of the Hatfield clan, was a dominant figure in the local Democratic party. As feuding tunes demonstrated, southern elections could turn into violent affairs. Historian William C.
Harris' work on Mississippi Reconstruction is filled with political violence. In fact, he pointed out racial tensions were always present and accepted by both parties as a way of life. Throughout the South, males used political campaigns to prove their manhood. In Kentucky, the election day was a time when males gathered to drink, and if single, swagger "boldly before the young women." Men came prepared not only to cast their vote, but to openly state their political affiliations, and to defend their party and their own reputations. When boasting and whiskey-soaked males started arguing over which political ticket to support, the atmosphere could easily turn deadly. The election day of 1882, for example, crystallized the alliances and escalated the violence to a "frightening degree" in the Hatfield-McCoy feud. That was the day the McCoy brothers killed Elison Hatfield. 19

Election day fights and political disagreements emerged in some feud tunes. The "Feuding Song" pointed out that at election time the two sides would meet and the bullets would fly. This ballad reflected reality when it claimed the "war" became "worse and worse each day . . . [when] politics got tangled." The Martin-Tolliver feud also started on election day. When in 1887 a joint committee of the Kentucky Legislature looked into the bloodbath in Rowan County, it determined that the feud had started in August of 1884, when the sheriff's elections were held. This had been a close election, and both parties had used everything from whiskey to money in a bid to influence the electorate. As the day wore on, the men got drunke r, their tempers got hotter, and general chaos erupted. In the mayhem that followed, John Martin, who was brutally pistol whipped, had his
teeth knocked out and his head bruised; Adam Sizemore was also severely wounded, and Republican Solomon Bradley was killed. For months the feud "partook of a political nature," with the newly elected sheriff, W. Cook Humphrey, representing the Republicans and Craig Tolliver and his clan the Democrats. Several song versions of this feud vividly retold these events. The Ozark rendering, for example, pointed out that Martin and Sizemore were wounded and that Bradley was killed during the August election. The lyrics implied that all the trouble started over politics.20

While examining feud songs several other cultural correlations can be made. Non-Appalachian feud tunes are rare. Although other locations, such as the Ozarks, had feuds, most southerners did not sing about them. This is an indication that unlike Appalachian feuds, other family disputes did not generate considerable non-local interest, because they were not major skirmishes nor were they pivotal cultural events. A southerner in Arkansas or North Carolina could not identify with a culturally insignificant family brawl in Georgia. Music reflects that Appalachian feuds, however, were not only bloody, they were culturally significant. In fact, scholars have shown that in this region combatants represented different ideologies, such as agrarianism and industrialism. Unlike local boosters, area merchants, large landowners, and the urban elite, in the 1880s small-scale independent businessman and subsistence farmers did not welcome eastern corporations into the Appalachian region. As eastern railroads, eastern coal companies, and eastern lumber barons set out to exploit the natural resources of the region, neighbor was pitted against neighbor. For various reasons, by the late 1880s the leader of the McCoy clan, Old Ranel, had became a "standard-
bearer" for the forces that wanted capitalist development, and the leader of the Hatfield clan, Devil Anse, had became the "defender of local independence, autonomy, and traditional values." Therefore, in the Hatfield-McCoy dispute, politics, a traditional way of life, as well as family honor, were at stake. Unlike a family dispute in other sections of the South, since so much was at risk in Appalachian feuds, these important incidents produced riveting songs that found their way across the region. Because Appalachian feud songs can be found throughout the South, music indicates that many southerners identified with what was occurring in the West Virginia and Kentucky. Unlike a culturally insignificant Ozark brawl, songs about Appalachian feuds spread throughout the region because they either reflected situations that had occurred in the near past, they mirrored present conditions, or they imitated what rural southerners feared would happen in the near future. The popularity of these songs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries indicates that in this era the rural South was rocked by both economic and cultural change.21

Music reinforces the notion that most of the culturally critical feuds occurred in the Appalachian mountains. If other southern locations had experienced the clan warfare that rocked that region, locals would have sung their own feud tunes instead of relying on that region's ballads. Moreover, most feud songs discussed events of the late nineteenth century, when many Appalachian residents faced sweeping cultural changes. As the coal companies and lumber mills moved in, a traditional way of life was suddenly in danger. Similarly, the late nineteenth century was the golden age of feuds. According to historians John Alexander Williams and Gordon
McKinney, during the 1880s feuding increased in frequency and intensity. It is important, however, that southerners still "frequently" sang these tunes in the early twentieth century. The old 1817 tunes concerning James Vance were still widely known in Kentucky, West Virginia, and Virginia in the 1940s. In fact, all of the tunes mentioned above were still sung before the Second World War. Kentucky folksinger Kelly Combs even sang several other feud ballads in the 1930s. In this era old feud tunes refused to fade from the region's oral tradition, because families, although less frequently, kept fighting. In the 1930s opposing clans in Kentucky were still shooting it out on the dance floor. Finally, the continuous singing of feud tunes proves that at least until the mid-1930s a traditional way of life had not completely died out in the region. In August of 1930, for instance, a brutal feud broke out in Gander, Kentucky. Although no one died, some school buildings, which symbolized modernism, were burned to the ground. This affair reminded the older people of past feuds, and they sang old tunes. These old feud numbers remained popular in the mid-twentieth century, because they still mirrored significant cultural aspects of the mountain South. When singers heard about new vendettas they wrote fresh tunes or sang old numbers, thus, the genre survived.

Music demonstrates that feuding was important in the mountain South, but lyrics also reveal that racial relations have traditionally been tense throughout the region. This fact is clearly illustrated in both black and white music. Some white southerners, for example, loved tunes that broadcast brutality against blacks. Ozarkians enjoyed the sadistic fiddle
tune "The Hickory Hornpipe." In fact, this tune's fiddle riffs were supposed to sound like the screams of an African American woman being whipped. In addition, although a white man might be lynched by a white mob, burning at the stake was reserved for blacks. Such sadistic behavior emerged in songs. At nineteenth-century Newton County, Arkansas, picnics, individuals flocked to an "old style phonograph equipped with long rubber hearing tubes." After paying the owner a nickel, six people at one time could then place a long rubber tune into their ears and hear a record of the "burning nigger." These white southerners knew what they were about to hear, since the hawker shouted out "This way folks! Hear the burning nigger!"

By listening to sadistic songs many white southerners proved they did not consider brutality towards blacks morally wrong. Such music indicates that some white southerners felt beating or burning a black person was really no different than punishing a disobedient animal. Instead of being something to abhor, the screams of a member of this race being tortured was something to be danced to and enjoyed. These songs also prove that many whites could smile upon, or at least overlook, anything, no matter how brutal, that kept white supremacy intact. Moreover, when African Americans saw whites savoring such material, it reinforced that idea in their minds. Finally, when southern whites listened to such deviant music it confirmed that both racism and violence not only engulfed their everyday lives, but it indicated that those two ideas had also corrupted their minds and deadened their sensibilities.

Sadistic tunes are not the only songs which indicated that tensions
between the races could become deadly. As the North Carolina tune "Shu Lady" shows, the region has had a long history of mob violence. But songs, such as the "Death of Emma Hartsell," and the untitled numbers about the murder of Gladys Kincaid, also illustrate that white mobs murdered blacks without fear of punishment. White southerners have habitually taken the law into their own hands, especially when black males were involved. When African American men were accused of a crime, they could easily be lynched. Between 1880 and 1930, Georgia mobs lynched 449 blacks. Today scholars agree that lynchings were a result of political conflict, racism, and poverty, not crime. This surfaces in southern music. In 1898, racial strife was rife in North Carolina, especially in Wilmington, because some people were attempting to bring African Americans back into politics. In this era of racial tension, lynching tunes emerged.\textsuperscript{25}

One sure way to ensure the lynching of a black male was to accuse him of raping a white woman. Black men were lynched for a variety of offenses, but "rape was always the key." When someone yelled that phrase in the South, even the most peaceable citizens might join a lynch mob. This statement is reinforced in southern music. In May of 1898, for example, a North Carolina white woman, Miss Emma Hartsell, was raped and murdered. What then happened is characteristic of so many other rape cases. First, the sheriff apprehended two young black males in their early twenties, and within a matter of hours both had been accused, arrested, and executed. Second, no evidence against either surfaced. In fact, a white farmer nabbed Joe Kiser only because he thought the black man knew too much. Kiser had made the fatal mistake of reporting the rape. Finally, instead
of a fair trial, a white mob stormed the jail, dragged the pleading males out, lynched them, and then in typical fashion riddled their dead bodies with bullets.26

Songs that described these events are very revealing. All the ditties told of how the "sweet . . . poor little girl[\'s]" throat had been cut "from ear to ear," and how her body had been "mangled," but none fully explained the horrible deaths of the black males. The songs only pointed out that their "necks" had been "broken" approximately three hours after their arrest. No song addressed the shooting of the corpses. In a region fascinated with gory detail, it is culturally significant that songsters routinely sanitized what happen to the African American males in these types of tunes. Singers wanted their listeners to sympathize for the white victim, not the black men. If their fate had been broadcast, somebody might have felt pity for the males. That could never happen, because it might dampen racial tensions and challenge white supremacy.27

These tunes also show that the balladeers wanted to portray the white mob in the best possible light. In fact, they rarely alluded to the white horde. Instead, the crowd became secondary characters, who were generally placed in the background. The songsters wanted the whites to seem mannerly and civil, as compared to the black males, who were always depicted as brutal and animalistic. If the songs told the truth, the direct opposite might have occurred. Similarly, these songs indicate that white southerners considered brutality against young black males insignificant, while the harming of whites, especially young white females, was taboo. The cutting of a young white girl's throat, particularly by a black male, would extract
anguish from white audiences, but the riddling of a black corpse with bullets would not. In fact, white southerners enjoyed hearing that kind of information. The death of a southern white woman caused the emotions of anger, torment, and grief, and these balladeers stressed the events that they knew would incite hatred.

The songs also made it clear that the black males had to be guilty. The singers shouted out, for example, "Kind friends, we all must bear in mind/They caught the men who did the crime/There's not a doubt around the lurk." In fact, the balladeers lied when they claimed Kiser and Tom Johnson admitted their guilt. The lyricists even went as far as to assert that Johnson "said he held her while Joe did the work." In reality, neither of the young men admitted anything. According to the Reverend W. C. Alexander, a Presbyterian preacher who tried to pray with the terrified males, both men claimed "they were not guilty" until the end. As the mob dragged them to their doom, both "protested their innocence all along the way." None of the songs mentioned these facts. The songsters added the falsehoods and removed the truths, because the lynchers had to appear to be noble. Even in the rural South, virtuous citizens could not be portrayed as slayers of blameless individuals. That would bring into question their integrity. As long as white supremacy remained, whites could not be characterized in a negative light, especially those who lynched black men.28

Finally, the balladeers approved of the lynchings and reinforced the racial aspect by saying, "And one thing more my song does lack/I forgot to say the men were black/Her friends and neighbors will say the same/And Emma
Hartsell was her name. " These phrases were not as haphazardly added as the songsters claimed. They had not forgotten. Instead the performers wanted everyone to be sure and remember that the males were black, that is why they mentioned this important fact in the last stanza. These songs traveled far and wide, and the balladeers understood that every southerner would not be familiar with this particular case. The people listening heard lastly that, everyone closely associated with the facts agreed that the males were indeed guilty, both were positively black, and the victim was a white woman, thus, all the crucial information would stay in their minds. This would strengthen the white supremacists argument that African Americans simply could not control themselves, much less anything else.^^

The same themes also reemerged in another North Carolina rape ballad entitled "Gladys Kincaid." Broadus Miller, a local African American male, supposedly raped and murdered Kincaid, a white woman who worked in a hosiery mill. Again a black male is described as animalistic. In one rendering he is called a "negro brute" and a "Negro beast." Moreover, another song version stated that Miller's "lust began to swell." This made it appear that the man could not control his sexual urges. The implication is that whites can never trust African Americans, especially black males, since deep-down they all wanted sexual relations with white women. Similarly, the song again sanitized the events and placed the white mob in the best possible light. The melody claimed the horde only shot Miller once, which seems highly unlikely. Moreover, the tune pointed out the posse only killed Miller after he tried to run away.30

Most importantly, however, the racial warnings again reemerged in the
ever important last stanza. In an era of racial tension, when this verse told everyone to inform "both black and white/That old Burke County/Should e'er defend the right," it reinforced the message that white supremacy would prevail. This line meant that the region's white citizens would forever defend white womanhood, a key element in the racist's argument. Besides being issued as a warning to blacks, this song also served as a veiled warning to the whites who were trying to form a political coalition with African Americans. That is why the tune said that Caucasians also had to be informed. These kinds of tunes did not have to specifically mention that African Americans were attempting to engage in politics, since locals, both black and white, understood what was actually happening around them, the shrouded warnings were no less powerful. Moreover, almost all of these kinds of songs illustrated that white southerners held firm to the notion of the black rapist. In fact, the music reinforced that idea. These melodies are another indication that in times of racial strife, white southerners executed innocent black males.31

These ditties also functioned as propaganda devices. When southern whites read about a lynching in the newspapers, most "automatically assumed that a rape had indeed occurred and began to look for warnings of the crime in their own community." Lynchings feed on themselves, and when the word spread, other executions generally followed. Similar to newspapers, music had a major role in distributing the false information. All the songs, for example, made it clear the rapists were guilty and black. These tunes were widespread and popular. The Hartsell ballad, for example, had "considerable oral circulation." Moreover, sometimes such tunes were even distrib-
uted in printed form. This is significant; music instilled widespread fear! The ditty that concerned Hartsell's death even warned white parents that "for God's sake" they should "always think of Tom and Joe" and never leave their children alone. In fact, the melody claimed that parents should "take them [their children] with you wherever you go." The implication was that African American males might sexually assault them. The message was clear, white southern males could not trust black men around their women and children. If white families, white children, and white women were to be protected, the music cleverly proposed that white supremacy had to be enforced. These tunes also served as vile warnings to blacks that if they tried to obtain power, they would be lynched. When the songsters stated that "Old Burke Country/Shall e'er defend the right" they made it clear to both races which race would rule.

Although less common, for centuries white southern mobs also lynched white males. Between 1880 and 1930 Virginia hordes killed fifteen white men, while Georgia mobs lynched nineteen. Unlike lynching a black man, however, mob violence against a white man had serious risks. Such deeds could divide communities, result in court action, or end in family retaliation. Those things are exactly what happened when a Kentucky mob killed Lent Martin in 1884. As the tunes indicated, local citizens took sides and Martin's friends and relatives avenged his death. Unlike a black man, in order to lynch a Caucasian male, mobs had to make sure he had committed a brutal or sensational crime. In fact, white mobs typically only executed "psychopathic" white killers, who murdered "unsuspecting and innocent victims." In 1886, for example, a Georgia mob murdered Frank Sanders for
slaughtering his boss and his employer's entire family, including three young children.\textsuperscript{33}

When white men are lynched in music, they generally committed hideous crimes. George Ellis, Ellis Craft, and William Neal are good examples. Songs about these three males appeared in several southern locations. In fact, on the day of their hangings, southern onlookers purchased printed versions of this tune as fast as "three men could hand them out." What had these white men done to receive such notoriety? In 1884 these males knew that three young children, a cripple boy named Bobby Gibbons, his sister Fanny, and her friend Emma Carcoola, were spending the night alone in an Ashland, Kentucky, cabin. The three males broke into the house, "crushed" the boy's skull with a crowbar, sadistically raped the two little girls, and then murdered them by smashing in their heads with an iron rod. The child molesters then poured oil on the victim's "outraged" bodies, and set them on fire to hide the evidence. When apprehended, a local crowd lynched Ellis, who according to the songs was "a coward at heart." Craft and Neal, however, survived another mob attack and were later legally hanged. Various tunes, including "The Ashland Tragedy" and "The Murder of the Gibbons Children," graphically described the events.\textsuperscript{34}

Similar to most southern lynch victims, songs labeled these murderers "fiends in human guise." The tunes also claimed that for such a hideous crime someone had to die. In fact, one rendition called for the community to "Go forth and search the country! Go search both far and nigh! Find the guilty culprit, We'll surely hang him high." The songs then told about the cowardly Ellis begging for protection, but the mob of brave angry men
would not listen to him. Instead, they dragged Ellis from the jail and hanged him "by the neck till dead." Next the horde fought the soldiers sent to protect Craft and Neal. One song version pointed out that three courageous locals lost their lives that day. The tunes then warned others not to disobey community standards, or they would only "meet the fate George Ellis met." In fact, one popular rendition ridiculed the citizens of Mount Sterling, a town which held the criminals for safe keeping, because it harbored such culprits. The balladeer said those people, "who rate themselves so high," should have been in "favor of justice and say that he should die./I suppose they have forgotten that they have daughters too,/And law and right should be their aim, to protect their children too." By justice, he meant Mount Sterling citizens should have lynched the males. Another rendering even notified everybody that other locations might not protect their own children by murdering such cowards, but in that region the "men of old Kentucky/Will sure protect their own/They’ll fight for family honor/And violated homes." These tunes not only demonstrate the power of mob rule in the South, but they also served as warnings. They informed people that even white males could be lynched, if they failed to live by established standards. Moreover, if people did not protect their communities by taking the law into their own hands, they too could be humiliated in verse. The songs also mirror, however, that unlike a black victim, an executed white man had to be vile.35

As lynching and feuding tunes indicate, white southern males have traditionally taken the law into their own hands. This same idea reemerged over one hundred years later in "redneck" country music and Dixie rock and
roll. These are two of the most popular forms of music among young, blue-collar, white southern males in the modern South. In his song "I've Got Rights" one of the most celebrated stars of the former genre, Hank Williams, Jr., pushed this theme. He could not understand why the courts had released a man who killed his family, and, he took the law into his own hands. Williams told the criminal he would read him his rights, but they were not Miranda Rights. According to the singer, the killer had the "right to know you're gonna go to hell one of these black nights." The "system" and "big named lawyers" could not help the lawbreaker now, because Williams had him "on his knees beggin' for his life." As in the past, such males also had to be cowards. In the mind of a southerner, only a coward would commit such hideous deeds. When faced with danger, such a man would also naturally beg for his life. Thus, the ideas associated with cowards had not really changed in the South. Modern southern males would still do whatever it took to keep themselves out of that category.

The country-rock superstar Charles Daniels often took a militant stand and stressed that violence could correct things. In his 1981 song "Ragin' Cajun," he killed a dope dealer who coerced his sister into drugs and prostitution. Similarly, in 1989 the singer released the militant "(What The World Needs Is) A Few More Rednecks." In this powerful tune he asserted that the country needed a "few more rednecks/Some people ain't afraid to take a stand. . . . A little less talk and a little more action." By action Daniels did not mean more people should visit their polling booths or sue someone in court, he meant individuals had to take the law into their own hands. Finally, in his 1989 number "Simple Man," Daniels
again called himself a redneck and made his message clear when he yelled for "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." That was an old southern war cry! Although the singer said he really did not like to brawl, the song implied that he would fight any man who disobeyed community norms. In fact, Daniels was a vicious man in this melody. He would lynch dope peddlers, shoot thieves with his .12 gauge shotgun, and take rapists and child molesters "out in the swamp/Put them on their knees and tie them to a stump/And let the rattlers and the bugs and the alligators do the rest."

Finally, .38 Special released a similar tune in 1982 entitled "Back Door Stranger." In this song Donnie Van Zant claimed that rapists were everywhere, but the "law can't judge—because he pleads insane." Instead of taking this abuse anymore, the singer stated that "we got to stop him if the chance is right. . . . it's a sign of the times that we got to change. . . . You ask my opinion got to make a stand. . . . It's a slap in the face that we tolerate. . . . Take my chances, rather go to jail than see the eyes of a coward runnin' loose and well." Again, the term coward was emphasized throughout the song.

All of these tunes reflect that southerners traditionally have not placed much faith in either law enforcement officers or the court system. In feud tunes, for example, males often settled their disputes among themselves. Similarly, in the late nineteenth-century most southerners, whether pro- or anti-lynching, claimed that criminals needed to be punished faster and harsher. This clearly emerged in their music. Over one hundred years before Charlie Daniels, southerners were calling for "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." In 1893, for example, a southern newspaper,
the *North Carolina Citizen*, stated that the "punishment of crime is too lax, it is not speedy enough--there are too many delays and failures of the law in this particular--too many continuances and granting of new trials in criminal cases." Southern country and rock tunes indicate that in the 1990s some southerners still felt this way. One of the best examples is Hank Williams, Jr.'s hit, "If The South Woulda Won." When Williams closed his show with this tune, southern crowds, such as those in Nashville and Atlanta, went wild when he sang that if the South would have won the Civil War, the Supreme Court would be based in Texas and "we wouldn't have no killers gettin' off free/If they were proven guilty they would swing quickly, instead of writin' books and smilin' on T.V."  

Music also shows that after World War II many southerners still thought that a man, especially if the victims were his relatives, or a group of locals, had the right to usurp the authority of the courts and punish criminals of hideous crimes. In the 1950s one Kentuckian killed an alleged rapist being sought by a sheriff's posse. When a local jury quickly found him innocent of murder, a very large crowd let out a loud cheer. In fact, the local newspaper said that "the trial should not have been held, [but since it was] all parties concerned should consider it completely settled and forget it as soon as possible." In this area of the world, in the mid-twentieth century people still approved of the "killing of certain thieves and robbers who stole for a living instead of working."  

This kind of vigilantism continued into the late twentieth century. In the 1980s one Kentucky man stated, through "gritted teeth," that "If
that had been my niece being raped. . . . I'd have shot him [the rapist] like a dog." Furthermore, in the 1990s the Arkansas teenagers who murdered and sadistically abused three eight-year-old boys from West Memphis, Arkansas, Michael Moore, Steve Branch, and Christopher Byers, had every reason to fear for their lives. Death threats flourished, and those accused had to wear bullet-proof vests to their 1993 court appearances. In fact, like southern culture itself, music implied it was more than a right, it was a southern man's duty to protect his family from criminals. As the families of Andrew Peter De Vries, a Scottish executive killed while on a business trip to Houston, Texas, and Yoshihiro Hattori, a Japanese foreign exchange student killed in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, both found out in the 1990s, world opinion and the national media might condemn white southern males for murdering people they only imagined were criminals, but southern courts, juries, politicians, and even society itself, would not. As both music and psychological studies indicated, contemporary southerners still held firm to the belief that white southern males should use deadly force to protect their homes and families.40

As in the past, modern southern tunes also demonstrate that southerners reserved the severest punishment for those, such as rapists and child molesters, who killed innocent victims. On the other hand, they generally forgave men who murdered or trounced other males in a fair fight. In the nineteenth century mobs lynched the more hideous criminals. In the late twentieth century, the popularity of this kind of redneck music shows that at least some southerners still contemplated it. Southerners might not have fed child molesters to the alligators, as the music suggested, but
they enjoyed songs that claimed that that should be the punishment. When contemporary southerners were faced with increasing crime rates, music demonstrates that, like their ancestors, they also thought that an "eye for an eye" would solve the problems. Their music also indicates that many southerners still thought that "big named lawyers" only helped the criminals escape deserved retribution. Finally, southern music proves that for generations southerners have felt the courts were too lenient on criminals, laws were not harsh enough, and individuals had the duty to correct the situation. In the 1990s Daniels and Williams still sounded like southern balladeers of the 1880s who yelled out, the "men of old Kentucky/Will sure protect their own/They'll fight for family honor/And violated homes." As in the past, music shows that there were still community standards in the South, which people crossed at their own peril.41

In retrospect, feuding and lynching tunes offer scholars a unique insight into the intellectual mindset of rural southerners. They show that these people basically had no concept of the term "Blind Justice" in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the South, for example, it mattered that your daddy was Jim Hatfield or that your skin was black. These tunes also reflect that southerners held firm to the idea of personal and family honor. For generations musicians have applied the term coward to only the worst type of individual, thus, few men in such a culture could nonviolently endure that label. All of these tunes also show that when white southerners were faced with crises they often resorted to ruthlessness. In fact, by listening to sadistic songs many whites proved they did not even consider brutality towards African Americans even morally wrong.
These songs verify that many Caucasians could smile on, or at least overlook, anything, no matter how brutal, that kept white supremacy intact. Moreover, when balladeers yelled out that black males were raping white females, they reinforced the key argument of the white supremacists. Finally, both lynching and feuding tunes indicate mob rule has been a significant force in the South. The music demonstrates that for generations, southerners have believed that the courts were too lenient, and that white males had the right to take law into their own hands, especially when it came to protecting their own families.
Similar to feuding and lynching songs, moonshining and bootlegging tunes not only show cultural continuity, but they also reflect several regional attributes. These songs illustrate, for example, that for hundreds of years whiskey making and bootlegging have traditionally been major southern operations. Although music reflects that Appalachian whites produced most of the illegal whiskey, it also indicates that African Americans and white southerners in other locations, such as in the Ozarks and in the swamps of Florida, participated in the occupation. In fact, music shows that the South has historically produced most of the nation's illegal liquor, and that no law, including the Eighteenth Amendment, stopped its production. In addition, even though music demonstrated that some southerners participated in these occupations for the money, lyrics also revealed that moonshining and bootlegging were hazardous jobs. Not only were people arrested, they were killed. African American and white tunes about illegal liquor also reveal that moonshine was a "rough drink," and that poisonous alcohol and harmful liquor substitutes, such as jake and canned heat, routinely plagued both black and white communities. Finally, although contemporary tunes about moonshiners do not mirror modern moonshine businesses by relying on old rural themes, modern singers indicated that many southerners long for their rural roots.

Since the colonial era distilling has been ingrained in rural southern culture. In the early 1620s, for example, a Captain George Thorpe
operated a James River whiskey distillery. This drinking culture spread throughout the region as the Scots-Irish took their distilling knowledge and technology into the backcountry. By the 1750s distilling was a primary industry in North Carolina. In the eighteenth century Kentucky and Tennessee also distilled whiskey. In fact, even before statehood illegal distilling was one of Tennessee's most "outstanding and highly profitable industries." By 1811 Kentucky had more than 2,000 stills and by 1840 East Tennessee alone had 606 stills that produced 314,445 gallons of whiskey a year. Hundreds of farmers produced illegal whiskey before the Civil War, and backcountry southerners claimed, "Where there's smoke, there's bound to be whiskey."

After the Civil War liquor continued to be an important cultural element. In an 1876-1877 Internal Revenue report the commissioner noted that more than 3,000 illegal Appalachian stills existed. Although rural southerners generally hid the illegal activity from outsiders, their music indicates that for generations moonshining was a significant occupation. An old eighteenth century folksong, for example, pointed out, "You just lay there by the juniper/When the moon is bright/And watch them jugs a-fillin'/By the pale moonlight." The mountain inhabitants of Kentucky and North Carolina, two hotbeds of the illegal trade during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, composed various moonshine melodies. In addition, North Carolinians also sang several, including "The Prohibition Boys," "Prohibition Whiskey," "Blockader's Trail," "Blockader Mamma," "Moonshine," and "The Hidden Still." In fact, some of these tunes, such as the latter number, could only be found in North Carolina. Moreover, most
of the early North Carolina folktunes that mentioned alcohol, discussed illegal moonshine. In the 1930s Gander, Kentucky residents also enjoyed singing such songs. In 1933, for example, folksinger Kelly Combs sang his original number "Kentucky Moonshiner," in which he claimed that he had been a moonshiner for seventeen years. In Horse Branch, Kentucky, people also "clapped loud and long" when locals vocalized factual moonshine ditties. The popularity and continued prevalence of these kinds of tunes indicates that for generations illegal moonshining occurred throughout the Appalachian region.2

Although the abundance of liquor tunes reflect that Appalachian inhabitants produced a considerable amount of moonshine, songs also clearly indicate that southerners in other locations participated in the occupation. Northern Arkansas was notorious for ambushing moonshiners and its good, albeit, illegal whiskey. There, many people accepted the trade and sang moonshine tunes. Ozark melodies, for instance, criticized Benjamin Franklin Taylor, a late nineteenth century revenuer. Musical numbers also illustrate that non-mountainous regions made whiskey. A popular Florida folktune, "Come All You Rounders," stated illegal liquor was "made way back in the swamps and hills,/Where there are plenty of moonshine stills." Finally, T. C. Johnson, a master of the delta blues, told people if they visited Vicksburg, Mississippi, they must contact a bootlegger named the old dipper king.3

As Johnson's number demonstrates, similar to whites, African Americans also sang about moonshiners and bootleggers. These two occupations routinely appear in early African American folk and blues numbers. Jenny
Pope discussed bootleggers in her 1929 tune "Whiskey Drinkin' Blues," as did Tommy McClennea's 1940 hit "New Sugar Mama." In his 1938 single, "Low Down Ways," Mississippi bluesman Sonny Boy Williamson talked about bootlegging joints. In their 1936 song, "Insurance Policy Blues," Smith and Harper alluded to a southern insurance salesman who operated three or four illegal whiskey stills. Finally, in the early twentieth century many other famous blues singers mentioned either "makin'" or "runin'" illegal moonshine, including Blind Blake, Son House and Robert Hicks. In his 1928 single "Blind Pig Blues," for example, Hicks sang about drinking "white mule" and dodging "United States law," when he was "loaded down" with illegal whiskey.

In fact, in the years between World War I and World War II these kinds of tunes were so popular with white southern audiences that censorship could not keep them out of country music. Although many early radio stations and country music programs, such WLS and the National Barn Dance, prevented singers from performing any song that mentioned liquor, audiences clamored for moonshine melodies. In 1939, for example, Vocalion records released Bascom L. Lunsford's, Lulu Belle's, and Scotty Wisema's "Mountain Dew." Even though WLS never aired the tune, it became a hit. A host of other country singers, including Roy Acuff, Mother Maybelle Carter, and Grand Pa Jones, recorded the melody.

After World War II folk lyrics, country tunes, and rock songs all demonstrate that bootlegging and moonshining tunes remained popular with southern audiences. Several folk tunes, including "The Kosciusko Bootlegger's Gripe," "When The Roses Bloom Again For The Bootlegger," and
"Blockader's Trail" endured. In addition, in the 1950s and 1960s several country musicians released novelty songs that discussed moonshine, such as "Chug-A-Lug" and "White Lightening," and they sold. In fact, "White Lightening" was George Jones' first number one hit. Moreover, non-novelty country songs, such as "Rocky Top," contained stanzas alluding to the illegal trade. That melody pointed out that "corn won't grow at all on Rocky Top/That's why all the folks on Rocky Top, get their corn from a jar." From the 1970s to the 1990s radio stations still aired the older tunes, but newer country songs also emerged. In 1979, Moe Bandy and Joe Stampley released a melody, "Just Good Ol' Boys," that discussed bootlegging. In a 1981 country tune, "A Country Boy Can Survive," Hank Williams, Jr., implied moonshining still existed in the South. Similar ditties surfaced in southern rock and roll. In 1974 and 1975 Black Oak Arkansas released "Moonshine Sontra" and "Wild Men From The Mountains." In the former Jim "Dandy" Mangrum shouted the word "moonshine" several times and in the latter he sang about "wild and wooly" southern men who made "whiskey from their own stills." Finally, in 1977 and 1988 The Charlie Daniels Band released "Cumberland Mountain Number Nine" and "You Can't Pick Cotton" respectively. Both discussed southern moonshine operations.

Moonshine and bootlegger tunes are significant because they demonstrate the continuance of southern cultural traits. In addition, they reflect that the region historically has produced most of the nation's illegal liquor. During the 1890s, for example, eastern, western and northern locations made illicit whiskey, but the Appalachians contributed 77 percent of the moonshine trade. That is the reason way Appalachian
songsters produced most of the moonshine tunes. The tunes simply reflected cultural realities. When the Ozarks and other southern locations are added to the list, the rest of the nation pales in comparison.⁷

Similarly, these types of tunes indicate that no local, state, or federal law stopped southern moonshiners from practicing their art. In fact, after the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, in traditional moonshining areas the industry boomed. In a four year period during the 1920s Franklin County, Virginia exported an estimated 3.5 million gallons of illegal liquor. Numerous Ozark farmers now also turned to moonshining. In an age when most northeast Arkansans used cross cut-saws and axes, it is not surprising whiskey production soared. A gallon of moonshine sold for $20, while a cord of stove wood retailed at $1.50. Illegal whiskey making also expanded during National Prohibition to non-traditional areas, including Carolina's coastal plains and the Mississippi bayous. In Dade County, on the coast of North Carolina, thirty stills turned out 50,000 gallons a week.⁸

Although all southern states voted to go "dry" before the rest of the nation (many like Mississippi, which ended prohibition in 1966, also remained dry long after National Prohibition ceased elsewhere) music indicates that southerners voted "dry," but continued to drink and make illegal whiskey. A North Carolina newspaper editor told a visiting reporter that southerners were "drinking prohibitionists." He maintained his newspaper was "dry in policy and principle," but he then took a bottle of whiskey from his desk and asked the reporter to join him in a drink. Southern statesman demonstrated that this attitude prevailed among regional
lawmakers. A Mississippi politician claimed Mississippi would stay dry as "long as its citizens can stagger to the polls to vote." Southern music reflected this viewpoint. In the 1890s, North Carolina debated the question of whether to stay "wet" or go "dry" and a ballad, "The Prohibition Boys," pointed out the hypocrisy involved. In his popular song, Marshal Laughinghouse, a well-known North Carolina folk singer in the late nineteenth century, told prohibitionists they should "practice what they preach." Laughinghouse then informed his listeners that several people, including federal employees, voted dry, but got drunk. In fact, on election day the singer noted "prohibition boys/They give each other the wink/When they want to slip behind the door/And take another drink."

Another tune, "Prohibition Whiskey," discussed a southern prohibitionist who stole a horde of illegal whiskey. Not only did he pilfer the booze, but he made a profit by selling it to other prohibitionists. The singer ended the melody with a warning to all the anti-prohibitionists who kept a bottle of whiskey hid for emergencies. He cautioned them not to keep it near the "stockhouse," because the "nice young prohibitions" would ferret out the moonshine and consume it.9

The late nineteenth century was not the only era in which such events occurred. During National Prohibition Henry D. Holsclaw, an old North Carolina mountaineer, wrote a song which exposed the "farce of [national] prohibition." Holsclaw claimed in 1921 the sheriff, Jerome Triplet, and his deputy arrested him and John Tetters for moonshining. Not only did the sheriff use an illegal warrant, since someone else's name had been scratched out and Holsclaw's added, but when Triplet located the still,
instead of pouring out all the backings, he told his deputy to save a "jugful to drink." Then, instead of destroying the equipment and the processed liquor, the officers confiscated the still, the worm, the cap, two kegs of whiskey and a jug of moonshine. When the sheriff met Holsclaw's uncle, he again broke the law and shared a drink with the man. In fact, the sheriff offered whiskey to everyone he encountered. A few local citizens proved more honest than the police, they refused the offer. While driving to the jail the sheriff, posse, and the arrested got drunk. Last, the sheriff broke the law again when he sold, or gave away, all the impounded whiskey and equipment.  

The same hypocrisy is expressed in an early twentieth century Kentucky folksong. In exchange for dropping charges of moonshining the sheriff and the judge requested cash payments. Oral sources indicated this type of behavior routinely occurred in the region. Moreover, another North Carolina singer pointed out that moonshiners and bootleggers were "gettin' mighty thick," because no one gave a "darn for the Volstead law/'N for prohibition they don't give a straw." Similarly, in this era Fiddlin' John Carson had many songs about illegal whiskey. In one 1920s Atlanta skit recording of Carson and Moonshine Kate, the singers from Georgia viewed the idea of prohibition much like their North Carolina neighbors. On the closing of Carson's parody of the tune "Let the Rest of the World Go By," for example, he sings "At the foot of the hill,/We'll place our little still,/And let the whole dern world go dry!" Likewise, in his parody of "My Old Kentucky Home," Carson stated "Weep no more, my lady./Oh, weep no more today;/We'll have whisky on hand./Long as this old world will stand/In
my old north Georgia home, far away." Finally, in 1979 the tune "Just Good Ol' Boys," reflected that contemporary southerners in "dry" areas still sold and drank bootleg liquor.  

As the songs demonstrate, after World War II moonshining and bootlegging continued to be major southern industries. During the 1970s, for example, the Southeast alone produced 90 percent of the nation's illegal alcohol. According to federal statistics, Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Florida, and Kentucky are the principle moonshine states. Moreover, music reflects that southerners still consumed most of the illegal whiskey. Since people sing about issues their audiences can identify with, these songs reflect that for generations bootlegging and moonshining have been prominent and traditional southern occupations. As the tunes by Moe Bandy and Joe Stampley illustrate, not only do bootleggers still exist in the South, but they are also still culturally significant.

Moonshine tunes also mirror other facets of rural southern culture. Many of these ditties indicate that for generations southerners have perpetually despised the government, or other authority figures, telling them what to do. Even the most "moral and religious" Ozark people sang these kinds of tunes in the early twentieth century, because they still had a "singular antipathy for the restraints of the regularly constituted authority." In fact, they admired anyone who defied the "Guv'ment." Throughout southern history whenever an individual attacked authority figures or "the establishment," people romanticized them in song. Moonshiners and moonshine tunes fit into this formula in many ways. Illegal
whiskey makers broken the law, but the people who arrested them, or turned them over to the authorities, were the ones who the community despised in song. The nineteenth-century Arkansas ballad about Benjamin Franklin Taylor conforms to this formula in several ways. Taylor, a man disliked by locals because he was an outsider, a prominent Republican and an ex-union officer whom helped suppress "Confederate guerrillas in the Ozark Mountains," did not appear as a hero when he was killed while raiding an illegal whiskey still in 1897. In fact, the ballad shows the local "disrespect for Taylor" because, not only was he considered "meddleson" by his neighbors, but he broke two fundamental cultural codes. First, Taylor took the side of the federal government when he condemned illegal whiskey making, "a practice or occupation accepted by many of his local peers." Second, he did not inform the whiskey makers that he was going to raid their stills, a common practice in the mountainous regions of the South. Moreover, in this song, the whiskey makers are not depicted as felons, but as brave men who stood and fought for their property, while Schoolcraft, a posse member, was viewed as a coward and a "darned old fool [who] Shot his musket and run like a mule." An early twentieth century Kentucky tune, "Abie's White Mule," also depicted revenues as idiots and moonshiners as geniuses. Both these song were popular among rural audiences. 13

Five other southern bootlegging tunes demonstrate that these cultural traits continued to be popular with southern audiences after the World War II. The melody "The Kosciusko Bootlegger's Gripe" not only depicted the whiskey sellers as family men, but the informant was also said to have used "mighty dirty tricks," to catch them, while the Revenue Men were seen as
cruel. Similarly, "When The Roses Bloom Again For The Bootlegger," portrayed the moonshiner in a positive light, while the authorities were depicted as cruel and unsympathetic. The tune "Blockader's Trail" characterized the moonshiners as innocent men who were being mistreated. On the other hand, the sheriff and his men were all seen as criminals, who ended up giving away or selling the confiscated stills, kegs and whiskey. This song emphasized that this type of behavior was illegal, because all such items should have been destroyed. In the mid-1960s Porter Wagoner, in his version of "Rocky Top," nonchalantly mentioned the death of revenue officers when he sang that they "climbed old rocky top looking for a moonshine still/Strangers ain't came down from Rocky Top/Reckon they never will." Finally, as late as 1988 the Charlie Daniels Band released such a tune. In the song "You Can't Pick Cotton," the moonshiner became a hero. Not only did he outwit the sheriff, but he also made a considerable amount of money in the process. These tunes not only reflect cultural attributes, but they also show the continuity of southern culture. In the 1930s, for example, a Kentucky male sounded similar to the modern songsters, when he stated that southerners disliked the federal government because it "never knewed what hit's like to hoe corn from daylight till plumb dark . . . They never knewed nor 'peared to take no interest" that "mountain folks couldn't pay no tax on liquor and make a profit." 14

As this Kentuckian's statement indicates, money was a major motive behind bootlegging and moonshining. A team of mules could pull only twenty bushels of shelled corn to market. At 1890 corn prices a farmer earned approximately $10 for each wagon load. For the profit motivated individu-
al, moonshining made economic sense, especially in an age of poor road conditions. With a team farmers could transport 120 gallons of whiskey to market. At 1890 liquor prices he would earn at least $150. Even those farmers, who could not afford the equipment or learn the techniques, benefited, because still operators routinely swapped three bushels of corn for one gallon of whiskey. Therefore, it is little wonder many enterprising farmers took the risk and made whiskey.¹⁵

Not surprising, a few tunes reflect that some white southerners participated in the occupation for the economic rewards. In the "Kentucky Moonshiner" Combs stated he would "go to some holler," set up his still and make whiskey if you paid him "a two dollar bill." Similarly, tunes reveal that poor economic conditions forced southerners to undertake such work. In "Blockader Mamma," a rare song because it shows that women also made liquor, a woman distilled whiskey because her husband "ain't never worked." In fact, she had "noting to eat in the house." Music also shows that economics also caused African Americans to enter into the trade. In his 1928 hit "Bootlegging Blues," Jim Jackson claimed moonshining was "a mighty risk to run/and a mighty chance to take," but "just get a job at one of these stills/and you surely will be paid." In his 1938 single "Bucket's Got a Hole in It," Washboard Sam alluded to the profit motive when he said he had to sell moonshine in order to make "good" money.”¹⁶

Although moonshiners earned a considerable amount of money, bluesman Jim Jackson told the truth when he sang that moonshining and bootlegging were hazardous occupations. In the 1930s still operators offered people $500 each time they ran illegal booze from Kentucky to Cincinnati, but this
was dangerous work. When one male asked a still operator why a previous worker quit, he was told the man had not resigned, but was found in a river, "floating on his face." Although he did not specify who killed the man, the culprits could have been federal, state, or local law enforcement officers, rival still operators, or gangsters out to hijack his shipment. All these groups had killed bootleggers in the past. The hazards and violence associated with moonshining is reflected in several tunes. Kentuckian Uncle Lafe sang about a "foxy old" moonshiner who had to outwit and outfight, people, including a "pesky old marshal," who were always "romin’ around." In the 1930s Kentuckian Clabe Kazee sang another factual tune which pointed out homicides, gun fights, and prison sentences were part of making illegal liquor. At the end of the melody the revenuers warned the moonshiners "We’ve started on you fellows [and] we’ll clean you out." Arkansas and North Carolina ballads discussed similar events. A Northeast Arkansas ballad, for example, detailed the deadly 1897 gun battle between moonshiners and federal agents. These tunes also emerged in North Carolina. In the song "Blockader’s Trail" North Carolina moonshiners were not killed, but they were locked in jail and forced to eat horrible food. Finally, in the North Carolina tune "Blockader Mamma" the occupation proved lethal. Instead of spending time in prison, the Sheriff killed the moonshiner.17

Besides reflecting that moonshining and bootlegging were hazardous occupations, both African American and white tunes reveal that moonshine was a "rough drink." For generations southerners lyrically bragged about the potency of the region’s illegal moonshine, which they frequently termed
"scorpion juice," "stump puller," "panther piss," wolf whiskey," "barbed wire brandy," and "creepin' whiskey." Each of these names attest to the potency of the drink. The latter, for example, was an expression used by Appalachian males because after a few drinks, the sensation crept up behind a person and knocked them to their knees. Oral sources also indicated drinking white lightening was a unique experience. One southerner reflected that when "you absorb a deep swig of it, you have all the sensations of having swallowed a lighted kerosene lamp." Although "mule kicker" was rough stuff, generation after generation of southern males bragged they alone could handle it. In fact, in the contemporary South a Tennessee man declared legal whiskey was not strong enough. He boasted he only enjoyed 120 proof, or higher, homemade liquor, because the "high shots," which people have compared to "eating fire," took "your breath away."18

A whole host of southern songs also customarily reflected that moonshine was "rough stuff." A prevalent nineteenth century Florida folktune, "Come All You Rounders," stated "A drop" of moonshine would "make a rabbit whip a bull dog." In fact, a "taste" would "make a rat whip a wild hog;/Make a mice bite off a tomat’ tail,/Make a tadpole raise the mud of a whale./Make a feist bite off a elephant’s snout,/Make a poodle dog put a tiger to his rout,/Make a toad spit in a black snake’s face [and] Make a Hard-Shell preacher call for grace." Versions of this song were found throughout the South. In 1939, "Mountain Dew" continued to attest to the potency of moonshine. The singer claimed his "sawed off and short" uncle assumed he was a "giant/When he gets him a pint/Of that good old
mountain dew." Even the smell of this whiskey made high flying buzzards "Get so dizzy they can't fly." Finally, modern singers continued to sing about the potency of moonshine. Roger Miller's 1964 hit "Chug-A-Lug" and George Jones' "White Lightening" are two examples. In "Chug-A-Lug" Miller said it made his ears ring. After a sip he also run ten miles and did a double back flip. Its chorus claimed moonshine made "ya want-a hol-lar hid-de-ho, burns your tum-my don't cha know?" Even though for centuries such tunes had been popular in the region, one thing hardly ever changed. That is, no matter how strong the liquor appeared to be, southern males still consumed it. In fact, the stronger the better. A good example is the chorus of "Mountain Dew." After the singer vividly told of its potency, he stated "Oh, they call it that good old mountain dew/And them that refuse it are few, Oh, I'll shut up my mug/If you'll fill up my jug/With that good old mountain dew." Not only do these tunes reflect that moonshine was "rough stuff," but they also indicate that southern males believed that they were the only ones who could handle the drink. This is another indication that for generations the macho male complex has been deeply ingrained in the southerner's intellectual mind-set.\(^9\)

Although music exposes that southern men habitually bragged about their drinking ability, it also reveals that poisonous alcohol and harmful liquor substitutes killed thousands of individuals. Moonshiners, especially during National Prohibition, marketed alcohol containing embalming fluid, nicotine, mercury, wood alcohol, sulfuric acid, iodine or creosote. Such lethal concoctions routinely appeared in southern music. In the white folktune "Moonshine," a North Carolina singer claimed the drink, which was
"made of buckeye, lye, and cawn,/And was bottled up in some barn," would make a person "feel awfully sick" In fact, such a mixture had even killed people. There are many more such songs, however, one of the most interesting "poison whiskey" tunes mentioned the death of Sam Boggs. This Kentucky tune, "Caines Creek Distillery," which was only known locally, was composed when Boggs died from drinking the "'bardy grease' (fusil oil) off a barrel of whiskey." Similarly, in 1909 an African American grading crew in Mississippi sang that "Jamaica ginger," (an alcoholic extract of ginger used as a flavoring essence, which reportably caused Jamaica Gin Paralysis) killed a man. They even warned that this beverage would "Burn yuh out!" Comparably, the blues also reflected the effects of bad liquor. In 1928 Blind Blake claimed his new bootlegger tried to poison him. In fact, one drink made Blake "go stone blind." In "Bootlegging Blues" Jim Jackson also pointed out that moonshiners often mixed cocaine, snuff, and concentrated lye into their booze. Not only did diluting the whiskey save the moonshiner money, but such additives also supposedly made the brew more potent.20

In fact, the blues indicates that one alcohol substitute, canned heat, wreaked havoc in African American communities. This beverage can be manufactured from solidified and denatured alcohol. Similarly, canned heat is another name for Sterno. In addition, it can be a sort of liquid paste composed of methylated spirits and alcohol. Whatever the ingredients, bluesman sang that those who drank it suffered. Arthur Petties made this clear in 1930 by singing the words "Canned heat ain't no good boy." In 1928 two songs, Tommy Johnson's "Canned Heat Blues" and Shad Will's "Better Leave That Stuff Alone," mentioned its bad consequences. Johnson stated
throughout this autobiographical song that canned heat was killing him. Will insisted that canned heat was "just like morphine/it crawls all through your bones." He also warned of its addictive qualities by singing, women on Beale Street hustle and cry everyday for canned heat and those who try it "just can't leave it alone." In fact, Will remarked if he gave a hungry addict a dollar for food, they would spend ninety cents of it on canned heat.21

Although inferior moonshine and canned heat killed many southerners, music reflects that jake was the worst drink. In addition, music shows that jake, unlike canned heat, was frequently consumed by both blacks and whites. Unsurprising, oral sources and tunes also indicate that both African American and white southerners suffered from "jake leg." Jake, a mixture of Jamaica ginger, wood alcohol or other lethal concoctions, crippled its victims by damaging their nerves. Several blues numbers discussed jake, including Tommy Johnson's "Alcohol and Jake Blues," the Mississippi Sheiks "Jake Leg Blues," and Maynard Britton's "Jake Walk Blues," and "Jake Leg Blues." Similar to white songsters, African American singers generally alluded to jake's addictive qualities or its crippling effects. In his 1934 hit, "Jake Leg Blues," Willie Lofton described both. Although the man had "done drunk so much Jake" it "give him the lemon leg," he continued to drink. Even when his wife and children begged him to stop, the jake addict could not. Early white hillbilly artists also sang about the dire effects of jake. There were at least seven early country music numbers recorded between 1928 and 1934 that dealt with "jake leg." The Allan Brothers had their "Jake Walk Blues," the Ray Brothers recorded "Jack
Leg Wobbles" and "Got the Jake Leg Too," and Narmour and Smith issued "Limber Neck Rag," and "Jake Leg Rag." Finally, Gene Autrey had a hit with "Bear Cat Papa Blues." It is significant that both blacks and whites sang about "jake" and "jake leg," but generally only African Americans sang about canned heat. This is not only an indication that whites generally did not consume Sterno, but it also shows that in the pre-World War II era "jake leg" was a serious problem in both black and white southern communities.22

In the contemporary South, tunes also reflect that moonshine poisoning still occurs. In fact, music indicates that a few white distillers "get a perverse pleasure in making their liquor as mean as possible," if they know this "nigger likker" is being shipped to black ghettos. In 1951, for example, approximately thirty-five African Americans died, many more were crippled and blinded, when John Richard (Fat) Hardy, a white southerner, knowingly sold seventy-seven gallons of moonshine, fifty-four gallons consisted of methyl alcohol, to African Americans before what he knew would be a Friday night of heavy drinking. After observing numerous blacks suffering in emergency rooms, a tune was written about Hardy's lethal mixture. The singer told everyone "Don't want no Fats Hardy Toddy at the Party-/ (Great Lord, no . . . )/Don't bring no Fats Hardy Toddy to the party- (Please, Lord, no! no! no!)/Don't serve no fats Hardy Toddy at the party. . . . "23

The jake, jake leg, lemon leg, Jamaica ginger, and canned heat tunes all indicate that for decades both African American and white southerners drank harmful intoxicants and died. They are also another indication that
no federal, state, or local "dry" law really ever worked in the South. In fact, most of the tunes were written during National Prohibition. These ditties disclose that no matter what law the government passed, southerners drink whatever they could obtain. Similarly, these songs reflect that moonshine was often impure and that racism could even rear its ugly head in this occupation. Instead of overlooking the problems, however, these melodies expose that African American and whites attempted to correct the situation. Although singers bragged about drinking illegal whiskey, they incessantly warned individuals to stay away from poisonous alcohol. When the performers graphically described "jake leg," or told how desperate canned heat addicts became, they benefited the community. These lyrics had social functions. It can never really be ascertained if southerners listened, but the tunes served as alert mechanisms.

Although contemporary moonshine tunes demonstrate southerners still make potent moonshine, drink illegal intoxicants, and bootleg, they generally do not reflect modern moonshine operations. Instead they mirror an older, more romantic view of the occupation. On the outside gate fold cover of Black Oak Arkansas' 1974 album, High On The Hog, appeared a cartoon illustration of guitarist Stanley Knight holding a moonshine jug bearing the label XXX. An old mountain shack reinforced the "hillbilly" image. Similarly, Charlie Daniels' moonshiners appear to be of the nineteenth or early twentieth century variety. Songs such as "Mountain Dew," "White Lightening," and "Chug-A-Lug" also alluded to similar moonshine operations.

A few romantic moonshiners still exist in the modern South, but they
are a rare breed. Contemporary southern moonshine operations are generally large scale syndicate-financed businesses. The independent producer with a small still cannot supply enough liquor, nor can they sell it cheap enough, for the large dealers to even "mess" with. Instead of being produced in rural environments, like the tunes always implied, most moonshiners have now moved into "metropolitan areas, around major markets such as Atlanta, Augusta, Athens, Charlotte, Chattanooga, and Birmingham." No longer do they operate small stills in the woods, but now large distillers are assembled in homes or other buildings. In such dwellings stills can be hidden from hikers and airplanes. Similarly, unlike outside areas, American Tobacco and Firearm agents must obtain search warrants to investigate residences.25

The failure to portray factually modern moonshine operations indicates several things about the contemporary South. When Willie Nelson, George Jones, Black Oak Arkansas, Roger Miller, or The Charlie Daniels Band sang about modest rural operations that turned out a few gallons of moonshine, they reflected that southerners longed for a rural past they imagined as uncomplicated and individualistic. After herbicides, insecticides, plant genetics, tractors and, cotton pickers all invaded the rural South after World War II, land use patterns and rural life changed throughout the region. Cotton acreage declined, especially after Congress reimpounded controls and set the cotton acreage at 21 million acres in 1954. Throughout the South, acreage allotments were simply too small to allow a farmer to support a family. For example, 80 percent of the allotments in North Carolina were six acres or less. The larger planters could buy the
chemicals and equipment and become more efficient, but the smaller producers, the majority of the farmers, simply faded from the scene. When "King Cotton" finally died, it took a way of life with it. Comparably, although at a later date, the smaller tobacco farmers eventually either expanded or left farming. With two of the most important crops in southern history, tobacco and cotton, being replaced by soybeans, chickens, and cattle a whole generation of rural southerners where cut off from their rural past. Although many struggled to stay on the land through part-time farming, most simply relinquished their roots and abandoned the rural South.

By 1960 only seven million people lived in the rural South, as compared with fourteen million in 1930. Many of these people had migrated to southern cities, but like their rural counterparts, urban southerners faced hardships. As southern urban centers grew, crime increased and city services disintegrated. Moreover, both rural and urban southerners were under other social and political strains. Instead of setting their own work pattern, for example, southerners now had to arrive on time, dine when told and continue working even after they wanted to go home. To many displaced rural southerners, this represented a loss of independence and manhood, and factory turnover rates were high. Considering the South's past actions, it is not surprising that in the age of great cultural change, stress, and castigation from the outside world, the idealistic moonshiner was again romanticized. He fits neatly into concepts customarily associated with the macho southern male, a significant theme in southern history. He is also the embodiment of another important southern male figure, the common man. The romantic moonshiner stood firm in his beliefs,
even if that required him to fight the federal government single handed. At times modern tunes still depicted moonshiners as fighters, but they were simple rural folks battling the government not urban gangsters. Similar to past generations, contemporary southerners enjoy hearing stories about these types of individuals, and the old ideals are persevered. During a period when the region was being transformed into a more modern society, these songs signified that not everyone welcomed the drastic changes that were occurring.

Finally, such melodies reflect that many modern southerners plainly did not understand moonshining had changed. According to Hinson McAuliffe, Criminal Court Prosecutor of Fulton County, Georgia (Atlanta), the typical southerner did not know moonshining had withdrawn from the woods and was now the number one racket in southern urban centers. Nor did they understand that gang warfare and urban homicides routinely revolved around this industry. As the tunes illustrate, many southerners were under the false impression that rural mountain dwellers still produced most of the region’s illegal whiskey.27

In retrospect, moonshining and bootlegging songs demonstrate the continuity of southern culture. Similarly, these kinds of tunes also reflect cultural traits. They indicate, for example, that moonshining and bootlegging were major, albeit dangerous, southern occupations, especially in the Appalachian region. In addition, they reflect that for generations no local, state, or federal law stopped southerners from drinking or making illegal whiskey. Similarly, music reveals that moonshiners, especially during National Prohibition, marketed alcohol containing harmful
ingredients. In fact, music indicates that in the pre-World War II era "jake leg" was a serious problem in both African American and white communities. Finally, although modern tunes about moonshiners do not mirror contemporary moonshine businesses, by relying on old rural themes modern singers exposed that many southerners long for their rural roots. In fact, the continual lyrical appearance of independent moonshiners indicates that similar to their ancestors, modern southerners still romanticize the common man.
Moonshining and bootlegging tunes reflect southern cultural traits, but it is also culturally significant that many other types of southern ditties discussed liquor. In fact, various forms of music, including folk, blues, honky tonk, neo-honky-tonk, country, and southern rock and roll indicated that not only has drinking and fighting historically been a significant part of southern culture, but they also show that southern males habitually bragged about their drinking habits. In fact, by destroying themselves with alcohol many African American and white southern performers gained manly reputations. On a psychological level the songs, and the glorification of such males, demonstrated that for generations the macho male complex has been deeply ingrained in the southerner's intellectual mindset. Surprisingly, however, such melodies also reveal the continual power of fundamentalism. By singing anti-liquor tunes, and by littering several of their alcohol numbers with religious phrases and moralistic messages, both black and white southern performers affirmed Protestant fundamentalism's hold on the South.

Before World War II southerners heard booze numbers from a variety of sources. In the nineteenth century, for example, as Appalachian temperance workers sang anti-drinking songs, the "boys in the back room" shouted out "The melancholy days have come,/The saddest of the year,/It's a little too warm for whiskey, boys,/And a little too cold for beer." Similarly, both black and white folktunes are filled with references to alcohol. In fact,
African American "Pick-And-Shovel Songs" often talked about drinking. Moreover, in the 1930s white Kentuckians recalled that their parents and grandparents enjoyed liquor tunes. In fact, they still sang many of the older tunes, including "A Dram In The Morning," "Little Brown Jug," and "Poor Little Bessie."

Although references to alcohol routinely emerged in folk music, in the pre-World War II era liquor terms, such as beer, whiskey, drunk, gin, saloons, or booze, inundated the blues. In fact, even though scholars have illustrated the significance of railroads and trains in this genre, there are approximately the same number of verses that symbolized alcohol in tunes popular enough to be reissued in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. Similar to railroad terms, whiskey, drunk, and gin were also key words in song titles, including Robert Hicks's 1929 hit "Me and My Whiskey," J. T. "Funny Paper" Smith's 1931 number "Corn Whiskey Blues," Sonny Boy Williamson's 1941 single "Sloppy Drunk Blues," and Bo Chatman's 1938 melody "Let's Get Drunk Again." Moreover, not only did southern whites listen to the blues, but some early hillbilly acts also couched their liquor numbers in a blues format. Two good examples are The Allan Brothers's "Fruit Jar Blues," and Dave McCarn's "Bay Rum Blues." This transmutation is culturally important, because it indicates that although religious elements in the South tried to keep references to liquor out of early hillbilly music, whites songsters simply switched to the blues. This exposes the significance of alcohol in white culture. Liquor was such an important cultural element, that no person or institution could stop its lyrical transmission.

Besides hearing about alcohol from folk and blues songsters, in the
pre-World War II era white southerners also listened to such tunes at local honky tonks. These rough bars are as significant as church buildings in understanding southern culture. Unlike pulpits, honky tonk bandstands reflected the seamier side of southern society. These turbulent hideaways gained popularity after the Ford Model T gave rural southerners a convenient, fast, and cheap method of transportation. Located in rural areas, away from religion and the law, these were rowdy joints. According to Jack Cardwell, an early Alabama honkey tonk performer, the farmers and loggers in attendance often fought and drank too much illegal whiskey, which was hidden "all over the woods."³

Throughout the post-Prohibition South "thousands" of musicians played in these joints. Texas honkey tonks, however, produced some of the best country music performers. Taverns and beer joints became significant in Texas in the 1930s with the advent of the oil boom. With money in their pockets and partying on their minds, oil workers and farmers demanded more than songs about "poor Mother at home" or "The Old Country Church." These rough men wanted drinking tunes. World War II did not thwart the turbulent atmosphere of these joints. In fact, violence worsened as soldiers, defence workers and locals all mingled together. After World War II, honky honk taverns again supplied country music with some of its finest musicians, including Hank Williams, Webb Pierce, George Jones and Lefty Frizzell. In fact, the genre that spoke of the honky tonkin' lifestyle of drinking and carousing expanded and became the core of hard country music.⁴

Although declining in stature during the 1960s and 1970s, because
Nashville thought it was too countrified and too "reflective of seamy barroom culture" for broad national tastes, honky tonk music persevered. In fact, this musical style continued to furnish country music with superb performers. Most of these new neo-honky-tonkers, such as George Strait, Joe Stampley, Mel Street, Moe Bandy, and John Anderson were southerners, and like their predecessors they habitually sang about liquor. The Mississippi born, but Texas raised, Bandy, for example, is known for his "drinking songs." When Stampley and Bandy performed as the "good ol' boys," their lyrics flowed with whiskey and cold beer, such as their 1979 record Just Good Ol' Boys Holding The Bag and their 1984 release The Good Ol' Boys Alive & Well. In fact, every song on the former LP, and a significant amount on the latter album, discussed drinking and partying.\(^5\)

After World War II honky tonk musicians were not the only country music stars who mentioned liquor in their lyrics. Although in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s many country musicians sang about alcohol, one southerner, Hank Williams, Jr., methodically emphasized it. In fact, most of his hits, including "All My Rowdy Friends Are Coming Over Tonight," (1984) "Whiskey Bent and Hell Bound," (1979) "Good Friends, Good Whiskey, Good Lovin'," (1990) and "Whiskey On Ice" (1982) emphasized drinking. Furthermore, in his song "If the South Woulda Won," the singer implied that only the South could make good whiskey. If southerners had won the Civil War, and if Williams had been elected President, he maintained that only Tennessee would be allowed to make whiskey.\(^5\)

Similar to their folk, honky tonk, country, and blues predecessors, southern rock and roll bands also lyrically stressed their alcohol consump-
tion, especially whiskey. Non-southern rock bands also sang about drinking, of course, but statistics indicate that, unlike other bands, southern groups overwhelmingly stressed liquor. ZZ Top, for example, sang about alcohol consumption in several of its most popular songs, including "Waitin' For The Bus," "Beer Drinkers and Hell raisers," and "Thunderbird." In fact, unlike northern groups, alcohol tunes became concert standards with most southern rock bands.  

In the late 1970s and early 1980s a second wave of southern rock and roll bands materialized. Resembling their predecessors these groups also emphasized alcohol. Molly Hatchet not only projected itself as a group of whiskey soaked southern males, but many of its songs also discussed drinking. Several such songs, including "Juckin' City," "Whiskey Man," "Gunsmoke," and "Let The Good Times Roll," can be heard on its most successful album, *Flirtin' With Disaster*. In addition, .38 Special had similar hits, including its 1981 track "Back Alley Sally." In fact, in the 1980s and 1990s many of the southern rockers of the first wave never really stopped pushing the theme. Several continued to sing their old numbers, and some, such as The Charlie Daniels Band, released new tunes. In 1989, in his hit "Was It 26," Daniels sang about his earlier excessive drinking habits.  

It is also culturally significant that in the modern era the image of alcohol expanded to album cover art. The Dixie Hatfield Combo, an Alabama band formed in 1957, best illustrated this idea on its album entitled *Tall Cool Country*. Not only did the title imply drinking, but the front cover pictured the band members surrounding a ten foot beer can. One of the
members is also holding a seven foot can opener. Alcohol was also a prominent theme on several Hank Williams, Jr., album covers, including *Family Tradition* and *Strong Stuff*. On the former's back cover Williams is shown unconscious in a hotel room with empty bottles of whiskey and beer thrown everywhere. The impression is that Williams drank all the booze himself, since the front cover pictured the singer drinking alone. Similarly, on *Just Good Ol' Boys Holding The Bag* and *The Good Ol' Boys Alive & Well* Bandy and Stampley underscored beer drinking. On the former, the tipsy men are drinking beer outside a liquor store. This is only a few of the examples that can be found on the jacket's of country albums.  

Resembling their country music companions, southern rockers also highlighted this impression on their album jackets. Although many rock albums, including 38 Special's *Special Forces*, The Charlie Daniels Band's *Way Done Younder*, The Allman Brother's *The Allman Brothers Band At Fillmore East*, and several others distribute by ZZ Top, Dickey Betts, The Outlaws, and Wet Willie, stressed this image, those issued by Lynryd Skynyrd serve as good examples. On the inside gatefold cover of *One More From The Road*, beer cans and a fifth of Jack Daniels are prominent items. Half-empty whiskey bottles can also be seen on the inside gatefold cover of *Gold & Platinum*, and the back cover of the band's 1976 album, *Gimme Back My Bullets*, shows the solemn band members with whiskey bottles and beer cans, standing outside a rough-looking tavern. The whiskey image was accentuated, since a J & B whiskey crate artistically occupied a key corner position. Similarly, on the front cover band members Wilkerson, Van Zant and Powell were depicted, with several crushed beer cans at their feet,
drinking in front of a bar. Even in the mid-1990s the revived Lynyrd Skynyrd still accented this theme. On the band’s 1990s t-shirts, a fifth of Jack Daniels became the prominent item. In fact, Lynyrd Skynyrd not only routinely released such album covers, but it also often exhibited its name and logo on the "center of a whiskey label."10

The continual referral to liquor in all forms of southern music demonstrates the continuity of southern culture. These tunes and album covers indicate that for generations alcohol has been an extremely important element in both African American and white southern society. Both black and white musicians understood that drinking was a significant part of their audiences everyday life. When they sang about guzzling beer or gulping down whiskey, their listeners related to the songs. These black and white performers were expressing common feelings and situations, thus, they sold records and gained listeners. Moreover, according to prominent music historian Bill Malone, neo-honky-tonk performers, like Bandy, are the "most accurate representation of working-class values." The same can be said of many of the folk, blues, country, and rock musicians who discussed liquor in their lyrics, such as Kelly Combs, Hank Williams, Jr., Lynyrd Skynyrd, and Sonny Boy Williamson. By habitually stressing alcohol, these artists reveal that liquor was a significant cultural ingredient. This especially holds true for whiskey, since it was the main type of alcohol that southern musicians, from folk to rock, sang about. Blues numbers, for example, discussed several alcoholic beverages, but whiskey remained preeminent. Not counting moonshine, before 1945 whiskey was mentioned in 171 different blues stanzas popular enough to be reissued, while during the
same time period beer appeared in only 31 verses. Instead of declining in contemporary southern music, the role of liquor expanded. Alcohol no longer only appeared lyrically, it surfaced on album jackets, compact disk covers, and t-shirts. Hence liquor still played a pivotal role in the life of contemporary southerners.  

Besides showing the cultural significance of whiskey, such tunes also indicate that throughout the South both African American and white males continuously boasted about their ability to consume massive amounts of liquor. Although many such folktunes exist, it will suffice to mention only a few examples. In "The Drunkard's Song," for instance, a white Alabama folksinger told everyone that he would drink whiskey until it killed him. Another Alabama singer also emphasized the theme in "Till I Die." Besides Alabama, other southern states had lyrical boasters. In 1909, white males in Mississippi yelled out they wanted to consume "jug full[s]" of whiskey "as long as" their arms, and in 1907 whites in East Tennessee wanted their corpses soaked in alcohol. Finally, white southerner boasted in many other folktunes, including "One More Drink," "Good-bye, Old Booze," and "Can't Dance Chicken Foot." In the latter Florida fiddle tune the singer bragged "I'm often drunk and seldom sober."  

In their folktunes, African Americans also lyrically boasted about their alcohol consumption. In 1919, black street workers in Durham, North Carolina, sang "Give me whiskey when I die." Also in 1919 a Durham County farm hand gloated he had not "been sober since last October." Similarly, in 1915 an Auburn, Alabama singer lyrically strutted he was "gwine back to Birmingham," because that was where whiskey flowed like water. Finally,
black vocalists all over Alabama sang ditties such as "If de ribber was 
booze,/An' I'se a mallard duck;/I'd dive to de bottom, boys,/ An' I'd neber 
come up." As with white singers, black musicians sang many different 
versions of these songs.13

Southern blacks continued to flaunt their heavy alcohol consumption 
in the blues of the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. Sleepy John Estes returned to 
an old theme in 1929 when he sang "Now if the river was whiskey/and I was a 
diving duck/I would dive on the bottom/never would come up." In 1927 Furry 
Lewis bragged "If the river was whiskey/I'd stay drunk all the time."
Leroy Carr blustered he loved his "whiskey/better than a filly loves a 
mare." Peter Chatman swaggered "I'm drunk Monday Tuesday and Wednes-
day/Thursday Friday and Saturday too/I'm supposed to get drunk on a 
Sunday/as I have nothing else to do/Good whiskey good whiskey/is all in the 
world I crave/I'm going to drink good whiskey/the rest of my doggone days."
Finally, Robert Hicks gloated he wanted "liquor liquor liquor/give me 
liquor until I die."14

Similar to their southern predecessors, in the modern era many 
southern performers also bragged about their ability to drink liquor. 
Although this theme continually emerged in honky tonk and neo-honky-tonk 
numbers, such as in the Dixie Hatfield Combo's "Six Pack To Go," and the 
"good ol' boys'" "He's Back In Texas," country musicians were not the only 
performers who sang about such issues. Molly Hatchet, The Ozark Mountain 
Daredevils, ZZ Top, Lynyrd Skynyrd, and a host of other southern rockers, 
consistently pushed this idea. Lynyrd Skynyrd, for example, had several 
such songs, including "Whiskey Rock-A-Roller," "Down South Junkin'," and
"Gimme Back My Bullets." In the latter tune Van Zant even boasted that he "drank enough whiskey to float a battle ship around." Even though many other modern performers bragged in a similar fashion, the man who mixed hard country and southern rock together, Hank Williams Jr., lyrically boasted the loudest. His music is culturally significant, because it epitomizes how, like in the past, southern pride and whiskey drinking still go hand in hand. When Williams reflected this cultural trait, his popularity soared, especially among young white southern males. In his early career Williams was a heavy whiskey drinker, but his tunes did not reflect his habit. This changed in 1974, when, in a drunken stupor, he concluded that the bulk of his earlier material, although successful, was "shit, plain and simple." The singer than decided he would perform his own type of music, not his father's or mother's style. His music would speak to the youths of "1974 instead of 1953." He left Nashville, moved back to the deep South and mixed country music with southern rock and roll.

In order to converse with contemporary southern males Williams simply relied on an old theme. He frequently intermixed the idea of southern manhood and whiskey drinking. In "Dixie On My Mind" he insisted New York City people could not drink Jack Daniels like Tennesseans, nor could they raise hell like Carolinians. In "My Name is Bocephus," the performer claimed Hank Williams, Sr., Ernest Tubb, and Lynyrd Skynyrd were the real outlaws, not the "silly impostures runnin' around." Understanding what it meant to be "whiskey-bent and hell-bound," made those southern males authentic outlaws. In "If Heaven Ain't A Lot Like Dixie," Williams again
highlighted his Alabama heritage and bragged he was a southern man who "shook the hand of Ol' Jim Beam." In his 1982 autobiographical hit "Whiskey On Ice," Williams repeatedly emphasized his southern ancestry. He sang that he played all the rough bars throughout Dixie and continued to boast he was a whiskey drinking, southern "rebel" who would not "be denied of my whiskey on ice." Whiskey, guns, southern males or killing northern criminals also mixed together in "Women I've Never Had" and "A Country Boy Can Survive." In many of his tunes, lyrically it seemed that Hank Williams, Jr., only lived to drink Jim Beam.17

Besides reflecting that southern males continually bragged about their liquor consumption, such tunes illustrate deep-seated cultural assumptions. When southern singers boasted about their own, or other southern males, drinking habits, they revealed that for generations the macho male complex has been deeply ingrained in southern culture. This was never only a white or a black trait, because music indicates it influenced both races. Similarly, this kind of boasting revealed that African American and white southerners routinely felt emasculated by forces beyond their control, albeit white power structures, class biases, or northerners. Their ability to drink hard liquor reinforced their sense of manhood. When modern singers gloated that northern males could not drink or fight like southern men, they expressed an old, but still common southern assumption. In the late 1930s, for example, an Alabama state revenue officer asserted that a "Yankee" could not handle whiskey like a southerner. He pointed out that when one northern male swallowed homebrew "his tongue" glowed "like [a] fire bug." In fact, the "Yankee" jumped out of the car and humiliated
himself in front of the southern males by eating dirty ditch ice. This sort of archaic assumption also emerges in modern music. In George Jones' "White Lightening," mountain moonshine was "mighty, mighty pleasin'" to the North Carolina hill people, but when a "city slicker," who claimed he was "mighty tough," drank it, he "moan[ed] as his head hit the ground."¹⁸

It is also culturally significant that a wide variety of groups and performers, such as Lynyrd Skynyrd, George Jones, Molly Hatchet, Moe Bandy, Joe Stampley, The Allman Brothers, Willie Nelson, Charlie Daniels, ZZ Top, and Hank Williams, Jr., utilized the macho southern male theme. They represent at least two different southern audiences. Although intermixing (especially with Williams, Nelson and Daniels) occurred, groups like Molly Hatchet and Lynyrd Skynyrd generally appealed to the rock faction and Bandy and Stampley to the hard country sect. The southern fans of each might not enjoy the musical styles of the other performers, but, as the music they listened to exposes, they were all infatuated with the idea that southern males could out drink, and out fight, northerners. This is a clear indication that throughout the region diverse groups of blue-collar males still held such views. This type of music also divulges that in the modern era, southerners still see themselves as a unique group of people.

Music is also culturally significant because it reflects that for generations drinking and violence often accompanied each other in the South. According to several scholars, in the past drunken southern males, who often carried guns or knifes, committed murder when liquor took away their inhibitions. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries study areas in Kentucky and Tennessee indicate that 94 percent of all
murders involved whiskey. Usually, both the victim and the killer had been drinking before their lethal argument. Other sections of the South weathered similar horrors. In 1885 Morganton, North Carolina, experienced several such incidences. Charles York, for example, got drunk and stabbed his brother. Similarly, an individual was killed when drunken males started shooting off their guns. In fact, in the 1870s such behavior was so common in Dahlonega, Georgia, the local newspaper editor denounced both whiskey and concealed weapons as "two curses which should be put down, and that speedily." Southern folklorist E. C. Perrow noted that drinking and killing continued to plague some regions in the twentieth century. Near his home in rural East Tennessee stood a tavern where fifty-seven males had been murdered.\textsuperscript{19}

Across the South, African American and white folk songsters reflected reality when they sang about males drinking and brawling. One white singer in North Carolina pointed out, for example, that whiskey would make a person "git ready to have a fit,/First thing you you're awfully tight/And out in the street a-tryin' to raise a fight." In 1909 South Carolina blacks also sang that that "ol'-time co'n licker" made people "feel like fightin'." Similarly, lyrics pointed out that African American badman, Brady, was drunk when he shot up Waco, Texas, and music also claimed that "Ole Corn whiskey" made Railroad Bill and "Bad-Lan'" Stone fight. In fact, music reflects that such behavior commonly occurred in the Appalachian region. Not only did Kentucky, West Virginia, and North Carolina songsters sing many of these kinds of tunes, but one Appalachian song also cautioned all young men to "Shun the moonshine den." If they did not listen, the
tune warned them that they could end up like Bernard Friley, a local man who was bludgeoned to death and left in a road ditch. Finally, as Morganton, North Carolina, citizens learned firsthand, whiskey often prompted crowds into doing violent acts. This is also reflected in the music. In the North Carolina song "Shu Lady," a mob destroyed the fish traps of Pleasant Chandler and Jeremiah Phillips. The tune disclosed that Henry Anderson helped incited the attack by promising the horde whiskey.

Blues tunes also depicted that blacks participated in the southern habit of drinking and fighting. Many such blues songs exist, however, it will suffice to mention only a few of the typical examples. In Leroy Carr's "Sloppy Drunk Blues," for instance, a drunk man is going to destroy a tavern. In his "Search Warrant Blues," Blind Blake claimed he was going to get "running drunk" and beat a man. Blake's 1928 hit, "Bootleg Rum Dum Blues," also detailed such behavior. Blake warned his lover that he would "Get full of my bootleg whiskey/make you fly through the door." Similarly, Kid Prince Moore, in his 1936 single "Bug Juice Blues," stated two or three drinks made him become violent and "kick like a doggone mule." Lastly, Blind Will McTell claimed in his 1935 hit "Bell Street Blues," that whiskey made him kill a man.

Finally, in the modern era the same kind of sentiments frequently emerged in both country music and southern rock and roll. Moe Bandy and Joe Stampley, for example, had several fighting and drinking songs including, "Wildlife Sanctuary," "Just Good Ol' Boys," "Holding The Bag," "Thank Goodness It's Friday," and "Wild and Crazy Guys." In the latter, for instance, a drunken Bandy was stabbed by a biker in a bar fight. In
fact, fifty years after black bluesman Leroy Carr sang that he was tearing up the tavern, white rocker Donnie Van Zant sounded the same theme in "Back Alley Sally." In this tune, Van Zant was also going to drink whiskey and "tear up the town."^^

When generation after generation of southern performers sang about drinking and fighting they not only demonstrated the continuity of southern culture, they reflected cultural realities. Liquor encouraged individuals to fight or, as "Shu Lady" indicates, whiskey helped southerners "get into the proper mood," for other "antisocial activities." In fact, several of the tunes, such as "Shu Lady" and those about Bernard Friley's murder, described actual events. Moreover, the songs often mirrored the singers' personal lifestyles. Singers such as George Jones and Ronnie Van Zant habitually found themselves in drunken brawls. In fact, when Pat Daugherty, Black Oak's guitarist, performed in rural Arkansas, he always kept his microphone stand "just about unscrewed" so he could easily undo it and "bust the head" of drunks trying to cause trouble. Furthermore, these melodies demonstrate that whites could not honestly claim that only African Americans got drunk and caused trouble, a propaganda device used to get poor white to vote for "dry" laws, because the music indicates that both black and white males participated in such activities. Finally, these songs are yet another indication that the macho male complex has been a major force throughout southern history. In many of the tunes it seemed only natural for men to drink and fight. It fact, many songsters expected such behavior out of southern males.^^

Booze tunes and the idolization of drunken southern performers are
also culturally significant because they indicate, as prominent sociologist John Shelton Reed has noted, that for generations southerners have excused men who destroyed themselves in "manly" ways. Honky tonk performers, for example, often lived the type of life they sang about. In fact, if honky tonk musician stayed away from alcohol they were "rarer than a singing turtle." Several other leading southern performers gained a large following while seemingly destroying themselves with whiskey. Jimmie Rodgers, Uncle Jimmie Thompson, George Jones, Sonny Boy Williamson, Ronnie Van Zant, Hank Williams, Jr., and a host of others, gained a reputation as whiskey addicts. In fact, at the height of their careers whiskey killed some of the South's major musical artists, including Charlie Poole, Robert Johnson, Hank Williams, Sr., and Keith Whitley. Whiskey guzzling reputations did not ostracize these performers, but in many cases it enhanced their popularity or ensured their legacy. 

Throughout its history, country music fans have glorified several such men, but it will suffice to mention the two best examples, Jimmie Rodgers and Hank Williams, Sr. During the Great Depression, an age when many southern men felt emasculated, because of the low agricultural prices, the lack of work, and because they had either lost, or were close to losing, their jobs or their farms, Jimmie Rodgers was everything many southern men wanted to be, a generous, but wealthy, whiskey-drinking rambler. Rodgers and drinking seemed to go hand in hand. In fact, his fans magnified his taste for whiskey and according to Malone "many people still have favorite stories about the time he visited the local bootlegger." In reality, his drinking habits were so exaggerated that Rodgers
could never have drunk as much alcohol as his fans claimed. Hank Williams, Sr., is also the epitome of a southern hero, a poor boy from the deep South who worked his way up from the bottom to become the "newest and greatest sensation of the Grand Ole Opry." In only three years, however, his life and career were both in shambles. The Opry fired him, his marriage disintegrated, and alcohol ruled his life. When the "greatest songwriter in country music" died in the back of his Cadillac, it seemed somehow fitting a bottle of whiskey lay by his side. Whiskey killed him, but, similar to Rodgers, it also enhanced his reputation. In fact, many of the songs written about him allude to his drinking habits. Because of this, he became a legend whose "ghost still haunts" singers and songwriters. In 1993, for example, The Kentucky Headhunters released "The Ghost of Hank Williams." Williams still remains one of most famed country stars. Besides his music, his alcoholism is most remembered. Many performers have even tried to imitate his greatness by drinking their lives away.\textsuperscript{25}

Although most southern rockers conformed to this image, the members of Lynyrd Skynyrd especially fit the profile. When Lynyrd Skynyrd acted like a gang of "hell-bent" men who enjoyed debauching themselves daily on "whiskey, women, guns, and drugs," they gathered "devoted followers by the legion." Its young southern listeners perceived Lynyrd Skynyrd as "extension[s] of themselves." In fact, the young southern males who thronged around Lynyrd Skynyrd saw the band as "larger-than-life cultural heroes." Similar to their fathers and grandfathers before them, who had admired men such as Rodgers and Williams, in the modern era, young white southern males respected Ronnie Van Zant because he too seemed to be continuously drinking
whiskey, getting in fights, and flirting with death. In fact, not only had Van Zant been arrested several times for drinking and fighting, but in a 1976 interview he also boasted that whiskey was destroying his body and burning his voice out. Moreover, he claimed he did not "expect to live very long, because I'm living too fast." In another 1976 interview Van Zant even made light of the band's many brushes with death. When guitarist Ed King and drummer Bob Burns left Lynyrd Skynyrd because of the excesses, Van Zant did not care. He stated the next tour would be even wilder than ever. As a matter of fact, Van Zant was "bettin' to see who goes next," and blows his "50 amp fuse," like the ex-drummer did. Van Zant was loved by his fans, because in his mannerisms he acted like the archetypical southern male. Sadly, however, Van Zant's death prophecy came true in 1977 when Lynyrd Skynyrd's plane crashed in the woods of Mississippi. Although several members survived, Van Zant died because he was too drunk to properly protect himself. After the crash, however, album sales skyrocketed and, like Rodgers and Williams before him, Van Zant became a southern legend. Similar to his musical predecessors, Van Zant's drinking habits gained him notoriety and respect, both before and after his death.

The habitual glorification of such men is culturally significant, because it reveals that for generations the average southerner idolized males who destroyed themselves in, what they perceived to be, a manly fashion. Although there were other ways to do this, music shows that alcohol, especially whiskey, has been the dominant method. When alcohol destroyed a southern performer, his listeners almost always forgave him. In their own way, all these southern musicians fit perfectly into the macho
complex so deeply ingrained in the region's culture.

Although music reflects that southern males have historically bragged about their ability to drink alcohol, liquor melodies, and some southerners reactions to those songs, also illustrated that in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries fundamentalism was a powerful cultural force. Notwithstanding the fact that liquor tunes abounded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, religious attitudes dictated these melodies were not to be sung in public. In 1933, for example, Sally Combs forced her husband, Kelly Combs, to leave a community singing event when he sang "Kentucky Moonshiner." In fact, before World War II fundamentalism was strong enough to prevent liquor songs from even being aired on many radio stations and country music programs like The Grand Ole Opera and The National Barn Dance. This continued to occur during the Second World War. A country tune which openly referred to drinking beer, "Pistol Packin' Mama," became one of the most popular hillbilly tunes during World War II, selling more than one million copies in its first six months of release, but the melody offended others because it openly refereed to drinking beer. In fact, although the popular tune merited air play, CBS did not air the song on its Lucky Strike Hit Parade until months after its release. After the war, reactions to liquor tunes continued to expose the power of fundamentalism in the South. In 1954, for example, Webb Pierce's "There Stands the Glass" generated considerable anxiety in Nashville. Two prominent industry representatives, Fred Rose and the Grand Ole Opery's Jim Denny, even cautioned Pierce not to record the number, because it "tolerated drinking." They felt that such a song would kill his career in the
Moreover, the abundance of anti-liquor tunes demonstrates fundamentalism's power in the South. Temperance ditties existed throughout the region. Randolph, for example, found that Ozark residents sang at least thirty-six different temperance songs, including "The Drunkard's Lone Child," "The Drunkard's Hell," and "Father is Drinking Again." These renditions gained popularity in the late 1870s when temperance clubs, such as the "Blue Ribbon Club," and religious denominations infiltrated the Ozarks and preached against drinking. These kinds of songs remained popular in country music. Two of the most prominent early stars, Jimmie Rodgers and Mother Maybelle Carter, for example, released the "Drunkard's Child" and the "Drunkard's Hell" respectively.

Similarly, fundamentalism invaded non-temperance songs. Many folk and blues tunes used liquor to impart moralistic lessons. Lyrically, drinking caused all sorts of evil deeds. In the blues, for example, whiskey or excessive drinking often physically ruined people. In his 1932 hit "Whiskey Man Blues" Black Bottom Mcphail claimed "I would stop drinking whiskey/baby if I only could/Lord Lord/whiskey is killing me." Sonny Boy Williamson expressed this same viewpoint in "Shannon Street Blues," when he maintained "alcohol is killing me/Well now they told me if I didn't quit drinking/in some lonesome cemetery I would be." Similarly, in folk music whiskey often doomed individuals, but it is important that criminals frequently repented and told others not to imitate their sinful acts. In a 1922 ballad about Frank Dupree, a North Carolina man executed for killing an Atlanta policeman in a jewelry store robbery, Dupree informed the crowd
before his execution that whiskey had ruined his life. He than redeemed himself and cautioned others to "Quit drinking whiskey, and live like men." Such lyrical confessions reaffirm the influence of religion.²⁹

In the twentieth century the power of fundamentalism can also lyrically be heard in both country music and southern rock and roll. Similar to the earlier folk tunes, many country music songs discussed drinking's pitfalls. In 1936 Dorsey Dixon wrote about a fatal Rockingham, North Carolina automobile wreck that involved whiskey. In 1946 Roy Acuff released this hit, "Wreck on the Highway," and pointed out he wished he could change the tale, but the "Master" had already "called" for their souls. The religious aspects clearly reappeared in the final verse when Acuff sang "I heard the groans of the dying/But I didn't hear no one pray." In 1947 Tim Spencer released another moralistic anti-whiskey song. In "Cigarettes, Whisky and Wild, Wild Women," which was rereleased by other country greats, including The Wilburn Brothers, a man is broken by all three elements. Such moralistic anti-liquor tunes continued to appear in the modern South. Country music love tunes are good examples, because in this genre drinking often provoked people to harm those they loved. In Ray Price's "She’s Got to Be a Saint," a drunkard realized his wife would benefit if he left. As in other such ditties, religion emerges in this tune. The man, for example, prayed for his wife, and then he fulfilled that prayer by departing. In 1976, Conway Twitty also dramatized such feelings in his "This Time I’ve Hurt Her More Than She Loves Me." Here a man, who had "been too busy drinking," finally understood that alcohol cost him his wife. His regrets are too late because "Lord, she’s already stood
more/Than I was ever good for/And this time I’ve hurt her more than she love me." 30

Country music love tunes were not the only modern country songs to detail the perils of drinking. In fact, although numerous honky tonk songs alluded to the joys of drinking, several also lectured on its dangers. One of the best is Jerry Irby’s "Drivin’ Nails in my Coffin." This song was rereleased by several country greats, such as Floyd Tillman, Ernest Tubb, and the Wilburn Brothers. Similarly, the king of honky tonkin’, George Jones, released several of these songs, including his more recent "If Whiskey Don’t Kill Me (Her Memory Will)” and "A Drunk Can’t Be a Man.” In the later "autobiographical confession," Jones pointed out drinking caused a man to embarrass his wife and children, to lead a miserable life, to "tear down more than he’s ever built before," to become vicious, and to "seem proud to have the Devil for his guide," but whiskey could never make him a man. Even the neo-honky-tonk performers sang these kinds of tunes. The man who stressed the joys of drinking the most, Moe Bandy, crooned two such numbers in 1979, "They Haven’t Made the Drink (That Can Get Me Over You)” and "Barstool Mountain." In the 1990s such tunes could still be heard in country music. In 1991, Travis Tritt sang, in "The Whiskey Ain’t Workin’," drinking could no longer "drown out all of the heartaches." He needed someone to turn his life around and "lay this ol’ bottle down," because "Lord the whiskey ain’t working anymore." 31

Finally, even though southern rock and roll bands emphasized whiskey drinking more than non-southern rock groups, some of the wildest bands had anti-booze songs. In 1976, ZZ Top released "Arrested For Driving While
Blind," and this song maintained that if someone was driving and "Feelin' that Wild Turkey’s bite," they should not "give Johnny Walker a ride." If they did that, the band said they would end-up in the "jailhouse." Similarly, ZZ Top pointed out the dangers of hard liquor when it referred to it as "BLOOD GRAIN ALCOHOL." In fact, the group suggested that drinking whiskey and driving an automobile would only lead to being arrested, or "that wonderful feel/Of rollin' in an automobile." Finally, even the rock band which pushed the whiskey drinking image the most, Lynyrd Skynyrd, had anti-whiskey tunes. In "Poison Whiskey" Van Zant sang "satan" had used alcohol to kill his Cajun father "real slow." When his alcoholic father finally went to the hospital, the doctor uttered "Twenty years of rotgut whiskey done killed this poor man dead." Van Zant ended the melody with the warning, if people did not stop drinking "Johnny Walker’s Red," they would die. Similarly, Lynyrd Skynyrd’s hit "That Smell," (the smell of death) told people that whiskey and drugs would kill them. In fact, Van Zant informed his listeners "One more drink, fool, will drown you."

These kinds of liquor tunes are culturally significant because they reveal that late nineteenth and early twentieth century singers were not the last southern performers to communicate moralistic messages, or use words which symbolized religion, in their anti-liquor numbers. In the modern era, Black Bottom Mcphail, Roy Acuff, Ray Price, Conway Twitty, George Jones, Travis Tritt and Ronnie Van Zant did the same when they lyrically articulated the terms "Saint," "Satan," "Devil," "Master," "Pray," and "Lord". The continual appearance of these words and the prevalence of anti-liquor tunes with their moralistic messages, reflect
that for generations Protestant fundamentalism continually has gripped the lives of many southern performers. Similarly, these melodies demonstrate that this force played a major role in the region’s intellectual mindset. Religion’s persistent cultural power manifested itself through these songs. This is compounded when people realize that many of these musicians, including Nelson, Jones, Williams, and The Allman Brothers, also recorded traditional church hymns, or other songs that alluded to religion. In fact, Tritt, the most recent, released "Bible Belt" on the same compact disk as "The Whiskey Ain’t Workin’."33

In retrospect, drinking tunes not only show southern cultural continuity, they reflect several regional attributes. In numerous ways these songs demonstrate that for generations the macho southern male complex has been deeply ingrained in the region’s intellectual mindset. In fact, honky tonk, neo-honky-tonk, folk, country, blues, and southern rock all reveal that both black and white males were infatuated with the idea. By boasting about consuming large amounts of liquor, southern men gained self-respect. As the lyrics of Hank Williams, Jr., and a host of other musicians, expose, whiskey drinking made southerners feel proud. This indicates that African American and white southern males routinely felt emasculated by forces beyond their control, albeit white power structures, class biases, or northerners. Historically, music demonstrates that their ability to drink hard liquor reinforced their sense of manhood. Moreover, it is culturally significant that by destroying themselves with alcohol many southern performers gained manly reputations. The more they drank the more their fans glorified them. This exposes that southerners have
historically excused men who destroyed themselves in "manly" ways, and as music clearly reflected, southerners considered death by alcohol, especially whiskey, a "manly" death. Finally, these melodies divulge the continual power of fundamentalism. By singing anti-liquor tunes and by littering their liquor songs with religious phrases and moralistic messages, a wide variety of folk, blues, honky tonk, neo-honky-tonk, country, and rock performers, such as Black Bottom Mcphail, Roy Acuff, Ray Price, Conway Twitty, George Jones, Travis Tritt, and Ronnie Van Zant, affirmed Protestant fundamentalism’s hold on the South.
Song writers and singers routinely mention liquor in southern music, but, most southern musicians did not openly discuss narcotics until the late twentieth century. Although a few nineteenth- and early twentieth-century folk, hillbilly, country, blues, and work songs alluded to drugs, lyrically narcotics never approached the prevalence of liquor in any of these genres. This reflects cultural realities. Not many African American or white southerners were knowingly addicted to illegal drugs. Furthermore, both races thought only the bottom rung of society used narcotics. Addicts were not macho like moonshiners nor did they epitomize the common man like bootleggers. Instead of being glorified or respected, music exposes that many southerners generally pitied or chastised junkies.

Although a few southerners bragged about using dope, customarily African-American folk singers warned against drug use. The tune "Cocaine Habit" tells that people used cocaine, but like work songs this ditty warned "the cocaine habit is might' bad/It kill ev'obody I know it to have had." Several tunes cautioned people that narcotics led to trouble. In the song "The Hop-Joint" a woman entered a drug den looking for "fun," but instead she was shot. After finding herself laying on the floor with a bullet in her side the woman claimed no one would "catch" her in "the hop-joint no more!" She finished this tune with a stern warning that "Some rides in buggies,/Some rides in hacks,/Some rides in hearses,/But they never come back!" Sometimes the cautions were more subtle. In "Rollin'
Mill," a popular song in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a singer told "cocaine women" they should follow his example and drink "corn liquor, let cocaine be." In the early twentieth century a Lowndes County, Alabama, African-American male also illustrated this theme by uttering he would drink "good 'bottled in bond'," but "I'll let the cocaine 'lone." Finally, southerners understood drugs were deadly. In fact, before World War II some individuals contemplated suicide with a drug overdose. In the melody "I Love That Man, O God, I Do" a woman said she would kill herself with morphine if her man did not love her.  

Committing suicide with drugs also emerged in blues tunes, including Sam Collins' 1927 hit "The Jail House Blues" and Rosa May Moore's 1928 single "Stranger Blues," but these were not the only blues numbers that alluded to drugs. As in folktunes, however, dope tunes never approached the popularity of blues liquor tunes. The use of morphine, needles, cocaine, reefers, and dope are discussed, but references to whiskey alone outnumbered drug terms in blues songs popular enough to be reissued in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. As in earlier black folktunes cocaine was the most prevalent drug alluded to, but this drug made an appearance in fewer than ten songs.  

Similar to some earlier African-American folk artists, a few blues singers bragged about their drug habits. Robert Wilkins asserted, for example, he wished he was back at "old Jim Canan's," because there men and women knew how to have a good time drinking whiskey and sniffing cocaine. New Orleans blues pianist Champion Jack Dupree swaggered in one of his versions of "Junker's Blues" that cocaine and "the needle" gave him the
"best ol' feeling/In the world that I've ever seen." Ben Ramey and the Memphis Jug Band also boasted about sniffing cocaine. In "Cocaine Habit Blues" Ramey said "If you don't believe/cocaine is good/Ask Alma Rose/down in Minglewood/I love my whiskey/and I love my gin/ But the way I love my coke/is a doggone sin . . . It takes a little coke/to give me ease."

Beginning in the 1920s, jazz performers also made records and performed numbers that contained thinly veiled allusions to drugs, including "Weed Smoker's Dream," "Kicking the Gong Around," and "Reefer Song." In the 1920s and 1930s jazz musicians also boasted about their narcotic habits in songs such as "If You're A Viper," "Wacky Dust," "The Reefer Man," "Dope Head Blues," and "Light Up."

African-American jazz and blues musicians might have enjoyed smoking reefers, but just because singers mentioned drugs in their lyrics does not mean they were users. Contrary to "the opinion" of a few people, even though some songsters sang drug ditties, scholars contend that several may never have even tried narcotics. In fact, both genres had as many anti-drug tunes as pro-drug numbers. Although Ramey boasted in "Cocaine Habit Blues," he also pointed out that a cocaine addiction was "the worst old habit/that I ever had." Ramey was not the only blues singer to vocalize such ills in otherwise pro-drug songs. In Victoria Spivey's "Dope Head Blues," for instance, an "air of desperation" emerged alongside the swaggering. The record's advertisement even claimed the single groaned "with tragedy." In fact, under the bold print "One More Sniffle" there appeared an illustration of a woman clearly ruined by drugs. She was overly thin, frail, and haggard looking.
Many other blues numbers had no favorable narcotic references whatsoever. Several followed the style laid out by early folktunes and issued warnings against using drugs, especially cocaine. In her song "Death Sting Me Blues," Sara Martin claimed that depression caused her to sniff cocaine, but coke did not cure her illness. In fact, cocaine made the aliment worse and she now wanted to die. Luke Jordon implied in "Cocaine Blues" that a coke habit had financially ruined him, and the furniture store repossessed all his household goods. He finished this song with the warning, cocaine was for horses "not women or men/The doctors say it'll kill you." Celebrated black musical stars, such as Lil McLintock, Red Nelson, Leadbelly, and Sonny Boy Williamson also had similar anti-cocaine tunes.

Anti-Cocaine numbers were not the only anti-drug songs. Before World War II some black artists lambasted marijuana in several tunes, including "Sweet Marijuana Brown," "Knockin' Myself Out," and "Working Man Blues." The former melody stated, for example, "Sweet Marijuana Brown/She don't know where she's going, she don't care where she's been/But every time you take her out, she's bound to take you in/Boy, that gal means trouble, you ought to put her down/Get help, take care, look out, beware of Sweet Marijuana Brown." In "Working Man Blues" Red Nelson claimed "reefers are made for doggone fools" and weed "is made for Georgia mules." Finally, in 1937 Washboard Sam maintained he was going to kill his woman, because "reefers" made her act "lowdown." He insisted smoking dope caused her to associate with "the lowest class in town."

Although cocaine was generally the hardest drug mentioned in folk and
blues tunes, jazz employed opium, morphine, and heroin. African-American singers, however, did not generally bragg about the use of opiates. Early twentieth century Alabamians sang untitled ditties, for example, that alluded to the dire consequences of using morphine. In Escambia County, Alabama, a songster sang that morphine would kill him. In addition, Hazel Myers' "Pipe Dream Blues" warned against smoking opium. Opium might have made Myers dream happy thoughts, such as she had a million dollars, but when the drugs wore off the singer had more troubles then before. The implication was opium only made your life worse. The warnings associated with opiates reflected the views of musicians themselves. Jazz performers might have used, or tolerated, marijuana, but they were more cautious and concerned about heroin. In one survey 53 percent of the jazz musicians stated heroin was dangerous. Unlike marijuana, when musicians wanted heroin they could not readily buy it from associates. Instead they had to make contacts with the underworld. That was risky. Moreover, jazz performers knew stiff jail sentences awaited people apprehended by the police for having dope. 7

African-American drug tunes also reflect several cultural realities. A few early African-American folksongs, including "The Hop-Joint," "Honey Take A One On Me," and "Cocaine Habit," mirror studies which indicate some southern blacks snorted cocaine. In "Cocaine Habit," for example, the singer stated "up town" African Americans were "givin' cocaine hell." When this song said "up town" people engaged in the activity it indicated most rural or poor blacks could not afford narcotics. Cocaine cost at least twenty-five cents per grain in 1910; therefore, the largest group of
African-Americans, sharecroppers, could not have routinely taken the drug. Some African-American workers, such as New Orleans dock workers, occasionally used "cocaine as a pick-me-up," and a few references to coke emerged in their work songs. Cocaine might have helped laborers endure the elements, long hours, and horrible conditions, but coke was not glorified in all work tunes. Some work songs implied that cocaine was "bad," because it killed "ev-ybody I know it to have had."\(^8\)

Although sometimes harder drugs lyrically emerged in African-American songs, they were not generally popular with blacks. Morphine was a white drug, consequently, African-American folktunes rarely referred to it. Ramey stated that when cocaine "went out of style" people turned to needles, but such statements were uncommon in the blues. In fact, this was the only reference to injecting drugs in a blues song popular enough to be reissued from 1920 to 1945. Heroin is also basically non-existent in southern blues numbers popular enough to be reissued. Dupree’s "Junker Blues" is the sole example. Early jazz numbers also rarely supported heroin or morphine use. In fact, anti-heroin songs emerged because jazz musicians thought heroin and morphine junkies were "right at the bottom" and should be pitied not respected.\(^9\)

It is significant, however, that several folk, blues, and jazz dope numbers, such as the "Hop-Joint," "Rollin’ Mill," "Old Jim Canan’s," "Minnie the Moocher," "Pipe Dream Blues," and "Cocaine Blues," talked about women using drugs. Moreover, women were the authors of a "disproportionately large number" of the pro-cocaine and pro-marihuana songs. This reflects statistics which indicate that some women used dope. In
fact, women were the majority of nineteenth century morphine and opium
addicts. Also bluesmen did not generally sing about smoking weed, because
the marijuana image did not fit into the self-image most wanted to promote.
Smoking marijuana, for example, was not as macho as drinking whiskey.
Moreover, in southern history social outlaws have often been depicted as
drinkers and fighters, not dopers. Finally unlike moonshine, reefers were
not illegal until 1937. Therefore, if a male singer wanted to promote a
bad man image, he generally sang about consuming large amounts of alcohol,
rather than smoking marijuana.

Furthermore, the general lack of narcotic tunes indicates that in the
late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries African Americans did not
extensively abuse drugs. Drug abuse by African Americans was something the
media stressed and the white public overwhelmingly accepted. Given the
fact that most people either sing about things they enjoy or circumstances
that reflect cultural attributes, it is significant that instead of
cherishing dope tunes, blacks rarely sang the ditties. One early collector
stated, for example, African Americans were "quite averse to having the
shadow cast on their good name that any acquaintance with the song would,
to their mind, shed." When Washboard Sam stated "reefers" caused his lover
to associate with "the lowest class in town" he expressed a common feeling
in the black community. Moreover, when black folk and blues songs warned
people not to take narcotics, associate with dope dealers, or visit drug
dens they clearly show a lot of African Americans did not approve of this
type of behavior.

In fact, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries drug use was
predominantly a white problem, especially in the South. Although a few
black workers sniffed cocaine and smoked marijuana, most rural African
Americans did not take drugs. In 1885, for example, doctors for the
Eastern North Carolina Insane Asylum reported only three cases of opium
addiction among African Americans. In 1912 and 1913 Caucasians made-up
three-fourths of Jacksonville's opium and morphine addicts, but Jackson­
ville's population was over half black. In approximately the same era only
10 percent of Tennessee's registered addicts were African Americans, but
blacks constituted 25 percent of Tennessee's citizenry. In addition, while
Shreveport, Louisiana, and Houston, Texas, had considerable black settle­
ments, respectively 91.5 and 95.5 percent of the addicts in those cities
were white. Finally, of the 2,119 people admitted to the Georgia State
Sanitarium between 1909 and 1914 only three African Americans were addicted
to drugs. Conversely, 142 whites showed signs of drug addiction. As the
admission's examiner pointed out these findings "ran contrary to public
opinion."12

Although statistics and music both revealed otherwise, Caucasians
were under the false impression that black males routinely took cocaine and
raped white women. This notion provoked several race riots and numerous
lynchings. Rural southerners were not the only people who made these
assumptions. In 1916, for example, Dr. Jack R. Campbell stated in the New
York Times that cocaine abuse among southern African Americans "is one of
the most elusive and troublesome questions which confronts the enforcement
of the law in most of the Southern states." It was commonly thought black
males habitual purchased moonshine laced with cocaine. This potent
concoction supposedly made blacks vicious. There is only one African-American tune that discussed this sort of drink, but this song negatively portrayed the practice. In his 1928 hit, "Bootlegging Blues," Jim Jackson might have drunk such concoctions, but he did not enjoy them. He really did not want to consume the mixture, however, nothing else was available during prohibition. In fact, he longed for pure whiskey. Although he swallowed the stuff, the drink did not make him crazy, rape women, or become aggressive. Instead the mixture made him miserable and broke; therefore, the song can be classified as a negative tune. In its own way, the tune warned others not to participate in such activities.\textsuperscript{13}

Southern African Americans who traveled North in search of opportunity were also labeled as drug abusers, rapist, and villains. According to sociologist John Helmer, stereotyping blacks as narcotic fiends was an "ideology designed to justify and legitimize the repression with which black claims for equality were met," but in actuality the African Americans who left the rural South for Northern urban areas did not abuse drugs anymore than those who stayed behind. This is clearly indicated in blues lyrics. Since music reflects society and culture, if a lot of ex-southern blacks had taken drugs once they settled in the North, narcotics would have played a more significant role in their music, especially in the blues. Most blacks did not lionize drug users nor did they approve of such behavior and they did not want to hear pro-narcotic tunes. In fact, unlike whiskey melodies, pro-drug songs were generally not even popular enough to be reissued. Conversely, if cocaine, heroin or morphine abusers were widely respected outside musical circles, anti-drug songs would not have
emerged. In fact, those were the tunes listeners preferred, since they were the songs generally reissued. Moreover, it is significant that singers overwhelmingly claimed drugs killed people, made individuals act like "fools," or caused "low down" behavior. These songs indicate African Americans who left the South and traveled North kept many of their social and cultural ideals. Once poor southern blacks stepped off the train, music exposes that they did not seek out the nearest drug den as many Northern urbanites imagined. Even though their music clearly indicated that the recent black immigrants did not take drugs, the reality is that even if they had wished to engage in such activities most were simply too poor to buy narcotics.  

Finally, it is significant that jazz drug songs really began to appear only after the genre had left the South. In its early New Orleans period, alcohol was the drug of choice, because liquor was more socially acceptable. Jelly Roll Morton claimed he and other New Orleans jazz performers "went out of their way" to play at funerals, because that was where they got free whiskey and beer. There was no mention of dope. The New Orleans era was one of the few periods when jazz performers were an "integral and accepted part of their community." Drug use would have made the musicians social outcasts. This is another indication that alcohol, not drugs, played a major role in southern culture. It was not until Jazz moved North in the 1920s that marijuana became the drug of choice for musicians. In fact, not until after the World War II did heroin gained popularity in that genre. By then, Northern urban conditions clearly shaped and influenced mainstream Jazz.
As in other southern musical genres liquor references greatly outnumbered allusions to dope in hillbilly tunes. This reflected cultural realities. Although studies have shown more white southerners were addicted to drugs than African Americans, southern whites did not respect illegal drug addicts any more than blacks. Prominent historian, Bill Malone, pointed out that many southerners would not have knowingly taken narcotics, but drug laced patent medicines were heavily utilized in the region. In fact, commercials for these products inundated early hillbilly radio programs. Similarly, medicine shows did best in the Mid-west and South where rural crowds were more gullible and grateful for entertainment. Medicine shows also gave many southern musicians their first big brake. In fact, most of Memphis’ celebrated blues and street singers got their start in this genre. Similarly, country musicians like Roy Acuff, Hank Williams, and Jimmy Rodgers worked that circuit.16

Bombarded by musicians, quack doctors, and radio ads, it is little wonder rural southerners consumed large amounts of patent medicines, such as Anglo-American Catarrh, Agnew’s Powder, and Tucker’s Asthma Cure. Each was a vehicle through which cocaine reached, and addicted, poor whites in the South. But a majority of southern addicts were middle and upper class Caucasians. Unlike poorer whites and blacks, these people had access to medical facilities. As several early twentieth century opiate addicts indicated, small town southern doctors prescribed narcotics quicker than northern doctors, because, not only did southerners suffer from more illnesses, such as malaria and diarrhea, for which southern doctors habitually prescribed opiates, but many southern doctors were also unaware
of the ill effects of such drugs. In fact, in this era the medical profession created most southern addicts.17

When mountain music did not mention drug addiction, it reflected several things. Many poorer southerners did not know they were junkies. The impoverished who drank morphine based patent medicines were "blissfully unaware of its habit-forming potential" and if they had withdrawal symptoms they attributed it to sickness or something else rather than "discontinuation of the medicine." These people could not sing about conditions that they did not even know existed. Moreover, unlike moonshiners, a person who wanted medicine did not have to fight the government, therefore, no courage was associated with the practice. It was similar to drinking an antacid today. Anyone with enough money could get a legal prescription or buy a patent medicine. Making or drinking medicine does not make someone a social outlaw. In fact, before 1900 most drug addicts were respectable types, and law abiding citizens were not the class of people who routinely appeared in mountain music. Unlike repentant criminals, they had no moral lessons to impart. Also a large majority of addicts were middle and upper class southerners, but folk music was generally the music of the rural poor. In addition, many addicts were Civil War veterans who had been prescribed opiates in the war. This group hid their addictions, because when exposed they lost their pensions. These men would not have jeopardized themselves lyrically.18

Like folk musicians, hillbilly performers generally only admitted to alcohol abuse, but a few drug songs emerged in this genre. In 1928, Dick Justice, for example, distributed his almost verbatim version of Luck
Jordan's "Cocaine Blues," entitled "Cocaine." Similarly, the African-American drug song "Take a Whiff on Me" appeared in hillbilly music. Not only are such songs rare, but Jordon's "Cocaine Blues" showed the negative aspects of cocaine. In fact, hillbilly musicians changed the meanings of some drug melodies to reflect the cultural habits of rural southerners. When Charlie Poole and his North Carolina Ramblers reissued "Take A Whiff on Me" they altered it to "Take a Drink on Me." This changed the whole meaning of the tune, since liquor now replaced cocaine. The transformation of "Take a Drink on Me" clearly indicted that alcohol was more socially acceptable than narcotics in the rural South. These songs also show that liquor consumption was more widespread than illegal drug addiction. Finally, before 1945 both black and white anti-drug songs illustrated that a lot of southerners disapproved of illegal dope.19

After the World War II, honky tonk performers habitually sang about alcohol, but drug numbers were basically non-existent. This also reflected the culture. Unlike whiskey and beer, hard drugs were not part of the early honky tonkin' bar scene or lifestyle. Even though hallucinogens were uncommon, some country musicians smoked marijuana. Willie Nelson was arrested in 1994 for smoking reefers, but it was in 1954 that he puffed his first joint. During that era, Nelson was not alone. He knew several others musicians who smoked reefers during the late 1940s and early 1950s, but lyrical references to marijuana do not appear. This is an indication that, unlike drinking whiskey, it was culturally unacceptable to smoke marijuana outside musical circles.20

Similar to other performers, country musicians and their road crews
also swallowed amphetamines. A lethal mixture of amphetamines and whiskey killed Hank Williams. Johnny Cash was also addicted to this drug. It was not gangsters, however, but Grand Ole Opry employees who got Cash hooked on the pills that almost destroyed his career. Not only did amphetamines make Cash violent, they burned his voice out, and got him barred from the Opry. Unlike marijuana or cocaine, however, amphetamines were not illegal nor under strict federal regulation until 1970. Similarly, several groups, besides musicians, used amphetamines. American soldiers in World War II, the Korean War, and Vietnam legally took amphetamines to stay awake and boost their fighting spirit, but the habit stayed with many when the war ended.21

Truck driving was one occupation especially affected by this drug. The pill popping habits of truck drivers were as much a part of their macho mystic as diesel fumes and eighteen wheelers. In reality these hard working individuals had to take speed in order to drive longer hours, stop less for food, and keep awake. The more miles they traveled, the more money they made. Southern truckers "fulled on amphetamine goodwill" were common throughout the region, and they were audiences members in many backwater southern bars. Unlike jazz singers who touted heroin, when southern singers mentioned popping speed their hard scrapple listeners readily identified with the music. Therefore, it is not surprising that in 1963 amphetamines emerged in Cash's popular trucker song, "Six Days on the Road." "The Man in Black" reflected reality when he sang that the trucker took "little white pills" to keep his eyes "open wide." Moreover, this trucker, like most, was the epitome of two traditionally popular southern
figures, the macho male and the common man. He was macho because he took amphetamines, he worked for himself, he drove too fast, his cargo weighed too much, and he dodged the police, the Interstate Commerce Commission and weigh stations. He was also a common man, because he was faithful to his wife, worked hard, drove an old beaten-up rig, and only took pills so he could "make it home tonight" to see his family. It was culturally acceptable for Cash to sing about truckers swallowing speed, because, unlike smoking reefer, the deeds reflected common situations, appeared macho, and were legal.22

Although Cash had a few tunes that mentioned amphetamines, until the 1970s most southern singers did not readily discuss other drugs in their lyrics. Religious groups had a difficult enough time dealing with performers who glorified liquor, and, routine references to illegal drugs simply would not have been tolerated. Moreover, a large majority of country fans could not have identified with the messages if singers had advanced far beyond the image of macho truckers popping speed. Rural southerners might have drunk, but not many took illegal drugs. Furthermore, a few musicians like Nelson might have smoked marijuana in the 1950s and 1960s, but they did not stress it lyrically because in an era of harsh drug laws no performer wanted a high drug profile.23

Not only would the police harass musicians, but they might not have a job. Cash and Williams found out the hard way that the Opera expected its performers to be in top form. Their drug habits got both fired. Their misfortunes did not go unnoticed by other performers. No one would hire a known drug addicted musician, because they had horrible reputations for
missing dates. Moreover, drugs often ruined their voices or their playing ability suffered. In fact, in the 1950s even the most vocal of all performers when it came to narcotics, the jazz musicians in New York City and other northern urban areas, stopped direct references to drugs in their lyrics and song titles. Between 1953 and 1955 federal agents and the police cracked down on jazz performers all over the United States. Some big jazz stars, including Anita O'Day, Stan Getz, Art Pepper, Tadd Dameron, and Gary Mulligan were arrested and sent to prison for drug use.24

In this era country music performers did not lead the way and lyrically address drugs or their drug habits. In fact, the opposite occurred. In his mega hit of 1969, "Okie From Muskogee," Merle Haggard made it clear that many of the things occurring in other parts of the United States had no place in Muskogee, Oklahoma, because Oklahoma people liked "living right and being free." In fact, this song strongly lambasted drugs. Haggard began by claiming Muskogee residents did not "smoke marijuana" or take their "trips on L.S.D." This song clearly showed that alcohol consumption was still more socially acceptable and more widespread than drugs. It stated, for example, "White Lightning's still the biggest thrill of all." Similar to the earlier folktunes "Okie From Muskogee" illustrated that in this era many people continued to distinguish between alcohol and drug abuse.25

In the early 1970s, however, things started to change. The counter culture movement swept the United States and drugs were a major aspect of that scene. Although "Okie From Muskogee" showed that some people attempted to resist various aspects of the counter culture, the South was not
immune to the changes engulfing the rest of the nation. Like all musicians southern performers begin to talk more openly about their drug habits. From the mid-1970s onward things even began to change in country music. It was now no longer as damaging to mention drugs. Hank Williams, Jr., alluded to taking pills, growing dope, or smoking marijuana in several of his most popular songs, including "Family Tradition," "A Country Boy Can Survive," "All My Rowdy Friends (Have Settled Down)," "Women I've Never Had," "The Conversation," "If Heaven Ain't A Lot Like Dixie," and "I Just Ain't Been Able." In "A Country Boy Can Survive," for example, he implied that rural southerners grew their own marijuana. This theme reemerged in "If Heaven Ain't A Lot Like Dixie," where he maintained that if heaven was not like Alabama he did not want to go there. In Alabama he had "crazy little weeds growin' around my shack." In fact, in "Family Tradition" he bragged about rolling his own smoke. When Williams alluded to "crazy little weeds" or rolling smoke he did not mean tobacco and cigarettes. His listeners understood that he was referring to reefer and joints.

Williams was not the only country musician to lyrically mention narcotics. In 1984, two neo-honky tonkers that reflected the cultural values of blue collar southerners, Moe Bandy and Joe Stampley, released "Daddy's Honky Tonk." In this tune the duo claimed their "loving mom" finally had enough of their "daddy's aggravation," and, she smoked her first joint. This ended with her burning down a honky tonk, but it did not chastise the woman for smoking dope. Fundamentalism's power could still be felt, however, since she was described as a "God fearing" women who finally "gave in to temptation," but marijuana use did not seem anymore wrong than
drinking. In fact, the local women all admired her. This view is reinforced when the "Parson" said it was not arson. Actually all the local men believed she was a "witch" not because she smoked dope, but because she burned down the honky tonk.27

Other country musicians were also becoming more open about their own drug habits. In August of 1977 federal agents arrested Waylon Jennings for "conspiracy to possess and distribute twenty-three grams of cocaine," but instead of hiding or apologizing Jennings appeared at a Nelson concert the next night and told everyone his feeling on the matter when he added the sentence "I don't give a damn" to his tune "Pick Up the Tempo." Hank Williams, Jr., also mentioned his drug problems in his autobiography. He admitted at twenty-four he was both a drunkard and a dope addict. George Jones also had a major habit. Of all country superstars, however, Willie Nelson cultivated the marijuana image the most. He not only admitted that he had smoked reefer everyday since the 1950s, his autobiography was literally filled with stories of his dope habit. When his Ridgetop house burned in 1969 Nelson claimed he hurriedly checked the debris before the police, because he had stashed two pounds of "Columbia tea" in his guitar case. Moreover, during the late 1970s he got expelled of the Bahamas for possessing marijuana and only a few days later he was smoking dope on the White House balcony. Nelson not only talked about using dope, he even advocated its legalization. These stars could not have kept their careers and admitted such behavior during the 1950s and 1960s, but now none of these actions concerned their fans. As the songs of Williams and "The Good Ol' Boys" showed, blue-collar southerners no longer had as much animosity
towards marijuana users.\textsuperscript{28}

Although early southern rockers did not emphasize their drug habits, by the late 1960s and early 1970s drug use, especially marijuana, was a major, and openly talked about, part of the southern rock scene. Southern rockers might have sung "Dixie" in concert, but they were basically not unlike other rock stars when it came to their drug habits. Not only in magazines did many performers candidly discuss smoking marijuana, but several also lyrically addressed the habit. As early as 1974, for example, The Charlie Daniels Band stressed marijuana in its popular "Long Haired Country Boy." In 1974 Black Oak Arkansas also talked about smoking dope in Mangrum's autobiographical tune "Older Than Grandpa." In this song, which appeared on a 1974 album entitled Early Times, Mangrum fondly remembered several things about his teenage years in rural Arkansas, including "Smoking a pipe bowl."\textsuperscript{29}

Of course, in their lyrics several non-southern bands also discussed smoking reefer, but it is culturally significant that southern numbers were often radically different. In most, for example, the psychedelic, hippie image did not emerge. In addition, unlike non-southern groups, when they sang about smoking reefer, both southern rock and country musicians frequently mixed smoking marijuana, the southern macho male theme, and the rural South together. Although several bands and performers did this, including Hank Williams, Jr., Charlie Daniels, and Black Oak Arkansas, country/rock musician Steve Earle is a perfect example. In his 1988 hit "Copperhead Road," for example, Earle equated a modern marijuana grower in the mountains of Tennessee to his moonshining and bootlegging ancestors.
When this modern southern man "came home" from Vietnam, he followed in his family's footsteps with a "brand new plan." Instead of making illegal whiskey, he would plant seeds from "Columbia and Mexico" in a mountain "holler." Similar to his ancestors, the government tried to arrest him, but he warned the "D.E.A," and everyone else, that they had "better stay away from Copperhead Road." If people did not leave him alone, he claimed he would deal with them like his southern grandfather dealt with federal agents, he would slaughter them. Like the brave moonshiner of old, this dope grower was a macho male. These kinds of tunes reflect that although during the mid-1970s and 1980s young southern males generally did not take hard drugs, such as heroin and P.C.P., they now thought it was as macho to smoke marijuana as drink whiskey.  

Similarly, from the early 1970s onward southern rockers also started emphasizing dope on their album covers. On the inside gatefold cover of the Allman Brothers's highly successful 1972 album, *Eat A Peach*, drugs played a prominent role, especially hallucinogenic mushrooms. Literally hundreds of these mushrooms were displayed. Some could even be seen carrying enormous joints. In fact, the whole inside cover resembled an hallucinogenic trip. On the inside jacket of Black Oak's 1973 album, *If An Angel Came To See You, Would You Make Her Feel At Home?*, the group photo displayed some band members with a "grass" holder. This small leather pouch, which resembled a gun holster, hung around the waist and carried marijuana. In 1976 Lynyrd Skynyrd's album, *One More From The Road*, depicted joints on the inside gatefold cover. Finally, in 1981 ZZ Top's album *El Loco* showed the smiling band members being arrested for possessing
large canvas bags filled with marijuana. In this regard's southern rockers were no different than any other rock band.\textsuperscript{31}

From the late 1960s to the 1990s when country music stars and southern rock performers discussed their drug habits, sang about smoking reefer, and issued such album covers they were reflecting the changes occurring in southern culture. Like in the rest of the nation, music reinforces statistics which show that drug use, especially marijuana, was becoming more accepted and more widespread in the South. The record companies who issued the songs and approved of the album covers were "in tune" with these group's audiences, many of which were southerners, and they would not allow the bands to say or put anything controversial on their albums if they thought it might hinder sales. This is significant, because, according to various southern rockers, the bands and the record companies both recognized that marijuana use was a popular theme with their southern listeners. Black Oak, the record companies and their fans all understood, for example, that "grass" holders, such as those seen on If An Angel Came To See You, Would You Make Her Feel At Home?, "stashed" marijuana, but still the album sold. The same can be said for other southern rock groups, since their drug references were more blatant. In the final analysis, these lyrics and album covers reflected that, in regards to marijuana use, things had really changed since the late 1940s.\textsuperscript{32}

Although these songs and record jackets do show that along with the rest of the United States, southern society was changing, music also indicates that southerners could still be very conservative when it came to the use of hard drugs. Country star Hoyt Axton warned against cocaine in
his 1971 number "Snow Blind Friend," in which he stated "Did you say you saw your good friend flyin' low/dyin' slow . . . Blinded by snow." Hank Williams, Jr., could be both anti-hard drug and pro-soft drug at the same time. In 1983, he released "In the Arms of Cocaine" which talked about a woman who could handle everything except "the arms of cocaine." The final verse made it clear hard drugs were no good. He sang, for instance, there was "no more stormy weather" since "she broke the chains of cocaine." In 1990 Williams continued with this theme in the song "U.S.A. Today," maintaining that drugs were a major problem with contemporary America. This was only a few years after he had lyrically bragged about smoking marijuana.33

Similarly, Johnny Cash told about the pitfalls of hard drugs in a song he first recorded on January 13, 1968, "Cocaine Blues." In this tune the repentant criminal pointed out that he popped pills, performed in "Hop Joints," and snorted cocaine, but this behavior led to his downfall. He, for example, "took a shot of cocaine" grabbed his forty-four and killed his female lover. He then snorted another line of coke and ran away, like a coward. Instead of glorifying this behavior, Cash claimed the law finally apprehended him, and he received a ninety-nine year prison sentence. Unlike numerous moonshine ditties, in this tune no one felt sorry for the drug addict. In fact, Cash ended the number with a warning to all the "hop heads." He told them to listen to him and "let that cocaine be."34

Finally, even Nelson and Jennings had anti-drug tunes. In 1987, for example, Jennings released "Rough and Rowdy Days" and "I'm Living Proof (There's Life After You)." When discussing the latter song, Jennings
claimed that for twenty-one years he had taken drugs, but neither he nor any person could handle them. In the tune he even called himself a "fool" for taking drugs and implied life was much better after he kicked the habit. In 1985 Nelson released "Are There Any More Real Cowboys," in which he pointed out his idea of an authentic, macho cowboy was not the type of male who snorted cocaine when the honky tonks closed. Instead the real cowboy worked hard and "prayed for rain."³⁵

Southern rockers also released anti-hard-drug tunes. In the mid-1970s Lynyrd Skynyrd had a hit with "That Smell" and Molly Hatchet discussed the same theme in its 1979 song "Dead And Gone." In 1977 the Charlie Daniels Band lyrically pointed out that the man who chased "bennies ... down with Thunderbird wine" died violently. In the 1980s Daniels began to take a very hard line against drugs. His 1981 tune "Ragin' Cajun" romanticized a Louisiana man who killed a drug dealer. By 1989 Daniels lyrically proclaimed drug pushers should be lynched. In his tune "Simple Man" dealers were grouped into the same category as child molesters. Daniels tunes reflect that the "evil pusher" idea was culturally strong. Typically it was the drug dealer, not the dope user, who received the majority of the blame.³⁶

Besides reinforcing the "evil pusher" idea, these anti-drug songs reflect several things. Many simply mirror the musicians personal thoughts. Jennings, for instance, had found out he could not handle drugs. Moreover, they reinforce statistics that show during the 1980s and 1990s drug use actually decreased. When Williams sang that drugs were a major reason for America's ills, he expressed common concerns. These songs also
mirror the fact that although drug use did increase in the South, statistics show that the region still had the lowest consumption of drugs in the United States. When people think of drug tunes, country music and southern rock and roll generally do not come to mind. British groups and West and East Coast bands released more of these tunes. By examining a list of 129 drug-oriented songs of the 1960s and early 1970s southern bands were not the leaders. In fact, most of their songs were anti-drug or discussed alcohol.37

Similar to earlier southern musicians, southern rockers like Lynyrd Skynyrd and Molly Hatchet stressed liquor more than drugs. This was completely opposite of bands from other regions. Besides Dixie Rock, liquor never really played a major role in rock music. In fact, rock music in general mentioned alcohol infrequently and instead emphasized drugs. Conversely, southern rockers might have snorted cocaine, but they lyrically stressed their whiskey drinking, not their cocaine habits. Similarly, alcohol, not dope, played a significant role in post-war country music. In Williams', "In the Arms of Cocaine," for example, he lambasted a woman for snorting coke, but he liked the fact that she enjoyed Jim Beam. This illustrates, as in the past, liquor was more prevalent and more cultural acceptable in the contemporary South than drugs, especially hard drugs. Although all Americans were changing their attitudes towards drugs, music indicates that southerners were altering their opinions at a slower pace, particularly when it came to the issue of hard drugs.38

Lastly, drug tunes alsoillustrate that, like people nationwide, contemporary southerners classified drug use into different categories.
Statistics since the 1970s have shown southerners smoke more marijuana than take other types of narcotics. This is reflected in the music. In fact, southern lyrics, performers, and album covers of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s generally only depicted or discussed smoking marijuana. Conversely, lyrically and in interviews, southern musicians usually characterized hard drugs negatively. Many southerners might overlook a person smoking the occasional joint, but harder drug use has routinely been lambasted in both African-American and white southern music. Willie Nelson, for example, pointed out that he smoked marijuana everyday, but he said "you'll never find me . . . using cocaine. [and] Heroin is so far beyond anything I would use or even tolerate around me that I won't bother to talk about it. I have one firm rule with the band and the crew regarding cocaine: if you're wired, you're fired." As his "Are There Any More Real Cowboys" demonstrated, this attitude emerged in his music.39

Lyrically, southern rockers also took this attitude. In Daniels' "Ragin' Cajun" the drug dealer he killed had "stuck a needle" in his sister's arm. Molly Hatchet's "Dead And Gone" discussed the hazards of heroin addiction. In this song the band claimed when a person put "the needle into the spoon . . . You're running for a stone-cold tomb . . . . The Needle leave you dead and gone." Finally, Lynyrd Skynyrd's hit song "That Smell," (the smell of death) told people that quaaludes, cocaine, and heroin would kill them. Van Zant told his listeners who took drugs that the "Angle of Darkness is upon you/Stuck a needle in your arm. . . . Have a blow for your nose. . . . Say you'll be alright tomorrow/But tomorrow might not be here for you. . . Got a monkey on your back/Just one more fix, Lord,
might do the trick/One Hell of a price for you to get your kicks."40

Finally, as in country music, this negative opinion of hard drugs not only emerged lyrically in southern rock. In 1972, for example, Jim Mangrum told Crawdaddy's Brian Zabawski that it was "silly" that marijuana use was illegal, but he then added that no one can "handle" the "heavy stuff." In fact, various band members of Black Oak Arkansas made it a point to inform their fans that they never injected drugs. The band knew that many people classified drug use into different categories. Black Oak Arkansas spoke for many southerners when it did media spots urging people not to use heroin and when it claimed marijuana use was fine. When modern country artists, such as Johnny Cash, Waylon Jennings, and Willie Nelson, and hard southern rockers, such as Jim Mangrum, Ronnie Van Zant, and Danny Brown, issued songs and statements critical of hard drugs, they sounded a lot like their folk and blues predecessors. This not only demonstrates the continuity of southern culture, but it also reinforces statistics which show that in the contemporary era the South has the lowest number of hard drug users.41

In conclusion, although drugs appeared in many forms of southern music, narcotics never gained the popularity of alcohol in southern folk, hillbilly, blues, neo-honky-tonk, country, or rock music. In the early twentieth century, for example, some southern singers even converted drug tunes into liquor numbers to reflect cultural attributes. In fact, unlike northern jazz, whiskey, not dope, was the drug of choice in early New Orleans Jazz. When, unlike non-southern rock musicians, southern rockers also stressed alcohol more than drugs, they not only indicated that liquor
has traditionally been more socially acceptable than drug use, but they also demonstrated the continuity of southern culture. Moreover, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries anti-drug tunes revealed that many black and white southerners did not approve of illegal drugs. Similarly, the blues illustrated, contrary to white northern public opinion, that when southern African Americans traveled north before 1945, they did not forsake their old ideas and overwhelmingly consume dope. Lastly, although music reflects that from the late 1960s onward marijuana use did increase in the region, it also discloses that contemporary southerners still classify narcotics into different categories. As music exposes, in the modern era many southerners might forgive someone for smoking an occasional joint, but, like their ancestors, most are still opposed to the use of hard drugs.
CHAPTER 10
CONFEDERATE SYMBOLISM

Since the Civil War militant pro-South symbols have continuously emerged in southern music. During the Civil War, for instance, many melodies glorified the Confederate flag. After the war, flag and militant tunes remained in the oral tradition throughout the rural South. Although the patriotic zeal that accompanied America's entrance into World War II temporarily silenced southerners from glorifying the Confederacy, immediately after the war when the federal government began challenging the South's racial status quo, Confederate symbols reemerged. In fact, in the modern era Confederate symbolism routinely appeared in white tunes, concerts, and on album-cover art. Confederate memorabilia not only engulfed the whole southern rock and roll scene of the 1970s, but several southern performers also continued to utilize such items in the 1990s.

The Confederate banners, the wearing of Confederate uniforms, and songs such as "Move them Niggers North," "Stay Away From Dixie," and "Nigger Hating Me," all indicate that racism thrived in the contemporary South. When modern performers exploited the Confederate flag they were not being progressive instruments of change that tried to foster racial understanding, nor were they pushing for equal rights, instead, like their Reconstruction ancestors, they promoted the myth of the Old South, racism, and bigotry. Moreover, when they romanticized Confederate relics, contemporary musicians reflected that many white southerners were afraid that the South had lost its distinctiveness. For this group music became a panacea,
through which they hoped to re-Dixie Dixie.

Among southern whites the Confederate flag and the tune "Dixie" are two of the oldest, most revered, and most charged symbols. In fact, the flag is still their "most holy of relics," and in some form it continues to officially wave over the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia. Music indicates that for several generations southerners have praised various versions of this emblem. Although during the Civil War "Dixie" was the most popular southern tune, a song which paid homage to one variant of the flag, "The Bonnie Blue Flag," ranked a close second. Throughout the war years southern printing presses routinely distributed this flag tune. This was a militant ditty with a militant history. Its inspiration came from Mississippi secession meetings. The melody described how a single star appeared on the flag when the "gallant" and "noble" South Carolina "made a stand" against northern tyranny. The secession of each state was romantically described until finally the single star banner transformed itself into an eleven starred flag. "The Bonnie Blue Flag" even defended slavery when it applauded southerners "for fighting for the property we gained by honest toil." By property, the songster did not mean cotton! This flag song was not only popular on the home front, but many soldiers, such as those in the Army of Northern Virginia, also enjoyed singing it. Southerners loved the tune, but it also caused northerners to become emotional, albeit of a different nature. In fact, when New Orleans surrendered to Union forces General Ben Butler penalized those caught singing the song twenty-five dollars. Moreover, the General fined the ditty's publisher $500. Butler took such drastic action,
because he understood the song’s emotional power. By halting it, he was trying to shatter Confederate nationalism.¹

This was not the only southern melody that lionized the flag of a nation that fought for human bondage, and believed in racial inferiority. In fact, the stars and bars was a favorite theme with southern song writers. Harry McCarthy, the author of "The Bonny Blue Flag," also wrote another number entitled "Missouri." This ditty called upon that state to leave the Union and "add your bright Star to our Flag of Eleven." Similarly, references to the flag emerged in many other Civil War tunes, such as McCarthy’s "Origin Of The Stars & Bars," "Our Flag And Its Origin," and "Our Southern Flag," General Albert Pike’s version of "Dixie," Mrs. C. D. Elder’s "Confederate Flag," John Hill Hewitt’s "The Young Volunteer," and the "Southern Battle Cry of Freedom." Hewitt, for example, made numerous references to the memory of the flag. He observed that the young southern military volunteers were true to their banner, and he wrote that every southerner should follow their example and cheer the flag. The "Southern Battle Cry of Freedom," which was composed by one of the most productive and finest Confederate musical composers, Herman J. Schreiner, also glorified the stars and bars. Its lyricist, William H. Barnes, wrote that all Confederates should "rally ‘round the bonny flag . . . Shouting the battle cry of freedom."²

Although these were militant flag tunes, the most warlike of these songs, "Red, White, And Red," told Confederates to hate the "Red, White, and Blue." In fact, southerners sang they would "die defending the Red, White, and Red," because "sweet Dixie, [was] the land of my birth." To
boost the fighting spirit, authors also dedicated several of their flag tunes to specific military units. Hammond's "Our Southern Flag," for example, was assigned to the Citadel Cadets of Charleston, South Carolina, and it advised them to fight "proudly" underneath the banner. Similarly, Dr. William B. Harrell addressed his "Up with the Flag," to the "Fourth N. C. Troops," and the Reverend T. B. Russell dedicated his song, "Hurrah For Our Flag!," to both the Confederate Army and Navy. To further enhance the mystique surrounding the flag, some presses imprinted various designs of the pennant on the front covers of their scores. Three such ditties were the two 1861 numbers "Flag of the South" and "Confederate Flag," and the 1864 composition, "The Star Spangled Cross and the Pure Field of White." The cover of "The Star Spangled Cross and the Pure Field of White," for example, showed a majestic version of this type of Confederate flag waving in the breeze. Finally, the illustrators of non-flag tunes also incorporated the banner into their work. The 1861 score, "The Beauregard Manassas Quick-Step," placed flags around the portrait of General Beauregard, and a 1864 number, "No Surrender," showed a flag-bearing Confederate officer bravely fighting off five gun-toting "Yankees" with a sword, while the illustrators of the 1862 Confederate song book, Songs & Ballads, depicted a young rebel and a southern Belle proudly standing in front of the banner. These songs and illustrations, as well as studies conducted by other historians, indicate that the Confederate flag was one of the most emotionally charged symbols of the Old South.3

Hate for the North and love for the Confederacy also emerged in Reconstruction music, and various symbols of the Confederacy, or militant
pro-Confederacy attitudes, appeared in some of these ditties. In 1866 one of J. E. B. Stuart's staff officers, Major Innes Randolph from Virginia, sang that he hated everything about the Union, including the "Constitution," the "Freedmen's Bureau," and its "striped banners." In his tune, "I'm A Good Old Rebel," Randolph also pointed out that 300,000 "Yankees" were "stiff in Southern dust," but he only regretted that the South had not won the war, and that southerners had not killed "three million" northerners. Although this soldier could not fight anymore, he would not ask for a pardon, because "I won't be reconstructed,/An' I don't give a damn." This song of defiance, which was dedicated to Thaddeus Stevens, was not only published several times, but throughout the rural South it also became a significant part of the oral tradition. As this song indicates, among southern whites, the "Freedman's Bureau" was one of the most hated post-Civil War institutions. In its own unique way, this song was not only a militant pro-South, anti-"Yankee" number, but it was also an anti-African American tune.4

Although "I'm A Good Old Rebel" was the most militant Reconstruction tune, other southern songsters sang that they were proud to be "Rebels." In their lyrics they also said that they would never "acknowledge/That the blood the South has spilt/Was shed defending what we deemed/A cause of wrong and guilt." Another balladeer pointed out that even though southerners now had to wear the "color" of the "hateful blue," they should never "forget or e'er regret/The waring' of the gray!" As in Civil War tunes, the Confederate flag once again reemerged as a major symbol of the Confederacy in the Reconstruction period. Macarthy, for example, wrote "Our
Country's Flag," which said "We're still the 'Band of Brothers' that proudly once unfurled/The Bonnie Blue Flag, whose 'single star' was sung throughout the world./But now that war no longer reigns, let the cry be heard afar,/Hurrah for our country's flag, yes each and every star."

Moreover, after the war when a Catholic priest in Tennessee advised southerners, in the song "The Conquered Banner," to "Furl that banner, for 'tis weary," a pro-Confederate man lyrically replied, "Keep it, widowed, sonless mothers,/Keep it, sister, mourning brothers,/Furl it with an iron will;/Furl it now, but-keep it still,/Think not that its work is done."

Finally, in the late nineteenth century another more sentimental flag tune, "The Flag They Loved So Well," memorialized the fallen Confederate veterans. 5

Civil War and Reconstruction songs about the flag are significant, because they indicate that southerners viewed the stars and bars as more than a piece of cloth: it symbolized their nation. To them this emblem represented not only the eleven Confederate states, but as the "Bonny Blue Flag" illustrated, it also stood for a way of life, which included states rights and human bondage. These flag songs reflect that in the eyes of southerners, slavery was nothing to be ashamed of. Moreover, lyrics advised southerners to be proud of the fact that many of their companions had died in defence of the institution. Music also shows that even though many southerners identified with the Confederacy through a particular state, Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, or the color gray, throughout the region the Confederate flag was the most prominent and the most glorified symbol. In the Western theater a Texan and an Arkansian might not care
about South Carolina, Jefferson Davis, or the Army of Northern Virginia, but because flag tunes were popular throughout the Confederacy, they indicate that the stars and bars was one southern item that almost every southerner identified with.

Since the banner stood for several things, many southerners could fight for the flag. It is significant that several of these tunes were not written by famous male composers, but by medical doctors, ministers, women, and common soldiers. This is an indication that the stars and bars roused the patriotic spirit among all classes and both genders. Music demonstrates that the flag was the rallying cry of the educated elite, the illiterate poor, people on the home front, and soldiers on the front line. When people consider the number of tunes that either mentioned or glorified the flag, and when the number of reprints and flag illustrations are taken into account, one can see that the Confederate propagandists also understood the banner's emotional power. Although an illiterate backcountry person might not readily understand a war fought on ideological grounds, when songsters described it as a battle between the "Red, White, And Red" and the "Red, White and Blue," or when illustrators showed a flag-bearing rebel fighting off "Yankees," they identified with the struggle. The flag represented various things to different southerners, but music shows that above all it became a significant link between the southern people and the Confederacy. Among all classes, both urban and rural, all regions, and both genders, this banner epitomized the Confederate nation. The two items were so interconnected with each other that when one was mentioned, the other also came to mind.
The popularity of these tunes also indicates that although southerners lost the Civil War, from the beginning of Reconstruction many were not going to obey northern dictates. As early as 1866 the tune, "I'm A Good Old Rebel," made this clear. In fact, Randolph's song reflected the "irreconcilable spirit of the illiterate element." Similarly, it is significant that many of these tunes, including the "Red, White, And Red," remained in the South's oral tradition well into the twentieth century. Before World War II folksong collectors found "I'm A Good Old Rebel" in several southern states, including Texas, North Carolina, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Arkansas. In 1941, for example, collector Vance Randolph heard a rendition of it in Fayetteville, Arkansas, and in 1938 collector Frank C. Brown heard it sung in Durham, North Carolina. By the late 1920s this particular tune had been published more than five times, and it still had "an ear-to-mouth existence" in the rural South. These kinds of tunes were a significant part of the region's oral tradition, and when southerners continued to enjoy them in the early twentieth century, it showed that they still identified themselves with the Confederacy. In 1903, for example, song books containing such tunes were sold to benefit a Confederate monument being built in West Virginia.

Similarly, when pre-World War II southerners continued to sing and relate to these types of melodies, it indicated that they had not forgotten the South's defeat in the Civil War. Comparably, by 1940 many had not forgiven the "Yankees," and as these tunes illustrated, many southerners still considered the North their enemy. Such ditties also show that psychologically, the South remained a nation within a nation. The Civil
War not only made southerners feel apart from the rest of the United States, but these kinds of tunes also demonstrate that the rebellion gave them a sense of pride. In fact, music confirms that southerners in the early twentieth century continued to think that they had fought a just war. Lyrically at least, southerners were proud that they, or their ancestors, had fought what they deemed northern tyrants. In addition, songs illustrate that in this era southerners were not about to apologize for their actions, because they had fought for, what they considered, an honorable cause.

Furthermore, music reveals that southerners were prepared to lyrically express their resentment of the North up until World War II. The patriotic zeal that accompanied America's entrance into the War, however, abated the popularity of such tunes. In February 1942, for example, an Ozark folksinger, Booth Campbell of Cane Hill, Arkansas, did not want to sing "I'm A Good Old Rebel," because "The country's at war right now . . . and it anint no time for a feller to be singin' songs ag'in the Flag and the Government." Since the Spanish-American War and World War I had not diminished the popularity of such numbers, these songs are another indication that World War II had more of an effect upon southerners than all previous wars, except the Civil War. With the United States engaged in a major World War, and as long as the federal government poured billions of dollars into the region and asked nothing in return, southerners were prepared to stop romanticizing the Confederacy in their music.

After World War II, however, when the federal government began pushing for racial equality, music indicates that Confederate sympathies
once again reemerged in the South. From the Dixicrat rebellion in 1948 onwards, the Confederate flag has been a prominent symbol in the modern South. Similar to radical politicians, in the late twentieth century several white-southern musicians also associated themselves with the Confederacy. In fact, at times it seemed the Civil War was still being fought, and that the old composers had miraculously been resurrected. Resembling the propagandists of the Old South, modern southern musical artists associated themselves with the Confederacy in a variety of ways. At times some of the most prominent musicians, for example, dressed in an array of Confederate army uniforms. In 1976 Ronnie Van Zant, on the album *Gimme Back My Bullets*, was pictured wearing a Confederate Calvary hat. In 1983 Dave Hubek, the lead guitarist for Molly Hatchet, appeared on both the front and back covers, and on the record sleeve, of the band's album, *No Guts...No Glory*, clothed in such attire. Not did he wear the hat, but he also had on the long-dress coat of a Confederate Calvary officer. Similarly, a Confederate infantryman's cap, complete with its own Confederate flag, can be seen on the inside gate fold cover of Lynyrd Skynyrd's *One More From The Road* album. Moreover, publicity photographs indicate that in the early 1970s even a member of the Allman Brothers Band wore similar garb.  

In the 1990s some southern rock musicians continued to clothe themselves in such attire. In its 1993 "The Last Rebel World Tour," the new Lynyrd Skynyrd released publicity photos that showed some of the members dressed in Confederate attire. The lead singer, Johnny Van Zant, for example, wore a Confederate coat. In 1993 Lynyrd Skynyrd also released
a CD, The Last Rebel, and more than its name made illusions to the Confederacy. On its front cover a member, who is dressed in a costume similar to that of a bushwacker, can be seen holding a rifle, complete with bayonet, from the Civil War era. This black and white print resembled an old tintype from that period. In order to further instill the notion that this was a Civil War photograph, the illustrators added a horse. Similarly, on the back cover not only are some members wearing rebel hats, but Van Zant was fully dressed in a Confederate uniform.

Wearing pieces of Confederate attire was not the only way southern musicians associated themselves with the Confederacy. As Civil War and Reconstruction tunes showed, the stars and bars was the Confederacy’s most identifiable symbol, and similar to their Civil War counterparts, several modern performers manipulated this banner to the extreme. On the back cover of Black Oak Arkansas’s 1976 album Live Mutha, lead guitarist Stanley Knight was shown playing a guitar imprinted with this emblem. Wearing a Confederate cap and performing with a stars-and-bars guitar were subtle allusions, but the most successful band, Lynyrd Skynyrd, paralleled the Dixiecrats. The band did not call for a political rebellion, but it blatantly associated itself with the Confederacy by placing rebel flags on most of its albums. On the inside gatefold cover of its 1978 album entitled Skynyrd’s First And Last, Gary Rossington and Ronnie Van Zant are holding up a cake with a Confederate flag iced on top. Rossington is even proudly pointing to the banner. The band’s eighth album entitled Gold & Platinum portrayed the band members on stage before a huge Confederate flag. In fact, the emblem dominated the jacket’s inside cover.
Similarly, the band's album entitled *One More From The Road* extensively utilized Confederate memorabilia. Three flags, for example, are obvious on the inside gate fold cover. Similarly, one banner also appears on the album's back cover. On the band's album entitled *Best Of The Rest* the Confederate theme is also apparent. The entire front cover is dominated by a cowboy skeleton, which has a Confederate flag tattooed on his arm bone. Furthermore, this skeleton is wearing a Confederate neckerchief. This same photograph, albeit a smaller version, appeared on several of the band's other albums, including *Gimme Back My Bullets.*

After its deadly Mississippi plane crash in 1977, which killed guitarist Steve Gaines and lead-singer Ronnie Van Zant, the reorganized Lynyrd Skynyrd continued to stress the stars and bars in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The front cover of the band's 1987 tribute album, *Southern By The Grace Of God,* showed concert crowds pointing their hands toward a large Confederate flag that was being passed around. Moreover, several smaller flags were evident. Similarly, the video release of this tour had a large flag stamped on the back of its container. In fact, this emblem continually appeared in the video's film footage. Finally, on the band's 1987 album *Legend,* a huge flag adorned its cover. It was the most conspicuous item. Similarly, a smaller flag was stamped in a prominent place. It was located on the front cover, near the top center, between the words Lynyrd and Skynyrd. It is significant that a bird was also placed on this cover, since many people also associate the band with its mega-hit song, "Free Bird." When the band and the record company utilized both symbols, they demonstrated that many fans automatically thought of these items when
someone mentioned the name Lynyrd Skynyrd. But, even though "Free Bird" sold millions of records, and can still be routinely heard on the radio, the Confederate flag was the major link between the band and its fans. Unlike the symbolic bird, over more than a twenty-year span, the stars and bars made an appearance on almost every album, tape, compact disk, and video cover the band released.\footnote{11}

Although Lynyrd Skynyrd stressed Confederate symbolism more than any other southern rock band, it was not unique. Black Oak Arkansas, for example, found other ways besides Knight's guitar to integrate the flag into its concert performances. Concert photos of the 1970s demonstrate that when the band performed on tour it placed several large Confederate flags across the base of the drum riser. As the drums ascend into the air, these flags became the prominent items on the stage. Interviews and photographs also indicate that during the 1970s Lynyrd Skynyrd did the same kind of things in its concerts. Before a typical Lynyrd Skynyrd performance, for example, a huge Confederate flag would then be unfurled behind the stage before the band aggressively invaded the platform and began playing. This forty foot, by forty foot banner served as the group's backdrop. The band and this symbol became so intertwined that when The Outlaws dedicated its 1978 album, Bring It Back Alive, to the dead members of Lynyrd Skynyrd, the inscription was printed on a Rebel flag. This association still occurred in the 1990s. In 1993, for example, the magazine, Guitar World, featured Gary Rossington's guitar, a 1959 Gibson Les Paul, and placed it against a stars and bars backdrop. This was a full, two-page, foldout illustration, meant to be cut out and used as a
Moreover, during the 1970s the southern crowds who attended these rock concerts often waved such flags themselves. Several concert photographs illustrated this point. During a July 1976 Atlanta concert, for example, Lynyrd Skynyrd’s fans brandished these items. Photographs from other 1970s shows also depict concert crowds waving enormous Confederate flags. Molly Hatchet’s southern crowds did the same thing in the early 1980s. In one particular photograph, for example, dozens of large flags are being enthusiastically waved by the mob. As video footage showed, this still occurred in the late 1980s. An audience member who attended Lynyrd Skynyrd’s tribute tour also pointed out that the band continually displayed the Confederate flag. Similarly, the man reported that southern audience members still waved "a lot of flags" themselves.

Although red-neck southern rockers stressed Confederate imagery the most, some country musicians also utilized the theme. In 1960, for example, a Hank Williams, Jr. publicity photograph showed the singer standing by his gun and sword collection, and its backdrop was a large Confederate flag. Similarly, throughout the 1960s Reb Rebel records associated itself with Confederacy through its name, and by utilizing the stars and bars. In fact, on every record it issued, the term "REB REBEL" was surrounded by two prominent flags. In the 1980s this kind of link continued to occur in country music. At times during his concerts, Willie Nelson wore a Confederate cap that resembled an infantryman’s hat. Alabama, for example, not only frequently sang about the South and its home state of Alabama, but it routinely stressed the Confederate flag. On the
front cover of its 1980 LP, *My Home's In Alabama*, the state of Alabama was shown shrouded in the stars and bars. Similarly, on its popular 1982 album, *Mountain Music*, the band's photo was placed on a flag, which engulfed the entire front cover. In fact, on Alabama's 1984 album, *Roll On*, the trailer of a semi-truck, the only item shown, was painted to look like this Confederate emblem. Similar to the LPs issued by southern rockers, on these albums the flags were the most prominent images. Alabama continued to utilize this item in the late 1980s and into the 1990s. The front cover of its 1989 album, *In The Beginning*, displayed a large flag, and in 1991 the band released a concert video, and the flag was stamped on the front cover, and on both sides, of the container.\(^4\)

Alabama was not the only country group to stress this theme in the 1990s. The 1993 winners of the Country Music Association's best new group award, the Georgia based quintet Confederate Railroad, not only identified with the Confederacy through its name, but it also utilized the stars and bars. The front cover of its 1992 CD, simply entitled *Confederate Railroad*, showed a locomotive, with two Confederate flags on its front, smashing through another Confederate banner. Similarly, on its 1994 CD *Notorious* one band member wore a Confederate bandanna on his head, and another member had on a denim patch-work jacket with pieces of the flag sewn into its cloth. In addition, this release contained songs such as "I'm Just A Rebel." Finally, in the 1990s Confederate flags also appeared in the Hank Williams, Jr., museum in Nashville, Tennessee. Inside the building a large emblem hung on the wall. Similarly, his "Country Store," souvenir shop, in Crossville, Tennessee was filled with such flags.
Not only were there actual banners in abundance, some which had the singer's photograph imprinted on them, but the flag also appeared on shot glasses, coffee cups, posters, shirts, license plates, neckerchiefs, bandannas, dishes, and playing cards. Robert E. Lee also surfaced on some of these souvenirs. Last, at the checkouts counter even the plastic carrying bags had a large Confederate flag, with Williams's name boldly printed on top of it, stamped on each side.15

In addition, in the late 1980s and into the 1990s when record companies released assortment albums or tapes that contained songs of various southern rockers, or red-neck country musicians, from the 1970s and early 1980s, Confederate symbolism often reemerged. In 1990, for example, Priority Records rereleased some 1970s hits by such bands as Lynyrd Skynyrd, Wet Willie, and The Marshall Tucker Band on the CD, Country's Greatest Hits, Southern Country Rock. On the cover of this compact disk a pistol, bullets, a glass of beer, and a Confederate banner were displayed. These kinds of covers are significant, since, as this study has shown, firearms and alcohol have habitually been stressed throughout the history of southern music. Such art work demonstrates that not only is the Confederate flag an important cultural icon, but along with the love of guns and liquor, many people also still associate the South with the Confederacy. As much as their nineteenth century counterparts, many modern southern musicians promoted this kind of identification, thus, they must share some responsibility for its endurance.16

Finally, modern southern bands also lyrically associated themselves with the Confederacy on various occasions. The South had lost the Civil
War over one hundred years previously, but "Dixie" remained popular with southern musicians and audience members alike. A typical Lynyrd Skynyrd performance in the early 1970s, for example, began with the song blasted over the loud speakers. Black Oak Arkansas also utilized the song in concert. In fact, on its 1974 album, *Street Party*, the band recorded a traditional version of "Dixie," followed by their own rendition which had a heavy-metal beat. Black Oak Arkansas also included "Dixie" on its 1992 CD *Hot & Nasty*. In the 1960s and 1970s when this tune was played over the loud speakers, southern audiences went wild. This is an indication that the culture had not really changed that much since the 1890s. At the height of the "Lost Cause" movement in the 1890s, for example, a rekindled interest in "Dixie" emerged, and its author, Dan Emmett, was barraged with flowers by the women of Richmond. Similarly, in 1895 when Emmett sang the tune at a United Confederate Veterans Association meeting in Nashville, the crowd, according to a bystander, "went as nearly wild as any I have ever seen. It seemed to me as if they would actually raise the roof from the theater....It brought back to the memory of the grizzled men who bore arms for the Southland." Lyrically the Confederate flag also appeared in southern rock and roll. In the 1983 song, "Sweet Dixie," Molly Hatchet not only sang about "red necks down in Georgia" and "Rebel gin," but they also claimed New York's neon lights held nothing for them, because they might leave the South, but no one could take the South out of them. These southern ruffians maintained that all they really wanted to do was go home and see "those Stars and Bars" again.17

When Confederate symbolism continued to sell albums and promote
southernness into the 1990s, it indicated that white southerners were still emotionally attached to the Civil War. In many ways they could not forget the past, nor could they completely cast off the idea that they were a unique group of people. Instead of being ashamed of their forefathers’ actions, music illustrates that contemporary southerners continued to think and act like their Reconstruction ancestors. In both eras they were lyrically proud to be rebels. In 1974 Charlie Daniels, in his hit "The South’s Gonna Do It Again," sounded a lot like the Reconstruction songsters who sang that they were proud to be "Rebels." In the chorus of his song, for example, Daniels advised southerners to "Gather round, gather round children./Get down, well just get down children./Get loud, well you can be loud again./Be proud, and you can be proud again./Now be proud your a rebel, because the South’s gonna do it again, and again." Furthermore, in 1993 Lynyrd Skynyrd released a similar tune entitled "The Last Rebel," and in 1994 Confederate Railroad distributed "I’m Am Just A Rebel." This kind of music indicates that no matter what outsiders said, or no matter what others threatened to do to them, in the modern era southerners would defiantly continue to dress in the gray uniforms, give the rebel yell, and wave the stars and bars.18

Although there are many other militant tunes, it will suffice to examine the two best examples, Lynyrd Skynyrd’s most popular song, "Sweet Home Alabama," and Hank Williams, Jr’s. tune, "If the South Woulda Won," in detail. The former tune was a musical answer to Neil Young’s 1972 song about the South, "Southern Man." Young portrayed southern males as racist in this number. Moreover, he depicted the South as a region of "white
mansions" or "little shacks," where "screams" are heard and "bull whips" crack. Young warns white southern men that they had "better keep" their "head" and "don't forget what your good book says," because "Southern change gonna come at last, now your crosses are burning fast, Southern men." This was an obvious reference to the racial problems the region was experiencing during the era; thus, this song sent shock waves throughout the South. Lynyrd Skynyrd decided to defend the South, and released "Sweet Home Alabama," a song labeled by some as "a militant hymn of praise to the state and its famous governor, George Wallace," and by others as a vindication for the "thousands of kids who were wondering why they didn't feel guilty about loving life in the Deep South."

This rock tune soon became the unofficial anthem of the South. The song became so popular with southerners that Wallace made Lynyrd Skynyrd's members honorary lieutenant colonels in the Alabama state militia, a title that had never before been given to any rock star. Even though at times this ditty followed the typical format of sentimental pro-south songs, for instance, Van Zant sang about missing "'ole 'bamy" and his southern "kin," "Sweet Home Alabama," also had an underlaying militant tone. This surfaced when Ronnie Van Zant yelled out "Well, I heard Mister Young sing about her. Well, I heard ole Neil put her down. Well, I hope Neil Young will remember, A Southern man don't need him around anyhow." He also told the rest of the nation that maybe the South had some problems, but he shrewdly pointed out that the rest of the nation had Watergate on its conscience. According to Van Zant, who wrote the lyrics, he was trying to encourage the rest of the United States to look at itself first, before it condemned the
South. When the band played "Sweet Home Alabama," sold-out southern arena crowds went wild when they heard Van Zant sneer out the final line "A Southern man don't need him around anyhow." One such mob at Georgia Tech's coliseum was so frenzied that the "electricity almost became visible and the entire coliseum exploded in a triumphant roar. Our boys! they screamed."

In the late 1980s, and into the 1990s, southern crowds also roared when Hank Williams, Jr. closed his shows with the tune, "If the South Woulda Won." In this ditty not only did the guitar riffs parallel the cords of "Dixie," but the singer also maintained that if the South would have won the Civil War, "we would have had it made in the shade." He also cleverly mentioned every southern state in this tune. Williams claimed, for example, that the Capital would be moved back to Alabama, the "National Treasury" would be relocated to Tupelo, Mississippi, Texas would get the Supreme Court, and all the cars would be made in North Carolina. Not only would there be law and order, and prosperity in this nation, but the day Elvis, Hank Williams, Pasty Cline, and Ronnie Van Zant died would also become national holidays. The fact that Africans Americans would have still been slaves did not matter. That part of the equation had conveniently been left out. Instead of being a nation full of human bondage and misery, Williams sang that everything would be great and that everyday would be a like "Big Saturday, Fat Tuesday, [and] Fat Wednesday." The southern concert crowds, such as those in Nashville and Atlanta, were not only happy about the idea. They were also defiant. Film footage showed, for example, young white males clinching their fists and making pounding
gestures. On stage Williams did the same. In fact, as Williams belted out the lyrics in Nashville, members of the audience waved a large Confederate flag. Of all the songs he sang in concert, this was the tune that southern crowds cheered the most. Not only were they proud of their past, but this type of music also demonstrated that southerners romanticized the Civil War and the Old South. Instead of being a time of misery, it was portrayed in a glorious manner. Finally, in its own unique way this song also had racial undertones, since it glorified a nation that fought for slavery.21

The song "Sweet Home Alabama" also has racial undertones for some people. In fact, when speaking on the issue of Wallace's obvious pleasure with the tune, Lynyrd Skynyrd failed to clarify its stand on the race issue. Although at times the band claimed it did not admire Wallace's political views, it also maintained that it was not "totally down" on the Alabama governor. Moreover, in 1975 Van Zant admitted that several band members would support Wallace's presidential campaign "if it got off the ground." In fact, an Alabama state press aide claimed that Lynyrd Skynyrd received the honorary titles of lieutenant colonels because of its "declared willingness to assist the Governor should he, er, require their assistance, to raise funds on college campuses, say." Leon Wilkeson, the band's bass guitarist, even stated that he and all the band members "respected" Wallace, "as a man who hasn't given up what he was after."22

When Lynyrd Skynyrd claimed that it supported Wallace, but it was not racially prejudiced, the band was being contradictory, especially when people consider that Wallace stood for "old-time red-neck rousers." Governor Wallace was a "glaring exception" to the "newer theme" of Southern
progressivism, business-like governors, and black office-holders. Moreover, even though Van Zant sometimes maintained that the song "Sweet Home Alabama" expressed the band's dislike for Wallace, because it stated "In Birmingham they love the Governor. Boo boo boo," at other times he implied that the words "Boo boo boo" were really said sarcastically. Considering the band's history and actions, the latter statement seems to be the truth. Lynyrd Skynyrd was not the only southern band to support Wallace. Several country music superstars, such as the Wilburn Brothers of Arkansas, also backed the Alabama Governor in his presidential bid. Even though the governor's form of populism played a role in his southern appeal, Wallace's racism cannot be forgotten, and it hit a major cord with a few southern musicians. Of course, none of these bands invented the racial problems of the late twentieth century, but they all must share some responsibility for sanctioning and reinforcing the ideas for so many.23

Why were these groups so militant and what were the messages all these bands were trying to promote? The fact that some of these musicians supported Wallace demonstrates that they were not liberal bands. The key to understanding these performers can be found by looking at the era in southern history in which they flourished. Although many of the bands remain popular in the 1990s, it was during the 1970s that Confederate symbolism really overwhelmed southern music. This was an era in which many scholars were claiming that the distinct character of the South was either completely dead or quickly dying. At the same time, however, this was the period in which "Southern Rock" swept over the southern states and became a "distinctive and rhetorical genre."24
Since southern music is "a living image of Southern culture; a fusion of the varied and sometimes antagonistic elements of Southern life," this kind of symbolism is significant. These redneck rock and country performers became the vehicles that inspired a generation of proud, young southerners who longed for the Old South's self-gratifying romantic myths. These bands with their militant symbols became an outlet for young white southern males, after they and the rest of the nation began to question whether the southern image was more "smoke than fire." Moreover, by using popular culture and southern "gimmicks" the bands tried to keep regionalism alive. In an era when southerners were no longer confident that their myths were built upon solid social realities, these groups epitomize what Pulitzer Prize winning syndicated columnist Edwin M. Yoder, Jr. termed a "southernizing enterprise" that flirted with "obscurantism and self-caricature." These musicians indicated that the South had became a land where its spokespersons had to Dixify Dixie. In reality, these militant southern bands of this era became that feared "stage-prop front on a mercurial reality."25

Many southern bands of this era not only reflected the macho image of the region's inhabitants, but these performers also incorporated the "fears and myths and chauvinism" of the South into their acts. In fact, these types of southern bands were mirrors "that just reflected what the youth of the South felt." Moreover, these redneck bands escalated to the top of the southern musical scene because they represented "the voice of good ole boys getting riled by the modern world." When musicians made references to the Confederacy, waved Confederate flags, wore "Rebel" uniforms, and played
"Dixie," their popularity did not decline among working-class southern whites. Instead, their reputations soared among the "good ol' boy" element.26

To this group of modern southerners such relics of the Civil War served as "sacred receptacles for Southern identity." In fact, their whole identity as southerners was dependent upon this type of Civil War symbolism. The war had been the major event that had set the South apart, and it had defined white southerners as a unique group of people. Unlike no other region in American history, the South had rebelled. Because of the continued significance of the war, to these white southerners the Confederate flag was not only "a container of the past," it was the "living manifestation" of their history. The Civil War had defined them as southerners, thus, the relics could not be forgotten. If that happened, these whites felt they were disregarding their past and insulting their ancestors. Through the use of Confederate memorabilia, performers reassured white southerners that they were still a unique group of people, that their philosophy on life was still viable in the contemporary world, and that their history would be preserved. Therefore, southern music in the 1970s and early 1980s, with its over emphasis on Confederate symbolism, must be seen as a panacea for the young white southerners who thought their region had lost its distinctness. As long as the stars and bars waved on southern soil, or appeared in southern music, their southern identity remained safe and secure. This type of symbolism constantly reassured them. Moreover, music illustrates that many southerners still hate the thought of being seen as normal Americans. Although they angrily lash out
at the stereotypes, they do not want to be seen as typical. When southern rock and country groups, such as Alabama, Molly Hatchet, Black Oak Arkansas, Lynyrd Skynyrd, and Confederate Railroad, and southern performers, such as Hank Williams, Jr., utilized Confederate memorabilia in the 1990s, and when they continued to laud the region in song after song, they indicated that at the end of the twentieth century many white southerners were still concerned about losing their uniqueness.27

The symbols these musicians used also illustrate how they fit into the historiography of the modern South. These bands must be seen as part of the movement that stressed the Dixification of Dixie. In order to clearly understand the messages, the audiences' preconceptions, and all of these band's influence upon southern history, students of southern social and cultural history first must understand what the two most prominent trademark symbols these bands utilized, the Confederate flag and "Dixie," symbolized to many white southerners. According to historian Kevin Pierce Thornton, in order to understand this southern phenomenon scholars must first examine where these symbols originated. In examining the ultra-southern institution of Ole Miss, Thornton found that these two symbols did not appear in the South until the late 1940's (first at the 1948 Dixiecrat rebellion) when the South was facing major crises brought on by both racial strains and post-World War II social and economic changes. These changes indicated to white supremacists that the "southern way of life was suddenly questionable." The flag and the song, therefore, were symbols of a "mystic view of a glorious regional past."

After the Brown decision in 1954, the flag reemerged throughout the
South and it was used as a symbol to fight desegregation. It and the tune "Dixie," for example, were almost always stressed at white Citizen Council rallies. The flag was not only seen, but it was generally also worked into the speeches. This was an attempt by the Councils to provoke southerness and make white southerners identify with their racist cause. The Ku Klux Klan also used the flag in the same manner. Similarly, in the 1950s the five southern states that officially adopted versions of the Confederate Battle Flag as their legal flags, Alabama, Mississippi, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, were the states that, according some scholars, most resisted Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka. Georgia, for example, adopted the stars and bars as its official state flag at the same time Autherine Lucy was admitted to the University of Alabama. This state's timing was no accident! When they allowed this flag to fly over Georgia, white Georgians were blatantly telling the federal government that they would defy and resist the Supreme Court decision. Comparable to the South of the 1860s, in the South of the 1950s, the flag once again stood for white supremacy. When the Klan, or any other group, waved this banner, both African Americans and whites understood what it meant. As the turbulent 1960's unfolded, the flag reemerged at Ole Miss, and once again it "reinforced an identity associated with white supremacy." Many of the southern performers also had begun to use the symbol when they played on the rough southern bar circuit of the 1960s. By using the flag in the racial upheavals of the 1960s, they reflected that their audience members were not part of the pro-African American movement. In the decade of the 1970's too, when white southerners were again questioned and challenged,
According to the philosophy professor Susanne Langer, "many symbols" (such as the cross) are "charged with meanings." These charged emblems have many "symbolic and specific functions" which have been so completely integrated that when such a symbol is mentioned or displayed, all the meanings are invoked. As music clearly shows, two of the most "charged" symbols in southern history are the Confederate flag and "Dixie." Among other things, this flag has historically symbolized white power, racial hatred, the Ku Klux Klan, southern nationalism, and rebellion. Furthermore, although on the international scene the Nazi Swastika is still the number one symbol of hate and white supremacy, the Confederate flag ranks a close second. In the 1990s one group of racist Canadian soldiers, for example, called themselves "The Rebels." In fact, these white supremacists adopted the Confederate flag as their logo. Moreover, at times right-wing, South-African extremists have employed this banner.

Although some of these musical groups asserted that their use of "Dixie" and the flag were gimmicks that showed they were "just proud of being from the South," none could associate these well known symbols selectively. Old Miss could not, for example, claim that their Confederate flag was the flag of the "glorious 1960 football season but not the flag that waved during the Meredith riots two years later." Similarly, these bands could not disassociate themselves from the popular meaning of this "charged" symbol. The flag that Confederate Railroad, Molly Hatchet, Alabama, Black Oak Arkansas, and Lynyrd Skynyrd integrated into their
concerts, and placed on their album covers, was the same banner that Reb Rebel Records stamped on all of its racist releases, including "Move them Niggers North," "Stay Away From Dixie," "Nigger Hating Me," and "Some Niggers Never Die (They Just Smell That Way)." In fact, Van Zant admitted that racist southern politicians, such as George Wallace, had managed to tie Lynyrd Skynyrd "up in politics . . . [and that they] really exploited" the band. Therefore, no matter what musicians claimed, the flags that engulfed southern music after World War II had the same meanings as the ones waved during racial disputes of that era. This emblem was such an international known symbol of white supremacy and hate, that whenever and wherever it appeared, racism was automatically implied. At the Hank Williams, Jr. "Country Store," when this banner appeared alongside statues that stereotypically depicted African American males with elongated penises or when it was displayed along with "darkies" eating watermelons, its real meaning became clear. 

Although red necks and white supremacists love the banner, what does this "charged" symbol represent to a large portion of the southern states, the African Americans? In the late 1980s Earl Shinhoster, the southeast regional director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), claimed that even though a lot of people refused to acknowledge that the flag was a sign of division, and was only "paraded by "good ole boys" like the TV characters on "The Dukes of Hazard," or by youths rebelling against authority," it was still "distasteful to black people," because it represented a nation that fought for slavery. Shinhoster also noted that the flag still represented "silent racism." In 1987
the NAACP once again denounced the flag, and correctly pointed out it was nothing but a symbol of "divisiveness, racial animosity, and an insult to black people." Mark Halton, columnist for the Christian Century, also maintained that if people have forgotten the flag's association with racism, they need to be shown film clips of the civil rights marches of the 1960's." No matter what modern southern musicians claimed, their flags were versions of the same banner that appeared in the popular Civil War tune, "The Bonnie Blue Flag," and as that ditty clearly stated, the stars and bars stood for human bondage and racial inferiority.32

When these bands used such "charged" and internationally known symbols of hate and white supremacy to sell albums, pack arenas, and promote their southern heritage, they were not only stressing regional pride, they fostered silent racism. Similarly, when they wore Confederate uniforms, lyrically bragged about being "Rebels," or played the tune "Dixie," they reinforced this idea throughout the region. Furthermore, when the white southern concert crowds wildly waved their Confederate flags, these performers were at the head of a mob that emphasized much more than regional pride. At a time when African Americans were pushing for equal rights, these Rebel, flag-waving, white southern musicians and their "hootling" fans reflected that not everybody wanted the racial status quo to change. Confronted by the Freedom Marches, Black Power, desegregation, and busing, these groups reemphasized the Confederacy because to southerners it represented white rule and the status quo. Instead of trying to transform the South, such performers only served as conservative backlashes to change. In their own unique way, they were the late twentieth century's
In the final analysis, these kinds of musicians did nothing to help a large segment of the southern population, African Americans. Instead of assisting this group of southerners, by glorifying the Old South these red-neck performers actually stood in the way of racial progress. Although these bands were popular in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, many had formed during the racial upheavals of the 1960s, and when they waved the Confederate flag, they reflected that in the late twentieth century neither they or their audience members were part of the pro-African American movement. Even though they were not as deadly as the Ku Klux Klan, they were more influential and popular, and they too pushed the notion that white southerners would have been better off, "If the South Woulda Won" the Civil War. Similar to the propagandists of the Civil War and Reconstruction eras, in the era of Civil Rights these musicians not only reflected the ideas of many white southerners, but they also used music to spread their anti-African American messages throughout the South.

In retrospect, since the Civil War militant symbols and lyrics have continuously emerged in southern music. During the Civil War "Dixie" was the most cherished song, but there were many more melodies that glorified the Confederate flag. In fact, one such ditty, "The Bonny Blue Flag," rivaled "Dixie" in importance. The popularity of such flag songs throughout the Confederacy illustrates that above all else the emblem was the one symbol that all southerners rallied around. After the war, flag and militant tunes remained in the oral tradition throughout the rural South. These ditties are significant, because they indicate that from the begin-
ning of Reconstruction many southerners were not about to admit that they had been wrong.

Although the patriotic zeal that accompanied America's entrance into World War II temporarily silenced the pro-Confederate elements in the region, immediately after the war when the federal government began challenging the South's racial status quo, anti-African American lyrics and Confederate symbols both reemerged. In fact, in the modern era Confederate symbolism has routinely appeared in white tunes, concerts, and on album-cover art. Confederate memorabilia not only engulfed the whole southern rock and roll scene of the 1970s, but several southern performers also continued to utilize such items in the 1990s. The Confederate banners, the Civil War uniforms, and songs such as "Move them Niggers North," "Stay Away From Dixie," and "Nigger Hating Me," all indicate that racism thrived in the contemporary South. When modern performers exploited the Confederate flag they were not being progressive instruments of change that tried to foster racial understanding, nor were they pushing for equal rights; instead they promoted the myth of the Old South, silent racism, and bigotry.

Finally, since popular culture is a "barometer" of a region's mood, the reemergence of "Dixie" and other Confederate emblems in the modern era cannot be written off as historically meaningless and trivial. Similar to the 1890s when the United Confederate Veterans Association and the United Daughters of the Confederacy linked the tune "Dixie" with the "Lost Cause," when Lynyrd Skynyrd, Molly Hatchet, Hank Williams, Jr., Confederate Railroad, Black Oak Arkansas, and a host of other southern performers,
touted such imagery they reflected that strains and schisms were occurring in southern society. Such actions are clear indications that many contemporary white southerners worry that the South is losing its distinctive character. For this group of "good ol' boys," and a few radical politicians, southern music became a panacea. Through this overly pro-South music, they hoped to quell their fears about losing their identity. In other words, southern music was a significant part of the movement that tried to re-Dixify Dixie.33
There are several assumptions about rural Southern culture that have intrigued scholars for generations, and this study examined some of the most vile and hotly debated, topics. There are many prominent historians, sociologists, psychologists, and statisticians on both sides of the issues addressed; thus, scholars of southern history find themselves besieged with a wide variety of opinions. This work, however, cut through the puzzling maze and used unconventional sources to determine if the rural South deserves its notorious image. The poor people of the South did not leave behind massive amounts of written documentation. In many ways this has hampered the study of some of the poorest, yet most culturally enrich people in the United States. Often scholars examined statistics, for example, when dealing with southern violence. Statistics are useful, but unfortunately these "bone dry" numbers do not sufficiently divulge cultural assumptions. Moreover, statistical data that deal with the pre-World War II rural South are full of imperfections; therefore, I set out to find another type of primary source material which would allow for a deeper understanding of both African American and white southern culture.

Although the middling class of the rural South did not leave behind multitudinous amounts of so-called traditional historical records, they did bequeath to scholars a vast collection of music in the form of folk tunes, country lyrics, and the sorrowful sounds of a blues guitarist. Since music is one of the most important social attributes of any society, if a particular trait was part of the South's cultural bedrock then it should
appear in the music of the common people, because, as studies have shown, music reflects cultural attributes. Music has been, and still is, a major force in southern society, and for hundreds of years music reflected regional ideas better than any other art form. Musical lyrics, album cover art, and various other items associated with this artistry, demonstrated that in many ways modern southerners exhibited the same cultural attributes of their forefathers. Even though musicians inevitably died and groups faded from the scene, old ideas and themes continued to live in both southern music and society. Music clearly reflected that deep-seated cultural views were lyrically passed from generation to generation. In fact, African American and white musicians played key roles in the learning process.

One of the most heinous acts is domestic violence and folk and blues songs informed black and white males that this kind of behavior was not only warranted on certain occasions, but singers pointed out that the brutality would also be culturally tolerated, and at times even praised. Since, according to many scholars, male violence is not an inherent personality attribute, but a learned behavior, both genres served as vital elements in the learning process. Music also reflected that females faced many other serious problems in the pre-World War II South. If women step out of preconceived social norms, for example, they could be beaten, or even killed. Music indicates that the economic, social, and sexual control of women is nothing new. In fact, for generations the control and abuse of females was deeply embedded in both African American and white southern culture. In order to keep women under their command, lyrics demonstrated
that southern males of both races would not hesitate to use physical force, terror, and verbal intimidation. Music clearly reflected that domestic abuse crossed color lines and affected southern African Americans and Caucasian women alike. The only major musical and statistical difference was that black women often fought back, while white women silently suffered the abuse. Generally, southern males held the power and as music demonstrated, both black and white men thought that they even controlled a woman's reproductive organs. This is the ultimate form of gender control.

Sexual dominion not only emerged in songs concerning domestic violence, but it also materialized in other ditties as well, including gun tunes. This particular genre, for example, revealed that most white females were not allowed to grab a gun and defend themselves. When it did this, music stereotyped women and reinforced the cultural notion that white women were delicate and helpless creatures.

Besides sexual violence, music also indicated that racial tensions have continually been rife in the region. This cultural trait passed from one generation to the next. Music not only revealed that African Americans often distrusted or detested whites, but songs also divulged that southern whites often hated blacks with a passion. These themes can be found in old creole songs that date back to the era of Spanish rule. Moreover, in 1774 Maryland slaves sang songs that revealed their hatred toward their white masters. Similarly, when the federal government finally forced southerners to abolish slavery, Reconstruction songsters reflected that many rural southern whites refused to acknowledge that they had fought for an evil institution. Instead of being ashamed of their actions, they defiantly
insisted they were right. They would never admit that African Americans had been mistreated.

In the late nineteenth century tunes also exposed that white southerners did not believe in the idea of "Blind Justice," especially when race was involved. Southern juries took into account the skin color of both the victims and the assailants. When an African American murdered another black person, music reflected that whites really did not care. They did not sing about the act, because in their eyes only another "lazy-assed coon" had died. If a black person killed or was accused of killing a white person, however, balladeers lambasted the act in song after song. In fact, music shows that such black men, whether they were guilty or not, could expect no mercy whatsoever from whites. Through murder tunes, lynching melodies, and many other song themes, this work also reflected that racial hate, generally one-sided, played a key role in southern history. When violence erupted between the two races, however, blacks generally suffered the most. Moreover, although African Americans could be vicious in their songs, they customarily directed their brutality towards other blacks not whites.

Songs also indicated that racism perverted the minds of some people. After a white Georgia mob apprehended an African American woman who threatened to have them arrested for killing her husband, for example, they tied her upside down from a tree, soaked her in gasoline, and set her on fire. Instead of being horrified, bystanders only laughed as she burned and shrieked out in pain. In fact, the killers even bragged that a burning "nigger wench" could really "howl" loudly. When southern whites waited in
long lines to pay their hard-earned money to hear, and even dance to, sadistic songs that depicted such depraved acts, such as "The Burning Nigger," they revealed that in the late nineteenth century many whites did not even consider brutality towards African Americans morally wrong. These songs verified that many Caucasians could ignore anything, no matter how vile, demented or brutal, that kept white supremacy intact. Unlike the death of a black "wench," however, the murder of a white woman caused balladeers to pour out their grief in song. When white southern singers yelled out that African American males were raping and killing white females, they did not laugh, but instead they shouted for revenge. Instead of easing tensions, that type of behavior only incited crowds and fortified the key argument of the white supremacists. It was no coincidence that such tunes emerged when African Americans were attempting to engage in politics. That was why in the 1890s North Carolina musicians "jumped on" the rape theme.¹

After the World War II music again reflected that racism had not faded from the scene. When the federal government challenged the region's racial status quo, for example, anti-African-American lyrics and racist symbols reemerged. Confronted by the Freedom Marches, Black Power, desegregation, and busing, many white southern musicians reemphasized the Confederacy. In fact, Confederate memorabilia engulfed the whole southern rock and roll scene of the 1970s. The Confederate flags, the gray uniforms, the Rebel yells, and songs such as "Move them Niggers North," all proved that racism continued to thrive in the contemporary South. Although some scholars maintained that when young white males waved the Stars and
Bars they were only telling the rest of the world that they were proud to be southerners, this study reveals the absurdness of that claim. This charged southern symbol cannot be disconnected from its popular and internationally known meaning of hate and racism. When southern singers, such as Ronnie Van Zant and Hank Williams, Jr. made southern crowds (generally composed of young, blue-collar, white males) stand, shout, and wildly wave the Confederate flag, they were at the head of a mob that emphasized much more than southern pride. That is why African Americans rarely, if ever, attended such concerts. From almost the onset of southern history, music showed that racial hate had a significant role to play in the South. As late as the 1990s, for example, musically it still reared its ugly head.

Music also indicated that vigilantism has continually been a significant force in the South. Historically, southern lyrics reflected that southerners believed the courts were too lenient, and that they thought white males had the right to shoot, stab or Lynch criminals, especially if they harmed family members. In the late twentieth century musicians such as Hank Williams Jr. and Charlie Daniels sounded similar to those nineteenth-century balladeers who wrote lynching and feuding songs. Like those men, modern singers insisted that they were going to avenge the death of innocent victims or kinfolk. In the 1880s when three Ashland, Kentucky males, George Ellis, Ellis Craft, and William Neal, raped and murdered three small children, folk musicians yelled out that the mob was justified in killing Ellis, and trying to lynch the other two males, because the "men of old Kentucky/Will sure protect their own/They'll fight for family..."
honor/And violated homes." In the late twentieth century Daniels again extolled this old southern war cry, when he claimed that rapists and child molesters should be taken "out in the swamp/Put them on their knees and tie them to a stump/And let the rattlers and the bugs and the alligators do the rest." This song reflected that modern southerners still felt that "big named lawyers," and liberal judges, stood in the way of justice.  

Mob violence has continually reemerged in southern songs, but music also revealed that other forms of brutality have traditionally inundated southern culture. Firearms, for example, have historically held deep psychological meanings for southerners. Instead of debating issues, most forms of southern music showed that both blacks and whites continually glorified the males who grabbed a gun and let their bullets "do the talking." Although World War II increased prosperity, music indicated that modern southern males are still prone to rely on violence. The neo-honky-tonkers and the redneck rockers, for example, constantly bragged about using their fists to solve problems. This is a clear indication that fighting continued to be a significant pastime among young, white, blue-collar, southern males, because, unlike other forms of music, these two genres best reflected the ideas prevalent among working-class white southerners. Like their frontier forefathers, many of these southerners thought that only rugged fighters deserved to be called real men. If someone stepped out of preconceived social norms, talked "smart," or tried to "pick up" another man's woman, southern county and rock music reflected that some southern males would still hit first and asked questions later. Similarly, when modern musicians continually claimed that any southern man
could whip any "God damn Yankee," they indicated that the mind-set of many males had not really changed that much since the Civil War. In their eyes, brute strength and the ability to fight still ranked higher in importance than money or an education. Taken all together, these kinds of lyrics reflected that violence was and is an essential fact of life in parts of the South.

Similar to gun, feuding, drug, fighting and murder tunes, drinking songs also illustrated that for generations the macho southern male complex has been deeply ingrained in both black and white southern culture. African American blues, folk, and jazz artists, and white, folk, honky tonk, neo-honkey-tonk, red-neck country, and hard rock musicians were all infatuated with the idea of the death-defying, whiskey-soaked rebel. By boasting about consuming large amounts of liquor, southern males of both races gained self-respect. As the lyrics of many southern artists revealed, whiskey drinking made southerners feel proud. Moreover, by destroying themselves with alcohol, both black and white southern performers, such as Ronnie Van Zant, Robert Johnson, Charlie Poole, and Hank Williams, gained manly reputations. The more they drank, the more their fans glorified them. This occurred both before and after the World War II.

Music also illustrated that in the modern era southerners romanticized and missed their rural past. Contemporary moonshine and bootlegging tunes do not mirror modern moonshine businesses, but they rely on old rural themes. Instead of describing the large distilling operations, and the moonshine gang wars that occur in southern urban areas, where much of the illegal liquor is now distilled, both country and rock songs continued to
portray these gangsters as independently inclined rural mountaineers. The mountain men in these kinds of tunes were romantic underdogs, who defied the federal government by making a few gallons of illegal whiskey. Similarly, worship of the Confederacy indicated that after World War II many southerners rejected modern culture and wished for their "heroic" past. When the region's identity was challenged in the late twentieth century, white southerners once again lyrically relished the Confederacy because it had set the stage for their uniqueness. When musicians revered old Confederate symbolism and emphasized their rurality, they gathered fans by the millions.

In several unique ways music also reflected the power of fundamentalism in the South. In the late nineteenth century, music indicated that at times lynch mobs would not allow their victims a final drink of water. Compared to being lynched, to the modern observer this act might seem trivial, but it was the worst possible punishment in a region where fundamentalism ruled. In the eyes of the accusers these murderers literally set on the brink of hell, and they were about to spend eternity in a blazing inferno. That was why songsters made a cool drink of water seem so important. Similarly, by littering their anti-liquor tunes with religious phrases and moralistic messages, performers and groups like Black Bottom Mcphail, Roy Acuff, Ray Price, Conway Twitty, George Jones, Travis Tritt, ZZ Top, Molly Hatchet, and Lynyrd Skynyrd affirmed Protestant fundamentalism's constant hold on the South. This was nothing new, because for generations both black and white musicians sang such lyrics.

Similarly, music has shown that for generations rural southerners
continually felt politically, socially, and economically isolated from the rest of American society. Songs also demonstrated that southerners habitually hated both institutions and people they perceived as authority figures. This emerged in several forms of music, including old slave tunes, moonshine ballads, and gun tunes. The cultural continuity of the South is evident when one considers that such numbers appeared in eighteenth and nineteenth century folk music, early twentieth century folk and blues tunes, post-World War Two country music, and late twentieth century southern rock and roll. In the nineteenth century, for example, African Americans often glorified blacks who fought the white establishment, while the poor whites romanticized those individuals who contested the authority of the federal government.

In retrospect, such music reflects aspects of southern life. In the final analysis music indicated that for hundreds of years the themes of violence, brutality, intolerance, sexism, racism, hate, poverty, rugged individualism, machoness, drunkenness, regional pride, family honor, rurality, and fundamentalism dominated southern society. These ideas were deeply engained in the culture of the region. In fact, all of these themes or ideas were so powerful that they continually reemerged in various musical genres, included folk music, the blues, hillbilly tunes, various forms of country music, and redneck southern rock and roll. Throughout the history of the South, music also illustrated that the common people never strayed too far away from the ideas that their colonial ancestors laid out during the early stages of the region's development. Even though major events, such as agrarian revolts, the Civil War, Reconstruction, the death
of "King Cotton," World War II, and the fall of segregation greatly effected the South, music showed that no incident totally transformed the southerners intellectual mindset. Music reaffirmed W. J. Cash's statement that "far from representing a deliberate break with the past" much about the culture "clearly flowed straight out of that past." In different eras, for example, music demonstrated that white southern males were often intolerant, to the point of physical violence, of any group, such as homosexuals, women, or blacks, who stepped out of traditional social norms. In fact, post-World War II music confirmed that one small-town southern lesbian was correct when she pointed out that "everybody protects everybody else-unless you fall outside the norm. They don't deal with things that aren't normal for them."

In the post-World War II era when many scholars claimed that the rural South was losing its distinctive characteristics, the old ideas once again reemerged in both the music and the culture. Instead of promoting the new progressivism of the modern South, many musicians advanced traditional cultural themes to become conservative backlashes to change. The South was "a changing," but music clearly reflected that like their ancestors many contemporary white southerners did not relish living in what they perceived as a new social order. In many ways, the overly macho, young, Protestant, blue-collar, heterosexual, whiskey-drinking, car-racing, white males of the region would rather fight than change. This group of southern "Good Ol' Boys" rallied around the musicians that touted the archaic ideas and waved the symbolic symbols of the Old South, because, at least for the time being, those performers not only spoke the language of
the common man, but they also calmed this group's deepest fears. As long as the "Stars and Bars" waved on southern soil, or appeared in southern music, their southern identity remained safe and secure. For this group of white "good ol' boys," and a few radical politicians, southern music became a panacea. Through this militantly pro-South music, they hoped to re-Dixify Dixie and recapture what they considered the South's glorious and romantic past. In this regard, they were no different than their Reconstruction ancestors. In the final analysis, music has shown that although "outsiders" continually tried to force southerners to change their institutions, intellectually, socially, and culturally many white southerners held on tightly to some of their most distinctive characteristics.

2. For an examination of the various theories and for a list of sources which use each theory, see Dawn Renae Stiemsma, "Gender and Popular Music" (master’s thesis, Iowa State University, 1991); The studies produced by social scientists, feminists, and learning theorists that deal with various issues, such as the media’s influence on domestic violence, are cited in other sections of the text.


4. When I use the term South I am not only referring to the eleven Confederate states that seceded from the Union, but I am also including parts of Missouri, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Oklahoma. Although most of the folktunes mentioned originated in the upper South, particularly West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, northern Arkansas, southern Missouri, North Carolina, and Virginia, over time most filtered down to the lower South. On the other hand, many of the blues tunes originated in the lower South, but most spread upward, while the honky tonk, neo-honky tonk, and redneck
rock bands mentioned were popular in both the lower and upper South, therefore, the whole South was inundated by the musical themes examined; Pat Daugherty, ex-member of Black Oak Arkansas, interview by author, Jonesboro, Ark., 3 September 1989.

5. All of the videos mentioned are in the author's private collection.


8. Paul Oliver, Conversation with the Blues (New York: Horizon Press, 1965), 34-35; I did not included gospel music, because the themes mentioned would naturally not emerge in this genre.

9. I used several methods to identify southern rock bands in this era. Besides being southerners, they often either had a unique sound, employed a three-guitar lead, sang about the South, or had the tendency to conduct overly long "Jam Sessions." More important, however, in both their interviews and lyrics, these bands almost always stressed their southern roots. In other words, they let everyone know that they were proud to be southerners. My task was made even easier, since many bands, such as Black Oak Arkansas, Molly Hatchet, The Outlaws, Lynyrd Skynyrd, and many of the others, classified themselves as southern rockers. In fact, Charlie Daniels even listed some of the bands he considered southern rockers in his tune, "The South Gonna Do It Again." The Charlie Daniels Band, "The South Gonna Do It Again," Karma Suntra Records, 1974, 0698; Finally, I only
included in this category artists or groups that both the music industry and its fans identified as southern rockers.

10. In a study of this nature, definitions are important. When I use the word "macho," for example, I mean a man who exaggerates and stresses his own masculinity. Similarly, the term "macho male complex," refers to men who incessantly embellish and glorify their physical or sexual power and strength. According to various studies, including Bill Malone's *Country Music U.S.A.* and James Cobb’s *The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity*, many southern men exhibited such traits because they believed that they were oppressed by forces beyond their control. Moreover, the term fundamentalism refers to the dogmatic Protestant groups which stress the literally interpretation of the Bible. In addition, when I use the term I am also referring to a theology that requires individuals to strictly adhere to several basic principles, such as the belief that alcohol consumption, dancing, all forms gambling, and homosexuality are evil. Many of these groups, such as the Southern Baptists, are strong in the South. Finally, when I use the term "redneck" I do not intend to belittle or demean southerners of the rural laboring class or the "good ole boy" element. There is an important distinction between these social types that southerners understand. According to author and editor Roy Blount Jr., (and through my own personal observations as a working-class rural southerner) a good ole boy is a man who is a "solid, reliable, unpretentious, stand-up, companionable, appropriately loose, joke-sharing feller, with a working understanding of certain bases of head-to-head equal footing." He is a Jerry Reed, Burt
Reynolds, or Richard Petty type of man. Although a good ole boy will fight, he does not relish it. A red-neck on the other hand, is a man who loves to fight, hangs around taverns too much, brags about drinking too much rot-gut whiskey, generally has a foul mouth, is intolerant of others, and, more importantly, has "an outlaw quality that the good ole boy lacks." Hank Williams Jr., Ronnie Van Zant, and the members of Molly Hatchet are examples. See John Shelton Reed, *Southern Folk, Plain & Simple* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1986), 36, 38.

CHAPTER 1

SOUTHERN FEMICIDE

1. Since the term "femicide" refers to the "misogynist killing of females," and because the murders of African Americans in this era were often motivated by racism, not every case of an African American woman being killed constituted a "case of femicide," nor did it always indicate gender control. In order to be labeled as such, the killings had to be "accompanied by a sexist act--most commonly rape." Chris Domingo, "What the White Man Won't Tell Us: Report from the Berkeley Clearinghouse on Femicide," in *Femicide: The Politics of Woman-Killing*, ed. Jill Radford and Diana E. H. Russell (New York: Twayne Publisher, 1992), 200-201; Stiemmsma, "Gender and Popular Music," 4-5.
2. Dickerson D. Bruce Jr., *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 99-100; To be included in this manuscript, a song had to have been popular in the pre-World War II South. It did not matter if particular tunes were hundreds of years old or only a few years old; they were eligible for inclusion if they were popular. Similarly, although many of the folk collections I consulted were completed in the early twentieth century, collectors and songsters pointed out that the tunes had been in the oral tradition for many years, generally for several generations, indicating that such views had long existed in the culture. In fact, according to Bruce, pre-Civil War folk tunes were similar to those collected after the Civil War. Moreover, although no folksong collection, no matter how good, contains every possible rendering of a particular song (that would have been an impossible task), historical judgements can be ascertained from the songs that do exist. For example, although it is impossible to know every possible rendition, I was often able to find several similar versions of a particular song in various southern collections and locations, which indicated that the versions listed were widespread and popular. In addition, when the word "tune" is used, I do not mean a song's musical setting. When referred to, words such as "tune," "song," "ditty," and "melody" signify texted pieces. I do not deal with musical arrangements in this particular manuscript, because in a discussion of how music reflects and affects society, actual lyrics are not only more useful to the historian, but they are also much more important; Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th-Century American South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 102; W.

3. To determine if European ballads which dealt with the murder of women were more popular in the South than in other parts of the United States, I examined the Frank C. Brown collection in North Carolina, the most complete southern-state collection. First, I classified the female murder tunes. Second, through an examination of other sources such as additional regional collections and articles, I compiled a list of the North American sites where these songs have been documented. Although in most southern states, unlike northern states, a particular tune could be found in several different locales, states were given only one credit for each song. By comparing the number of southern and northern states, some striking observations were apparent. First, 54 percent of the total number of sites were southern states. Moreover, of all the locations, only 23 percent were northern states. In fact, some tunes were only found in the South. I did not count the border states as northern because of extensive southern migration to the region. Although it would be impossible to state that all of the songs found in the border region were transported by southerners, many examples can be given. Mrs. Ernest Shope, for instance, was a "fine local singer of traditional ballads and songs" in Jeffersonville, Indiana, but she was not originally from Indiana, but Campbellsville, Kentucky. This is where she learned the three murder
ballads she sang for the interviewers. These tunes were "The Two Sisters," "The Cruel Mother," and "The Two Brothers." See Margaret Sweeney, "Mrs. Ernest Shope: A Memorable Informant," Kentucky Folklore Record 11 (April-June 1965): 17-24; Kentucky songs spread throughout both the North and South. For example, George W. Boswell maintained that of the 700 song variants in his Tennessee collection "no fewer than 128 were learned in Kentucky." George W. Boswell, "Kentucky Folksongs in the Tennessee Archives," Kentucky Folklore Record 4 (July-September 1958): 115.

4. Michael E. Bush, "Murder Ballads in Appalachia" (master’s thesis, Marshall University, 1977), 40-46; In the Frank C. Brown collection, approximately 47 percent of the imported murder ballads involved the murder of women. In John Harrington Cox’s monumental study of folksongs in the South, approximately 44 percent of the murder tunes involved the death of women. Similarly, in Arthur Kyle Davis Jr.’s renowned study, Traditional Ballads of Virginia, approximately 42 percent of the murder ballads found in Virginia portrayed women killed. In the tunes Vance Randolph collected in northern Arkansas and southern Missouri, approximately 42 percent of the traditional murder ballads detailed the killing of women. Finally, in Oliver Dame Campbell and Cecil J. Sharp’s book, entitled English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, approximately 43 percent of the murder tunes dealt with female homicides. I have only listed the major books and collections, but others could be mentioned. For instance, by examining the list of traditional songs in the George W. Boswell collection, it is apparent that he listed many murder ballads; Newman Ivey White, ed., The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore, 8 vols. (Durham,

5. For instance see Bush's interpretation, and the various versions, of the 1744 English ballad "The Wexford Girl," which was popular in the South. Bush, "Murder Ballads in Appalachia," 40-46; Arthur Kyle Davis Jr., and Paul Clayton Worthington, "Another New Traditional Ballads from Virginia: 'Jellon Grame,'" *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 22 (December 1958): 166-168; Capers Edwin Kirkland and Mary Neal Kirkland, "Popular Ballads Recorded in Knoxville, Tennessee," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 2 (June 1938): 72-74; Several scholars, including Dickerson D. Bruce Jr, in *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South*, and William Lynwood Montell, in *Killings: Folk Justice in the Upper South*, indicated that violence was an integral part of the culture.

6. This was determined by an examination of the Brown collection and other song collections.

7. John S. Reed, "Below the Smith and Wesson Line: Southern Violence," in *One South: An Ethnic Approach to Regional Culture* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 142; Margo Wilson and Martin Daly,


9. Cratis D. Williams, "Local Ballads: 'Jesse Adams,'" *Kentucky Folklore Record* 8 (January-March 1962): 19-20; Traditional British ballads which illuminated the brutal consequences of adultery had been common in the South for hundreds of years. In "Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard," for example, a husband finds out his wife is cheating on him. He kills the man and then "seized [his wife] by her little white hand/And cut her head away." Comparably, in "The Demon Lover," a woman, who is persuaded to leave her husband and sail away with her lover, is doomed. Once on board the ship, she realized that he was a demon when she "spied his cloven foot." Although she pleads for her life, he sinks the ship and takes her to the "mountain of Hell." Davis, *Traditional Ballads of Virginia*, 291. George W. Boswell, "A Song To Sing--'The Demon Lover,'" *Kentucky Folklore Record* 18 (April-June 1972): 41-43.

1936, De-7219; William Moore, "Midnight Blues," January 1928, Pm-12636; J. T. Funny Paper Smith, "Mama’s Quittin’ and Leavin’--Part 1," December 1930, Vo-1602; Washboard Sam, "Jesse James Blues," 20 June 1935, Vo-03375; Jack Kelly, "Men Fooler Blues," 14 July 1939, Vo-05312; Sonny Boy Williamson, "Shady Grove Blues," 2 July 1941, BB-Bt914; there are many good examples, however, the following are typical. In 1929 Blind Lemon Jefferson, in his "Peach Orchard Mama," sang that he was going to kill his woman for letting other men "pick" her "fruit." In his 1930 tune, "Mama’s Quittin’ and Leavin’--Part 1," J. T. Funny Paper Smith stated that he had heard his woman "talking about changing men," but the singer warned her that he would not stand for such talk. If she tried to leave him, the bluesman sang that he would take his "forty-five/mama and turn you upside down." He also claimed that such brutal treatment was for her own good, because "it ain’t no need of leaving me/because you’re going to be mistreated by someone else/And rather than see someone else mistreat you/I’d rather keep you and mistreat you myself." In his 1939 single, "Men Fooler Blues," when Jack Kelly found out that his lover had run away with his best friend, he was also "going to kill her."


13. In "Long an’ Tall an’ Chocolate to the Bone," an African American man made it clear what he would do to his wife’s lover when he sang that he would "start a little graveyard of my own,/If you don’t, ole nigger, let my woman alone." In the early twentieth century black miners near Birmingham, Alabama, boasted in song that they were going to buy a pistol and "kill the
first fellow/Fooling with my long-haired girl." In some folksongs African American women themselves cautioned their lovers that their husbands would kill them. One woman, for example, warned her lover in the tune "What's Stirrin', Babe?" not to let her husband "catch you here-/He'll kill you dead just' sho's you born." Scarborough, *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs*, 89-91; Odum and Johnson, *The Negro and His Songs*, 161, 188, 190; White, *American Negro Folk-Songs*, 272; William Lynwood Montell, *Killings: Folk Justice in the Upper South* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1986), 29; Davis, *Traditional Ballads of Virginia*, 155; Randolph, *Ozark Folksongs*, vol. 1, 380-382, 417-418; Belden and Hudson, *Folk Ballads from North Carolina*, 229-231, 266-269; Lonnie Johnson, "Sam, You're Just a Rat," 9 February 1932, OK-8937; Peetie Wheatstraw, "Low Down Rascal," 18 February 1936, De-7200; although in the blues there are many of these types of songs, the following examples are typical. In a 1935 single, "Big Leg Mama," Kokomo told a man, who had been sleeping with his lover, that "Now you going hear thunder and lightning/from the end of my pistol barrel." Similarly, Roosevelt Sykes pointed out in his 1930 number, "No Good Woman Blues," that an irate husband had almost killed him with a shotgun blast. Blind Willie McTell also made this clear in his 1932 hit, "Searching the Desert for the Blues." He informed males, for example, that "you better let married women alone/Take my advice/Let these married women be/Because their husbands'll grab you/and beat you ragged as a cedar tree." He also uttered the same theme three years latter in his hit, "Ticket Agent Blues." For these lyrics, listen to Arnold Kokomo, "Big Leg Mama," 11 September 1935, De-7116; Roosevelt Sykes, "No Good Woman Blues," 3 November 1930, Me-

14. White, American Negro Folk-Songs, 329; Chapman J. Milling, "Delia Holmes--A Neglected Negro Ballad," Southern Folklore Quarterly 1 (December 1937): 3-8; Cox, Folk-Songs of the South, 441; as newspaper articles show, this type of behavior took place in the South. One such Georgia murder occurred in 1817. For details of such a murder, see "Horrid Murder!" Missouri Gazette (St. Louis), 18 December 1817.


16. This was true in all the songs mentioned by Bush, including "Pretty Polly," "The Wexford Girl," "Willy Guseman," "Rose Conoley," "Flo Ellen," "Pearl Bryan," "Omie Wise," "Banks of the Ohio," "Joe and Mary," and "Hindside Afore." In the "Wexford Girl," for example, the murder stated that "I heeded not this fair maid's cries, I beat her o'er and o'er. I beat her till her body lie a bleeding in a gore." Bush, "Murder Ballads in Appalachia," 9; John Harrington Cox, Traditional Ballads and Folk-Songs Mainly from West Virginia, in American Folk-Song Publications #3, publication no. 75-S, ed. George Herzog and Herbert Halpert (Washington, D.C.: Works Progress Administration Federal Theater Project National Service Bureau, March 1939), 76; George W. Boswell, "A Song to Sing--'There Was a Rich Old Farmer,'" Kentucky Folklore Record 18 (July-September 1972): 75-76; Frances D. Perdue, "Folksong Repertoire of Beulah C. Moody," Kentucky


19. Lois W. Banner, "Elizabeth Cady Stanton: Early Marriage and Feminist Rebellion," in Women's America: Refocusing the Past, 3d ed., ed. Linda K. Kerber and Jane De Hart Mathews (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 224; Bush, "Murder Ballads in Appalachia," 17-18; Ann Scott Wilson maintains that Pearl Bryan was killed not because of an abortion attempt gone wrong, but because the murderer wanted to conceal the fact that he had gotten her pregnant. This version does not negate my earlier theory, since in this version the murder victim simply broke a different cultural taboo. Ann Scott Wilson, "Pearl Bryan," Southern Folklore Quarterly 3 (March 1939): 16. When reading Bush, scholars should not be misled that Bush discussed all such tunes popular in the South, because he only examined a particular geographic region of the mountain South; "Jellon Grame'" was only found in Virginia. Davis and Worthington, "Another New Traditional Ballads from Virginia: 'Jellon Grame'," 163-172; even though these types of songs are numerous, none portray a pregnant woman killing her lover by herself. The closest example was an 1824 tune entitled "Jeremiah Beechum." This song detailed how a woman had her new lover kill


22. "Bad Lee Brown" was found in several southern locations, and it was popular with both African Americans and whites. Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, vol. 2, 117-118; Boswell, "There Was a Rich Old Farmer," 75-76; Bush, "Murder Ballads in Appalachia," 6; the song "Rose Conoley" has been found in both Wisconsin and Nebraska, but it was overwhelmingly more popular in the South, because versions appear in West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and southern Missouri. More importantly, Lomax felt it originated in the South. See Bush, "Murder Ballads in Appalachia," 53. In some songs, such as "Pretty Polly" not even a guilty sentiment is evident. In this song, Polly is killed by her lover, who had been digging her grave all night. Once he tricks her into following him to the isolated grave site, he simply stabs her and throws her into the pre-dug grave. The killer's lack of concern is evident when he does not mourn but instead only unceremoniously "shoveled some dirt over her and turned to go home." See


25. In fact, if a white male was executed for murdering a female, at times folksongs portrayed him in a sympathetic light. Similar to the mass media of the late twentieth century, some folksongs turned these ruthless female-killers into tragic heroes. These males were frequently depicted as brave but misguided characters, not brutal villains. On the scaffold they typically accepted their fate "like a man." In addition, the murderers often gave heart-wrenching confessions in which they blamed whiskey, or the victims themselves, for their downfall. For a discussion of how the media of the late twentieth century romanticizes males who kill females, see Sandra McNeill, "Woman Killer as Tragic Hero," in *Femicide: The Politics of Woman-Killing*, ed. Jill Radford and Diana E. H. Russell (New York: Twayne Publisher, 1992), 178-183; Eve S. Buzawa and Carl G. Buzawa, *Domestic Violence: The Criminal Justice Response* (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 24-25; Jill Radford, introduction to *Femicide: The Politics of Woman-Killing*, ed. Jill Radford and Diana E. H. Russell (New York: Twayne Publisher, 1992), 5; Edwards, "'Provoking Her Own Demise,'" 161, 165.


28. Russell, "Femicidal Lynching in the United States," 53-55; Brundage, Lynching in the New South, 92; The mob also added insult to injury by making an empty whiskey bottle, with a half-smoked cigar stuck in its neck, Turner's headstone.


CHAPTER 2
DOMESTIC ABUSE

1. If only we had the songs to show that men could get away with beating women, some scholars might disagree that this situation really occurred, but when the songs are reinforced by court cases, the abuse becomes obvious; in 1988, for example, Michele Bograd pointed out that only fifteen years previously the "physical abuse of wives was a hidden phenomenon." Michele Bograd, introduction to Feminist Perspectives on Wife Abuse, eds. Kersti Yllo and Michele Bograd (London: Sage Publication, 1988), 11; other forms of family violence, such as child abuse, are not dealt with in this chapter because these categories, according to prominent feminist
scholars such as W. Breines, L. Gordon, C. Mcgrath, and S. Schechter, "obscure the dimensions of gender and power that are fundamental to understanding wife abuse." Bograd, introduction to Feminist Perspectives on Wife Abuse, 13.

2. The Mississippi law stated that a husband could "exercise the right of moderate chastisement in cases of great emergency and to use salutary restraint in every case of misbehavior, without subjecting himself to vexatious prosecution, resulting in the discredit and shame of all parties." Terry Davidson, "Wife beating: A Recurring Phenomenon Throughout History," in Battered Women: A Psychosociological Study of Domestic Violence, ed. Maria Roy, (New York: Van Rom Reinhold Company, 1977), 19; For an understanding of the historical perspective of wife abuse see, Davidson, "Wife beating," 2-21; Buzawa and Buzawa, Domestic Violence, 24-25.

3. Robert Mason maintains that this song is derived from Hazlitt's "The Wife Lapped in Morrel's Skin" which spoke of how a domineering wife is taken to a cellar by her husband. In this cellar the husband places an old horse hide on her back and beats her with sticks until she faints. When the woman recovers, she is "perfectly reformed." For an interesting version of this song and the ballad "The Farmer's Curst Wife" mixed together, see Robert Leslie Mason, "Ten Old English Ballads in Middle Tennessee," Southern Folklore Quarterly 11 (June 1947): 134-136; Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads From North Carolina, 478-479.

4. Henry Thomas, "Don't Ease Me In," 13 June 1928, Vo-1197; Robert Johnson, "Me and the Devil Blues," 20 June 1937, DAL-398-2; Eurreal Little


9. Edwards, "'Provoking Her Own Demise,' 161-165; for an understanding of the "provocation defense," see Sue Lee, "Naggers, Whores, and Libbers: Provoking Men To Kill," 267-288; Radford, "Introduction," 5; Sonny Boy Williamson, "You Give an Account," 17 June 1938, BB-B7756; Mississippi John Hurt, "Nobody's Dirty Business," 14 February 1928, OK-8560. In the 1817 newspaper accounts of the murder of Miss Pattan of Georgia, for example, alcohol emerged. In fact, her fiancee's brutality was blamed on
liquor. See, "Horrid Murder!" 3.

10. Odum and Johnson, *The Negro and His Songs*, 160-161, 180; White, *American Negro Folk-Songs*, 316; In music African American women were also often simply used for sexual pleasure.


12. "Collecting Ballads and Folk Songs in Tennessee: A Paper Presented at the Second Annual Meeting of the Tennessee Folklore Society, November 9, 1935," *Tennessee Folklore Society* 2 (March 1936): 11; In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries African American males frequently sang these types of tunes; White, *American Negro Folk-Songs*, 313, 335; Odum and Johnson, *The Negro and His Songs*, 191. These kinds of sexist descriptions also emerged in newspaper stories. After Miss Patton was murdered in Georgia, for example, newspapers described her as a "model which the pencil of a Raphael might in vain endeavor to delineate!-Elegance and symmetry [sic] in her form were blended. Her luxuriant auburn hair flowed in graceful ringlets around her well turned shoulders. Her neck and bosom might with alabaster vie. Her glowing cheeks, tinged with the crimson blush of virgin modesty, displayed the most happy assemblage of the carnation and lily, that ever graced a mortal form." See, "Horrid Murder!" 3.


15. W. K. McNeil, *Southern Folk Ballads*, vol. 1, (Little Rock: August House Publishers, 1987), 70-76. In "The Drowery Sleeper," a father refused to allow his daughter to marry a man, thus, the couple killed themselves. In the "Rainbow Willow" a man had to kill his fiancée's uncle before he could marry her. In fact, the uncle had locked her away in a cell. Similarly, in "I Dreamt Last Night of My True Love," an uncle locked his niece away in a cell to stop her from marrying a man he did not like. Although the couple married, the uncle was never punished for his cruelty. The songs mentioned above can be found in, McNeil, *Southern Folk Ballads*, 70-76; For a definition of the term sexually "proprietary" see Wilson and Daly, "Till Death Us Do Part," 85.

16. For this tabulation I did not include the more vulgar terms, such as "my jelly roll." When males sang this phrase they were actually saying "my vagina," or the less crude terms, such as "my baby" or "my honey." If these would have been included, the list of songs would have greatly increased; the number 164 was obtained by a complete run of Michael Taft, *Blues Lyric Poetry: A Concordance*, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984), and similar sources, such as individual blues tunes; Little Hat Jones, "Two String Blues," 15 June 1929, OK-8712; Leroy Carr, "Take a Walk around the Corner," 14 August 1934, Vo-02986; Arnold Kokomo, "Black Annie," 5 February 1935, De-7092; Joe Williams, "Somebody's Been Borrowing that Stuff," 25 February 1935, BB-B5900; Bo Chatman, "Old Devil," 22 October 1938, BB-B8093; Thomas A. Dorsey, "If You Want Me to Love You," 5 February
1932, Vo-1682.


18. George B. Boswell, "Songs to Sing--'The Mother-In-Law Song,"
Kenducky Folklore Record 15 (January-March 1969): 22-23; For a discussion of black family structure, see Mary Frances Berry and John W. Blassingame, Long Memory: The Black Experience in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

19. Walker points to the studies conducted by Sonkin and Durphy, see Walker and Browne, "Gender and Victimization by Intimates," 179, 182.

Communication 27 (summer 1977): 189-199.


22. G. Malcolm Laws Jr., Native American Balladry (Philadelphia: Publications of the American Folklore Society, 1964), 1; for example, in the late nineteenth century when James Reuben Broyles leaned "back in the old split-hickory-bottom chair" and started to perform the tune "The Little Ship," he would sing the song as if the dying child was his very own. His technique was so convincing that someone in the audience generally cried. Loman D. Cansler, "Boyhood Songs of my Grandfather," Southern Folklore Quarterly 18 (September 1954): 181; John W. Roberts also discusses African American singers using the first person in outlaw tunes, see John W. Roberts, "'Railroad Bill' and the American Outlaw Tradition," Western Folklore 40 (October 1981): 318-321.


27. Although southern African Americans developed the blues, many southern whites also performed and appreciated the music. In fact, several white artists couched their more "racy" numbers in the blues format, or reworked old blues tunes. They used this format because, similar to its African American originators, the blues approached the subject of sex differently; therefore, it allowed for more indiscretion than early "hillbilly" music. In addition, in the rural South, operas, classical music, and brass instruments were not generally heard, but rural southerners produced and appreciated their own unique forms of music. Although the so-called musically sophisticated ignored the rural fiddler, blues guitarist, harmonica performer, banjo picker, or dulcimer player, rural society did not. In fact, the folk musician was as "important as the personage," and received as much respect as the reverend. Similarly, even though many white planters hated to see bluesmen appear on the scene, many people in the African American community admired these individuals. In addition, music enabled many of the poorest southerners to earn respect and some extra income. Moreover, music uplifted the spirits in a segment of the population that faced extreme poverty. Because of the widespread populari-

CHAPTER 3
VIOLENCE: SAVAGERY IN THE PRE-WORLD WAR II ERA

1. Although forever lost, southerners had to have sung about local murders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, since in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries such tunes flourished throughout the region. Although most folksong compilations were completed after the Civil War, pre-war ballads were not unlike later tunes. Bruce, Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South, 99-100; Arthur Palmer Hudson, Folksongs of Mississippi and Their Background (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), 254; Ruth Ann Musick, "Murderers and Cut-Throats in Song," Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin 19 (June 1953): 31; Alfred M. Williams, "Folk-Songs of the Civil War," Journal 5, 265 ff; Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads from North Carolina, 677-684, 688-722; Kentuckians, for example, sung many ruthless songs, including tunes about Jeremiah Beechum, Talt Hall, Roy Ricky, and Muriel Bladridge. Beechum killed Solomon O. Sharp in Frankfort,
Kentucky in 1824, Hall was a Kentucky ruffian who murdered more than twenty people before he was hanged in Virginia in the late nineteenth century, whereas, Ricky, a young boy last seen being choked under a table by his stepmother (a woman who had already "put out his eye" with a saucer) was slain around 1933 in Soldier, Kentucky; L. Roberts, "Beauchamp And Sharp: A Kentucky Tragedy," 14-19; Josiah H. Combs, Folk-Songs of the Southern United States, ed. D. K. Wilgus (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), 157-158; George W. Boswell, "Folksongs In Northeastern Kentucky," Kentucky Folklore Record 11 (October-December 1965): 73-74.

2. Roberts, "Beauchamp and Sharp: A Kentucky Tragedy," 14-19; Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads From North Carolina, 690; Thomas, Ballad Makin' in the Mountains of Kentucky (New York: Oak Publications, 1964), 138; Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 106-111; Mandel Sherman and Thoman R. Henry, Hollow Folk (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1933), 138-139; this was ascertained by examining the songs on pages 138-158; Musick, "Murderers and Cut-Throats in Song," 31; in fact, approximately one-third of Randolph's Ozark Folksongs was devoted to murderers and outlaws.


5. Montell, Killings, 35; Bush, "Murder Ballads in Appalachia," 18; Bush, Reed, Cash, Montell, Ayers, and several other scholars who have
written on the South, have detailed acts that indicate that southerners love gore. Reed, for example, pointed out that southerners participate in more blood sports than other Americans. Southern urbanites, for instance, hunt more than even non-southern rural people. Moreover, the resurrection of modern dog-fighting is centered in the South, as are bear baiting and cock fights. Cock fighting even appeared in modern music. Black Oak Arkansas released such a tune, entitled "Fightin' Cock," which discussed a bloody cock fight; See Reed, One South, 155; Ayers, Vengeance and Justice, 249; Black Oak Arkansas, "Fightin' Cock," Black Oak Arkansas, MCA CRC-20170; See also Ted Ownby, "Freedom, Manhood, and Male Tradition in 1970s Southern Rock Music" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association, Louisville, Tenn., November 1994), 18; Thomas, Ballad Makin', 138; Cox, Folk-Songs of the South, 189; I personally know of many old people who have stated basically the same thing. In fact, this trait is not uncommon today; Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads from North Carolina, 690.

6. Montell, Killings, 163; Bruce, Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South, 100; Lightfoot, 365-366; Harry M. Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1962), 46.


8. Ayers, Vengeance and Justice, 250; Montell, Killings, 22, 39, 65, 90, 250.

10. Montell, *Killings*, 37-38, 45, 99-100; Lightfoot, "The Ballad 'Talt Hall' in Regional Context," 366-367. The same kind of activity Montell found in Tennessee-Kentucky was also common in northeastern Arkansas. Family members and acquaintances have often discussed the killings and general mayhem with this author. Moreover, in old photographs the young men generally either had a knife or a gun. A few of these items are in the author's possession.

to Regional Culture (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); John S. Reed, "To Live-and Die-in Dixie: A Contribution to the Study of Southern Violence," Political Science Quarterly 86 (September 1971): 429-443; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982). Similarly, I came to the same conclusion by a complete run of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports; Ayers, Vengeance and Justice, 250; My parents and grandparents both remembered people being killed and assaulted at church services in the Ozarks.

12. Montell, Killings, 102, 148-149; Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 165; Perrow, "Songs And Rhymes From The South," 154; Bruce, Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South, 102.


14. Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 166; Combs, Folk-Songs of the Southern United States, 167-171.


17. Montell's manuscript is filled with such cases, but I have found three other good examples. In one case a group of Kentucky friends decided to sit at the depot and drink a bottle of Whiskey. After a brief argument
over whose whiskey it was, Walter Ford's chin was almost completely cut off when his friend Charley tried to slice his "joo-gar" vein. Similarly, Kentuckian Hiram Marsh killed Frank Redman, his close friend and business partner of several years, when he told Marsh to stop drinking. See, Noel Coppage, "Fights, Fiddles, and Foxhunts," Kentucky Folklore Record 7 (January-March 1961): 2-5. Finally, on 1 August 1887 a song arose about the murder of Munroe Bynum, a Tennessean who was robbed and killed by his "very close friend," Silas Lands. Bynum not only made the mistake of accompanying Lands to Nashville, but he departed in the middle of the night and let Lands inspect his gun. Lands then fixed the weapon so it would not fire. See Maggie J. Lowe, "The Murder of Munroe Bynum," Tennessee Folk Society Bulletin 20 (March 1954): 9-13.


20. Kid Wesley Wilson, "Do It Right," 5 September 1929, Co-14463-D; Berry and Blassingame, Long Memory, 236-238, 249; Wheeler, Steamboatin' Days, 104.

21. Combs, Folk-Songs of the Southern United States, 161-162, 166-171; Cox, Folk-Songs of the South, 203-204; Montell, Killings, 146.

23. Wheeler, Steamboatin' Days, 103; Ronald L. Morris, Wait until Dark: Jazz And The Underworld 1880-1940 (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1980), 151.


25. I have only found a very limited number of white folksongs where white men used razors. In the song "If You Don't Quit A-Foolin' With My Dony [a common word for sweetheart]," popular in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mountain whites in East Tennessee sang that if a man did not stop "a-foolin'" with their sweethearts, they would cut his heart out and his "goozle in two" with a razor. Perrow, "Songs and Rhymes from the South," 184; Morris, Wait Until Dark, 68, 71-73, 149.


36. White, American Negro Folk Songs, 376, 381-383. Although White claimed that there were not enough of these songs to make generalizations, I contend that when placed within the context of many other racial songs, and other sources of the era, generalizations can be made. The fact is that African Americans were mistreated in the South, and their tunes show that they knew it. Similar songs, for example, can also be seen in Lomax, "Self-Pity in Negro Folk-Songs," 141-145. Moreover, black southern sharecroppers, as the autobiography of Nate Shaw demonstrated and various blues artists indicted, clearly understood they had no chance against a white planter; Paul Oliver, Conversation with the Blues (New York: Horizon Press, 1965), 34-35.

37. Odum and Johnson, The Negro and His Songs, 254-255. In another such song, which was sung in 1846, an African American songster pointed out that blacks should "Neber live with white folks, [because] dey neber use you well." In fact, he maintained that whites would give blacks "a little cold pancake and a little hog fat, Ah!/ And dey grumble like de debil, if you eat too much of dat, Ah." Such tunes remained popular in the early twentieth century. In 1919, in eastern North Carolina, one old African American songstir made it clear that it was better to be a white man than a black man in the South, when he sang "Coon, coon, coon, and I wish my color would fade;/Coon, coon, coon, I like a brighter shade;/Coon, coon, coon, in morning, night or noon,/I'd rather be a white man than a coon, coon, coon./ Ho! ho! and I wish my color would fade." White, American Negro Folk-Songs, 378, 382.


42. Morris, *Wait Until Dark*, 68, 71-72, 149.


46. Montell, *Killings*, 164-165; For an understanding of violence in African American communities, see Berry and Blassingame, *Long Memory*.

47. Bruce, *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South*, 7.
CHAPTER 4
BRUTALITY IN THE POST-WAR SOUTH


2. Ibid., 163; calculations are based on the Department of Justice's figures for 1990 and 1991. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States, 1990 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1991); Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States, 1991 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1992); in fact, some parts of the South were less violent than other sections of the nation. In 1990 both the Mid-Atlantic district and the Pacific zone equaled the East South Central region's 10.2 average. By 1991 the Pacific zone's 10.7 rating surpassed the East South Central region's 10.4 total; in 1991, for example, while the East South Central region's murder rate stood at 10.4, the West South Central region's homicide ratio stood at 14.2.


5. Molly Hatchet, "The Creeper," Mister Sunshine Music, 1978; Molly Hatchet, "The Creeper," Molly Hatchet, Epic, 1978, PET-35347. Murder tunes did not entirely die out—this particular genre only became less significant. In the 1950s, for example, Kentucky radio stations played contemporary folktunes that discussed the murder of Muriel Bladridge, a Floyd
County, Kentucky, resident. This song, however, was taken off the air, because, as some have argued, it named too many people; Wilgus, "Down Our Way: Sing Us a Kentucky Song," 49. "Sam Hall" was a popular murder tune in country music. In this 1965 song Tex Ritter killed a man by smashing in his head with a club. This was rereleased by several top stars, including Johnny Cash. Similarly, in Porter Wagoner's county hit of the 1960s, "Black Jack's Bar," he used his guitar as an instrument of death. After he swung it, a knife-wielding gambler fell dead. Finally, in the 1967 country number "Blackjack County Chains," an abusive sheriff is beaten to death with a log chain. This song was rereleased by Willie Nelson in 1983. Although these songs were brutal, and even though the killers used an assortment of weapons, motives generally emerged; Tex Ridder, "Sam Hall," Vidor Publications, Inc., 1965 and 1969; Porter Wagoner, "Black Jack's Bar," The Carroll County Accident, RCA, 1969, LSP-4116; Tex Ritter, "Sam Hall," Tex Ritter, MCA Records, 1991, MCAC-10188; Johnny Cash, "Sam Hall," Johnny Cash Sings the Ballads of the True West, Columbia, 1970, C2S-838; Red Lane, "Blackjack County Chains," Tree Publishing Co., Inc., 1967 and 1983; Red Lane, "Blackjack County Chains," The World Needs a Melody, RCA Victor, 1971, LSP-4576; Willie Nelson, "Blackjack County Chains," Take It to the Limit, Columbia, 1983, CK-38562.


8. After the Second World War racist terminology also continued to materialize in southern music. In 1949 Hank Williams, under the pseudonym "Luke the Drifter," recorded "The Funeral." In this tune one of the most popular southern musicians of all time sang about an African American preacher with extremely "grotesque" features. In fact, he rhymed the words
"Ethiopian face" with the term "crushed, undying race." In 1956 Warren Smith, a rockabilly star from Mississippi, recorded another Mississippian's, Charles Underwood, song entitled "Ubangi Stomp." In this tune, which, during the late 1950s, was extremely popular on the southern-dance-circuit, Smith sang about African "niggers doin' an odd-lookin' skip." Similarly, Underwood reinforced a major racial stereotype when he suggested that African Americans made the best dancers. This kind of stereotyping also emerged in more modern country numbers. Although the ditty was never released, in 1973 a "well-known country singer" recorded "I Was Born in a One-Nigger Town." In this song the southern performer sang such disgusting and stereotyping lyrics as, "Us honkies hate them niggers cuz they got them big long dicks." What a major disappointment when they "trot you into class/And ya gotta hate your classmate for the color of his ass." Similarly, in the 1990s there are still a host of statues, which stereotypically depict African Americans, in the Hank Williams, Jr. souvenir shop in Crossville, Tennessee. Smiling "darkies," with large white eyes, big red lips, and extraordinarily black skin, for example, were shown eating watermelons, and African American women were shown dressed in Aunt Jemima costumes. Moreover, several of the XXX-rated items, which were openly displayed in their own special, but large, section of the store, were even more repulsive. Some of the pornographic coffee-cup holders, statues, and drawings, for example, depicted African American males as having extremely large and long penises; Hank Williams Sr, "The Funeral," Hank Williams, Time-Life Records, 1981, 4TLCW-01; Nick Tosches, Country: The Biggest Music in America (New York: Stein and Day, 1977), 6, 225-228; Warren Smith,

9. The Coon Hunters literally means the hunters of African Americans; Johnny Rebel, "Some Niggers Never Die (They Just Smell That Way)," Reb Rebel Records, Jamil Music, no. 518; Johnny Rebel, "Nigger Hating Me," Reb Rebel Records, Leber Music, no. 508; Tosches, Country, 6, 225-228; The Coon Hunters, "Who Needs a Nigger?," Hatenanny Records, 1964, 6611181; The Coon Hunters, "We Don't Want no Niggers for Neighbors," Hatenanny Records, 1964, 6611182; Similarly, several southern country music superstars, such as the Wilburn Brothers of Arkansas, supported George Wallace in his campaigns for the governorship of Alabama and in his run for President of the United States. In the modern South, Wallace was the prime example of a red-neck brute, who spewed forth a vile message of racial hate. Although no doubts exist that his populist background and his southern roots both played a role in his appeal, Wallace's racism cannot be forgotten, since it hit a major cord with a few southern country musicians. In fact, some southern rockers, such as Lynyrd Skynyrd, wholeheartedly jumped on the Wallace bandwagon; Malone, Country Music, U.S.A., 317-318.


11. Hank Williams Sr., "Howlin' at the Moon," in Don Cusic, ed., Hank Williams: The Complete Lyrics, 32-33; Hank Williams Sr., "Howlin' at the
Moon,"  Hank Williams' 40 Greatest Hits,  PolyGram Records, 1984, 422821334;  
Hank Williams Jr, "Attitude Adjustment,"  Hank Williams, Jr.,'s Greatest Hits,  

Co., Inc., 1977; The Marshall Tucker Band, "Tell It to the Devil," The  

Music Inc., 1965; Johnny Cash, "Hardin Wouldn't Run," Johnny Cash Sings the  
Ballads of the True West, Columbia, 1970, C2S-838; Jimmie Dean, "Big Bad  
of Jimmie Dean, Columbia Special Products, 1976, P2-13116--P2-13117; The  
Charlie Daniels Band, "Big Bad John," Homesick Heroes, Epic, 1988, ET-  
44324.  

Lynyrd Skynyrd, "You Got That Right," Street Survivors, MCA Records, Inc.,  
1977, MCA-3029; Lynyrd Skynyrd, "Cheatin' Woman," Nuthin' Fancy, MCA  
Records, Inc., 1975, MCA-2137; Lynyrd Skynyrd, "Mississippi Kid," (Pro- 
ounced' leh-'nerd 'skin-'nerd), MCA Records, Inc., 1973, MCA-363;  
Jaan  
Uhelszki, "Lynyrd Skynyrd: Fifths & Fists for the Common Man," Creem, March  
1976, 49.


18. In another similar tune, "Riding a Raid," northerners were called "Knaves," and southerers were referred to as "braves." In "The Valiant Conscript," a southerner maintained that "Yankees" "skedaddle" when they saw rebels approaching. Irwin Silber, ed., Songs of the Civil War (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 82-83, 150, 171, 197, 201-203; Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads from North Carolina, 658; Randolph, Ozark


25. "Fine and Dandy!" Melody Maker, 25 May 1974, 19. The town of Black Oak has experienced violence throughout its history. In its early history the town was known for fatal fights, bootleggers, and raw whiskey. For a history of this delta town see, "Early Days In Black Oak: As Told By E. B. Ellis," Craighead County Historical Quarterly 2 (winter 63-64): 1-8; Pat Daugherty, ex-member of Black Oak Arkansas, interview by author, Jonesboro, Ark., 3 September 1989; Shiras, "Black Oak Arkansas."


attended Lynyrd Skynyrd’s "Tribute Tour," pointed out the arena was filled with Confederate flag waving maniacs. Ed Hamelrath, interview by author, Omaha, Neb., 12 March 1992. I have has also personally experienced redneck southern rock concerts of the same caliber.


30. Eric Lindquist, owner of the Record Exchange, interview by author, Jonesboro, Ark., 16 May 1990; Noble G. Graddy, interview by author, Jonesboro, Ark., 13 June 1990. Young southerners from several different sections of the South have stated the same thing, including Mississippian Ed Hamelrath. Ed Hamelrath, interview; Lindquist, for example, stated that "as soon as a Black Oak album comes in, it is gone." Eric Lindquist, owner of the Record Exchange, interview by author, Jonesboro, Ark., 14 April 1990; Jack W. Hill, "Jim Dandy to the Rescue," Arkansas Democrat Gazette, 6 February, 1994.


34. Several southern homosexuals, both males and females, have told this author of the harassment they received in the South. One lesbian reported, for example, that in the 1960s she was constantly persecuted at Arkansas State University. "L. L.," a 43 year old Arkansas lesbian,
interview by author, Jonesboro, Ark., 8 November 1988; James T. Sears, *Growing Up Gay in the South: Race, Gender, and Journeys of the Spirit* (New York: The Haworth Press, 1991), 44; According to Sears, fundamentalism and family honor play a major role in this attitude. In the eyes of many fundamentalists, homosexuality is the worst sin. One Southern Baptist minister told a homosexual male who asked for advice that "God loves you; He doesn't want you to be a homosexual; you'll burn in hell if you don't change; come down for your call to altar tonight and repent, kneel, and pray." This was typical advice. Moreover, in the 1970s and 1980s historian Martin Duberman "faced numerous obstacles" when he tried to publish letters between two gay South Carolina males written in 1826. The curator of the Carolinian Library kept refusing his request for the letters because he felt their publication would "result in embarrassment to [the] descendants." This was 150 years after the incident; Sears, *Growing Up Gay in the South*, 91, 185, 241, 298, 343-344, 354.


41. Swenson, "Gone With The Trend," 42. Although Swenson was discussing Lynyrd Skynyrd, the same reasoning can be used with other groups; Jon Sievert, "10 Years Later: Lynyrd Skynyrd Rocks Again," Guitar Player, January 1988, 67.
CHAPTER 5
GUNS


2. Ibid., 225.


6. Cox, _Traditional Ballads and Folk-Songs Mainly from West Virginia_, 111; Cox, _Folk-Songs of the South_, 203-211; Elihu Jasper Sutherland, "Vance Song," _Southern Folklore Quarterly_ 4 (December 1940): 251-254; Davis, _Traditional Ballads of Virginia_, 272; Thomas, _Ballad Makin',_ 15-41; Hudson, _Folksongs of Mississippi_, 247-248.

7. Two other excellent examples include, "Shot My Pistol in the Heart Of' Town" and "Buffalo Bill." Odum and Johnson, _Negro Workaday Songs_, 6, 47, 63, 67, 70; Scarborough, _On The Trail of Negro Folk-Songs_, 92, 251-252.

8. In this song McTell sang about a man who killed a man who "rapped me across my head." Blind Willie McTell, "Bell Street Blues," 23 April 1935, De-7078; in this song a male is going to carry his forty-five when he goes to a bad part of town, because he has already been shot several times. Roland Walter, "45 Pistol Blues," 14 March 1935, ARC-6-03-61 BC-7; Will Bennett, "Railroad Bill," September 1930, Vo-1464; Malone, _Country Music, U.S.A._, 105.


18. Photograph of gun collection and Confederate flag can be seen in The Hank Williams, Jr. Song Album (New York: Charles Hansen Music and


21. Davis, Traditional Ballads of Virginia, 180A; Montell, Killings, 34; Coppage, "Fights, Fiddles, and Foxhunts," 2; Campbell, "Feuding Ballads from the Kentucky Mountains," Southern Folklore Quarterly 3 (September 1939): 169-170.


27. Bo Chatman, "Ram Road Daddy," 4 June 1931, Ok-8897; ZZ Top, "Gun Love," *ZZ Top: Greatest Hits* (Hamstein Music Company, 1992): 44-45; this .38 Special album cover can be seen on the back page of its musical anthology.


Curb Records, 1992, 9-45104-2;


41. Statistics show, for example, that "Among white victims murdered by spouses, 38 percent of the victims were husbands, 62 percent were wives. Among blacks, 47 percent were husbands, 53 percent wives." See, "Spousal Murder Rate Dropping Sharply," Des Moines Register, 11 July 1992, 2; Lucille Bogan, "Jump Steady Daddy," 7 March 1935, ARC-5-12-58; Rose Mae Moore, "Mad Dog Blues," December 1928, Br-7049; Rosie Mae More, Staggering Blues," 3 February 1928, Vi-21280; Rosetta Crawford, "My Man Jumped Salty on Me," 1 February 1939, De-7567; Memphis Minnie, "Me and My Chauffeur Blues," 21 May 1941, OK-06788 BC-1; Lucille Bogan, "Sweet Man, Sweet Man," 1 August 1934, Ba-33149; Bessie Smith, "Black Mountain Blues," 22 July 1930, C0-14554-D.


48. Friedman, Firearms And Violence In American Life, 29.

49. Hawley, "Gun Control and Southern Culture Conflict," 224.

CHAPTER 6
FEUDING AND LYNCHING

1. Thomas, Ballad Makin', 36; Harold Wilson Coates, Stories of


7. Campbell, "Feuding Ballads from the Kentucky Mountains," 168.


9. Cox, *Folk-Songs of the South*, 207-211; Sutherland, "Vance Song," 251-254.


11. Ibid., 26-30; Coates, *Stories of Kentucky Feuds*, 170.


19. Campbell, "Feuding Ballads from the Kentucky Mountains," 166; Waller, *Feud*, 3-4, 25, 70, 194-195, 258-258; William C. Harris, *The Day of the Carpetbagger: Republican Reconstruction in Mississippi* (Baton Rouge:

20. Campbell, "Feuding Ballads from the Kentucky Mountains," 167; Thomas, Ballad Makin', 16-18; Coates, Stories of Kentucky Feuds, 166; Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 160-162.

21. One of the best such interpretations is Waller, Feud, 139-142, 168; In 1893 an Ozark folk singer, for example, learned the Kentucky feud tune, "The Rowan Country Crew," near Little Rock, Arkansas. Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 160-161.

22. Waller, Feud, 8.

23. Campbell, "Feuding Ballads from the Kentucky Mountains," 165-172; Sutherland, "Vance's Song," 252; Morris, Wait Until Dark, 149.


25. Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads From North Carolina, 684-688, 725; Brundage, Lynching in the New South, 107; Ayers, Vengeance and Justice, 238.

26. Ayers, Vengeance and Justice, 240; Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads from North Carolina, 684-687.

27. Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads from North Carolina, 684-687.


29. Ibid.

30. Ibid., 687-688; Mellinger Edward Henry, Songs Sung in the Southern Appalachians: Many of them Illustrating Ballads in the Making


35. Thomas, *Ballad Makin’*, 163, 166-167; Cox, *Folk-Songs of the South*, 189, 191.


38. Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 87; Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, 246. The lyrics to this song and the example of crowd reactions were taken from Williams’s concert video, *Full Access*. Crowd footage came


CHAPTER 7
MOONSHINERS AND BOOTLEGGERS

1. Joseph Earl Dabney, Mountain Spirits: A Chronicle of Corn Whiskey from King James' Ulster Plantation to America's Appalachians and the Moonshine Life (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), 43, 46, 51; Ester Kellner, Moonshine: Its History and Folklore (New York: Weathervane Books, 1971), 60, 62; there are no exact dates for the first distilling operation in Kentucky. A few which have been put forth are 1776, 1777, 1785, and 1788; for an understanding of whiskey making in Kentucky see, Henry G. Crowgey, Kentucky Bourbon: The Early Years of Whiskey Making (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1971); Ruth W. O'Dell, "Moonshine in the Tennessee Mountains," Tennessee Folk Society Bulletin 12 (September 1946): 1; in the 1830s and 1840s, for example, Washington Taylor, a South Carolina planter, distilled thousands of gallons of liquor. In fact, in December of 1844, he worked almost everyday with his stills and manufactured 368 gallons of whiskey that month. Washington Taylor, December 1844, in A Diary of Transactions of Washington Taylor, 1835-1855 Greenville Country, South Carolina, reproduced by Hazael Gilreath Taylor, 120.

2. Dabney, Mountain Spirits, 52, 115; Crowgey, Kentucky Bourbon, 72-74; Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads from North Carolina, 41, 72-73, 724-
725, 729-736; Marie Campbell, "Liquor Ballads from the Kentucky Mountains," 
Southern Folklore Quarterly 2 (September 1938): 160-161; Thomas, Ballad 
Makin', 129.

3. It is interesting to note that the man who killed Taylor was 
pardoned by the governor and became a respected citizen; James J. Johnson,
"Two Historical Incident Ballads from North Arkansas," Mid-South Folklore 5 
(spring 1977): 25-27; Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads from North Carolina, 

Tommy McClenna, "New Sugar Mama," 12 December 1940, BB-B8760; Sonny Boy 
Williamson, "Low Down Ways," 17 December 1938, BB-B7979; Smith and Harper, 
"Insurance Policy Blues," 26 or 27 June 1936, ARC-6-10-61-Rt; Blind Blake, 
"Bootleg Rum Dum Blues," May 1928, Pm-12695; Son House, "Dry Spell Blues-- 
Part 1," 28 May 1930, Pm-12990; Robert Hicks, "Blind Pig Blues," 13 April 
1928, Co-14372-D.

5. John O. Park, "The Kosciusko Bootlegger's Gripe': A Ballad as 
History and Argumentation," Mid-South Folklore 1 (spring 1973) 27-32; Alton 
Chester Morris, Folksongs of Florida (Gainesville: University of Florida 
Press, 1950), 97; Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads from North Carolina, 729- 
735; Horstman, Sing Your Heart Out, 106; Bascom L. Lunsford, Lulu Belle, 
and Scotty Wiseman, "Mountain Dew," Tannen Music, Inc., 1945; Mother 
Maybelle Carter, "Good Old Mountain Dew," Mother Maybelle Carter, Columbia, 
1973, KG-32436; Willie Nelson even sang it on his 1981 album The Minstrel 
Man; Willie Nelson, "Mountain Dew," The Minstrel Man, RCA Records, 1981, 
AHK1-4045.


17. Kellner, Moonshine, 138-139; Thomas, Ballad Makin', 125, 127-128; this song reflected another common practice among moonshiners—they would often start moonshining again as soon as they were released from jail; Johnson, "Two Historical Incident Ballads from North Arkansas," 25-27; Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads from North Carolina, 729-736.

18. Dabney, Mountain Spirits, 19-20, 24-25.


23. Of the 4,000 moonshine samples tested in Atlanta each year, according to laboratory Chief, Clarence E. Paul, 90 percent contain harmful ingredients such as lead-salts. Similar to their prohibition predecessors, modern still operators have also been caught adding petroleum, Clorox,
turpentine, canned heat, Solox, rubbing alcohol, embalming fluids, and laundry bleach to their lethal concoctions. Moreover, illegal whiskey is now often contaminated, since it is frequently distilled in rusty oil drums, copper kettles with lead seams, or condensed in car radiators that have lead-soderings; Solox is a lethal shellac solvent composed of 100 parts ethyl alcohol, 5 parts methanol, and 1 part each of gasoline, ethyl acetate, and undenatured methyl isobutyl ketone; Dabney, *Mountain Spirits*, 223-226.


CHAPTER 8
LIQUOR

1. Kellner, *Moonshine*, 73; Odum and Johnson, *The Negro and His Songs*, 255-256; Campbell, "Liquor Ballads from the Kentucky Mountains," 157-164. Although all of these songs were sung in the 1930s, the older informants had learned them from parents or grandparents had simply known them all
their lives. Woody Guthrie also recollected that in the early twentieth century Oklahoma square dance performers frequently played old tunes like "Rye Whiskey"; Woody Guthrie, "Rye Whiskey," Library of Congress Recordings, Elektra Records, 1964, EKL-271-272; since only songs that mirrored essential cultural elements survived in the region’s oral tradition, it is also important that twentieth-century southerners sang foreign alcohol tunes. Drinking was the crucial component in some songs that helped them endure in the South. The sea chantey, "Bad Ale Can Blow a Man Down," was a "favorite" among mountain inhabitants. In 1936 Kelly Combs also sang a foreign melody his grandfather cherished. Although Combs forgot stanzas concerning ghosts, he remembered the drinking verses. This song, "The Wassail Bowl," told of drunkenness within "ancient castle walls." See Thomas, Ballad Makin', 125 and Campbell, "Liquor Ballads from the Kentucky Mountains," 158.


3. Horstman, Sing Your Heart Out, 196-197.


10. On the cover of *Way Down Yonder*, for example, the face of Daniels appeared on a bottle of Jack Daniels. Similarly, on the back cover a guitar was surrounded by beer cans and whisky bottles. Finally, the inside jacket sleeve showed each member with a beer can or a bottle of whisky; See Ownby, "Freedom, Manhood, and Male Tradition in 1970s Southern Rock Music," 13; The Allman Brothers Band, *The Allman Brothers Band at Fillmore East*, Capricorn Records, 1971, SD2-802; Lynyrd Skynyrd, *Gimme Back My Bullets*, MCA Records, Inc., 1976, MCA-2170; Lynyrd Skynyrd, *Gold & Platinum*, MCA...


12. Byron Arnold, *Folksongs of Alabama* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1950), 150; E. C. Perrow, "Songs And Rhymes From The South," *Journal of American Folklore* 28 (April-June 1915): 130; In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, several versions of this song were popular in East Tennessee, Missouri, and Mississippi. In the Mississippi versions the man stated he would eat beefsteak or cornbread when he was hungry, but in all versions he would drink whiskey when he was dry. Perrow, "Songs And Rhymes From The South," 131, 181-182; Thomas, *Ballad Makin'*, 128-129; Morris, *Folksongs of Florida*, 229.


15. After World War II many honky tonk stars vaunted their drinking and partying ability. Honky Tonkin' was fun in Lefty Frizzell's 1950 hit "If You've Got the Money Honey, I've Got the Time," and Howard Hausey's 1956 number, "Honky Tonk Man." Lefty Frizzell, "If You've Got the Money Honey, I've Got the Time," *Lefty Frizzell's Greatest Hits*, Columbia, 1966,


18. Malone, for example, found that both African American and white southerners exaggerated their sexual prowess during the Great Depression because such preoccupations were significant to many males who were "socially or economically emasculated" during the that time period. Malone, Country Music U.S.A., 106; Malone and Cobb both used music to show the entrenchment of the macho complex in southern culture. Malone claimed the style of rockabilly artists illustrated this, and Cobb said the same about the blues. See Cobb, The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 302-303; Dabney, Mountain Spirits, 21; J. P. Richardson, "White Lightening," Glad Music Co., 1959; George Jones, "White Lightening," George Jones, Time-Life Records, 1982, 4TLCW-08 (BT-16463--BY-16464).

19. For the latest findings see on alcohol's role in violence, see Brad J. Bushman, "Human Aggression While Under the Influence of Alcohol and Other Drugs: An Integrative Research Review," Current Directions in Psychological Science 2 (October 1993): 148-152; Brad J. Bushman and H. M. Cooper, "Effects of Alcohol on Human Aggression: An Integrative Research
Review," Psychological Bulletin 107 (May 1990); Montell, Killings, 150; Miller, Revenuers and Moonshiners, 34; E. C. Perrow, "Songs and Rhymes from the South," Journal of American Folklore 25 (April-June 1912): 141; likewise, one Kentucky informant stated that in the late nineteenth century, stories about "moonshinin' and killin' s" flourished. Lightfoot, "The Ballad 'Talt Hall' in Regional Context," 365; statistics also show, for example, that approximately half of the spouses who kill their mates have been drinking at the time of the murder.

20. Belden and Hudson, Folk Songs From North Carolina, 73, 644-645, 725-728; Perrow, "Songs and Rhymes from the South," 149-150; Scarborough, On the Trail of the Negro Folk-Song, 85-87; Odum and Johnson, The Negro and His Songs, 200-201, 212; Thomas, Ballad Makin', 130-131, 142-144.


25. Malone, Country Music U.S.A., 85; Cusic, Hank Williams, vii, xv; The Kentucky Headhunters, "The Ghost of Hank Williams," Rave On, PolyGram Records, Inc., 1993, 314-512-568-2. Another good, albeit more modern example, is George Jones. In the 1970s and early 1980s Jones's career was at a zenith, but whiskey and drugs were destroying him physically and mentally. By the early 1980s the treatment centers had not helped and "No Show Jones" continued to drink and miss concert dates. His fans, however, kept buying his records and supporting him. On 25 May 1982, for example, a Nashville television station and cable news networks aired footage of Jones being arrested for his third D.W.I. offense in less than two months. Instead of chastising the performer, his listeners flocked to his side. In fact, they "raised a furor of protest" that such film had even been shown. The more he drank and destroyed himself, the higher his reputation soared; Bob Allen, George Jones: The Saga of an American Singer (Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1984), 246, 262.

July 1975, 42; in analyzing the song "That Smell," (a song that depicts Collins' grisly car wreck) critics argue that the band members understood that their destructive lifestyles of whiskey and drugs would finally kill them; Uhelszki, "Lynyrd Skynyrd," 49; Goldstein, "Tiptoeing through the Juleps," 51; Doherty, "Skyn Flick," 9.


29. Blind Blake, "Fightin' the Jug," 20 July 1929, Bio-Blp-12037; Sonny Boy Williamson, "Shannon Street Blues," 17 June 1938, RCA-INT-1088. At times, bluesmen also pointed out that whiskey strained budgets. In his 1928 hit "Bootlegging Blues" Jim Jackson declared he "had no money to spend" nor would he "as long as corn liquor lasts." Finally, both folk and blues tunes pointed out that drunkards could end up in prison. Blind Lemon Jefferson made this clear in his "Blind Lemon's Penitentiary Blues."
397


Can't Be a Man," George Jones, Time-Life Records, 1982, 4TLCW-08 (BT-16463-BY-16464); Moe Bandy, "They Haven't Made the Drink (That Can Get Me over You)," It's a Cheating Situation, CBS Inc., 1979, KC-35779; Moe Bandy, "Barstool Mountain," It's a Cheating Situation, CBS Inc., 1979, KC-35779. There are many more examples; in 1968, for example, Hank Williams Jr., had an anti-drinking song entitled "On Trial." Here a drunken driver had to face the fact that whiskey caused him to take a young girl's life. In "Black Jack's Bar" Porter Wagoner claimed he was "gonna do right" and "gonna go strait" so he would not end up back in jail. Drinking hard liquor was one thing he had to stop doing. Hank Williams Jr., and Bobby Shannon, "On Trail," Aud-Lee Music Publishing Co., Inc., 1968. Porter Wagoner, "Black Jack's Bar," The Carroll County Accident, RCA, 1969, LSP-4116; Travis Tritt, "The Whiskey Ain't Workin'," It's All about To Change, Warner Brothers Records, 1991, 9-26589-2.


CHAPTER 9
ILLEGAL DRUGS


2. Sam Collins, "The Jail House Blues," 23 April 1927, Ge-6167; Rosie Mae Moore, "Stranger Blues," 3 February 1928, Vi-21408; This was determined by a complete run of Taft, *Blues Lyric Poetry*; a few include, Jim Jackson, "Bootlegging Blues," 14 February 1928, Vi-21268; Sara Martin, "Death Sting Me Blues," November 1928, BYG-529073; Smoky Harrison, "Hop Head Blues," December 1929, Rt RL-340; Luke Jordan, "Cocaine Blues," 16 August 1927, Rt RL-326; Ben Ramey and the Memphis Jug Band, "Cocaine Habit Blues," 17 May 1930, Vi-V38620; Blind Bogus Ben Covington, "Boodle-De-Bum Bum," 9 October 1928, Rt RL-325; Robert Wilkins, "Old Jim Canan’s," 12 October 1935, Yz L-1018; marijuana tunes were also popular, but they were not generally reissued. There are several southern performers on *Reefer Songs: 23 Original Jazz and Blues Vocals*, Jass Records, 1989, J-CD-7. Don Redman and His Orchestra, for example, did "Reefer Man;" Buster Bailey’s Rhythm Busters did "Light Up;" "Jack, I’m Mellow," was released by Trixie Smith; Barney Bigard did "Sweet Marijuana Brown;" Sidney Bechet with the Noble Sissle’s Swingere released "The Weed Smoker’s Dream (Why Don’t You Do Right?);" Andy Kirk and his Twelve Clouds of Joy did "The Stuff Is Here;"
and Buck Washington released "Save the Roach for Me."


4. Shapiro, Waiting for the Man, 42; Winick, "The Use of Drugs By Jazz Musicians," 243-245, 252; Paul Garon, "If Blues Was Reefers....,"


7. White, American Negro Folk Songs, 369; Sipero, Waiting for the Man, 43; Winick, "The Use of Drugs By Jazz Musicians," 245; Also see Kenneth Allsop, "Jazz and Narcotics," Encounter 16 (June 1961): 54-57. He, for instance, also discussed opinions about heroin addiction; Hazel Meyers, "Pipe Dream Blues," Viper Mad Blues: Sixteen Songs of Dope and Depravity,


15. Winick, "The Use of Drugs By Jazz Musicians," 252; for an examination of drugs in a more modern jazz scene, see Andrew E. Curry, "Drugs in Jazz and Rock Music," *Clinical Toxicology* 1 (June 1968): 235-244.


17. Helmer, *Drugs and Minority Oppression*, 13, 49, 125, 245.

18. Courtwright, *Dark Paradise*, 54-61. In fact, after the inaction of stiff federal and state laws, no one wanted to be classified as a drug addict. Cocaine usage, for example, dropped off drastically after most states classified cocaine as a narcotic and after the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 and the 1914 Harrison Narcotic Act. Under the new federal laws, if someone sold, gave away, or possessed cocaine, they were now subject to the same harsh penalties dealt out to morphine and heroin users. In 1907, for example, "1.5 million pounds of coca leaves" found their way into the United States, but in 1908 that number had been cut by more than half. Even if a singer took drugs, they would understandably keep it quiet. If you sang too much about drugs, the police might think you were a junkie. No one wanted to face years in prison. See Hopkins, "Cocaine Consciousness," 307, and Helmer, *Drugs and Minority Oppression*, 52.

Music, U.S.A., 106; Garon, "If Blues Was Reefers," 16.

20. Nelson, Willie, 104-105, 201; Oral sources indicate illegal whiskey flowed like water, but there is never any mention of drugs.


23. Sipero, Waiting for the Man, 44.

24. Fifty-one percent of jazz performers said heroin "decreased the quality of" a performance and only nine percent said it helped. Allsop,
"Jazz and Narcotics," 54, 55; Sipero, Waiting for the Man, 44; In the late 1950s, 63 percent of the jazz musicians contacted mentioned that jail sentences were a possible outcome of drug use.


29. The Charlie Daniels Band, "Long Haired Country Boy," *Fire on the Mountain*, Karma Suntra Records, 1974, 0698; Black Oak Arkansas, "Older Than Grandpa," *Early Times*, Stax, 1974, SD-36-128; pictorial layouts in magazines, for example, showed Black Oak members smoking marijuana cigarettes. See Brian Zabawski, "Black Oak Arkansas," *Crawdaddy*, May 1972, 4. The same kind of things were written about Lynyrd Skynyrd, The Allman Brothers, and many other southern rockers.

30. Black Oak tried the hippie image, but even its most ardent fans, those around Northeast Arkansas, hated it. In the 1970s, for example, when Black Oak touted that image at a Jonesboro, Arkansas, concert, the crowd turned against them; other southern musicians, including Daniels and Williams, also pushed the same idea as Earle. Although this can be seen in many of their tunes, it will suffice to mention Williams's "A Country Boy Can Survive," and "If Heaven Ain't a Lot Like Dixie," and Daniels's "Ragin' Cajun," and his "Long Haired Country Boy"; it is culturally significant, however, that Willie Nelson used the same image when he claimed macho males
did not snort coke. Although on one level the message seemed to be contradictory, all these songs indicated that modern southerners were as addicted to the macho male idea as their southern forefathers. Both pro-dope and anti-drug tunes could be vehicles though which they expressed this deeply ingrained concept; Steve Earle, "Copperhead Row," *Essential Steve Earle*, MCA Records, 1986, MCAD-10749.


34. This tune was first recorded in 1969, but it is significant because the number appeared on his twenty-fifth anniversary album; Johnny Cash, "Cocaine Blues," *Johnny Cash, Silver*, CBS Records, Inc., 1979, 36086;


CHAPTER 10
CONFEDERATE SYMBOLISM


2. Silber, Songs of the Civil War, 10, 52-53, 62, 84-86; Belden and Hudson, Folk Songs from North Carolina, 444-447.

3. Belden and Hudson, Folk Songs from North Carolina, 444-447; Schreiner also wrote other flag tunes, such as "Battle-Flag Polka"; Frank W. Hoogerwerf, Confederate Sheet-Music Imprints (New York: Institute for
412

reel 114, New Haven, Conn., Research Publications, 1974, Florida State University); Harry Macarthy, Songs & Ballads, published by A. E. Blackmar & Brothers, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1862, Confederate imprints series, 1861-1865, Confederate imprints series, 1861-1865, Archives of the Boston Athenaeum, (microfilm reel 111, no. 3722, New Haven, Conn., Research Publications, 1974, Florida State University); there were also several Confederate song books that solely contained flag tunes, including the 3rd edition of the Bonnie Blue Flag Song Book. This was a thirty-two page manuscript published in 1863 by Blackmar & Brothers, New Orleans, and Burke, Boykin & Company's Steam Printing House of Augusta and Macon, Georgia. See Confederate imprints series, 1861-1865, Archives of the Boston Athenaeum, (microfilm reel 106, no. 3255, New Haven, Conn., Research Publications, 1974, Florida State University).

4. Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 291-295; Silber, Songs of the Civil War, 350.

5. Silber, Songs of the Civil War, 349-350.

6. Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 291, 294; Brown, North Carolina Folklore, 464-466; Smith, South Carolina Ballads, 44. Cox, Folk-Songs of the South, 281.

7. Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 294.


12. Black Oak Arkansas, Street Party, Atco, 1974, SD-36-101; Black Oak Arkansas, Live Mutha, Atco, 1975, SD-36-128; see photographs in Michael Gross, "'Ain't Life Grand'--A Dandy Black Oak Kick up Their Heels in Europe," Circus, July 1975, 4-8; one such photograph can be seen on the inside gate fold cover of Lynyrd Skynyrd's album One More From the Road. Lynyrd Skynyrd, One More From the Road, MCA Records, Inc., 1976, MCA2-6001; Kirb, "Concert Reviews: Lynyrd Skynyrd, Nazareth (Burbank Amphi)," Variety, 13 October 1976, 76; Michael Point, "Lynyrd Skynyrd, Charlie Daniels, Houston Coliseum April 6th, 1975," Rolling Stone, 22 May 1975, 86; B.

13. This photo was shown on a pictorial layout included in the band's One More from the Road album. Lynyrd Skynyrd, One More from the Road, MCA Records, Inc., 1976, MCA2-6001; Lynyrd Skynyrd, Skynyrd's First And Last, MCA Records, Inc., 1978, MCAD-31005; this photo can be seen on the band's 1980 album, Beatin' the Odds. Molly Hatchet, Beatin' the Odds, Epic, 1980, FE-36572; a Mississippi man, Ed Hamelrath, interview by author, 12 March 1992, Omaha, Nebraska.


15. Confederate Railroad, Confederate Railroad, Atlanta Record Corporation, 1992, 782335-4; Confederate Railroad, Notorious, Atlanta Record Corporation, 1994, 82505-4; Confederate Railroad, "I'm Am Just a Rebel," Notorious, Atlanta Record Corporation, 1994, 782335-4; this author visited the Hank Williams Jr's "Country Store" in June of 1992; an example of the plastic bag is in author's private collection; the flags at the
Nashville museum can be seen on the museum’s 1992 brochure.

16. The mass media also associated most of the southern bands in the 1970s with the Confederacy. Similarly, Confederate flags often made appearances in illustrations that accompanied such articles. For an example of this see, Gross, "'Ain't Life Grand,'" 4-8; Various Artists, *Country's Greatest Hits, Southern Country Rock*, Priority Records, 1990, CDL-7999.

17. Kirb, "Concert Reviews: Lynyrd Skynyrd, Nazareth (Burbank Amphi)," 76; Point, "Lynyrd Skynyrd, Charlie Daniels, Houston Coliseum April 6th, 1975," 85; Harrigan, "One, Two, Three, Four and We’re Rockin,"


Southern Mind (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1985), 104-105.


33. Simpson, "Shall We Change the Words of 'Dixie'"? 20.

CONCLUSIONS
3. Cobb, Selling of the South, 265; Sears, Growing Up Gay in the South, 253.


Berrill, Kevin T. "Anti-Gay Violence and Victimization in the United States: An Overview." In *Hate Crimes: Confronting Violence Against*


Cobb, James C. "From Rocky Top to Detroit City: Country Music and the Economic Transformation of the South." In You Wrote My Life: Lyrical


Cox, John Harrington. Folk-Songs Mainly from West Virginia. In American Folk-Song Publications #5, edited by George Herzog and Herbert


Janson, Charles William. "The Stranger in America: Containing Observations Made During a Long Residence in that Country, on the Genius, Manners and Customs of the People of the United States; With Biographical


Schultz, Elizabeth. "'Free in Fact and at Last': The Image of the Black Woman In Black American Fiction." In *What Manner of Woman: Essays on*


Articles and Reviews


Boswell, George W. "A Song to Sing -- 'There Was a Rich Old Farmer.'" *Kentucky Folklore Record* 18 (July-September 1972): 75-76.

Boswell, George W. "A Song To Sing -- 'Pretty Polly.'" *Kentucky Folklore Record* 19 (July-September 1973): 87-88.


Boswell, George W. "Songs To Sing -- 'Burglar Man.'" *Kentucky Folklore Record* 14 (October-December 1968): 92-93.


Campbell, Marie. "Feuding Ballads From The Kentucky Mountains." Southern Folklore Quarterly 3 (September 1939): 165-72.
Campbell, Marie. "Liquor Ballads From The Kentucky Mountains." Southern Folklore Quarterly 2 (September 1938): 157-64.


Christgau, Robert. "Lynyrd Skynyrd: Not Even A Boogie Band is as Simple as it Seems." Creem, August 7, 1975.


"Concert Reviews." Variety, April 17, 1974.


"Concert Reviews." Variety, September 17, 1975.


Curry, Andrew E. "Drugs in Jazz and Rock Music." *Clinical Toxicology* 1 (June 1968): 235-44.


"Daniels Delivers Dare." *Down Beat*, May 6, 1976.


"Fine and Dandy!." Melody Maker, 23 February 1974.


Halpert, Herbert. "The Devil is Beating His Wife." Kentucky Folklore Record (October-December 1955): 105-6.


Harrigan, B. "One, Two, Three, Four and We're Rockin." Melody Maker, November 23, 1974.


Hiementz, Jack. "Black Oak Born Again: Southern Gentleman Jim Dandy Shed His Band and Resurrected the fire on 'Race With The Devil.'" *Circus*, September 15, 1977.


Speech 58 (October: 1972): 272-84.
Jett, Harvey. "Sex, Drugs And Rock 'N' Roll." In author's private collection.
"Kenton Coughs up Rare Disc; Daniels Billed 10 Grand." Down Beat, June 17, 1976.


Meyer, Timothy P. "Effects of Viewing Justified and Unjustified Real Film Violence on Aggressive Behavior." *Journal of Personality and Social*


Morris, Alton C. "Mrs. Griffin of Newberry." Southern Folklore Quarterly 8 (June 1944): 141-98.


"Peavey and Lynyrd Skynyrd Celebrate Collaboration." The Music Trades

Peck, A. "Elvin Bishop Fools Around; Mickey Thomas Fools Us All." Rolling

Penrod, James H. "Women in the Old Southwestern Yarns." Kentucky Folklore
Record 1 (April-June 1955): 41-47.

Perdue, Frances D. "Folksong Repertoire of Beulah C. Moody." Kentucky


"Performance." Rolling Stone, October 6, 1974.


"Performance." Rolling Stone, October 9, 1975.


Perrow, E. C. "Songs and Rhymes from the South." Journal of American
Folklore 25 (April-June 1912): 137-82.

Perrow, E. C. "Songs And Rhymes From The South." Journal of American
Folklore 28 (April-June 1915): 129-90.

Peterson, Dena L., and Karen S. Pfost. "Influence of Rock Videos on
Attitudes of Violence Against Women." Psychological Reports 64


"Records: Win Lose or Draw." Rolling Stone, November 6, 1975.


Thornton, Kevin Pierce. "Symbolism at Ole Miss and the Crises of Southern Identity." *South Atlantic Quarterly 86* (Summer 1987): 254-68.


"Top LPs and Tape: Black Oak Arkansas, If An Angel Came To See You, Would You Make Her Feel At Home?" *Billboard*, April 1, 1972.


Young, Robert L. "Gender, Region of Socialization, and Ownership of Protective Firearms." *Rural Sociology* 51 (Summer 1986): 169-82.

**Dissertations and Theses**


---------------------------------

Newspapers


"Band's Suit Postponed At Harrison." Arkansas Gazette, 3 December 1975.


Beach, Patrick. "Lynyrd Skynyrd." Des Moines Register, 1 July 1993.


Campbell, Dr. Jackson R. New York Times, 6 December 1916.


"Ex-Guitarist Sues Black Oak For Damages." Arkansas Gazette, 11 September 1976.


"Rock Singers Sue Preacher, Ask $570,000." *Arkansas Gazette*, 22 April 1975.

Ross, Elizabeth. "On The Road Again ... For Farm Aid; Singer Willie Nelson is Giving the Proceeds from Several Concerts to Midwest Farmers." *The Christian Science Monitor*, 18 August 1993.


Court Cases

Craighead County Circuit Court, Lake City District, Arkansas. Court Cases No. 4062.

State of Arkansas v. Jimmy Mangrum and Danny Reynolds. Craighead County Circuit Court, Lake City District, Arkansas. Court Cases No. 4063.


Craighead County Circuit Court, Lake City District, Arkansas. Court Cases No. 4065.

Craighead County Circuit Court, Lake City District, Arkansas. Court Cases No. 4066.
The court cases surrounding the Georgia drug trails of Gregg Allman, the Louisiana murder of Yoshihiro Hattori, the murder of Arkansans Steve Branch, Chris Byers, and Michael Moore, the Texas slaying of Andrew De Vries, and many other murder or murder/adultery cases were also examined.

Oral Interviews

Daugherty, Betty. Current wife of Pat Daugherty.
Daugherty, Pat. Ex-member of Black Oak Arkansas.
Gray, Teresa. Iowa Family Violence Center and Health Coordinator. Telephone interview with author.
Hamelrath, Ed. Interviewed by author, Omaha, Nebraska.
Daugherty, Harlene. Ex-wife of Pat Daugherty.
Jett, Harvey. Ex-member of Black Oak Arkansas.
Knight, Stanley. Ex-member of Black Oak Arkansas.
Mangrum, Elsie. Mother of Jim Mangrum.
Murray, Richard. Ex-member of the Esquires.
Penix, Bill. Attorney for Jim Mangrum and Rick Reynolds.
Reynolds, Rick. Ex-member of Black Oak Arkansas.
Straub, Scott. His family owned Buffalo Island radio station.
Ward, David. His brother performed with J.R. Brewer.
Williams, Lynn. Sister of Jim Mangrum.

The above list includes only the major oral history sources for this manuscript. Dates, except as noted in the end notes, have not been supplied because interviews with various informants took place on numerous occasions. Many other persons, such as groupies, old friends, or fans of Lynyrd Skynyrd, ZZ Top, Johnny Cash, Willie Nelson, Molly Hatcet, Hank Willimans, Jr., Black Oak Arkansas, and many more were also contacted. Moreover, I have also discussed the beating of women with most of the national organizational spokespersons.


"Joe and Mary." Bush, *Murder Ballads in Appalachia*.


"Long An’ Tall An’ Chocolate To The Bone." Odum and Johnson, *The Negro And His Songs*, 187-188.

"Lord Thomas." Mason, "Ten Old English Ballads In Middle Tennessee," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 11 (June 1947): 120-123.


"Pearl Bryant." Bush, *Murder Ballads in Appalachia*.


"Rose Conoley." Bush, *Murder Ballads in Appalachia*. 
"Twa Brothers, The." Davis, Traditional Ballads of Virginia, 146-157.
"Two Brothers, The." Cox, Traditional Ballads and Folk-Songs Mainly from West Virginia, 21.
"Wexford Girl, The." Bush, Murder Ballads in Appalachia.
"What's Stirrin', Babe?" Odum and Johnson, The Negro And His Songs, 190.
"Willy Guseman." Bush, Murder Ballads in Appalachia.
"Young Edwin in the Lowlands Low." Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads From North Carolina, 266-269.

Chatman, Bo. "Old Devil." 22 October 1938. BB-88093.
Dorsey, Thomas A. "Grievin' Me Blues." 14 April 1928. Co-14436-D.


Chapter 2

Domestic Violence

"Boston Burglar." Cox, Traditional Ballads and Folk-Songs Mainly from West Virginia, 105.

"Bramble Brier, The." Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads From North Carolina, 229-231


"Charming Beauty Bright." McNeil, Southern Folk Ballads, 70.


"Dick German The Cobbler." Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 385-386.


"Fair Fanny Moore." Cox, *Folk-Songs of the South*, 441.


"I Ain’t Bother Yet." Odum and Johnson, *The Negro And His Songs*, 180.

"I Dreamt Last Night of My True Love." McNeil, *Southern Folk Ballads*, 75-76.


"If I Had A Scolding Wife." Belden and Hudson, *Folk Ballads From North Carolina*, 478.


"'Tain't Nobody’s Bizness But My Own." Odum and Johnson, *The Negro And His Songs*, 177-178.

"There was a Rich Old Farmer." Boswell, "A Song to Sing -- 'There Was a Rich Old Farmer,'" *Kentucky Folklore Record* 18 (July-September 1972): 75-76.

"There Was an Old Farmer." Cox, *Traditional Ballads and Folk-Songs Mainly from West Virginia*, 5-7.

"'There Was an Old Lady." Boswell, "Songs To Sing -- 'There Was an Old Lady.'" *Kentucky Folklore Record* 15 (July-September 1969): 66.


"When I was A Little Boy." Belden and Hudson, *Folk Ballads From North Carolina*, 473-474.


"Wife Wrapped In Wether’s Skin." Cox, *Traditional Ballads and Folk-Songs Mainly from West Virginia*, 57-59.
"Ye Sons of Columbia." Cox, *Folk-Songs of the South*, 217.


Untitled African American folk tune as heard in Texas. White, American Negro Folk-Songs, 329.

Untitled African-American folk tune as heard in the mines around Birmingham, Alabama in the early twentieth century. White, American Negro Folk-Songs, 272.


Chapter 3

**Violence: Savagery in the pre-World War II era**

"Ain't It Hard to Be A Nigger?" Odum and Johnson, The Negro and His Song, 254-255.

"Ain't It Hard To Be A Nigger?" Scarborough, On The Trail of Negro Folk-songs, 227-228.


"Bolin Jones." Odum and Johnson, Negro Workday Songs, 62.

"Brother Green." Sherman and Henry, Hollow Folk, 145-147.

"Buffalo Bill." Odum and Johnson, Negro Workday Songs, 67.


"Don't Fool With Me." Odum and Johnson, *Negro Workday Songs*, 63.


"I Am Ready For De Fight." Odum and Johnson, *Negro Workday Songs*, 64.

"I Steal Dat Corn." Odum and Johnson, *Negro Workday Songs*, 68.

"I'm De Hot Stuff Man." Odum and Johnson, *Negro Workday Songs*, 64-65.

"I'm De Rough Stuff." Odum and Johnson, *Negro Workday Songs*, 69.


"Lord Thomas and Fair Ellen." Sherman and Henry, *Hollow Folk*, 143-144.


"Shootin’ Bill." Odum and Johnson, *Negro Workday Songs*, 63-64.


"Talt Hall." Combs, *Folk-Songs of the Southern United States: (Folk-Songs Du Midi Des États-Unis)*, 157-158.


"Vance Song." Cox, *Folk-Songs of the South*, 207-211.


"Who Dare." *Negro Singers' Own Book*, 339.


Dorsey, Thomas A. "If You Want Me to Love You." February 5 1932. Vo-1682.


Hicks, Robert. "Ease It to Me Blues." April 21 1928. Co-14614-D.
Wilson, Kid Wesley. "Do It Right." September 5 1929. Co-14463-D.
Chapter 4

Brutality in the post-war South

"Confederate 'Yankee Doodle'." Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 249.


"I Was Born in a One-Nigger Town." Tosches, Country, 226-228.

"Little Mary Phagan." Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads From North Carolina, 598-603.


"Omie Wise." Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads From North Carolina, 690-698.

"Riding a Raid." Silber, Songs of the Civil War, 82-83.

"Southern Soldier Boy, The." Silber, Songs of the Civil War, 150.


"Vance Song." Cox, Folk-Songs of the South, 207-211.


Stonewall Jackson "wagon" song. Silber, Songs of the Civil War, 171.
.38 Special. "Wild-Eyed Southern Boys." WB Music Corp and Wasy Action
Untitled Confederate song sang by a Confederate soldier. Silber, Songs of
the Civil War, 203.
Wagoner, Porter. "Black Jack's Bar." The Carroll County Accident. RCA,
1969. LSP-4116.
Williams, Hank Jr. "Attitude Adjustment." Hank Williams, Jr.'s Greatest


---

Chapter 5

**Guns**


"A Tolliver-Martin Feud Song." Cox, *Folk-Songs of the South*, 203-204.


"Fate of Harry Young, The." Randolph, *Ozark Folksongs*, 164.

"Hop-Joint, The." Scarborough, On The Trial of the Negro Folk-Song, 89-90.

"I Went To The Hop-Joint." Scarborough, On The Trial of the Negro Folk-Song, 89-90.

"Killin' in the Gap, The." Thomas, Ballad Makin', 35.


"Roscoe Bill." Odum and Johnson, Negro Workday Songs, 62-63.

"Rowan County Crew." Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 160-162.

"Rowan County Troubles." Thomas, Ballad Makin', 19-22.

"Shootin' Bill." Odum and Johnson, Negro Workday Songs, 63-64.

"Shot My Pistol In the Heart O' Town." Odum and Johnson, Negro Workday Songs, 70.


"Stagolee Done Kill Dat Bully." Odum and Johnson, The Negro And His Songs, 197-198.

"Stagolee." Odum and Johnson, The Negro And His Songs, 196-197.

"Stagolee." Scarborough, On The Trail of Negro Folk-Song, 92-93.

"Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star." Scarborough, On The Trail of the Negro Folk-Song, 86-87.

"Vance Song." Cox, Folk-Songs of the South, 207-212.

"Vance Song." Hudson, Folksongs of Mississippi, 246-247.


Chapter 6

Feuding and Lynching

"A Rowin County Crew." Davis, Folk-Songs of Virginia, 279.
"Ashland Tragedy, The." Cox, Folk-Songs of the South, 189-191.
"A Tolliver-Martin Feud Song." Cox, Folk-Songs of the South, 203-204.
"A West-Virginia Feud Song." Cox, Folk-Songs of the South, 205-206.
"Bloody Breathitt." Thomas, Ballad Makin', 31-32.
"Bonnie George Campbell." Thomas, Ballad Makin', 38-39.
"Burning Nigger, The." Lackey, History of Newton County, Arkansas, 296.


"Death of James Vance." Davis, *Folk-Songs of Virginia*, 279.


"Feuding Song." Campbell, "Feuding Ballads From The Kentucky Mountains," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 3 (September 1939): 166-168.


"Rowan County Crew, The." Cox, *Folk-Songs Mainly from West Virginia*, 111-117.


"Sidney Allen." Campbell, "Feuding Ballads From The Kentucky Mountains," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 3 (September 1939): 170.


"Vance Song." Cox, *Folk-Songs of the South*, 207-211.

"Vance Song." Sutherland, "Vance Song," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 4 (December 1940): 251-254.


"Zeb Tourney’s Girl." Campbell, "Feuding Ballads From The Kentucky Mountains," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 3 (September 1939): 171-172.


Chapter 7

Moonshiners and Bootleggers


"Blockader Mamma." Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads From North Carolina, 735-736.

"Blockader's Trail." Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads From North Carolina, 729-735.
"Caines Creek Distillery." Williams, *Kentucky Folklore Record* 6 (July-September, 1960), 91-92.
"Kentucky Moonshiner." Campbell, "Liquor Ballads From The Kentucky Mountains," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* (September 1938): 160-161.


Page 512


Chapter 8

Liquor

"A Dram In The Morning." Campbell, "Liquor Ballads From The Kentucky Mountains," Southern Folklore Quarterly (September 1938): 159-160.
"Bad-Lan' Stone." Odum and Johnson, The Negro and Ms Songs, 212.
"Come All You Rounders." Belden and Hudson, Folk Ballads From North Carolina, 722.
"Death of Bernard Friley." Thomas, Ballad Makin', 142-144.
"Drunkard's Lone Child, The." Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 398-402.


"Drunkard's Song, The." Thomas, Ballad Makin', 130-131.

"Duncan And Brady." Scarborough, On The Trail of the Negro Folk-Song, 85-86.

"Father is Drinking Again." Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 423.

"Good-bye, Old Booze." Thomas, Ballad Makin', 128-129.


"It's Lookin' Fer Railroad Bill." Odum and Johnson, The Negro and his Songs, 200-201.


"Poor Little Bessie." Campbell, "Liquor Ballads From The Kentucky Mountains," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* (September 1938): 163.


"We'll All Go Down To Rowsers." Campbell, "Liquor Ballads From The Kentucky Mountains," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 2 (September 1938): 162.


Hicks, Robert. "Blind Pig Blues." 13 April 1928. Co-14372-D.

Hicks, Robert. "Me and My Whiskey." 3 November 1929. CC-36


Jones, George. "If Whiskey Don't Kill Me (Her Memory Will)." George Jones. Time-Life Records, 1982. 4TLCW-08 (BT-16463--BY 16464).


524


Williams, Hank Sr. "There's a Tear in My Beer." Cusic, Hank Williams, 122.


Chapter 9

Illegal Drugs


"Hop-Joint, The." Scarborough, On The Trial of the Negro Folk-Song, 89-90.


"I Went To The Hop-Joint." Scarborough, On The Trial of the Negro Folk-Song, 89-90.


Chapter 10

Confederate Symbolism


"Flag They Loved So Well, The." Silber, Songs of the Civil War, 349.

"I'm A Good Old Rebel." Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, 291-295.

"Missouri." Silber, Songs of the Civil War, 52-53.

"Our Country's Flag." Silber, Songs of the Civil War, 53.


"Red, White, And Red." Belden and Hudson, Folk Songs from North Carolina, 444-447.
"Southern Battle Cry of Freedom." Silber, Songs of the Civil War, 10.

"Young Volunteer, The." Silber, Songs of the Civil War, 84-86.


Alabama. In the Beginning. RCA Records, 1989. 9910-4-R.


MCAD-31005.
MCAC2-8027.
82447-4.
Mera, C. C. No Surrender. Columbia, SC: Published by George Dunn & Co.,
1864. Confederate imprints series, 1861-1865. Archives of the Boston
Lending library, Florida State University. Reel 114.
Molly Hatchet. "Sweet Dixie." No Guts...No Glory. Epic Records, 1983. FE-
38429.
Russell, T. B. Hurrah For Our Flag! Macon, GA: Published by J. W. Burke,
1864. Confederate imprints series, 1861-1865. Archives of the Boston
Lending library, Florida State University. Reel 109. No. 3536.
Untitled Reconstruction Song. Silber, Songs of the Civil War, 350.
