

THE POLITICS OF MUSICAL REENACTMENT:  
CIVIL WAR COMMEMORATION IN AMERICAN CULTURE

by

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(Under the Direction of Jean Ngoya Kidula, Ph.D.)

ABSTRACT

The Politics of Musical Reenactment: Civil War Commemoration in American Culture explores how Americans have used music to represent the U.S. Civil War. Music contributes to the construction and presentation of competing historical narratives about this war, each of which is used to position a particular community at the fore of American cultural identity. Through ethnographic study and musical analysis of a mock slave auction, folk opera, brass band revival, war reenactment, YouTube videos, laser show, and amusement park, this study demonstrates how musical reenactments perform race, class, gender, ethnicity, and citizenship in ways that suppress or resist the power of other social groups through the control of historical knowledge. The specific past that a community chooses to present evidences how it envisions itself in relationship to others. Whether or not these productions are a form of conflict resolution, they capture a snapshot of our current state and provide direction as to what people wish to become.

INDEX WORDS: Civil War music, cultural memory, reenactment, Stone Mountain, Gettysburg, YouTube, folk opera, slave auction, brass band, nostalgia

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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my husband, my parents, and my sister.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION TO CULTURAL MEMORY AND REENACTMENT

#### **Introduction**

On the evening of Monday December 20, 2010, approximately three hundred people gathered at the Gaillard Municipal Auditorium in Charleston, South Carolina. They had purchased hundred-dollar entrance tickets to perform and witness a theatrical representation of the 1850 South Carolina state secession convention that was advertised as a “joyous night of music, dancing, food and drink.”<sup>1</sup> Outside the auditorium, about one hundred people protested the “secession ball” by staging a parade, picket line, candlelight vigil, and communal singing of “We Shall Overcome.” One year later, in February of 2011, members and allies of the Sons of Confederate Veterans gathered in Montgomery, Alabama to commemorate the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as the president of the Confederacy. This event, too, included dramatic performances of music and sound that included a parade, canon fire, and singing of “Dixie.” The close proximity of the Alabama events to the location where Rosa Parks began the Montgomery bus boycott and where Martin Luther King Jr. ended the 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery Civil Rights March angered anti-racism activists. An Alabama NAACP representative compared these events

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<sup>1</sup> Manuel Roig-Franzia, “At Charleston’s Secession Ball, divided opinions on the spirit of S.C.” *Washington Post* (December 22, 2010) <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/12/21/AR2010122105341.html> (accessed March 1, 2014). Carl Weinberg, “From the Editor: Nat Turner Rebellion Cotillion,” *Organization of American Historians Magazine of History* Special Web Edition, vol. 25 no. 2 (April 2011) <http://magazine.oah.org/issues/252/>; Blain Roberts and Ethan Kyle, “Dancing Around History,” *New York Times Disunion Blog* (December 21, 2012) <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/12/21/dancing-around-history/> (accessed March 1, 2014).

to "celebrating the Holocaust," while members of the Sons of Confederate Veterans described their performances as invoking heritage and history. Said one organizer, "It's not about slavery. It's about remembering our history."<sup>2</sup> These are but two of countless reenactments that Americans have performed as part of a larger debate about the meaning of the American Civil War. These enactments and the controversies that ensued demonstrate one theme that is important to this project: there may not be universal agreement about the value of the U.S. Civil War, but music is intricately tied to its memory.

Americans remain divided about the facts and legacies of their Civil War. There is no consensus about the war's origins, if it ended, or why it matters. Certainly from 1861-1865 an American military conflict responded to anxieties over the future of white patriarchal power. But if framed as a psychological conflict that has greatly affected the lived experiences of a diverse body of people, it can be easily argued that this war did not conclude in 1865. The meanings that Americans draw from, and the values that they attach to the Civil War sustain debates that encapsulate many of the morals and ideologies that give the American nation its character. This war remains a defining event that continues to shape individual and group identities, and the stakes are high in this ongoing, often volatile, conversation that is less a debate about history than about securing present and future social power.

As an integral part of Civil War memory, music has served as a way to display and mediate this conflict. Through it, voices of dominant and minority groups clash and

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<sup>2</sup> Rick Hampson, "Across the South, the Civil War is an enduring conflict," *USA Today* (February 17, 2001) [http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/nation/2011-02-17-1Acivilwar17\\_CV\\_N.htm](http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/nation/2011-02-17-1Acivilwar17_CV_N.htm) (accessed March 1, 2014).

new stories are heard. Music affirms belief systems, sway others, and influences not only social memory, but also broader social patterns. In her study of the transmission and commodification of gospel music in Kenya, Jean Kidula states that societies create and revise patterns of musical performance, transmission, and reception that operate as a social force from which contemporary people are able to negotiate their identities in relation to others.<sup>3</sup> The production and reception of musical patterns that relate to Civil War memory are no different. Commemorations and the music that they contain are performances of individual and communal identities, historical consciousness' and competing political agendas that reflect contemporary anxieties about the stratification of power. Music is a vital component of this complex dialogue about the past and the future that it entails. Musical reenactment reflects the knowledge and ideological underpinnings of its actors while it shapes public perception and discourse about this war.

### **Reenactment: A Note on Terminology**

The term “reenactment” refers to a complex process, framework, analytical method, philosophy, end-product, genre, site, and discourse about people in time. As a process, it is the identification of a meaningful originating idea that is represented and given meaning in the present through culturally-coded performances.<sup>4</sup> Reenactment is intended to be regenerative, to resurrect something and reinvigorate it for contemporary use. This does not imply that whatever image, sound, or ideal that is resurrected will remain true to the past. On the contrary, reenactment is an opportunity to reconfigure or

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<sup>3</sup> Jean Ngoya Kidula, “Sing and Shine: Religious Popular Music in Kenya” (PhD diss., University of California – Los Angeles, 1998), 1.

<sup>4</sup> Since the original idea must already exist, all reenactments are historical.



redefine past elements in new and innovative ways that speak to the present, and re-make the past into a relevant and consumable present product. As a creative and artistic practice, reenactment offers novel methodological and theoretical approaches to understanding the linkages between past, present, and future, as well as a broader understanding of human thought and expression.<sup>5</sup>

Descriptions and use of “reenactment” as an umbrella term allows me to tie together a diverse collection of commemorative music and other performance acts. It should be noted that there is no universally agreed upon definition for this word. The concept of “reenactment” or “reenacting” has been contested by practitioners and scholars for decades. While recent studies have greatly expanded and complicated the meaning of this term, it continues to occupy a limited position within the American vernacular as a term that is almost exclusively with battle theater.

## **Objectives**

There are diverse commemorative music productions that are significant cultural phenomena. They both reflect and (re)produce individual and communal identities, and power. These sites have their own structural, aesthetic, and affective properties that are specific to their socio-historical context. Because reenactments reveal the imaginative, ideological, and performance elements of all history, they are critical products that are linked to other forms of historical and performative studies.<sup>6</sup> The production,

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<sup>5</sup> This may seem monotonous, but upon closer examination, they reveal a variety of representational strategies/mediums, shifts in narrative structure, and opposing/competing interpretations of human life, all of which are able to receive mixed reception.

<sup>6</sup> This accounts for both the great amount of interaction between reenactors and academic historians and a complex relationship of co-dependency and distrust. Reenactors are generally aware that they are part of an ongoing multigenerational conversation. They relate their work to other reenactments, including

transmission, and reception of musical U.S. Civil War reenactments provide frameworks for understanding contemporary visions of this war.

I seek to investigate the process of using music to represent the past through reenactment, and how those performances influence cultural memory. Music is itself a site from which different populations may negotiate their relationship to the past. At the core of this process are a set of performance conditions that raise a series of questions that act as the guiding questions for this study. Such questions include: Who creates memories, and why? From what methods and formats to these representations emerge? What ideas are formed by these performances, how are they disseminated, and to whom do they appeal? The answers to these questions will provide a better understanding of what may be gained from representing the past, and how music contributes to this goal.

Music and sound are not a primary topic of study in Civil War memory or reenactment studies. Often the issues of race, class, gender, and nationalism that defined this war are seldom addressed in Civil War music scholarship. Therefore, this work advances musicological, ethnomusicological, and cultural studies scholarship about music and memory by addressing the social issues informing Civil War commemorative music practices and their relationship to cultural memory. But this study also has its limitations. It does not attempt to study musical reenactments in all of its forms. It may ultimately raise more questions than answers because the issues at hand are unresolved.

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Hollywood, and academic reenactments. They tend to be well informed about their historical representations in relation to the academy, museums, and other institutionalized cultural authorities.

## **Methodology:**

Ethnographic research occurred intermittently at two dozen sites over four years in Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Missouri, Kentucky, South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and online. Data gathered from qualitative methods including participant-observer fieldwork at performances, memorial ceremonies, and museums; interviews of composers, performers, audiences; and web-based investigations of websites, discussion boards, and music videos serve as a primary data set. After obtaining IRB approval from The University of Georgia in 2009, participant-observer data was collected from 2009 to 2010 at The Contraband Historical Society Ball, Andersonville commemoration, Battle of Aiken reenactment, Pamplin Park, the National Museum of the Civil War Soldier, Museum of the Confederacy, White House of the Confederacy, Tredegar Iron Works, Canal Walk, and Battle of the Crater reenactment.<sup>7</sup>

The bulk of ethnographic data was collected from 2011 to 2013 at Gettysburg Battle Reenactments, Remembrance Day parade and festivities, National Military Park Museum, Stone Mountain, Atlanta Cyclorama, *Civil War Voices* musical, Cornets & Canons Sesquicentennial Music Festival, Contraband Historical Society 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebrations, Dinosaur Kingdom, Booth Western Art Museum, Tara Museum, *Stonewall Country* musical, *Rappahannock County* opera, Battle of Aiken reenactments, both of the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Battle of Shiloh reenactments, 150<sup>th</sup> Taps anniversary commemorations, Great Blacks in Wax Museum, Georgia Civil War Brass Symposium, relic hunting conventions, tourism bureaus, historical society meetings,

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<sup>7</sup> While observing my environment, I conversed with tourists, employees, administrators, vendors, and musicians. These experiences influenced my knowledge of contemporary curatorial, commemorative, interpretive, and musical practices.

history and heritage trails. An audience-response survey was conducted at the Shiloh sesquicentennial, a multi-stage audience focus group was carried out at Stone Mountain, and phone interviews with musicians and historians from Alabama, Missouri, and Virginia were supplemented with immersive digital fieldwork on heritage organization and archival websites, YouTube, Facebook, and eBay. This fieldwork produced significant ethnographic data, including audio and video recordings of music and interviews. The analysis of this data includes close attention to style, instrumentation, melodic and harmonic components, context, reception, and performance practices.

### **Literature Review**

A study of this nature requires a review of literature from memory studies, the U.S. Civil War, and re-enactment music literature and their originating frameworks. As such, its interdisciplinary research epistemology draws from musicology, anthropology, sociology, American studies, journalism, and performance studies for studying American Civil War memory.<sup>8</sup> The politics of mythologies and ideologies that shape cultural memory reveal how war narratives operate within broader socio-historical contexts. A large and diverse body of literature about American Civil War music repertoire, composers, performers, and audiences shape knowledge about period music and also assumptions about contemporary Civil War music memory. There also exists a separate body of literature about Civil War memory documents continuity and change in the construction, dissemination, and utilization of national histories. The selected studies that

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<sup>8</sup> Print, digital, and recorded forms of literature in this review aid my identification of Civil War re-enactment demographics, locations, activities, sounds, and music.

are highlighted in this review are pertinent to this project as representative of their academic field, and of dominant American memory of this war.

### Memory Studies

What I am choosing to term “memory studies” is a conglomeration of ideas about contemporary remembrance, use, and overall engagement with the past. Citizens envision diverse and often competing individual, community, and national memories to be a defining component of their lineage. These frameworks and paradigms for studying contemporary engagements with the past, what is sometimes referred to as “public memory,” “collective memory,” “social memory,” “communities of memory,” “popular memory,” or “cultural memory,” did not develop from a unified discipline, philosophy, methodology, or geographic area.<sup>9</sup> Memory studies have been described as “a

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<sup>9</sup> For “public memory” studies, see John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); John Bodnar, *The “Good War” in American Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian Ott, eds. *Places of Public Memory The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010); Benjamin Filene, *Romancing the Folk: Public Memory & American Roots Music* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000). For “collective memory” studies, see Jan Assman, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” *New German Critique* 65: 125-133; Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method,” *American Historical Review* 102 no. 5 (1997): 1386-1403; Bridget Fowler, *The Obituary As Collective Memory* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Timothy Gongaware, “Collective Memory Anchors: Collective Identity and Continuity in Social Movements” *Sociological Focus*, 43 no.3 (August 2010): 214-239; Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, translated by Francis Ditter and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper & Row, 1925, 1980); Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* trans. Lewis Cosner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952, 1992); Piotr Kosicki and Aleksandra Jasińska-Kania, “Aggressors, Victims, and Trauma in Collective Memory,” *International Journal of Sociology*, 37 no. 1, (Spring 2007): 3-9; George Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990); Jeffrey Olick, “Collective Memory: The Two Cultures,” *Sociological Theory* 17 (3): 338-348; Jeffrey Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, eds. *The Collective Memory Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of American Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). For “social memory” studies, see David Blight, “Quarrel Forgotten or a Revolution Remembered? Reunion and Race in the Memory of the Civil War 1875-1913,” in *Union & Emancipation: Essays on Politics and Race in the Civil War Era*, ed. David Blight and Brooks Simpson (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1997) 151-162; Peter Burke, “History as Social Memory” 97-113 in *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind*, ed. Thomas Butler (Malden: Blackwell, 1989); James Fentress and Chris Wickham. *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); Chris Healy and Maria Tumarkin, “Social memory and historical justice: Introduction,”

nonparadigmatic, transdisciplinary, centerless enterprise” because the most influential scholars engaged in this research span the fields of sociology, history, anthropology, psychology, neuroscience, among other disciplines.<sup>10</sup> While the study and philosophy of memory extends back to ancient eras, contemporary Western memory studies were a product of the development of modern nationalism and historicism during the second half of the nineteenth-century.<sup>11</sup>

Although Hugo von Hofmannsthal is credited with first publishing the term “collective memory” in 1902, it was Maurice Halbwachs who popularized it in *Social Frameworks of Memory* (1925).<sup>12</sup> Greatly influenced by Henri Bergson’s ideas about variable experiences of time, and Emile Durkheim’s theory of collective representations, Halbwachs was interested in how communities create and disseminate ideas about themselves.<sup>13</sup> Central to his thesis is the idea that all individual memories are formed as a product of a series of social relations. From this perspective, the recognition, recall, and

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*Memory Studies* 4 (January 2011): 3-12; Wulf Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies,” *History and Theory* 41(2) (May 2002): 179-197. For “communities of memory,” studies see Robert Bellah, et al., Bellah, Robert N. *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985. For “popular memory,” studies see Michel Foucault, “Film in Popular Memory: An Interview with Michel Foucault,” Trans by Martin Jordan, *Radical Philosophy II* (1975): 24-29. For “cultural memory” studies, see Jan Assman, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Peter Krapp, *Déjà Vu: Aberrations of Cultural Memory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004); Diana Taylor, *Disappearing Acts: Spectacles of Gender and Nationalism in Argentina's "Dirty War"* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> Jeffrey Olick and Joyce Robbins, “Social Memory Studies: From “Collective Memory’ to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 106.

<sup>11</sup> It should be noted that this is during the same period when Americans were trying to make sense of and properly commemorate their Civil War. For historical critiques of memory studies see, Jeffrey Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, “Introduction,” in Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy, *The Collective Memory Reader*; Olick and Robbins, “Social Memory Studies,” 1998.

<sup>12</sup> Olick and Robbins, “Social Memory Studies,” 1998, 105; Jeffrey Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, *The Collective Memory Reader*, 17.

<sup>13</sup> Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, trans. Nancy Margaret Paul and W. Scott Palmer (1896; London: George Allen & Unwin, 1911); Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. Joseph Ward Swain (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1915); Jeffrey Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, *The Collective Memory Reader*, 17.

localization of individual memories are socially framed, meaning that they mirror the organization and values of the communities in which a person is a member.<sup>14</sup> Because of this relationship, our memories of the past are as much a reflection of contemporary life as of the past.

Halbwachs also expanded on the distinction between autobiographical memories of life experiences and historical memories that were not experienced firsthand. His theories about public investment in collective representations of the past are significant for explaining how and why societies choose to commemorate visions of the past in particular ways. His arguments about memory as an intrinsically selective and malleable social process contributed to a new strain of historiography that intentionally broke from modern nationalist models intended to present definitive and objective (and often official state) historical truths. These scholars began to investigate the similarities between memory and history, many of them concluded that history itself is a form of social memory.<sup>15</sup>

Halbwachs' theory of collective memory greatly influenced subsequent generations of memory studies. The 1980 English translation and 1992 reprint of *On Collective Memory* certainly contributed to the "boom" of memory studies that began in the late 1970s and continues today.<sup>16</sup> According to historian Patrick Hutton, Halbwachsian ideas about collective memory were embraced after the publication of the translated

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<sup>14</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 38.

<sup>15</sup> This perspective is certainly debated, as scholars including Wulf Kansteiner argue that collective memory "is not history though it is sometimes made from similar material. Kansteiner, *Finding Meaning in Memory*, 180.

<sup>16</sup> Jay Winter is most frequently cited for identifying the late twentieth century memory studies rediscovery as a "boom," see Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). Pierre Nora, whom I consider the most influential contemporary memory studies scholar, attributes influence to Halbwachs. See Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7–25.

edition because scholarly interests had already shifted from historical meaning to the active construction of history, and the process of normalizing contemporary ideologies and practices through historical narratives.<sup>17</sup> Peter Burke explains, “neither memories nor histories seem objective any longer. In both cases we are learning to take account of conscious or unconscious selection, interpretation, and distortion.”<sup>18</sup> Michael Kammen and Barry Schwartz similarly attribute the rise in interest in memory studies since the 1970s to multiculturalism and postmodernism, both of which question official histories that justify the existence and continued control of nation states. The resulting critiques demonstrated how history and memory are connected to social and state power.<sup>19</sup>

Not all memory scholars agree with Halbwachs’ theories, nor do they study memory as a social phenomenon.<sup>20</sup> A body of literature from the human science disciplines conceive of human memory as a biological product or psychological state.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Patrick Hutton, *History As An Art of Memory* (Burlington, VT: University of Vermont, 1993). For studies that emerged from this memory “boom” see, Paul Antze and Michael Lambek eds., *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); see also the 1989 “memory” journal special editions of *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989) and *The Journal of American History* 75 no. 4 (March 1989).

<sup>18</sup> Burke, “History as Social Memory,” 98.

<sup>19</sup> Olick and Robbins, “Social Memory Studies,” 108. For examples of such critiques, see Bodnar, *Remaking America*; Bodnar, *The “Good War”*; Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge*; Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

<sup>20</sup> For critiques of Halbwachs see, Burke, “History as Social Memory;” Kansteiner, *Finding Meaning in Memory*, 190; Nicolas Russell, “Collective Memory before and after Halbwachs,” *The French Review* 79 no. 4 (March 2006): 792-804.

<sup>21</sup> For biological memory studies see Eric Kandel, *In Search of Memory: The Emergence of a New Science of Mind* (New York: Norton, 2006); Eric Kandel, *The Age of Insight: The Quest to Understand the Unconscious in Art, Mind, and Brain: from Vienna 1900 to the Present* (New York: Random House, 2012); Daniel Schacter, ed. *The Cognitive Neuropsychology of False Memory* (Hove, UK: Psychology Press, 1999); Daniel Schacter, *Searching for Memory: The Brain, the Mind, and the Past* (New York: Basic Books, 1996). For psychological memory studies see, Alin Coman, Adam Brown, Jonathan Koppel and William Hirst, “Collective Memory. from a Psychological Perspective,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 22 no. 2 (June 2009): 125-141; Bergson, *Matter and Memory*; Frederic Bartlett, *Remembering: A study in experimental and social psychology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Sigmund Freud, *Moses and Monotheism*, trans. Katherine Jones (New York: Vintage, 1967); David Rubin, ed. *Remembering our Past: Studies in Autobiographical Memory*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); J Saunders, and M MacLeod, “New evidence on the suggestibility of memory: the role of retrieval- induced forgetting in misinformation effects,” *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 8 (2007): 127-142.



While social scientists and historians have explored shared memories among nations and other communities, biologists and psychologists tend to study individual memories.

Within this literature is what Olick terms the “individualist” approach that is often concerned with the possibility of genetic memory and variables that influence the recall of first-hand experiences.<sup>22</sup>

Maurice Halbwachs’ theories largely focused on the social connectedness of memories that are recalled by individual members of a community. They became the most influential collective memory theories to American scholars. But a second type of collective memory studies, the other half of the memory “boom” that focused on the transmission and celebration of memory through commemoration, monument and memorial, is primarily indebted to the French historian and philosopher Pierre Nora. His theories about sites of memory were tied to the intersection of the bicentennial of the French Revolution and the decline of modern nationalism which he saw reflected in the fall of the Berlin wall, the collapse of the Soviet Union, postcolonial African states, the failure of military coups in Latin America, postmodernism, and the public recognition of and empathy for a variety of traumatic counter-memories such as the testimonies of Holocaust survivors. To Nora, all of these phenomena worked against official state narratives about the past. Whereas memory traditionally validated hegemonic visions of nation-states in order to legitimize the continuity or expansion of its power, Nora

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<sup>22</sup> Jeffrey Olick, “Collective Memory: The Two Cultures,” *Sociological Theory* 17 (3): 338-348, 338. For individualist approaches see, David Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory & the American Civil War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002); RL Buckner et al., “Functional anatomical studies of explicit and implicit memory retrieval tasks,” *The Journal of Neuroscience*, 15 no. 1 (January 1995), 12-29; Susan Crane, “Writing the Individual Back into Collective Memory” *American Historical Review* 10 no. 4 (December 1997): 1372-1385; Anna Green, “Individual Remembering and ‘Collective Memory’: Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates,” *Oral History*, 32 no. 2 (Autumn, 2004), 35-44; Daniel Schacter, “Understanding implicit memory: A cognitive neuroscience approach,” *American Psychologist* 47 no. 4 (April 1992): 559-569.

increasingly found memory to question, if not outright dissolve authoritarian control. From his perspective, memory is not natural or stagnate but an ever evolving process that reveals much about the present state of the people producing these memories.

Nora's theory of "lieux de mémoire" (sites of memory) explores the manner in which "sites" including monuments, museums, cities, historical figures, icons, and other symbols of the past have been invested with memory so that they articulate stories about the past to successive generations of citizens. His seven-volume *Les Lieux de memoire* can be read as a catalogue of national French memory sites, which Nora himself documents and interprets as the shift from a unified national French identity to one that is less certain and polyvocal.<sup>23</sup>

Pierre Nora's scholarship on French memory inspired similar studies about national memory in practically every nation in Europe and the Americas, although it has been debated whether or not these theories about French culture ought to be exported and applied to other cultures.<sup>24</sup> His work has been extremely influential to Marxist and postmodern memory scholars, including Eric Hobsbawm and Michel Foucault, as well as scholars of traumatic memory, particularly those who specialize in individual and collective memories of the Holocaust.<sup>25</sup> For scholars of traumatic memory, the Holocaust

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<sup>23</sup> Pierre Nora, ed, *Les Lieux de memoire*, 7 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1984-1992); Nancy Wood, "Memory's Remains: Les lieux de mémoire" *History and Memory* 6 no. 1 (Spring-Summer, 1994): 123-149. Wood summarizes Nora's thesis across his encyclopedia as documenting the transition of France from being a modern "memory-nation" to an antimodern or postmodern "era of commemoration," Wood, 125.

<sup>24</sup> Michael Rothberg, "Introduction: Between Memory and Memory: From Lieux de mémoire to Noeuds de mémoire," *Yale French Studies* 118/119 (2010): 3-12, 3.

<sup>25</sup> For Marxist memory scholarship, see Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Richard Sennett, "Disturbing Memories," 10-26 in *Memory*, ed. Patricia Fara and Karalyn Patterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). For Postmodern memory scholarship, see Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 1994); Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge*; Foucault, "Film in Popular Memory"; Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in Culture of Amnesia* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

marked an important turning point in Western historiography because it shifted national and cultural narratives from stories about victories and progress to narratives about victimization and redemption.<sup>26</sup> The Holocaust has become not only an international symbol of trauma, but also of disillusionment and government distrust, which realizes Nora's thesis about memory's ability to undermine state power.

Relating these ideas about memory, trauma, and power to the broader study of memory, the "boom" of scholarship since the 1970s has been described as fostering an international culture of trauma and guilt as citizen's judge national atonement for past wrongdoings instead of the ability to inspire change.<sup>27</sup> This shift is visible in contemporary monuments themselves; what Andreas Huyssen describes as a paradox of rejecting monumentalism while "the notion of the monument as memorial or commemorative public even has witnessed a triumphal return."<sup>28</sup> This seems to contradict Nora's prediction that monuments will become less important with the demise of the modern nation, but it can also be interpreted as change in the meaning that contemporary citizens choose to attach to monuments and commemoration. This contemporary global condition has inspired a related "boom" in reparation and cultural repatriation studies, as

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<sup>26</sup> For Holocaust Memory studies, see Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); Paul Eisenstein, "Holocaust Memory and Hegel," *History and Memory*, 11 no. 2 (Fall/Winter 1999): 5-36; Shirli Gilbert, "Buried Monuments: Yiddish Songs and Holocaust Memory," *History Workshop Journal*, (Autumn, 2008): 107-128; Geoffrey Hartman, *The Longest Shadow: In the Aftermath of the Holocaust* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Charles Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust and German National Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988); Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (New York: Mariner Books, 2000); Anita Shapira, "The Holocaust: Private Memories, Public Memory," *Jewish Social Studies*, 4 no. 2 (Winter, 1998): 40-58; Nancy Wood, *Vectors of Memory: Legacies of Trauma in Postwar Europe* (Oxford: Berg, 1999); James Young, *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

<sup>27</sup> Jeffrey Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, "Introduction," in *The Cultural Memory Reader*, 3.

<sup>28</sup> Andreas Huyssen, "Monumental Seduction," 191-207 in Meike Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer, eds. *Acts of Memory Cultural Recall in the Present* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 1999); Also see Andreas Huyssen, "Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia," *Public Culture* 12 (1): 21-38.

well as a larger shift in memory studies from national to ethnic topics of the construction and representation of memory and heritage.<sup>29</sup>

In the study of cultural memory representations, some scholars focus on landscapes, soundscapes, cityscapes, and other physical environments that have become symbolic of a particular past, and house architectural monuments that are intended to guide the public memory of that space.<sup>30</sup> Other scholars have focused on icons, emblems, and other visual or audible symbols that may not be attached to any one physical location, transcending time and space to conjure ideas (whether first-hand memory or fantasy) about the past. Yet the majority of memory studies in both veins have been concerned

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<sup>29</sup> For reparation and repatriation studies see, Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett, eds. *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Philip Lantry, Mara Kozelsky, and Nachman Ben-Yehuda, eds. *Selective Remembrances: Archaeology in the Construction, Commemoration, and Consecration of National Pasts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

<sup>30</sup> For landscape memory studies see, Susan Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments, and Memories* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Dickinson, Blair, and Ott, *Places of Public Memory*; Michael Dietler, "A Tale of Three Sites: The Monumentalization of Celtic Oppida and the Politics of Collective Memory and Identity," *World Archaeology* 30 no. 1 (Jun., 1998): 72-89; Halbwegs 1980; Peter Meusburger, Michael J. Heffernan, and Edgar Wunder, eds. *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011). For cityscape memory studies see, Maoz Azaryahu and Kenneth E. Foote, "Historical space as narrative medium: on the configuration of spatial narratives of time at historical sites" *GeoJournal*, 73 no. 3 (2008): 179-194; Jonathan Boyarin, ed. *Remapping Memory: The Politics of TimeSpace* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*; Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001); Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Silvia Tandeciarz, "Citizens of Memory: Refiguring the Past in Post-dictatorship Argentina" *PMLA*, 122 no. 1 (Jan., 2007): 151-169. For soundscape memory studies see, John Connell, and Chris Gibson, ed. *Sound tracks: popular music, identity, and place* (London: Routledge, 2003); Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso eds., *Senses of Place* (Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press, 1996); Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1994); Kay Kaufman Shelemay, *Soundscapes: Exploring Music in a Changing World* (New York: Norton, 2001). For architectural memory studies see, Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*; Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*; Judith Dupré, *Monuments: America's History in Art and Memory* (New York: Random House, 2007); Robert Nelson and Margaret Rose Olin, ed. *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, trans. Todd Presner, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002); Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997); Kirk Savage, *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008).

with visual memory aids, what is commonly referred to as “the primacy of the visual.”<sup>31</sup> What is still missing in the bulk of memory studies is adequate consideration of music, sound, and the embodied experience of vibration as a vehicle of memory. Here we can turn from the philosophy of memory to rituals and representations of individual and shared understandings of the past are transferred through bodily enactment.

Literature on cultural memory enactment stems from the belief that memory is by nature selective, performative, and transmitted through embodied experiences.<sup>32</sup> The most influential twentieth century philosophers of enactment are Erving Goffman, Victor Turner, and Richard Schechner, all of whom approached cultural memory enactments from an anthropological perspective about performance rites.<sup>33</sup> Clifford Geertz, who greatly influenced memory studies in arguing that culture is an “acted document” that can be read/analyzed like a text, found that in anthropological literature during the decades of the memory “boom,” there was increasing interdisciplinary “genre mixing” as scholars blended anthropology and sociology with performance studies.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, Volume I: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture (London: Verso, 1994); Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (New York: Routledge 1966).

<sup>32</sup> For studies of cultural memory enactment, see Tom Dunning, “Civil War Re-enactments: Performance as a Cultural Practice,” *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, 21 no. 1 (July 2002): 63-73; Gongaware “Collective Memory Anchors;” Jonathan Lamb, “Historical Re-enactment, Extremity, and Passion,” *The Eighteenth Century*, 49 no. 3, (Fall 2008): 239-250; Shaun Nethercott and Neil Leighton, “Memory, Process, and Performance,” *The Oral History Review*, 18 no. 2 (Autumn, 1990): 37-60; Rebecca Schneider, *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Reenactment* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Taylor, *Disappearing Acts*; Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*; David Thelen, “Learning from the Past: Individual Experience and Re-Enactment,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, 99 no. 2 (June 2003): 155-165; Geoffrey White, “Epilogue: Memory Moments,” *Ethos* 34 no. 2 (June 2006): 325-341.

<sup>33</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (New York: Basic Books, 1974); Clifford Geertz, “Blurring Genres,” *American Scholar* 49 (2): 165-182; Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday/Anchor Press, 1959); Richard Schechner, *Between Theater & Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974); Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theater: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Press, 1982); It should be noted that these authors greatly influenced each other’s research.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, 165.

An influential product of this “genre mixing” in memory studies was the popularity and application of Victor Turner’s theory of “social dramas” to explain social processes in response to cultural/social conflicts.<sup>35</sup> Turner was not the first to suggest the analogy between society and theater; as Goffman drew upon Shakespeare’s *As You Like It* to argue that life is made up of a series of ritual performances and that the world’s citizens are actively role playing by shaping the outward presentation of their identities and the reflexivity of their interactions with others.<sup>36</sup> Goffman demonstrates that humans find a range of strategies to stage and perform ‘the self’ to society, some more formal and laced with cultural tradition than others. Richard Schechner took Goffman’s theories of presentation and combined them with the Turner’s structural theory of social dramas to formulate a theory about the transmission of cultural knowledge through social theater.<sup>37</sup> To Schechner, the continued proliferation of cultural knowledge, traditions, customs, rites, etc. requires repeated performance, or “restored behavior;” what can be described as reconstituted traces of the past, or a cultural script. Because restored behavior represents past knowledge/actions, it is symbolic of something larger than the person doing the enactment. This restoration is what lead Schechner to his examination of “twiceness,” a quality that he believes all societies share, what he describes as “how the single behaved behaviors of ordinary living are made into the twice-behaved behaviors of art, ritual, and the other performative genres.”<sup>38</sup> This idea of “twice-behaved behavior,” the repetition of cultural knowledge and the embodied performance of past knowledge/memory,

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<sup>35</sup> Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors*, 37-41. For studies that apply Turner’s theory of social dramas, see Gongaware “Collective Memory Anchors;” Thelen, “Learning from the Past: Individual Experience and Re-Enactment;” Victor Turner, “Social Dramas and Stories about Them,” *Critical Inquiry* 7 no.1 (Autumn, 1980): 141-168.

<sup>36</sup> Goffman, *The Presentation of the Self*, 1959.

<sup>37</sup> Schneider *Performing Remains*, 24.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

individual and group identity, and sense of community has been instrumental to recent seminal studies of memory enactment by scholars such as Diana Taylor and Rebecca Schneider.

Taylor's studies of cultural memory in Argentina, Mexico, and The United States explore reiterative acts that are not necessarily mimetic performances. She highlights the creative reinventing and reinvigorating of cultural memory through performance with the political intent of restoring the "presence" of past community members, preserving traumatic memories, and demanding justice.<sup>39</sup> Schneider's work similarly explores the presence or "remains" of the past, which she frames as the repetition or call-and-response of the past and present working together.<sup>40</sup> Her work combines philosophies of memory dating back to Durkheim, the methodological approaches from anthropology and performance studies by Geertz and Turner, Schechner's theory of twice-behaved behavior, and the historiographical debates about the divide between history, memory, and heritage that define reenactment and living history literature.<sup>41</sup>

Schneider defines reenactment as "re-play[ing]" or "re-do[ing]" events, a surprisingly controversial idea, the credibility of which historians have debated since R.G. Collingwood's treatise on history as reenactment.<sup>42</sup> Collingwood, one of the founders of reenactment studies, was a philosopher more of history than memory. He began his treatise by asking what it means to "understand" history, a distinction that he

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<sup>39</sup> See Taylor, *Disappearing Acts*; Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*.

<sup>40</sup> Schneider, *Performing Remains*, 2.

<sup>41</sup> Two other notable contributions to academic re-enactment literature include a collection of essays about the intersections of re-enactment public history, Scott Magelssen and Rhona Justicec-Malloy, *Enacting History* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011) and an ethnography about World War re-enactment, Jenny Thompson, *War Games: Inside the World of 20th-Century War Reenactors* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004). Both of these sources identify practitioners, practices, and contexts. While these texts expand the field of re-enactment research, they do not examine music.

<sup>42</sup> Schneider, *Performing Remains*, 2.

makes from the historians duty of explaining or documenting the past.<sup>43</sup> His is a question of empathy and justice to the historical subject, which he believes can be achieved by temporarily suspending contemporary values and realities in favor of those by the people being studied; to follow as closely as possible the thought process and series of decisions faced by the historical subject. From Collingwood's perspective, reenactment would lead the historian to the deepest meanings and lessons to be learned from history, two motives that he found more important than objective truths.

### Reenactment Studies

Reenactment studies have greatly expanded in scope and application since Collingwood's treatises, now drawing from history, anthropology, and theater studies philosophies of history and performance. The past thirty years have seen a rich and growing body of literature on reenactment studies that are an interdisciplinary mix from performing arts, humanities, and social science fields that investigate creative modes of knowledge production and transmission across temporal and physical spaces and moments.<sup>44</sup> Reenactment studies recognize performance as a representation form that

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<sup>43</sup> R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, revised ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966, 1993).

<sup>44</sup> For reenactment studies, see Vanessa Agnew, "Introduction: What Is Reenactment?" *Criticism* 46 no. 3 (Summer 2004): 327-339; Vanessa Agnew, "History's Affective Turn: Historical Reenactment and Its Work in the Present," *Rethinking History* 11, no. 3 (2007); Jerome De Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (London: Routledge, 2009); Amelia Jones, "Presence in Absentia: Experiencing Performance Art as Documentation," *Art Journal* 56 no. 4 (Winter 1997): 11-18; Jonathan Lamb and Vanessa Agnew, eds. *Settler and Creole Reenactment* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Iain McCalman and Paul Pickering, eds. *Historical Reenactment: From Realism to the Affective Turn* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Schneider, *Performing Remains*, 2011; Schechner *Between Theater & Anthropology*, 1985; Jenny Thompson, *War Games: Inside the World of 20th-Century War Reenactors* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004); Lisa Woolfork, *Embodying American Slavery in Contemporary Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009). For living history studies, see Jay Anderson, *Time Machines: The World of Living History* (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1984); Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Scott Magelssen, *Living History Museums: Undoing History Through Performance* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow



cuts across genres and traditions. This body of literature became integrated into the “boom” of memory studies at the end of the century, what Rebecca Schneider describes as the “practice-based wind of what has been called the twentieth-century academic ‘memory industry.’”<sup>45</sup> Schneider uses the term “practice-based” to infer that the majority of studies seek to explore how reenactment performances aid in the recall, preservation, and transmission of cultural memory.

The plausibility of reanimating the past has drawn great skepticism, most notably from Vanessa Agnew, who distinguishes between the invented traditions/fictions and performance aesthetics embraced by reenactors, what she calls the “affective turn,” and the realities that were faced by actual historical subjects.<sup>46</sup> It is this blurring of evidence, intuitive speculation, and ideology that makes many scholars wary of treating memory and history as one and the same, and reinforces the divide between history and memory studies. It is clear that reenactment, like oral history, is unfixed, subjective, and aesthetic. Scholars generally agree that reenactment is a form of cultural memory, but where they diverge is whether or not memory is a form of history, or vice versa. Collingwood believed that historical knowledge is created from the mental process of the historian, what he calls “reenactment.”<sup>47</sup> This implies that history is contingent on the actions of those in the present, that it is multiple, subjective, individualistic, and that it only exists to the extent that contemporary people work to make it exist. This is controversial because some historians believe that there is exists a singular objective history to be uncovered.

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Press, 2007); Scott Magelssen and Rhona Justice-Malloy, eds. *Enacting History* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011).

<sup>45</sup> Rebecca Schneider *Performing Remains*, 2.

<sup>46</sup> Agnew, “History’s Affective Turn,” 301.

<sup>47</sup> Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, 19.

Debates about what, if anything, reenactment reveals about the past is a staple of reenactment studies, and therefore, the study of reenactment is part of a larger conversation about the nature of memory and history.

When performance-studies scholar Rebecca Schneider compared dictionaries to measure contemporary associations with this word, she found that popular dictionaries emphasized human behavior and representational strategies, directly associating the term with group efforts by heritage societies to recreate events (often battles) through the use of replica objects. Academic resources, on the other hand, emphasized the temporal displacement of reenactment as an imagined return to another time.<sup>48</sup> While Schneider uses these examples to illustrate diverse possibilities for the usage of this term, what is most interesting here is that both definitions acknowledge the artificiality and imaginative creativity at the core of reenactment. In both incidents, successful reenactments suspend disbelief through repetition.

Reenactment is by nature a staged production that requires a set of enacted codes. It is therefore theatrical in that it simulates a selectively imagined past; it does not replicate the past, nor does it reflect a past truth; it is generative of a tradition of simulations. These nostalgia-inducing events are exemplary of what Jean Baudrillard describes as the “generation by models of a real without origin or reality; a hyperreal.”<sup>49</sup> From this description there is a fine line between reenactment and duplication. The term “reenactment” does not imply an exact clone of something that previously existed. It accounts for new bodies and new materials that must stand-in for an original, and while

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Jean Baudrillard, *Selected Writings*, edited by Mark Poster, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 166.

the process may appear on the surface to be completely transformative, even the best reenactments are an almost-but-not-quite aesthetic of incompleteness. This void necessitates further repetition in an attempt to fill the gap between past and present-ness. This is why reenactment seems inseparable from the term “authentic.” “Authenticity” becomes a driving quest for practitioners and connoisseurs of reenactment.

Reenactment is a heightened form of representation and self-fashioning; a performative strategy that has been explored in a variety of ways to preserve and transmit cultural elements. There are various representational strategies, mediums, practices, and aesthetics, but all reenactments are performative, meaning that they are a collection of symbolic gestures and sounds that have been previously practiced and encoded by a society. Judith Butler describes performativity as a socialization process through which social identities are produced and regulated through citational practices.<sup>50</sup> Bodies and the identities ascribed to bodies are actively created through a series of acts, and these practices must be repeated in order to carry any kind of cultural weight.

Behaviors that constitute reenactment may be mimetic and participatory.<sup>51</sup> They reject the passivity of learning from “dead” materials such as manuscripts or history books in favor of live engagement with the performance text.<sup>52</sup> They are sensorial and emphasize the embodied experience of senses, the most important being sight, touch, and sound. These behaviors are both experiential and experimental. They are inherently

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<sup>50</sup> Judith Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory” in Sue-Ellen Case, ed. 270-282, *Performing Feminisms: Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 274. This repetition of what Butler terms “sedimented acts” renews, revises, and consolidates social identities.

<sup>51</sup> Diana Taylor reminds us that not all reenactment is mimetic, as new elements may be introduced to reenactment in order to manipulate the past to tell new stories.

<sup>52</sup> This is exemplified in living history exhibits in which traditional boundaries between actors and spectators are blended for a more interactive experience.

reflexive because practitioners and audiences make sense of the proceedings through what is often deep personal, social, and historical analysis. An active process of judgment determines the quality of the performance, the authenticity of the experience, and choice about what will be done to improve or maintain certain elements in successive repetitions. In this way, the process of reenactment is a repetition of previous reenactments of social codes. These elements are what Richard Schechner describes as “twice-behaved” behavior that gets repeated “for the second to the nth time.”<sup>53</sup> Repeated or “restored” behavior is, for Schechner, the defining element of performance. What is restored in reenactment is not history, but a collection of visual, embodied, or sonic traces that stand-in for the idea that is being represented, what practitioners and audience agree alludes to history. Rebecca Schneider expands on this idea as follows,

Reenactors can reenact the US Civil War because they can place their bodies in the gestic compositions – the sedimented sets of acts – that US Civil War soldiers composed when those soldiers were themselves behaving as they had been trained to behave, or as they emulated others to behave, behaviors likewise and at the time based on prior practices and present notions of what it means and what it might mean to fight. The physical act of fighting, as well as the affective *mise en scene* of the “theatre of war” in which the fighting took place both followed precedent wars and left remains – both following footsteps and leaving footsteps to follow in directions not always, or only, forward.<sup>54</sup>

This re-presentation of originating content, what Schneider calls “gestic compositions,” Schechner calls “material,” Judith Butler calls “sedimented acts,” and Diana Taylor calls “repertoire,” is the invocation of symbolic behavior. Once gestures become symbolic, they become independent of the originating context that caused their existence, which allows them to be reconfigured, exchanged, cited, evoked, simulated, and remade into something new. They become transcendent, as if they had a life of their

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<sup>53</sup> Richard Schechner, *Between Theater & Anthropology*, 25, 97, 118.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

own. This is an inherently reductive process by which the complexities of life get boiled down to a few iconic symbols that become coded by society to speak for an entire era. This is why reenactment is always partial and never able to fully satisfy all visions or interpretations of the subject. These performances are always incomplete and interpreted as in need of completion via subsequent enactment. As Schneider describes, history and the reenactments of those events “are never discretely completed, but carry forth in embodied cycles of memory that do not delimit the remembered to the past.”<sup>55</sup> Through reiteration, the various elements that constitute reenactment get passed down, rediscovered, and restaged; what Diana Taylor so effectively refers to as cultural “repertoire.” If our cultural repertoire encompasses all traces of the past, then reenactment entails sifting through this repertoire and actively selecting, ordering, and embellishing cultural practices to piece together a story. This series of acts results in the creation and transmission of knowledge that becomes culturally coded and ideologically invested; what I am calling reenactment.

Reenactment is a narrative strategy and a site of/for knowledge. In this context, “site” encompasses a variety of conceptual spaces that include geographical, temporal, sonic, narrative, digital, embodied, psychological, etc. Within reenactment spaces, individual and communal identities can be either forged or dismantled, and circulate ideas about “race,” “gender,” “nation” and other forms of differentiation. The most popular reenactment site is the body, which Lisa Woolfork and Vanessa Agnew both describe as an “invitation” for actors and spectators to “locate” themselves in the past, and attempt to better understand if not solve a historical scenario through embodied

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<sup>55</sup> Rebecca Schneider, *Performing Remains*, 32.

experience, what Saidiya Hartman calls “counter-investing in the body as a site of possibility.”<sup>56</sup> In this context, the body becomes a site of a transformative journey, and the actors who undertake this task may seek new knowledge, an escape to a different time, identity, or character, or to reaffirm a pre-established identity. It may be considered bodily engagement with a historical topic and the transmission of that knowledge to others. Through reenactment, the past becomes transposed onto present bodies, a process that Lisa Woolfork describes as “bodily epistemology.”<sup>57</sup>

When these stories repeat, what exactly is being reenacted, and what are the societal consequences of these narratives? The potential results of these performances lie in the reception that depends on the subject position of the audience.<sup>58</sup> We might wonder if it is possible to infer anything about the results of reenactment. The most recurrent answer to this question in academic literature is that these performances transmit knowledge about cultural memory and identity.<sup>59</sup>

The nature of history, memory, and reenactment is a long-fought argument among scholars. It has been argued that history is based on the accumulation of objective facts, and anything less may be considered “pseudo-history.”<sup>60</sup> This implies that history is an empirical science. For some, history is factual, but the facts of history may be described as the “what” and the subjective aspects of history are the “why.”<sup>61</sup> To others, history is a

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<sup>56</sup> See, Vanessa Agnew, “History’s Affective Turn,” 300; Lisa Woolfork, *Embodying Slavery*, 1; Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 51.

<sup>57</sup> Woolfork, *Embodying Slavery*, 2

<sup>58</sup> Subject position, here, means the identities, backgrounds, and relationship to the material (and the actors) by the audience.

<sup>59</sup> Reenactment makes the past anew, as Schechner notes, “History is not what happened but what has been encoded and transmitted.” Schechner, *Between Theater & Anthropology*, 97

<sup>60</sup> C.G. Hempel, “The Function of General Laws in History,” *The Journal of Philosophy* 39 (1942): 35-48.

<sup>61</sup> Alan Donagan, “Historical Explanation: The Popper-Hempel Theory Reconsidered,” *History and Theory* 4 (1954): 3-26.

creative process and in this way is a form of memory. Historian Patrick Hutton explains this perspective as follows,

History is an art of memory because it mediates the encounter between two moments of memory: repetition and recollection. Repetition concerns the presence of the past. It is the moment of memory through which we bear forward images of the past that continue to shape our present understanding in unreflective ways... Recollection concerns our present efforts to evoke the past. It is the moment of memory with which we consciously reconstruct images of the past in the selective way that suits the needs of our present situation. It is the opening between these two moments that makes historical thinking possible.<sup>62</sup>

This perspective is useful for considering research, representation, and consumption of Civil War memory/history as a spectrum of strategies that people choose to engage with and make sense of the past. What remains to be found is whether musical performances fit this model.

This brief review of literature on the topic of memory demonstrates that the plurality of voices responding to the nature and products of human memory is responsible for an outpouring of interest, scholarship, and debate across western academic disciplines. The next section of this review describes some of the most invested topics in U.S. Civil War literature. I will differentiate between historical and memory studies in order highlight what arguments have been made about the Civil War past, and what scholars have said about the legacy of that conflict in the American consciousness.

### Civil War History

Within the United States, no subject has inspired a greater amount of literature on memory and history than the U.S. Civil War. As historian David Bight put it:

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<sup>62</sup> Patrick Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory*, (Burlington: University of Vermont Press, 1993), xx.

The “war of ideas,” as [Frederick] Douglass aptly called it, has never completely faded from our nation’s social condition or historical memory. Suppress it as we may, it still sits in our midst, an eternal postlude playing for all who deal seriously with America’s past and with our enduring predicaments with race, pluralism, and equality.<sup>63</sup>

The volume of scholarship on the American Civil War is so great that even the most distinguished scholars readily admit that it is impossible to keep abreast of the literature on this topic.<sup>64</sup> While it is estimated that approximately 60,000 books were published about this war by 1969, more recent estimates approach six figures, and this number seems to grow exponentially, particularly if non-print sources such as videos, sound recordings, and websites are counted.<sup>65</sup> With so many sources available to consult, the questions regarding the historical literature that are most pertinent to this project are these: how is the American Civil War defined, what aspects of this conflict garner the most attention, and what is the legacy of this war? This brief review engages with these questions with the intent of situating the place of this conflict in the minds and hearts of Americans. The sheer scope and lasting impact of this huge conflict, compounded with a staggering amount of scholarship on the topic, produced two general categories of literature. First, there are broad surveys of the era, whether they be military or social

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<sup>63</sup> Blight, *Race and Reunion*, x.

<sup>64</sup> James McPherson, “Foreword,” in *Writing The Civil War: The Quest To Understand*, ed. James McPherson and William Cooper, Jr. (Columbia SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), ix; Bert Useem, “Choosing a Dissertation Topic,” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 30 (June 1997): 214; Steven Woodworth, “Preface” in *The American Civil War A Handbook of Literature and Research*, ed. Steven Woodworth (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1996), xi. Useem warns that dissertations on U.S. Civil War can be a “daunting undertaking” due to the volume of literature on the topic. McPherson similarly states that nobody knows exactly how many publications about this war even exist for review. Woodworth and his contributors cite hundreds of publishing houses that have produced materials on this topic, totaling more than a book a day since the war’s end.

<sup>65</sup> James McPherson acknowledges the diversity of document-types that engage with the war. James McPherson, “Foreword,” in *Writing The Civil War: The Quest To Understand*, ed. James McPherson and William Cooper, Jr. (Columbia SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), ix.



histories or a mix of both.<sup>66</sup> Second, there are specialized biographies, memoirs, and studies of individual regiments and battles.<sup>67</sup>

Military histories tend to mark the beginning and end of the American Civil War based on military engagement, and if the years are extended beyond 1861-1865, it is usually done in a way that connects wars together into a larger narrative of conflict and national progress. The earliest histories of the Civil War focused on military figures and strategies.<sup>68</sup> These histories neatly framed the war from 1861-1865 and focused primarily on battles and generals. This historiographical trend has not waned. The most common type of Civil War history remains military history, although more recent military histories focus more on the lives of individual soldiers and relate army culture to the greater culture from which it originated.<sup>69</sup> The incredible number of military histories reflect Joseph Glatthaar's claim that,

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<sup>66</sup> For critical Civil War bibliographies, see James McPherson and William J. Cooper, eds. *Writing the Civil War: The Quest to Understand* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998); Robin Higham, James M. McPherson, and Steven E. Woodworth, eds. *The American Civil War: A Handbook of Literature and Research* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996). For overviews of the war, see McPherson 1988; Carol Sheriff and Scott Nelson, *A People at War: Civilians and Soldiers in America's Civil War, 1854-1877* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Shelby Foote, *The Civil War, A Narrative* (New York: Random House, 1958); Charles Roland, *An American Iliad: The Story of the Civil War* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1991).

<sup>67</sup> Bruce Catton, *A Stillness at Appomattox* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1953); Mary Chesnut, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, edited by C. Vann Woodward and Mary Boykin Miller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); David Herbert Donald, *Lincoln* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995); Elizabeth Leonard, *Lincoln's Forgotten Ally: Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt of Kentucky* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Robert McAllister and James Robertson, *The Civil War Letters of General Robert McAllister* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1965); Sheila Phipps, *Genteel Rebel: The Life of Mary Greenhow Lee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004); Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln The War Years* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co, 1939); Library of Congress, "U.S. Civil War Regimental Histories in the Library of Congress," database and online catalog <http://www.loc.gov/rr/main/uscivilwar/> (accessed December 20, 2013); National Parks Service, "The Civil War Soldiers and Sailors System (CWSS)," <http://www.nps.gov/civilwar/soldiers-and-sailors-database.htm> (accessed December 20, 2013).

<sup>68</sup> James McPherson "Foreword" in McPherson and Cooper 1998, 2-3. Other popular topics of early Civil War histories include political histories that focus on northern and southern governments and presidents Lincoln and Davis. See Thomas Pressly, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (New York: Collier Books, 1962).

<sup>69</sup> Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, eds. *The Black Military Experience* (Cambridge: University Press, 1982); Joseph Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army: From Victory to Collapse* (New York: Free

Any single narrative of the war, any story of one united army defeating another, obscures as much as it clarifies. War is the sum total of its individual stories... The only way to develop the full story of a war is to tell a number of its individual stories, while keeping them in balance.<sup>70</sup>

Social histories exhibit greater variation in describing the duration, causes, and outcomes of the American Civil War by de-emphasizing public events and charismatic leaders, and instead stressing the importance of social processes that guided the lives of common people. This literature has reconfigured the definition of this war as a social conflict that allows for the study of civilians, minorities, and dissenters, all of whom were so often stereotyped or altogether missing from previous generations of military histories. The greatest achievement in this field has been the study of race, slavery, and emancipation, what historian Peter Kolchin commends as the heart of contemporary Civil War scholarship “as historians continue to explore the ways in which the war undermined slavery and led to emancipation and the social transformation of the South.”<sup>71</sup> Topics within this literature include the political participation of free blacks in shaping public discourse about slavery and abolition, the actions and reactions by slaves in response to the Civil War, the circumstances that explain the presence of blacks in confederate labor

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Press, 2008); John Keegan, *The American Civil War: A Military History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009); James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); James McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); George Rable, *Fredericksburg! Fredericksburg!* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Daniel Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Steven E. Woodworth, and Kenneth J. Winkle, *Atlas of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>70</sup> Glatthaar, *Causes Lost, Won, and Forgotten*, 5.

<sup>71</sup> Peter Kolchin, “Slavery and Freedom in the Civil War South” in McPherson and Cooper, *Writing The Civil War*, 259. For Civil War scholarship on race, see Ira Berlin and Barbara Fields eds., *Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom, and the Civil War* (New York: The New Press, 1992); J.W. Blasingame, “The Recruitment of Colored Troops in Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri, 1863–1865,” *The Historian*, 29 (1967): 533–545; Robert Francis Engs, *Freedom’s First Generation: Black Hampton, Virginia, 1861-1890* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1979, 2004); Barbara Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland During the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Clarence Mohr, *On the Threshold of Freedom: Masters and Slaves in Civil War Georgia* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001).

battalions, and comparative experiences of the approximately 180,000 black troops who served in the Union army.<sup>72</sup> Not only do these studies testify to the primacy of slavery in defining American social, economic, and war life, but they also preserve the intellectual and cultural achievements of black Americans, and represent that population as engaged and active agents of social change.<sup>73</sup>

Social histories have changed the face of Civil War scholarship by retrieving the voices of women, children, racial and ethnic minorities, and the elderly who mostly inhabited the home front. The study of women, in particular, has greatly influenced not only social histories but also military and political histories as well by attesting to the ways that gender shaped how war-era people understood their identities and their relationship to this war. These studies have generated riveting critiques of ideologies and social structures that enabled the war to emerge and play out as it did. Studies of women during the Civil War-era have focused on women's presence on the battlefield and home front, as politicians, wives, mothers, lovers, politicians, writers, speakers, and as occupied citizens.<sup>74</sup> Most of this literature has focused on southern women, as they were more

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<sup>72</sup> For the political history of black abolitionists see Berlin and Fields, *Slavery and Freedom*; David Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War: Keeping Faith in Jubilee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989). For the social history of slaves during the Civil War see, Berlin and Fields, *Slavery and Freedom*; James McPherson *The Negro's Civil War: How American Negroes Felt and Acted during the War for the Union* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965). For the social and military history of US Colored Troops see Blassingame, *Slave Testimony*; Joseph Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (New York: Free Press, 1990). For black confederates, see James Brewer, *The Confederate Negro: Virginia's Craftsmen and Military Laborers, 1861-1865* (Durham: Duke University Press) 1969; Carol Sheriff, "Virginia's Embattled Textbooks: Lessons (Learned and Not) from the Centennial Era," *Civil War History* 58 no.1 (March 2012) 37-74. For social histories on the institution of slavery see, Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

<sup>73</sup> Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War*, xi. For instance, Blight claims that until his study, Frederick Douglass was absent from all Civil War political histories, as were most African American intellectuals. Blight's "intellectual biography" of Douglass begins to remedy this problem.

<sup>74</sup> For studies that compare northern and southern gender relations see Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber, ed. *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber, *Battle Scars Gender and Sexuality in the American Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Nina Silber, *Gender and the Sectional Conflict* (Chapel Hill: University of North

likely to occupy embattled territory, and has availed the opportunity to engage not only with women's relationship to their men, but also to slaves. Similar to studies of 19<sup>th</sup> century slavery, women's history scholars are invested in representing this segment of the population as active contributors to war and politics. LeeAnn Whites and Alecia Long state that women "were not simply occupied, that is, basically rendered inert or of little structural consequence... rather, they were occupied, as in busy and responsive."<sup>75</sup> Whether or not women were in military occupied territories, the war inescapably occupied women's lives.

Although they have had a highly influential impact, social historians came late to Civil War topics.<sup>76</sup> However, the most innovative Civil War histories produced since 1990 have been social histories that closely examine race, class, and gender issues among

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Carolina Press, 2008); LeeAnn Whites, *The Civil War As a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995). For women politicians, see Victoria Bynum "War within a War: Women's Participation in the Revolt of the North Carolina Piedmont, 1863-1865," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 9, no. 3 (1987): 43-49; Jean Fagan Yellin, *Women & Sisters: The Antislavery Feminists in American Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). For women on the home front see Chesnut, *Mary Chestnut's Civil War*; Catherine Clinton, *Tara Revisited: Women, War & the Plantation Legend* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1995); Clinton and Silber 1992; Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Sheila Phipps, *Genteel Rebel: The Life of Mary Greenhow Lee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004); Patricia Richard, *Busy Hands Images of the Family in the Northern Civil War Effort* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003). For women on the battlefield see Catherine Clinton, *Harriet Tubman: The Road to Freedom* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2004); Jane Schiltz, "The Inhospitable Hospital: Gender and Professionalism in Civil War Medicine," *Signs* 17 (Winter 1992): 363-92; LeeAnn Whites and Alecia P. Long, ed. *Occupied Women: Gender, Military Occupation, and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009).

<sup>75</sup> Whites and Long, *The Civil War As a Crisis in Gender*, 6.

<sup>76</sup> Maris Vinovskis, "Have Social Historians Lost The Civil War? Some Preliminary Demographic Speculations," *Journal of American History* 76 (1989): 34-58. Vinovski claimed that the neglect of the Civil War at the time of his article by social historians was partly attributed to a typical dividing of the nineteenth-century as pre- and post- war periods, which led social historians to focus on communities and social shifts before and after the war instead of during the war. He makes the case that the Civil War was a social conflict through a quantitative study and series of charts about American demographics from the era.

black and white soldiers and civilians before, during, and immediately following the war.<sup>77</sup> As Peter Kolchin notes,

we cannot examine the Civil War without considering these fundamental issues – systems of labor, meaning of freedom, nature of American democracy... to expand the study of the Civil War from the preserve of military historians and war buffs into a preoccupation of those who would understand that character of the country – and especially the South – in the nineteenth century.<sup>78</sup>

Such developments in the treatment of race, class, and gender in the larger field of American Studies and American history produced critical analyses of cultural practices overlapping the Civil War-era.<sup>79</sup>

It is common for authors of all types of Civil War histories to describe this war as the most momentous event in American history because of the degree of social and economic disruption, the number of casualties, and the demolition of chattel slavery. How scholars define and delimit the war is more divisive, determined by what the author identifies as the preeminent cause and effect of the conflict. Frederick Douglass described the conflict as “a war of ideas,” but it is exactly the identification of which ideas were in conflict that divides historians into several discrete camps.<sup>80</sup> In a special edition of the *Organization of American Historians Magazine of History*, Matthew Pinsker summarizes that the origin of this war has caused more arguments among scholars than almost any

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<sup>77</sup> Ayers, *In the Presence of Mine Enemies*; Berlin and Fields, *Free at Last*; Stephen Berry, ed. *Weirding the War: Stories from the Civil War's Ragged Edges* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011); Clinton and Silber, *Battle Scars*; John Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005); Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*; Alice Fahs, *The Imagined Civil War Popular Literature of the North & South, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Drew Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008); Anne Rose, *Victorian America and the Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Maris Vinovskis, ed. *Toward a Social History of the American Civil War: Exploratory Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Michael Vorenberg, *Final Freedom The Civil War, the Abolition of Slavery, and the Thirteenth Amendment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

<sup>78</sup> Peter Kolchin “Slavery and Freedom in the Civil War South” in McPherson and Cooper 1998, 260.

<sup>79</sup> These developments aligned with the New Historicism and New Criticism movements.

<sup>80</sup> See Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 2002.

other topic in American history. In what follows, I greatly consolidate some of the most substantiated arguments in the academic discourse about the war's causes. Informed by Edward Ayers two-school model of "fundamentalist" and "revisionist" positions, I will summarize competing arguments about the causes of this war that greatly influence contemporary Civil War memory.<sup>81</sup>

One circle of historians define the Civil War as a political argument about the balance, stretch, and power of free and slave states; an argument that stretches back to the end of the Revolutionary War and the drafting of the Constitution to protect state regulations of slavery.<sup>82</sup> Although this argument may be framed as emerging from regional economic or political party differences, from this perspective, the series of debates and legislative decisions between 1787 and 1860, including The Compromise of 1787, the Mexican-American war and the annexation of the Republic of Texas, the Missouri Compromise, The Kansas-Nebraska Act and popular sovereignty, and the 1860 election of the first anti-slavery president, progressively drove anxious southerners to secede. Evidence to support this argument lay in the timing of the South's secession just

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<sup>81</sup> Edward Ayres, *What Caused the Civil War? Reflection on the South and Southern History* (New York: Norton, 2005):132-133. Fundamentalists interpret the war as a conflict first and foremost about slavery, and focus on broad social and cultural structures. Revisionists interpret the war first and foremost as a political and ideological conflict of which slavery was a secondary cause, and focus on individual events and figures. For explanations of various origin interpretations see Gabor Borrit and David Blight, eds. *Why the Civil War Came* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); McPherson *For Causes and Comrades*; Margaret Wagner, Gary Gallagher, and Paul Finkelman. *The Library of Congress Civil War Desk Reference*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002.

<sup>82</sup> It is from this interpretation that the "states' rights" argument and rhetoric developed. See, Jonathan Earle, "The Political Origins of the Civil War," *OAH Magazine of History* 25 no. 2 (April 2011): 8-13; Johnathan Earle, *Jacksonian Antislavery and the Politics of Free Soil* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Marc Egnal, "The Economic Origins of the Civil War," *OAH Magazine of History* 25 no.2 (April 2011): 29-33; Paul Finkelman, "Slavery, the Constitution, and the Origins of the Civil War" *OAH Magazine of History* 25 no. 2 (April 2011): 14-18; Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971); Robert Pierce Forbes, *The Missouri Compromise and its Aftermath: Slavery and the Meaning of America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007); McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*; Brian Schoen, *The Fragile Fabric of Union: Cotton, Federal Politics, and the Global Origins of the Civil War* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Sheriff and Nelson, *A People at War*.

six weeks after Lincoln's election, and the explicit framing of the confederacy as a "political disagreement" over the current and future state of slavery. Lincoln's response, the claim the South did not have the right to secede without a constitutional amendment to do so, framed northern retaliation as a defense of the nation and its constitution.

Jonathan Earle summarizes the political definition of the Civil War as follows,

Southern states didn't secede because the North had built a vast, industrial economy and wanted to expand it to the West, or because more people read northern rather than southern periodicals. Secession was a response to a new political reality: the collapse, after many decades of Southern slaveholders' iron-fisted control of federal power... and a party committed first to containing and finally ending slavery.<sup>83</sup>

Jonathan Earle and other prominent historians have presented a convincing argument about the war as a political or even constitutional debate, and yet the political origin of the war contains within it a second argument, that the war was always, at its center, about slavery. But as Edward Ayres clarifies, identifying slavery as the root of this war does not imply that the Civil War erupted from an immediate revelation that human bondage conflicted with American ideals about democratic freedom, but that "slavery [w]as the key catalytic agent in a volatile new mix of democratic politics and accelerated communication, a process chemical in its complexity and subtlety... the living connection among fundamental structures, unfolding processes, and unpredictable events."<sup>84</sup> As to how slavery pushed the country to engage in a war at the particular moment it took place, most scholars agree that a series of violent and lingering events including Nat Turner's 1831 slave revolt in Virginia, the agony of Bleeding Kansas in the 1850s, the 1857 Dred Scott Decision that overturned the Missouri Compromise, and John

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<sup>83</sup> Jonathan Earle, "The Political Origins of the Civil War," *OAH Magazine of History* 25 no. 2 (April 2011), 12.

<sup>84</sup> Ayres, *What Caused The Civil War*, 142.

Brown's 1859 raid at Harper's Ferry foreshadowed the passionate and violent responses to the slavery debate and pushed the nation towards war.<sup>85</sup>

A variation on this interpretation comes from Elizabeth Varon, who frames the war through the concept of "disunion," the military conflict being only one outcome of this broader conversation about the nature of a united states.<sup>86</sup> She claims that the central premise of American political culture was a belief that the republic was fragile and always in danger of disunion, and so all of the causes of the Civil War military conflict emerged as part of this larger conversation about the social and political dangers that threatened to dismantle the union. Varon argues that the military conflict that we identify as the Civil War was really a symptom of a larger discursive conflict about the nature of the American republic, and that within this framework, the Civil War extends back to the very founding of the United States. She states, "Americans came to regard slavery as the most potent of all sources of disunion... slavery as a political issue did not displace other disunion anxieties – it encompassed them."<sup>87</sup> Both origin arguments summarized in this section frame the military war as a component of a larger social struggle, and neither interpretation leads to a clear resolution of this conflict.

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<sup>85</sup> Charles Dew. *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001); Don Fehrenbacher, *The Dred Scott Case, Its Significance in American Law and Politics*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Paul Finkelman, *Dred Scott V. Sandford: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997); Kenneth Greenberg, *Masters and Statesmen: The Political Culture of American Slavery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985); Sheriff and Nelson, *A People at War*; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, Elizabeth Varon, *Disunion!: The Coming of the American Civil War, 1789-1859* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008) hereafter Varon 2008; Lea VanderVelde, "The Dred Scott Case as an American Family Saga," *OAH Magazine of History* 25 no. 2 (April 2011): 24-28; Michael Vorenberg, *Final Freedom The Civil War, the Abolition of Slavery, and the Thirteenth Amendment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 18.

<sup>86</sup> Varon, *Disunion!*, 2008.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 338.



If the most heated debate about the Civil War has been about its cause and purpose, then the other looming question pertains to the war's consequences.<sup>88</sup> These debates raise questions about the identities of the primary actors in this conflict, the moral rights and wrongs of each army, the comparative benefits and costs to each region, the degree of post-war social change, and the lessons that Americans learned from the war. But perhaps more importantly, scholarship about the legacy of this war is a debate about the meaning of peace and freedom.

Most scholars agree that the Civil War was important for two enduring consequences: emancipation and death.<sup>89</sup> Emancipation was easily the most immediate

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<sup>88</sup> For explanations of the war's consequences, see Blight, *Race and Reunion*; William Freehling, ed., *The Reintegration of American History: Slavery and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Susan-Mary Grant and Peter J. Parish, eds. *Legacy of Disunion: The Enduring Significance of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003); James McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Knopf, 1982). For studies of postwar regional change, see Edward Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Blight, *Race and Reunion*; Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997). For studies about reconciliation, see Heather Richardson, *The Death of Reconstruction: Race, Labor, and Politics in the Post-Civil War North, 1865-1901* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001); Julie Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina, 1860-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). For studies about northern and southern reconciliation, see Ayers, *The Promise of the New South*; Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*. 1935 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Phillip Shaw Paludan, "What Did the Winners Win?: The Social and Economic History of the North during the Civil War," in McPherson and Cooper, *Writing the Civil War*, 174-100. For studies about costs and benefits see Ayers, *The Promise of the New South*; Du Bois, W. E. B. *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*. 1935 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Phillip Shaw Paludan, "What Did the Winners Win?: The Social and Economic History of the North during the Civil War," in McPherson and Cooper 1998, 174-100. For studies about economic development, see Ayers 1992; Thomas Cochran, "Did the Civil War Retard Industrialization?" *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 48 (September 1961), 197-210; James McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Knopf, 1982). For debates about who freed the slaves, see Ira Berlin, "Who Freed the Slaves? Emancipation and Its Meaning" in *Union & Emancipation: Essays on Politics and Race in the Civil War Era*, David Blight and Brooks Simpson, eds. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1997), 105-122; Berlin and Fields, *Free At Last*; Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War*; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom*; Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*; James McPherson, "Who Freed the Slaves?" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (March 1995), 1-10.

<sup>89</sup> Most of the literature in this review falls into one of these two categories, and this generalization could be extended further to claim that most Civil War literature emphasizes the honor (not to be confused with moral right) of its participants, but there are outliers to this trend, including Stephen Berry's collection of essays that rejects the honor and death based calls to scholarship. See Berry 2011.

benefit of the war, even if, as Robert Penn Warren so succinctly put it, emancipation “did little or nothing to abolish racism.” To quote Peter Kolchin, “it was slavery that gave meaning to the war,” by extending justice to black Americans while also giving causation and justification for Union lives lost.<sup>90</sup> Immediately following the war, northerners and southerners alike cared greatly about the memory of their community and how the war influenced national and international perceptions of their people. Drew Faust remarks that the legacy of this war is its sustained ability to help Americans shape their definitions of freedom, citizenship, and justice. She writes,

It established a newly centralized nation-state and launched it on a trajectory of economic expansion and world influence, but for those Americans who lived in and through the Civil War, the texture of the experience, its warp and woof, was the presence of death.<sup>91</sup>

That calculus of fatality remains an important measure of the impact of this war. James McPherson is not alone in writing that the most important reason to remember and study this war is the more than 620,000 Americans who died, a percentage of the national population that greatly outnumbers the number of Americans who died in any other war.<sup>92</sup> Death remains an important consequence of war because common experiences of suffering and loss created a climate of national mourning that allowed members of differing regional and political factions to bond and, even for contemporary Americans, this sense of common sacrifice remains a powerful influence on Civil War scholarship.

Interpretive divides about the causes and consequences of the war influences the expansive variety of literature and document-types that engage with the history of this

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<sup>90</sup> Peter Kolchin “Slavery and Freedom in the Civil War South” in McPherson and Cooper 1998, 259; Robert Penn Warren, *The Legacy of the Civil War: Meditations on the Centennial* (New York: Random House, 1961), 7.

<sup>91</sup> Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, xvii.

<sup>92</sup> James McPherson, “Introduction” in McPherson and Cooper, *Writing the Civil War*, 2.

war including films, videos, CD-ROMS, music, and theatrical performances including living history demonstrations. While the noted Civil War historian James McPherson is not the first to acknowledge the abundance and influence of non-textual resources, he does make a provocative claim that is shared by many historians, that the written word will irrefutably remain the principal way to learn about the American Civil War.<sup>93</sup> But as the next section of this literature review will demonstrate, written texts are but one source of historical memory that contributes to our understanding of how collectives remember and engage with this past. What follows is an examination of cultural memory philosophies as they relate to dominant U.S. Civil War memory.

### Civil War Memory

In historical scholarship and other acts of memory, each successive generation continues to return to Civil War stories, sometimes termed the American *Iliad*, to retell its story in endlessly creative ways.<sup>94</sup> Edward Ayers explains the continued study of this war, including his own work, as a search for reassurance "...to tell the story to ourselves, we search for opposites and contrasts to explain this overwhelming war... We look for impending crises and turning points, for the reassuring patterns that lead to the end of the story we already know."<sup>95</sup> As post-war Americans processed national changes, cultural factions chose to remember the war differently. David Blight's seminal *Race and Reunion* presents three Civil War "visions" that work with and against each other in the American imagination and greatly influenced early Civil War scholarship and

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., ix.

<sup>94</sup> See, Roland, *An American Illiad*.

<sup>95</sup> Edward Ayers, *In the Presence of Mine Enemies: The Civil War in the Heart of America 1858-1963* (New York: Norton, 2003), xvii.

commemoration.<sup>96</sup> The first of these visions is the *reconciliationist* war memory, an interpretation of the war as the force that produced a unified modern nation. The second vision is the *white supremacist* war memory that justified Jim Crow culture and white privilege.<sup>97</sup> The third vision is the *emancipationist* interpretation that celebrates the war for ending slavery.<sup>98</sup> Of these three visions, the *reconciliationist* interpretation proves most resilient during Civil War anniversaries. These visions blend with national values and anxieties to influence Civil War surveys and music histories published during Civil War anniversaries.

Elizabeth Varon's study supports Blight's visions as well as his assertion that regional reconciliation was racialized and forged at the expense of black people, and made it possible for these visions to take hold in the American imagination. She identifies this as the location of a "Lost Cause" tradition in which the centrality of slavery to the war was forgotten in favor of a war-memory discourse in which Confederate and Union soldiers were described as alike in their courage.<sup>99</sup> Also building on Blight's visions theory, Gary Gallagher offers a classification system for tangible Civil War-themed

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<sup>96</sup> See, David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001). This text remains the defining U.S. Civil War memory study. Three important studies emerging from American history and American studies that also address the politics of Civil War memory are, Thomas Brown, *Remixing the Civil War: Meditations on the Sesquicentennial* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); Jim Cullen, *The Civil War in Popular Culture: A Reusable Past* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995); Gary Gallagher, *Causes Won, Lost, and Forgotten: How Hollywood & Popular Art Shape What We Know About the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

<sup>97</sup> The reconciliationist interpretation developed in the nineteenth-century post-war period as a coping strategy to work through national loss and destruction. White supremacist interpretations of the war often merged with reconciliationist memories in American popular culture, such as the twentieth-century war commemorations, resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan, and D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation*.

<sup>98</sup> These memories may create counter-histories that celebrate black contributions to the war effort, or self-liberation. A resurgence of the emancipationist vision toward the end of the twentieth-century blended with other forms of black-nationalism to complicate Civil War historical discourse.

<sup>99</sup> Varon, *Disunion!*, 346.

products based on their ideological underpinnings.<sup>100</sup> His categories are the *lost cause*, *union cause*, *reconciliationist cause*, and *emancipation cause* traditions. The *lost cause* tradition nearly ignores slavery in favor of interpreting the confederacy as an experiment in nation-building, and a proud and noble fight against hopeless odds. The *union cause* tradition similarly ignores slavery and relates the northern motives for war back to the founding fathers and casts the union war effort as a successful struggle to maintain the democratic nation that had been gifted to them by those who had fought for American independence. The *reconciliationist cause* is identical to Blight's vision in which the birth of a newly united modern nation is the greatest outcome of the war. *Emancipationist cause* advocates interpret slavery as the primary cause and emancipation as the greatest legacy of this war. Although this system is designed to aid in the analysis of popular culture in the recognition that all products are influenced by the interpretive knowledge of their creators, these four categories also distinguish camps in Civil War scholarship.

The ideologies informing commemorations are vital to this dissertation, as are the methods of observance, and the historical moments that Americans have identified as the defining moments of this war. If the war was a battle of ideas and a discursive conflict, then when (if ever) did the war end? Even if the Civil War is conceptualized strictly as a military event, at what moment did battles cease? Lincoln's delivery of the Emancipation Proclamation or the passing of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment have been markers of the war's conclusion. The lack of a clearly delineated end to the war created a climate of ongoing year-round commemoration, as competing factions of American society chose to

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<sup>100</sup> Gallagher, *Causes Won, Lost, and Forgotten*, 2.

articulate their investment in the war and its aftermath through a variety of staged observances and political organizations.

### Commemorations

The Civil War spawned an era of monument building that not only functioned to reunite communities (racial, regional, and national) but also transmit stories about the meaning of the war and the importance of memory, monuments, and commemoration.<sup>101</sup> Many of the earliest and most enduring commemorative practices were begun by women as responses to the death of so many men. Before the fighting ended, women conducted burial rituals. They created, decorated, and picnicked around marked graves and mass monuments that honored the dead soldiers who would not be returned home.<sup>102</sup> These early “Decoration Day” rituals later morphed into the national “Memorial Day” holiday, which is significant primarily for its endorsement of a war memory focused almost exclusively on the fallen soldier. For the South in particular, these commemorations became an important outlet for collective expressions of white mourning and a blending of Christian and conservative political rhetoric to express a decidedly anti-reconstructionist, and later, anti-integrationist sentiments.<sup>103</sup>

As the end of chattel slavery rippled across the States and Americans transitioned to a post-war society, public commemorations responded to social shifts while also

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<sup>101</sup> See Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 1999.

<sup>102</sup> For literature about women’s roles in monument building, see Faust, *Mothers of Invention*; Fuchs, *The Imagined Civil War*; Blight, *Race and Reunion*; Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 1999; William Blair, *Cities of the Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865-1914* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 25-26.

<sup>103</sup> For literature about Memorial Day and its infusion with Lost Cause ideology, see Blight, *Race and Reunion*; Gary Gallagher and Alan Nolan, eds. *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000); Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980).

shaping the war's legacy and claiming social resources. Jubilations and Emancipation Days were local and regional celebrations of the Emancipation Proclamation. Early celebrations by African Americans included the gathering of Union troops and civilians to observe the implementation of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, and the greeting of U.S. Colored Troops who occupied the confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia in April 1865 after the fall of the confederacy and exit of the Army of Northern Virginia. These celebrations included U.S. flag raisings and communal singing of freedom songs, two elements that became staples of African American Civil War commemorations.<sup>104</sup> It is in these commemorations that we see the crystallization of emancipationist war memory.

These two early examples demonstrate that Civil War survivors devoted a great amount of time, energy, and financial resources to the memory of the war in order to justify and protect their self-image. But the greatest outpourings of commemorations and accompanying literature on the Civil War have always aligned with each fifty-year anniversary of the conflict, the first being the 1911-1915 semicentennial. The most significant event during this anniversary was the publically funded transportation of over fifty thousand white veterans to Gettysburg in 1913. Blight interprets this reunion as a blurring of reconciliationist and white supremacist visions to reframe the Civil War as a victory for white people.<sup>105</sup> Memorial ceremonies and publications constructed the war as a masculinity test predestined by God. Semicentennial-era Civil War histories that

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<sup>104</sup> William Blair, *Cities of the Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865-1914* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 25-26.

<sup>105</sup> Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 383-384. Blight writes, "a segregated society required a segregated historical memory and a national mythology that could blunt or contain the conflict at the root of that segregation," 391. Living veterans symbolized twentieth-century white American nostalgic searches for authentic courage and honor. African Americans were so segregated from white memory of the war by 1913 that President Wilson declared the Gettysburg reunion to be the ultimate reconciliation.

focused primarily on leaders, campaigns, and diaries, reflected white supremacist and reconciliationist interpretations.<sup>106</sup> This dominant semicentennial narrative required the silencing of emancipationist interpretations in the name of white glory, and Civil War music histories followed course.<sup>107</sup>

Actual participants in the conflict penned a large portion of the earliest Civil War scholarship. Regardless of whether the authors had union or confederate allegiances or wrote in a first- or third-person voice, these narratives generally shared the common purpose of justifying the war, and celebrate the valor of their comrades. James McPherson found that by the end of the nineteenth century, a push towards union-confederate reconciliation that focused on the similarities among northern and southern armies dominated the narratives of such publications as *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (1887-1888).<sup>108</sup> In these histories, war veterans from both armies found a common identity, and according to McPherson, the terms “union” and “confederate” became blurred in the American vernacular and were replaced with the unifying designation of “American.”<sup>109</sup> It is in these commemorative efforts that the reconciliationist memory of the war became the dominant form of Civil War memory, a belief system and collection of practices that carried true through the mid-century centennial commemorations.

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<sup>106</sup> See, Charles Bardeen, *A Little Fifer's War Diary* (Syracuse, NY: C.W. Bardeen, 1910); Delavan Miller, *Drum Taps in Dixie: Memories of a Drummer Boy 1861-1865* (Watertown, NY: Hungerford-Holbrook Company, 1905). A 1913 essay by Dudley Miles, “The Civil War as Unifier” is described by Blight as the master reconciliationist narrative that constructs the war as a period of national healing that unified northern and southern citizens through shared sacrifice. Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 382-383.

<sup>107</sup> Steven Woodworth, ed., *The American Civil War: A Handbook of Literature and Research* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), xi. Music research continued after the semicentennial as evidenced by a small wave of publications during World War II, and the years leading up to the 1961-1965 centennial marked a resurgence of Civil War publications.

<sup>108</sup> James McPherson “Introduction,” *Writing the Civil War*, 2.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*



Preparation for the 1961-1965 American Civil War centennial began in the mid-nineteen-fifties.<sup>110</sup> Congress created the United States Civil War Centennial Commission (CWCC) in 1957 to regulate the tone of national observances due to anxiety that the anniversary would refuel North/South regional tension. The Centennial Commission's 1958 commemoration guidelines encouraged observances to glorify both Union and Confederate armies. According to centennial historian Robert Cook, the central message of the CWCC was to celebrate the national war experience, which reinscribed the same reconciliationist narrative about white male bravery that marginalized minority and emancipationist histories.<sup>111</sup>

Research and publications that reflected this CWCC-endorsed narrative flourished during the centennial years.<sup>112</sup> The war was commonly represented as the mobilization of common men in defense of their communities and what they believed to be a righteous fight for freedom. These texts emphasize communal warfront experiences, campaigns, living conditions, and material culture. Congressional Committee appointee and Civil War scholar, Bell Wiley encouraged these research endeavors because he believed that the centennial was an opportunity to collect and disseminate the truth of the war.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Robert Cook's *Troubled Commemoration* chronicles political motives and consequences of federal sponsorship and state execution of Civil War anniversary observances. See, Robert Cook, *Troubled Commemoration: The American Civil War Centennial, 1961-1965* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2007).

<sup>111</sup> Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 34-41.

<sup>112</sup> Kevin Allen, "The Second Battle of Fort Sumter: The Debate of the Politics of Race and Historical Memory at the Opening of America's Civil War Centennial, 1961," *The Public Historian* 33 no.2 (Spring 2011), 94-109. These texts differ from semicentennial literature in that the war was less frequently framed as an inevitable act of God

<sup>113</sup> Ibid. Wiley's own publications are great examples of centennial research themes. See, Bell Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union*, (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill Company, 1951); Wiley, Bell Irvin, Hill Jordan, James I. Robertson, and J. H. Segars, *The Bell Irvin Wiley Reader* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001). Historian Richard B. Harwell was an original candidate for CWCC executive director. Harwell published a series of influential studies about Confederate music. See, Richard Harwell, *Confederate Music* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950); Richard Harwell, *Songs of the Confederacy* (New York: Broadcast Music, 1951).

Genealogy and military history facts became a strategy to evade critical engagement with the war's unresolved social problems. Music references within these texts contributed to this deflection, as Blight writes, America "preferred its music and pathos to its enduring challenges, the theme of reconciled conflict to resurgent, unresolved legacies."<sup>114</sup> Civil War surveys and music histories also reflected national anxieties about the Cold War, *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the Civil Rights Movement. Cook posits that American leaders, including the CWCC, recognized the power of pop culture to mobilize citizens in the promotion of democracy and the fight against communism. The Civil War centennial repurposed cultural arts as nationalist tools.

Although central control of the centennial emphasized the war as a national dilemma, local organizations were encouraged to produce grassroots commemorations. Civil War Centennial Commission booklets, including *A Guide for the Observance of the Centennial of the Civil War*, identified the centennial's purpose as teaching "lessons in Americanism learned from the Civil War" through local memorial services, publications, pageants, and reenactments.<sup>115</sup> State centennial commissions consisting of mostly white middle-class male battle reenactors, archivists, librarians, round table members, and historians (amateur and professional) formed in 1961 to plan their own programs. These endeavors influenced publication of regional music histories.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 4.

<sup>115</sup> Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 43-45.

<sup>116</sup> See Marshall Moore Brice, *The Stonewall Brigade Band* (Verona, VA: McClure Print, 1967); Ernest Julius Leinbach, *Regiment Band of the Twenty-Sixth North Carolina*, ed. Donald McCorkle (Winston-Salem, NC: The Moravian Music Foundation, 1958). These texts romanticize war as inevitable challenges that strengthened the nation. Continued emphasis on militarized white male achievement in regional War music histories reinforced the CWCC's nationalist narrative by framing the achievements of regional figures around a national crisis.

Organizations dedicated to the public memory of the Civil War include the United Confederate Veterans, the Sons and Daughters of Confederate Veterans, and the Grand Army of the Republic.<sup>117</sup> Many members of these organizations became involved in Civil War Round Tables that developed as part of the larger Civil War heritage movement. These round table clubs began in the late 1930s and supported the preservation and research of Civil War history, as well as establishing regularly meeting communities for enthusiasts. Many World War II veterans became part of the Civil War heritage movement, as they considered themselves to be part of the legacy of American military history, and found themselves able to closely identify with the experiences of Civil War soldiers. Stephen Ambrose, a member and chronicler of the round table movement, describes the appeal of the Civil War to post WWII-Americans as an affirmation of the honor and chivalry of the military, and describes its proponents as sharing “a deep and abiding belief that the Civil War is the central theme in American History... The round Tables are evidence that the quiver has not yet subsided.”<sup>118</sup>

Michael Kammen’s *The Mystic Chords of Memory*, portrays regional centennial programs as commodified products of cultural amnesia that Americans substituted for history.<sup>119</sup> Battle reenacting and other pageants are described by Kammen as intentional whitewashing of American history that oversimplified and depoliticized the war during the centennial in order to minimize conflict.<sup>120</sup> There were mixed reactions to regional

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<sup>117</sup> For Civil War heritage organizations, see Paul Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-Bellum Landscape*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2003; Blight *Race and Reunion*, 2001; Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*.

<sup>118</sup> Stephen Ambrose, “The Civil War Round Tables,” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 42 no. 4 (Summer 1959): 262.

<sup>119</sup> See, Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991).

<sup>120</sup> Michael Kammen 1991, 704. Battle reenactments were the most popular centennial events among children and adults. Millions of Americans continue to attend and perform Civil War reenactments. Three

Civil War reenactments and commemorations. Writing that battle reenactments, commercialized Civil War mementoes, and the publication of sub-par research were three unfortunate byproducts of the centennial, James Robertson lamented the carnivalesque spectacle that many local organizations touted in order to celebrate the war, deploring such activities as proof that Americans had learned little from the original conflict.<sup>121</sup> But Robertson's position was that of the minority, as Americans pushed forward with evermore spectacular representations of the war's past.

The period between Civil War anniversaries that Kammen terms the "heritage syndrome" of the 1970s and 1980s responded by expanding the parameters of Civil War music to include women and minorities.<sup>122</sup> A 1970s movement to reinsert the accomplishments and lived experiences of minority groups into American historical discourse coincided with an increase in minority heritage groups, and newly added curation of minority histories at national museums.<sup>123</sup> This movement succeeded at drawing attention to the denial of African and African American influences in American

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significant contributions to academic battle re-enactment literature are Magelssen and Justice-Malloy, *Enacting History*; Thompson, *War Games*; Schneider, *Performance Remains*. Justice Malloy and Magelsson present a collection of essays about the intersection of reenactment and public history. Schneider offers an interpretation of reenactment as performance art. Thompson's ethnographic report describes World War reenactments. These three texts are significant contributions to reenactment research that identify practitioners, practices and contexts, but do not examine music. Significant body of literature about American Civil War re-enacting emerging from academic and non-academic sources. There is a lack of literature documenting the cultural significance of Civil War re-enactment music.

<sup>121</sup> James Robertson, "The Civil War Centennial – Archival Aspects," *The American Archivist* 26 (Jan 1963): 11-18.

<sup>122</sup> Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 620. Traditional white Civil War music research continued after the centennial, but publications during the seventies and eighties were more sporadic and less cohesive in content or methodology. Literature between anniversaries expanded the parameters of this music subfield than preceding or following waves. Scholars during this period addressed gaps in first wave texts, contributing greatly to scholarship about music of minority groups.

<sup>123</sup> Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 641, 681-684. Kammen describes this as reclaiming of "subnational" and "sub sectional" traditions.

histories. These trends infiltrated American popular culture, perhaps the most powerful influence-on American memory of the war.

Since the last first-hand witnesses of this war died long ago, Americans have had to turn to second- and third-hand sources to remember the war. While debates about Civil War history and memory have sustained the academic careers and publications of several generations of historians, the general public is more likely to gather their knowledge about the Civil War through Hollywood films and television documentaries than the writings of any of the leading historians. It has been argued that the consumption of these movies has become the preferred form of late-century Civil War commemoration. Furthermore, these films have greatly influenced other commemorative practices including musical performances, museum exhibits, and battle reenactments. These practices have, in turn, impacted academic research about Civil War commemoration, shifting the focus from sacred rituals to commercial entertainment.<sup>124</sup> These trends hold true as the latest publications about Civil War memory during the twenty-first century sesquicentennial are released, and in doing so, further collapse the division between history and memory studies.<sup>125</sup> This review of Civil War memory is intended to bridge

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<sup>124</sup> For analyses of late twentieth century Civil War memory in American popular culture, see Stuart McConnell “Epilogue,” in *Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, ed. Alice Fahs 263-265; James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory* (New York: New Press, 2006); Jim Cullen, *The Civil War in Popular Culture: A Reusable Past*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995; Richard King and Helen Taylor, *Dixie Debates: Perspectives on Southern Cultures* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), Garry Gallagher, *Causes Won, Lost, and Forgotten: How Hollywood and Popular Art Shape What We Know about the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998); Will Kaufman, *The Civil War in American Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006). Lawrence Kreiser and Randal Allred eds., *The Civil War in Popular Culture: Memory and Meaning* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2014).

<sup>125</sup> For literature on early twenty-first century American Civil War memory, see Thomas Brown, ed., *Remixing the Civil War: Meditations on the Sesquicentennial* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); Fahs, *The Imagined Civil War*; Gallagher, *Causes Lost, Won, and Forgotten*, 2008; Lawrence

the gap between historical studies of what the war was and memory studies about what the war has come to mean. In what follows, I trace a similar story about Civil War music, beginning with a review of American and Civil Music histories and ending with an overview of how music has been both used and studied as a form of memory.

### Civil War Music

There exists a significant body of literature about Civil War-era music history.<sup>126</sup>

Some studies survey mid-nineteenth century musical activities within a larger American music history narrative;<sup>127</sup> others isolate the war years.<sup>128</sup> There is research about

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Kreiser and Randal Allred, eds., *The Civil War in Popular Culture: Memory and Meaning* (Lexington, Kentucky : University Press of Kentucky, 2014).

<sup>126</sup> Civil War-era music means music that was composed and/or performed during the war years 1861-1865.

<sup>127</sup> Gilbert Chase, *America's Music from the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1955); Wiley Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs: NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1988); David Ewen, *Great Men of American Popular Song* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977); David Ewen, *All the Years of American Popular Music* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1977); Dena Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977); Daniel Kingman, *American Music: A Panorama* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1979); Charles Hamm, *Music in the New World* (New York: Norton, 1983); Charles Hamm *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York: Norton, 1983); Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History*. (New York: Norton, 1971); Eileen Southern, *Readings in Black American Music* (New York: Norton, 1972); Mellonee Burnim and Portia K. Maulsby, eds. *African American Music: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2006); David Nicholls, ed. *Cambridge History of American Music* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1988); Henry Louis Gates Jr., "Gospel" In *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature*, ed. Henry Louis Gates Jr., 16-21 (New York: Norton, 1997); Henry Louis Gates Jr., "Spirituals" In *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature*, ed. Henry Louis Gates Jr., 5-15 (New York: Norton, 1997); Henry Louis Gates Jr., "The Blues" in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature*, ed. Henry Louis Gates Jr., 22-29 (New York: Norton 1997); Samuel Floyd, *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Ellen Koskoff, *Music Cultures in the United States: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History* (New York: Norton, 2001); Richard Hansen, *The American Wind Band: A Cultural History* (Chicago: GIA, 2005); Shane White and Graham White, *The Sounds of Slavery: Discovering African American History Through Songs, Sermons and Speech* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2005); Judith Tick, *Music in the USA: A Documentary Companion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Michael Budds and Bill Faucett, eds. *Music in America, 1860-1918: Essays, Reviews, and Remarks on Critical Issues* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2009); Larry Starr and Christopher Alan Waterman, *American Popular Music: From Minstrelsy to MP3*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Burton Peretti, *Lift Every Voice: The History of African American Music* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009).

<sup>128</sup> Richard Harwell, "Confederate Carrousel: Southern Songs of the Sixties," *Emory University Quarterly* 6 (1950): 84-100; Richard Harwell, *Confederate Music* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950); Richard Harwell, ed. *Songs of the Confederacy* (New York: Broadcast Music, 1951); Julius Augustus Leinbach, *Regiment Band of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina* (Winston-Salem, NC: Moravian

instrumental music,<sup>129</sup> and vocal music.<sup>130</sup> Some publications are biographical sketches.<sup>131</sup> The majority of studies associate styles and/or accomplishments with particular races and ethnic groups, including studies primarily focusing on the music of

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Music Foundation, 1956); Albert Luper, *Civil War Music* (Iowa City, IA: State University of Iowa, 1958); Willard Heaps and Porter Heaps, *The Singing Sixties: The Spirit of Civil War Days Drawn from the Music of the Times* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960); Kenneth Bernard, *Lincoln and the Music of the Civil War* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1966); Ernest Emurian, *Stories of Civil War Songs* (Natick, Mass: W.A. Wilde, 1960); Harry Hall, *A Johnny Reb Band from Salem: The Pride of Tarhelia* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, 1963); Francis Lord and Arthur Wise, *Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1966); Paul LeClair, *The Francis Scala Collection: Music in Washington, D.C. at the Time of the Civil War* PhD diss. (Catholic University of America, 1973); Richard Crawford, *The Civil War Songbook: Complete Original Sheet Music for 37 Songs* (New York: Dover, 1977); Kenneth Olsen, *Music and Musket: Bands and Bandmen of the American Civil War* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1981); Mark Elrod and Robert Garofalo, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands* (Charleston, West Virginia: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1990); Benny Ferguson, *The Bands of the Confederacy: An Examination of the Musical and Military Contributions of the Bands and Musicians of the Confederate States of America*. PhD diss., North Texas State University, 1987; Phillipa Burgess, *An Examination of Function, Venue and Sources in the Repertoire of Mid-Nineteenth Century American Brass Bands*. PhD diss., University of Kentucky, 1999; Stephen Currie, *Music in the Civil War* (Cincinnati: Betterway Books, 1992); Jon Finson, *The Voices That Are Gone: Themes in 19th Century American Popular Song* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Christopher Nigrelli, *More Musical Contributions of the Salem, North Carolina Moravian Community in the Civil War: An Investigation of the Musical Activities of the Bands of the 21st, 26th, and 33rd North Carolina Regiments*. PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2003; Steven Cornelius, *Music of the Civil War Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004); Bruce Kelley and Mark Snell, *Bugle Resounding: Music and Musicians of the Civil War* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2004); Stephen Lytle, *Giving Voice to the Past New Editions of Select Repertoire of the 26th Regiment Band, North Carolina Troops, C.S.A.* PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 2010; Christian McWhirter, *Battle Hymns: The Power and Popularity of Music in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

<sup>129</sup> William Bukfin, *Union Bands of the Civil War: (1862-1865): Instrumentation and Score Analysis*. PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1974; Leinbach, *Regiment Band*; LeClair, *The Francis Scala Collection*; Olsen, *Music and Musket*, 1981; Elrod and Garofalo *A Pictorial History*; Ferguson, *The Bands of the Confederacy*, 1987; Burgess, *An Examination of Function*; Nigrelli, *More Musical Contributions*; Hanson, *The American Wind Band*; Lytle, *Giving Voice to the Past*.

<sup>130</sup> Harwell, *Confederate Carousal*; Harwell, *Confederate Music*; Harwell, *Songs of the Confederacy*; Ewen, *Great Men of American Popular Song*; Crawford, *The Civil War Songbook*; Finson, *The Voices That Are Gone*; Silber and Silber, *Songs of the Civil War*; White and White, *The Sounds of Slavery*.

<sup>131</sup> Bernard, *Lincoln and the Music*; Ewen, *All the Years of American*; LeClair, *The Francis Scala Collection*; Olsen, *Music and Musket*; Kelley and Snell, *Bugle Resounding*.

Anglo-Americans,<sup>132</sup> or African-Americans.<sup>133</sup> Many sources categorize music by style/genre,<sup>134</sup> function,<sup>135</sup> or by northern/southern geographic regions.<sup>136</sup> Some researchers analyze scores to examine stylistic developments;<sup>137</sup> others reprint and critique nineteenth-century music treatises to demonstrate changes in aesthetics or reception.<sup>138</sup> These texts represent a spectrum of Civil War music history narratives, and contribute to expectations of what repertoires might be heard at commemorations.

A significant number of music histories, song collections, and recordings were published during this time, including Heaps & Heaps' *The Singing Sixties*, Frederick Fennel's *Music of the Civil War*, and Silverman & Silber's *Songs of the Civil War*.<sup>139</sup> Centennial song collections and biographies tended to simultaneously honor regional difference and unify white racial superiority by celebrating audible national white

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<sup>132</sup> Harwell, *Confederate Music*; Chase, *America's Music*; Bernard, *Lincoln and the Music*; Bufkin, *Union Bands of the Civil War*; Hitchcock, *Music in the United States*; Ewen, *Great Men of American Popular Song*; Crawford, *America's Musical Life*; Olsen, *Music and Musket*; Hamm, *Music in the New World*; Ferguson, *The Bands of the Confederacy*, Nicholls, *Cambridge History of American Music*; Currie, *Music in the Civil War*; Finson, *The Voices That Are Gone*; Cornelius, *Music of the Civil War Era*; Kelley and Snell, *Bugle Resounding*; Budds and Faucett, *Music in America*; Lytle, *Giving Voice to the Past*.

<sup>133</sup> Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*; Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*; Southern, *Readings in Black American Music*; White and White, *The Sounds of Slavery*; Burnim and Maultsby, *African American Music*; Gates, *The Norton Anthology*.

<sup>134</sup> Chase, *America's Music*; *Music in the United States*; Crawford, *America's Musical Life*; Kingman, *American Music*; Hamm, *Music in the New World*; Finson, *The Voices That Are Gone*; Gates, *The Norton Anthology*; Nicholls, *Cambridge History*; Hanson, *America's Wind Bands*; Burnim and Maultsby 2006, *African American Music*; Cornelius, *Music of the Civil War*.

<sup>135</sup> Burgess, *An Examination of Function*; Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*; Currie, *Music in the Civil War*; Kelley and Snell, *Bugle Resounding*; Cornelius, *Music of the Civil War*; White and White, *The Sounds of Slavery*.

<sup>136</sup> Harwell *Confederate Carousel*; Harwell, *Confederate Music*; Harwell, *Songs of the Confederacy*; Bernard 1966; Bernard, *Lincoln and the Music*; Bufkin, *Union Bands of the Civil War*; Olsen, *Music and Musket*; Ferguson, *The Bands of the Confederacy*; Cornelius, *Music of the Civil War*.

<sup>137</sup> Finson, *The Voices That Are Gone*; Crawford, *America's Musical Life*.

<sup>138</sup> Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*; Tick, *Music in the USA*; Faucett and Budds, *Music in America*.

<sup>139</sup> Heaps and Heaps, *The Singing Sixties*; Frederick Fennel conducts the Eastman Wind Ensemble Narrated by Martin Gabel. *Music of the Civil War* Mercury (SRI 2-77011), 1961. Fennel's recording inspired the creation of many regimental reenactment brass bands. This recording was re-released in 1990 under the title *The Civil War: It's Music and It's Sounds* (432 591-2, 432 592-2). Jerry Silverman and Irwin Silber, *Songs of the Civil War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960); Pete Seeger, et al., *Songs of the Civil War* (New York City: Folkways Records, 1960).



masculinity.<sup>140</sup> Silverman and Silber's book and accompanying LP captures the tone of most centennial music histories that celebrate the development of a uniquely American character through accounts of Civil War musical productivity, and accompanied by lyric themes of bravery and sacrifice.<sup>141</sup> Silber romanticizes Civil War music as "keepsakes" that reflected the national spirit."<sup>142</sup> *Songs of the Civil War* is organized by North/South regional repertoires, but the selection and division of Union and Confederate music emphasizes similarities in lived experiences and musical tastes of men from both armies. This text supports the reconciliationist narrative pushed by the Centennial Commission and local centennial committees.

By the 1970s, Civil War music histories also reflected multiculturalist social histories with an increase in publications about black music practices.<sup>143</sup> A milestone in this category is Eileen Southern's *The Music of Black Americans*, which documents a nineteenth-century blending of African and European stylistic features that produced a distinctly African-American sound. Equally important is Dena Epstein's *Sinful Tunes and*

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<sup>140</sup> For a critical review of Civil War music recordings from 1925-2000 see, John Druessedow, "Music of the Civil War Era: A Discography," *Notes: Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 60 no. 1 (2003): 240-254. Druessedow describes popular repertoire, program notes, performer biographies, and record label information for select recordings. His review is not meant to be comprehensive or critical of the politics informing these recordings. Also see Susan Hamburger, "Musical and Narrative Recordings" in *The American Civil War: A Handbook of Literature and Research*, edited by Steven Woodworth, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 620-650. Hamburger divides her discography into spoken-word and music recordings and lists track titles for selected albums.

<sup>141</sup> Bernard, *Lincoln and the Music*; Emurian, *Stories of Civil War Songs*; Hall, *A Johnny Reb Band*; Lord and Wise, *Bands and Drummer Boys*.

<sup>142</sup> Silverman and Silber, *Songs of the Civil War*, 3. Songs included in this collection are standard in many Civil War music history surveys.

<sup>143</sup> Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 97-264. Many of these characteristics were maintained from slavery to the twentieth-century, and are reflected in the African American musics documented during the Civil War. Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals*, 239-342. Some of these transcriptions, such as Lockwood's "Song of the 'Contrabands'" were European-ized to suit white audiences, while simpler arrangements such as Lucy McKim's "Roll, Jordan, Roll" included performance directions that may better reflect the tune's folk origins. Both Epstein and Southern attempted to balance the music of important figures, and music of the masses.

*Spirituals*, for chronicling the documentation of black music by whites in newspapers, letters, and sheet music during the Civil War.

Jon Finson's *The Voices That Are Gone* takes a topical approach to American music history and contextualizes mid-nineteenth century music within a larger American social history without identifying a specific Civil War repertoire.<sup>144</sup> Finson explains why so many songs shared similar lyrical themes and compositional techniques, and suggests how those features resonated with nineteenth-century audiences. Finson warns against privileging a song's lyrical content in the evaluation of popular tastes because the public may have been more drawn to the sounds of the song than the words. It is this balance of music and lyrical analysis within a broader social context that distinguishes Finson's text from earlier Civil War music histories.

Richard Crawford's *America's Musical Life* prioritizes music performance instead of composition, and blurs high/low-brow genre distinctions. His considerable treatment of mid-nineteenth-century American religious, commercial, and art music expands the scope of Civil War music beyond the topical songs and regimental bands that traditionally appear in this literature. His study constructs a clear picture of music's social role in mid-nineteenth century by documenting shifting tastes and contexts. The diversity of music tastes and practices represented in Richard Crawford's *America's Musical Life* complicates reconciliationist Civil War music narratives that describe music as a universally intelligible practice that reflected a nationally shared cultural heritage.

A resurgence in Civil War research publications began in the early twenty-first century and continues through the current sesquicentennial anniversary. The post-9/11

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<sup>144</sup> See, Finson, *The Voices That Are Gone*.

period also marks a return to conservative reconciliationist narratives that discourages governmental or military critique. Civil War music surveys from the last decade including Seven Cornelius's *Music of the Civil War Era*, Mark A. Snell, and Bruce C. Kelley's *Bugle Resounding*, and Christian McWhirter's *Battle Hymns* are important for advanced archival study of Civil War music history, but share strikingly similar research questions, musical examples, analytical styles, and recurring themes about the unifying power of music.<sup>145</sup> Each book begins with a chapter about music as a universally intelligible expression of personal and community identity, and develops multiple chapters about Civil War regional, gendered, and racial music differences. Explorations of regional anthems and gendered music spheres demonstrate general consensus about similar music tastes and practices among white Americans. Music of minorities are separated from the larger narrative to illustrate racially divergent music styles. These texts are more demographically inclusive than centennial publications, but lack the deep cultural critique found in Eric Lott's *Love and Theft*.<sup>146</sup>

An exemplar of the current state of Civil War music history research is Christian McWhirter's *Battle Hymns*.<sup>147</sup> In his synthesis of archival evidence from newspapers, diaries, letters, and sheet music, McWhirter attributes public interest in political songs to a national need to process social disorder. McWhirter documents a substantive Civil War song history, and reaffirms popular music as simple, homogenous, and universally

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<sup>145</sup> Cornelius, *Music of the Civil War*; Snell and Kelley, *Bugle Resounding*; McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*.

<sup>146</sup> Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1993.

<sup>147</sup> McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 2. McWhirter should be commended as one of the few Civil War music historians to document post-war commemorative songs and the manipulation of post-war musical memory, but this portion of his text strays furthest from the goals outlined in the introduction. McWhirter's main conclusion is that music greatly impacted American perceptions about the war. Limiting Civil War music to published, commercially available compositions with lyrics that were consumed by white audiences contributes to his theory that music steered Civil War discourse.

intelligible. Most Civil War music histories follow this approach, and my concern with this methodology is that it leads to an oversimplification of national aesthetics because it only reflects the musical exposure of those privileged enough to document their tastes in a surviving written form. Constructing music history as unified and linear tends to result in essentializing narratives that privilege white male historical voices. This relates back to David Blight's findings that music functions for Americans as a form of deflection from unresolved conflicts, and that we use cultural products such as music to impose cultural unity and continuity.<sup>148</sup> To a large extent, this ethos encompasses the music history subfield during Civil War anniversaries. Literature spanning the semicentennial, centennial, and sesquicentennial are similar in their conservativeness, and tend to reaffirm one master narrative about white reconciliation.

### Civil War Music Memory

Most of the available literature about Civil War music memory comes from outside the academy, and the academics who research this topic rarely are musicologists, ethnomusicologists, or music theorists. A byproduct of this trend is a general lack of rich description and detailed music analysis that might be expected from the work of a musicologist, ethnomusicologist, or music theorist. Scholars come from a variety of fields such as anthropology and sociology, resulting in fewer ongoing conversations and less explicit reflexivity compared to the disciplines of history or memory studies. I will therefore catalog the types of sources that speak to how the Civil War is memorialized in these works.

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<sup>148</sup> Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 4.

Re-enactment music is performed at fairs, theaters, fields, and concert halls among other physical sites. It can be heard indoors and outdoors as live and recorded sound. Battlefield sounds are the most documented and more specifically by scholars or writers in American studies, anthropology, and journalism. Anthropologists Richard Handler and William Saxton identify sounds by interviewing re-enactors, while sociologist Rory Turner and journalist Tony Horwitz identify sounds through first-person battle re-enactment experiences. Turner asserts that all re-enactments sound different, describing combinations of natural and man-made sounds at these events.<sup>149</sup> Horwitz describes battle-reenactment sounds from varying distances after hearing fifes and drum rolls from a remote parking lot.<sup>150</sup> Audible memories from his close encounters with re-enactors include hearing equipment “clanking like cowbells.”<sup>151</sup> These experiences are similar to descriptions shared by re-enactors who “could hear the horses’ hooves making a sucking noise in the mud.”<sup>152</sup> As Turner observed, some re-enactment sounds are intended for tourists and others for re-enactors.<sup>153</sup> Therefore, sounds may be divided into public and private categories, with music included in both groups. Examples of restricted sounds from Turner’s research include a minstrel show recreation, and a Civil War

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<sup>149</sup> Richard Handler and William Saxton, “Dyssimulation: Reflexivity, Narrative, and the Quest for Authenticity in ‘Living History,’” *Cultural Anthropology* 3 (1988): 242-260; Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches From the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Vintage, 1998); Rory Turner, “Bloodless Battles: The Civil War Reenacted,” *The Drama Review* 34 (1990): 123-136. Turner’s firsthand experiences led him to conclude that different locations, weather conditions, battle scripts and participants result in different sounding re-enactments. He includes animal and weather sounds in the natural category, and marching, weapon firing, clanking equipment, musical instruments, singing, and talking in the man-made category.

<sup>150</sup> Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic*, 128.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>152</sup> Handler and Saxton, “Dyssimulation,” 246.

<sup>153</sup> Erving Goffman would call this “front-stage” and “back-stage” behavior. See Goffman 1959, 167 and Ruth Stone *Theory for Ethnomusicology* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2008), 118.

themed ball.<sup>154</sup> Common to re-enactment descriptions, sounds are valued based on their ability to contribute to historically authentic experiences and social bonding.<sup>155</sup> This type of description is commonly found in hobbyist literature and newspaper coverage.<sup>156</sup>

The largest collection of Civil War battle re-enactment sound descriptions are published in newspapers.<sup>157</sup> These reports indicate the volume and bodily impact of reenacted Civil War sounds. Similar descriptions of reenactments that appear in national periodicals support Turner's conclusions about natural, man-made, musical, and non-

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<sup>154</sup> Turner, *Bloodless Battles*, 132. Most large reenactments have an evening dance. Civil War balls also occur as separate events. John Coski chronicles the popularity of Civil War balls, also called Old South Balls, on college campuses from the 1920s, onward but does not describe how these balls sounded.

<sup>155</sup> "The music, the camaraderie, the guns, and the many undergarments create an atmosphere that one reenactor described aptly as "sexy" [...] "eating, sleeping, drinking, talking, playing music, drilling, fighting – reenacting is primarily done in groups determined by unit affiliation," Turner, *Bloodless Battles*, 125.

<sup>156</sup> For examples of newspaper coverage of Civil War re-enactments, see Eugene Meyer, Eugene, "Reliving the Battle That Time Forgot: 2,000 Civil War Buffs to Reenact Battle of Monocacy," *The Washington Post* July 4, 1989, B1; Frank Fernandez, "Memories of a Nation Torn," *Miami Herald* August 24, 1993 B1; Joyce Price, "Women Freed to 'Fight': Court Says They Can Re-enact Antietam," *The Washington Times*, March 18, 1993 A1; Sudarsan Raghavan, "Soldiers and Smoke at Gettysburg Again: Thousands Rallied For A Civil War Reenactment, For Many, "Authenticity" is the Battle Cry," *The Philadelphia Inquirer* July 5, 1998 B01; Steven Ginsberg, "Reexamining The Civil War With Sponsors: Corporate Backers Promote Three-Day Replay of History," *The Washington Post*, June 14, 1999 B01; Adrienne Lu, "The Weekend Warriors Who Came to Hibernia Park Offered a Glimpse of Civil War Soldiers' Milieu," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 30, 1999 B01; Catherine Watson, "At a field in Pennsylvania, more than 10,000 men and women donned blue and gray – the colors of a nation divided – to reenact a battle that changed history," *Star Tribune* August 31, 2003 G1; Sean Robinson, "Confederates Take Fort Steilacoom," *Associated Press State & Local Wire* June 30, 2004 BC Cycle; Linda Wheeler, "Capturing the Sounds and Smells of Battle," *The Washington Post* October 17, 2004 T18; Jorge Sanchez, "Behind the Lines: Battles just one part of re-enactment," *St. Petersburg Times*, March 11 2005, CTS 1; Allison Wisk, "Replaying History: Heritage Brass Band Embraces Music of America's Past," *The Dallas Morning News*, November 3, 2007 B3; Dan Zak, "Marching Back in Time: Civil War Reenactors Live To Fight Old Battles," *The Washington Post*, July 1, 2007, M01; Fritz Hahn, "Remembering the First Major Civil War Conflict," *The Washington Post* July 15, 2011 T04.

<sup>157</sup> A September 24, 2011 Lexis Nexus search for "Civil War Re-enactment" retrieved over 900 results. Newspapers sometimes send their reporters to cover re-enactment events, and other times they publish news releases from event organizers. An example of a re-enactment news release was issued by the Michigan Department of Natural Resources "Step back in time, hear the roar of cannons, smell the smoke, and hear the sounds of battle as Confederate and Union forces clash on Saturday and Sunday, May 15-16." Two sounds highlighted by these periodicals are weapon explosions and music. The Washington Post's promotion of the First Manassas Sesquicentennial Commemoration documents artillery and music sounds as important attractions. Hahn, "Remembering the First, T04. Wheeler's report indicates a desire to hear what soldiers heard during battle, describing his re-enactment experience with colorful phrases such as, "Baaaaaaaarooooom! It was a knee-vibrating, teeth-clenching, eye-scrunching sound." Wheeler, "Capturing the Sounds, CTS 1.

musical sounds. Romantic and patriotic language describing the Civil War-era as an appealing time/place to re-visit is common in newspaper descriptions.<sup>158</sup> The unaddressed question in these texts is to whom this time/place appeals. What is lacking from non-academic re-enactment publications is critical engagement with representations of race, class, gender, and nation. Because journalistic and insider-publications so often read as endorsements, they do not unpack the cultural baggage inherent in these productions. Publications steeped in nostalgic imagery contribute to a normalization of re-enactment that deflects from imbedded social issues in these performances. In contrast, this study will examine these practices through a new lens with particular attention paid to race, class, and gender in re-enactment music.

Musical practices are even less likely to be critiqued in re-enactment descriptions. Sources mentioning re-enacted music usually include more information about contexts than content.<sup>159</sup> Newspapers, insider-publications and academic literature often identify music as symbols of authenticity.<sup>160</sup> Shaun Grenan's re-enactment handbook describes musical instruments as props for costumed actors that contribute to authentic experiences.<sup>161</sup> The use of music-as-prop is demonstrated by ten pages of photographed re-enactor musicians posing with instruments in Hagan & Hagan's photo documentary.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Sanchez, "Behind the Lines," CTS 1. This promotion describes an American Civil War music concert to be held between re-enacted battle scenes. Sanchez's advert indicates string band music is an important Civil War sound, a defining American tradition, and a type of re-enactment music that functions to enhance the event's authenticity. This type of newspaper reports evidence audience demographic predictions, and performance intents.

<sup>159</sup> See, Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*; Gallagher, *Causes Lost, Won, and Forgotten*; Woolfork, *Embodying Slavery*.

<sup>160</sup> Turner, *Bloodless Battles*; Grenan, *So You Want To Be*; Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*; Gary Gallagher, *Cause Lost, Won, and Forgotten*; Woolfork, *Embodying Slavery*; Schneider, *Performing Remains*.

<sup>161</sup> In this context they are valued as much for their appearance as for their sound quality.

<sup>162</sup> Dave Hagan and Joan Hagan, *Civil War Re-Enactment* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing, 1996). This book includes photographs of reenacted buglers, drummer boys, harmonicas, brass bands, and uniforms with embroidered instruments.

Music has been described as symbolic of re-enactments in instances such as Rory Turner's comparison of battle execution to field music.<sup>163</sup> But sound is too often trivialized in this literature by descriptions that undermine the prominence and cultural significance of these sounds. In contrast, this study will discuss the significance of Civil War re-enactment music by demonstrating how musical practices produce competing discourses about race, class, and gender.

If re-enactment music thrives because certain demographics are attracted to these sounds, then it is necessary to identify practitioners, consumers, and the reasons for their interest. Information about military re-enactors are documented in self-published books, websites, and academic publications.<sup>164</sup> Talbott identifies diversity among class and occupations of re-enactors including lawyers, police officers, factory workers, and students.<sup>165</sup> Turner's research identified participants with genealogical war ties, military interests, strong regional identification, and friendship networks.<sup>166</sup> McMullen classifies re-enactors by their white race and male gender.<sup>167</sup> Horwitz and Cosk similarly identify

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<sup>163</sup> Turner, *Bloodless Battles*, 132. Turner compares rudimental drumming sounds to the regimented actions of actors. "The battles are extraordinary pieces of collective choreography [...] Field drumming rhythms and signals provide an aural framework for this action."

<sup>164</sup> For self-published literature, see Shaun Grenan, *So You Want To Be A Soldier: How to Get Started in Civil War Re-enacting* (Lynchburg, VA: Schroeder Publications, 2003); Robert Talbott, *Chin Music from a Greyhound: The Confessions of a Civil War Reenactor, Volume One: 1978-1987* (Self-published by Robert W. Talbott, 2004). For hobbyist newsletters, see *The Camp Chase Gazette* and *The Civil War News*, For websites, see Sons of Confederate Veterans, [www.scv.org/](http://www.scv.org/) (accessed January 5, 2014); United Daughters of the Confederacy, [www.hqudc.org/](http://www.hqudc.org/) (accessed January 5, 2014); Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, [www.suvcw.org/](http://www.suvcw.org/) (accessed January 5, 2014); Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War 1861-1865, [www.duvcw.org/](http://www.duvcw.org/) (accessed January 5, 2014). For academic publications, see the cultural memory and reenactment section of this literature review.

<sup>165</sup> Talbott, *Chin Music*, viii.

<sup>166</sup> Turner, *Bloodless Battles*, 134. "The drummer and the fifer were prosperous businessmen, drinking buddies from way back who loved history, Virginia and eloquent toasts [...] performers and spectators were expressing their identity as Southerners [...] through grotesque humor, artful performance and musical participation."

<sup>167</sup> Tracy McMullen, "Identity for Sale: Glenn Miller, Mynton Marsalis and Cultural Replay in Music," in *Big Ears: Listening for Gender in Jazz Studies*, edited by Nichole Rustin and Sherrie Tucker (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008: 137.



battle re-enactors by white race and southern residence.<sup>168</sup> Hagan & Hagan's photo documentary overflows with aging white men. Although re-enactment literature classifies actors by gender, class, age, and region, the most frequent identifier is race.

Audiences of Civil War re-enactments are less documented. Spectators are often absent from battle re-enactment literature. Even fewer sources mention re-enactment music audiences.<sup>169</sup> Without data about audiences, how are we to understand their attraction to this music? This study will pay particular attention to the demographics of producers and consumers, which should lead to a more balanced analysis of Civil War re-enactment music.

Insider publications that contribute to re-enactment literature include hobbyist-authored histories and how-to's.<sup>170</sup> Hobbyist newsletters feature updates about battlefield preservation and heritage organizations, performance instructions, event descriptions, reviews, and advertisements.<sup>171</sup> Hobbyist publications are valuable resources for insider opinions and evidence a national re-enactment subculture.

Websites are another form of insider publications including mission statements and self-histories, data about demographics, performance frequencies and locations. Annual re-enactment websites include information about admission costs, event

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<sup>168</sup> Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic*, 137. "The freedom of slaves didn't figure much into this picture. Although *Glory* inspired several units modeled on the black regiment depicted in the film [...] a half dozen other reenactments I later attended were blindingly white affairs. This, too, was an issue both blue and grey preferred to sidestep."

<sup>169</sup> For sources mentioning re-enactment audiences, see Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic*; Justice-Malloy and Magelssen, *Enacting History*.

<sup>170</sup> Some self-published books may be purchased online through Amazon.com or similar online stores, but are more easily attained at commercial tables at Civil War re-enactments. Limited availability is evidence that these books are intended for other re-enactors. Perhaps a lack of outsider-attention to this hobby contributes to self-published representations.

<sup>171</sup> *The Civil War News* and *Camp Chase Gazette* have the largest circulations. Both publications are available to subscribers in print and online.

schedules, sponsorships, vendors, regulations, and past attendance records.<sup>172</sup> Many preservation organization share websites that include campaign information, advertisements, and press kits.<sup>173</sup> Re-enactment supply store websites identify locations, owners, business histories, merchandise, and costs.<sup>174</sup> Heritage organization websites often include creeds, event listings, directories, and headquarter addresses.<sup>175</sup> Music ensemble websites display musician biographies, recordings, calendars, and ensembles histories as well as histories of instruments and repertoires.<sup>176</sup> Theatre websites often include play synopses, sound clips, press kits, and biographies of directors, composers, librettists, and performers.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> For examples of re-enactment event sites, see Gettysburg Anniversary Committee, "Gettysburg Reenactment," <http://www.gettysburgreenactment.com/> (accessed March 25, 2014); Manassas Convention and Visitor's Bureau, "Manassas Bull Run Reenactment" <http://www.manassasbullrun.com/> (accessed March 25, 2014); Blue Gray Alliance, "Battle of Shiloh" <http://shiloh150.org/> (accessed March 25, 2014).

<sup>173</sup> An example of a preservation organization is the Civil War Trust. Civil War Trust, "Civil War Trust," [www.civilwar.org](http://www.civilwar.org) (accessed March 25, 2014). Their website catalogs previous and upcoming re-enactment events.

<sup>174</sup> For examples of re-enactment supply store websites see Abraham's Lady, "Home," <http://www.abrahamslady.com/> (accessed March 25, 2014); Regimental Quartermaster, "Home," <http://www.regqm.com/> (accessed March 25, 2014); Fall Creek Suttler, "Fall Creek Suttler," <http://www.fcsutler.com/> (accessed March 25, 2014).

<sup>175</sup> For examples of Civil War heritage websites, see Sons and Daughters of United States Colored Troops, "SDUSCT," <http://www.sdusct.org/> (accessed March 25, 2014); Contraband Historical Society, "Home" <http://contrabandhistoricalsociety.org/> (accessed March 25, 2014); Sons of Union Veterans, "Welcome," <http://www.suvcw.org/> (accessed March 25, 2014); Daughters of Union Veterans, "Home" <http://www.duvcw.org/> (accessed March 25, 2014); Sons of Confederate Veterans, "SCV Homepage," <http://www.scv.org/> (accessed March 25, 2014); United Daughters of the Confederacy, "Headquarters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy," <http://www.hqudc.org/> (accessed March 25, 2014).

<sup>176</sup> For examples of Civil War music re-enactment websites, see 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina String Band, "2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina String Band," <http://civilwarband.com/> (accessed March 25, 2014); Camp Chase Fife and Drums, "Camp Chase Fife and Drums," <http://www.campchasefifesanddrums.com/> (accessed March 25, 2014); Dodsworth Saxhorn Band, "Dodsworth" <http://www.dodsworth.org/> (accessed March 25, 2014)

<sup>177</sup> For examples of Civil War theater troupe websites, see Frank Wildhorn, "The Civil War/For The Glory," <http://www.frankwildhorn.com/projects/CivilWar.html> (accessed March 25, 2014); Gettysburg Civil War Era Dinner Theater, "Index," <http://civilwartheater.com/index.html> (accessed March 25, 2014); Lime Kiln Theater, "Stonewall Country," <http://www.theateratlimekiln.com/stonewall2011.html> (accessed March 25, 2014).

Wikis and discussion boards are user-interaction websites that differ from presentational websites in edit-ability. Wikis are editable digital articles.<sup>178</sup> Wikis user-altered content differentiates it from discussion boards.<sup>179</sup> Discussion boards feature threads about joining troupes, reviews, and craft instructions.<sup>180</sup> Wikis can be perceived as macro self-representations of the hobby, while discussion boards evidence community interaction and micro self-representations.<sup>181</sup>

Video sharing websites also evidence digital representations and group interaction. YouTube boasts the largest digital video archive of musical Civil War re-enactments.<sup>182</sup> YouTube searches for “Civil War Re-enactment” or “Civil War usic” surface thousands of videos, and these presentations, view counts, and comments from this database have been important primary data for this study.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> For re-enactment Wikis see Wikipedia, “American Civil War Reenactment,” [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American\\_Civil\\_War\\_reenactment](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Civil_War_reenactment) (accessed March 25, 2014).

<sup>179</sup> Discussion board content may be added, but is not usually deleted. Discussion boards are usually linearly expanding threads of information. Wikis usually appear more journalistic in form and content.

<sup>180</sup> For Civil War discussion boards see Civil War Reenactors.com, “Civil War Forum,” <http://www.cwreenactors.com/forum/> (accessed March 25, 2014); American Civil War Discussion Forum, “The Civil War Discussion Home Page,” <http://thecivilwarhomepagediscussion2824.yuku.com/> (accessed March 25, 2014); Reenactor.net, “Forums” <http://www.reenactor.net/forums/index.php?action=forum> (accessed March 25, 2014).

<sup>181</sup> Wikipedia’s “American Civil War Re-enactment” entry is updated so frequently that I believe hobbyists are paying close attention to this article’s content.

<sup>182</sup> Founded in 2005, YouTube claims that 24 hours worth of videos are uploaded every minute. Videos are added and removed so frequently that YouTube will not publish an estimate of how many videos their archive contains.

<sup>183</sup> An October 1, 2011 YouTube search for “Civil War music” retrieved over 8,000 videos, “Civil War re-enactment” retrieved over 5,000 videos, and “Civil War reenactment music” retrieved over 500 videos. Unfortunately, I found no published analyses of Civil War themed YouTube music videos.

Hollywood blockbusters and documentaries are dominant forms of re-enactment media.<sup>184</sup> Although some movie soundtracks incorporate renditions of period music,<sup>185</sup> the majority of music heard in Civil War blockbusters is newly composed. Soundtracks that feature orchestral scores,<sup>186</sup> choirs,<sup>187</sup> celebrities,<sup>188</sup> and contemporary folk music<sup>189</sup> can influence reception and are an important contributor to Civil War memory because of their vast audience base.<sup>190</sup>

Music Theater may be the earliest form of scripted Civil War re-enactment. There was a surge of interest in large reconciliation-themed pageants during the 1913 anniversary.<sup>191</sup> Twentieth-century opera<sup>192</sup> and song-cycles<sup>193</sup> have explored the war's historical figures and political issues. Broadway musicals capture wartime melodrama

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<sup>184</sup> See *Birth of a Nation* 1915, *Gone with the Wind* 1939, *The Red Badge of Courage* 1951, *The Battle of Gettysburg* 1955, *Raintree County* 1957, *How The West Was Won* 1963, *Shenandoah* 1965, *North and South* 1982, *Glory* 1989, *The Civil War* 1990, *Gettysburg* 1993, *Civil War Journal* 1993, *Andersonville* 1996, *Ride with the Devil* 1999, *Gods and Generals* 2003, *Cold Mountain* 2003, *Gettysburg* 2011. Garry Gallagher's discussion of Civil War films (2008) also includes movies that were indirectly Civil War themed: *Dances with Wolves* 1990, *Sommersby* 1993, *Little Women* 1994, *Pharaoh's Army* 1995, *The Confederate States of America* 2004, and *Seraphim Falls* 2006. See Appendix H for full citations of these films.

<sup>185</sup> *How The West Was Won* 1963, *Shenandoah* 1965, *The Civil War* 1990, *Gettysburg* 1993, *Civil War Journal* 1993, *Cold Mountain* 2003. See Appendix H for full citations of these films.

<sup>186</sup> *Gone with the Wind* 1939, *Red Badge of Courage* 1951, *Raintree County* 1957, *How The West Was Won* 1963, *Shenandoah* 1965, *North and South* 1982, *Glory* 1989, *Gettysburg* 1993, *Civil War Journal* 1993.

<sup>187</sup> *Glory* 1989, *The Civil War* 1990.

<sup>188</sup> *The Civil War* 1990, *Gods and Generals* 2003, *Cold Mountain* 2003.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>190</sup> Films teach and reinforce war interpretations, and collective memory among movie-goers. Even unsuccessful films will be experienced by larger audiences than academic history books. Gallagher 2008, 10.

<sup>191</sup> Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*, 239. Examples of Civil War-themed pageants from David Glassberg's historical pageantry research include: Lagdon, *The Pageant of Thetford*; DuBois, *The Star of Ethiopia*; Steven, *Pageant of St. Louis*. See Appendix I for full citations of these and other Civil War themed compositions.

<sup>192</sup> Examples of Civil War themed operas include: Romberg and Donnelly, *My Maryland*; Moore, *Frederick Douglass*; Capers, *Sojourner Truth*; Watkins, *Queen Clara: Fields of Glory, Rivers of Blood*; Hollins, *Prelude to Freedom*; Glass, *Appomattox*; Okoye, *How I Became Moses*; Vogelsang, *Donna: A Civil War Opera*. See Appendix I for full citations of these and other Civil War themed compositions.

<sup>193</sup> Examples of Civil War themed song cycles include: Crumb, *Gold Are My Flowers: A Civil War Song Cycle*; Crumb, *The Winds of Destiny*; Harbach, *Freedom Suite*; Gordon and Campbell, *Rappahannock County*. See Appendix I for full citations of these and other Civil War themed compositions.

and blend period with newly composed music.<sup>194</sup> A handful of musical productions were commissioned for the sesquicentennial.<sup>195</sup> These staging's may differ in style, but they demonstrate interest in publically performed musical re-enactments.

Mass-distributed sound recordings preserve re-enactment music as commercial products.<sup>196</sup> Sound recordings may be categorized by instrumentation including wind bands,<sup>197</sup> string bands,<sup>198</sup> and vocalists.<sup>199</sup> These recordings may be divided by repertoire including spirituals,<sup>200</sup> war-era songs,<sup>201</sup> and contemporary works.<sup>202</sup> The majority of compositions marketed as Civil War music are nineteenth-century popular songs penned

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<sup>194</sup> Examples of Civil War themed musicals include: Alren, *Bloomer Girl*; Geld, *Shenandoah*; Williams, *Stonewall Country*; Brown, *Parade*; Wildhorn, *The Civil War*; Hayes, *Civil War Voices*; O'Flaherty, *Reunion*. See Appendix I for full citations of these and other Civil War themed compositions.

<sup>195</sup> Examples of Sesquicentennial Civil War productions include: Vogelsang, *Donna: A Civil War Opera*; Loughlin, *A Better Band Than Mine*; Wilder, *The Flag Maker of Market Street*; Chastang, *Blood Divided*; Wicks, *Soldier, Come Home*; Harbach, *Freedom Suite*; Gordon and Campbell, *Rappahannock County*. See Appendix I for full citations of these and other Civil War themed compositions.

<sup>196</sup> There is no complete catalog of civil war music recordings, and there are too many available recordings to catalog in this literature review. My review demonstrates a variety of music styles. The following list represent a small sampling of available recordings: Robeson, *The Best of Paul Robeson*; Anderson, *Marian Anderson*; Hermes, *Ballads of the Civil War*; Frederick Fennell, *The Civil War*; Ford, *Tennessee Ernie Ford Sings*; Canadian Brass, *The Village Band*; 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina String Band, *Hard Road*; Jay Ungar and Molly Mason *Civil War Classics*; D.C. Halls, *Union and Liberty*; Dave Mathews, *A Nation's Broken Soul*; 52<sup>nd</sup> Regimental String Band, *Voices of Gettysburg*; 5<sup>th</sup> Michigan, *Sounds of the Civil War*; 33<sup>rd</sup> Illinois, *Hard Tack*; David Kincaid, *The Irish Volunteer*; Dodsworth, *Grafulla's Favorites*; Gibson, *Was My Brother*; Federal City Brass Band, *Hurrah for the Union!*; The Chestnut Brass Company, *Foster for Brass*; Cumberland, *Civil War Tribute Collection*; American Brass Quintet, *Cheer, Boys, Cheer!*; The Museum of the Confederacy, *The Rebel Yell Lives*; Carolina Fifes & Drums, *Go To the Devil*; Tom Glazer, *A Treasury*; Dan Milner, *Civil War Naval Songs*. See Appendix G for full citations for these and other recordings.

<sup>197</sup> There are many American brass bands performing Civil War music. The following is a sample of some ensembles: Frederick Fennell, *The Civil War*; The Chestnut Brass Company, *Foster for Brass*; Federal City Brass Band, *Hurrah for the Union!*; American Brass Quintet, *Cheer, Boys, Cheer!*; 5<sup>th</sup> Michigan, *Sounds of the Civil War*; 33<sup>rd</sup> Illinois, *Hard Tack*; D.C. Halls, *Union and Liberty*; Canadian Brass, *The Village Band*. See Appendix G for full citations for these and other recordings.

<sup>198</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina String Band, *Hard Road*; 52<sup>nd</sup> Regimental String Band, *Voices of Gettysburg*.

<sup>199</sup> Robeson, *The Best of Paul Robeson*; Anderson, *Marian Anderson*; Hermes, *Ballads of the Civil War*; Ford, *Tennessee Ernie Ford Sings*; Dan Milner, *Civil War Naval Songs*.

<sup>200</sup> Robeson, *The Best of Paul Robeson*; Anderson, *Marian Anderson*.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.; Anderson, *Marian Anderson*; Hermes, *Ballads of the Civil War*; Ford, *Tennessee Ernie Ford Sings*; Dan Milner, *Civil War Naval Songs*. Frederick Fennell 1960, 1976, 1990, 2005; Frederick Fennell, *The Civil War*; The Chestnut Brass Company, *Foster for Brass*; Federal City Brass Band, *Hurrah for the Union!*; American Brass Quintet, *Cheer, Boys, Cheer!*; 5<sup>th</sup> Michigan, *Sounds of the Civil War*; 33<sup>rd</sup> Illinois, *Hard Tack*; D.C. Halls, *Union and Liberty*; Canadian Brass, *The Village Band*.

<sup>202</sup> Dave Mathews, *A Nation's Broken Soul*; Cumberland, *Civil War Tribute Collection*.

and performed by white musicians. African-American ballads, spirituals, and work songs are more often marketed as a separate Black music tradition.<sup>203</sup> Brass band recordings include arrangements of nineteenth-century opera arias and orchestral works intermingled with popular songs.<sup>204</sup> My review of recorded music products evidences prevalent re-enacted Civil War music.

### **Trends in the Literature**

This literature demonstrates two trends about Civil War reenactment. First, there is a significant body of literature about American Civil War re-enacting emerging from academic and non-academic sources. These texts identify people, practices, and contexts associated with re-enactment. Many of these sources critically examine the idea of ‘authenticity,’ debating if it is achievable, and if authenticity is equivalent to historically accuracy. Second, there is a substantial amount of commemorative Civil War music in a variety of styles and forms. But these two trends do not intersect. There is a lack of literature documenting the cultural significance of Civil War re-enactment music. This study therefore provides a critical examination of some this music and the sites of its transmission.

In *Mystic Chords of Memory*, Michael Kammen questions if there are lasting distinctions about American collective memory. He concludes that,

...the role of government as a custodian of tradition; the extent to which historical issues are publically contested; the need or desirability of reconciling tradition with a democratic ethos; and the never-ending dialectic between tradition and progress – values that wax and wane in ways that interconnected more often than not.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> I have not reviewed recordings of Civil War inspired music by African American artists.

<sup>204</sup> In my review of sound recordings, brass bands were most likely to cite historical sources as influences.

<sup>205</sup> Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 700.

David Blight supports these ideas when he asserts that in both popular culture and academic publications, American Civil War memory is highly romanticized and often displaced because Americans project their contemporary anxieties onto this event. Continual emphasis on the militarized consequences distracts Americans from the war's deeper meanings. As this literature review demonstrates, scholars generally agree on the importance of music during the war years, yet the study of music as a source for understanding the meaning of the conflict is virtually untapped. This dissertation dissects and critiques the relationship music has to American identification with and memory of the American Civil War.

### **Chapter Projections**

The chapters that follow problematize various interpretations of Civil War memory and the vitality of music to these cultural trends through an examination of several sites and types of memorabilia. Chapter two is an ethnographic snapshot of a 2011 slave auction that was reenacted in St. Louis, Missouri. Staged in direct protest of state support for sesquicentennial Civil War celebrations that glorified white male history, this reenactment frames the Civil War as a conflict about and enacted on black bodies. The sounds of this event were intended to transfer the pain of black history and humanize black historical subjects, but my analysis will also demonstrate how song tied this performance of slavery to a larger chronicle of African American resistance, and especially to the Civil Rights Movement. This slave auction was a site of Civil War physical and psychological memory. Building on Lisa Woolfork's theory of bodily epistemology, this chapter examines the possibilities of musical and reenactment as an

opportunity to work through historical moments of terror.<sup>206</sup> Analysis of this auction sets the tone for subsequent chapters.

The third chapter considers Gerri Hollins' folk opera, *Prelude to Freedom: The Contraband Slave Story*, to be a preservationist and revisionist site of musical reenactment that was re-performed through a variety of mediums including film, puppet theater, speech, and environmental pageantry. It is an artistic expression of Civil War knowledge by an African American woman that constructs safe spaces for revisionist narratives. Building on Patricia Hill Collins' theory of oppositional knowledge and Daphne Brooks' theory of liberatory alienation, I locate this composition within a wider spectrum of American performance art, and propose that compositions in the vein of *Prelude to Freedom* broaden possibilities of music as a political platform for African Americans.<sup>207</sup>

Chapter four explores Civil War brass instrument collecting and performance as a form of repatriation that contributes to contemporary disputes about the ownership of history. The instruments described in this chapter were used as a form of currency to purchase heritage. They are a site of authenticity, a powerful form of cultural capital, and a gauge of insider-membership that enable communities to privatize and police memory.

As a physical site for bodily expression, and a psychological site of Lost Cause nostalgia, the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary Gettysburg battle reenactment and tent dance is the topic of chapter five. The first half of this chapter describes trends in activities, actors, and music commonly found at sesquicentennial-era battle reenactments. The second half of

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<sup>206</sup> See, Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>207</sup> See, Daphne Brooks, *Bodies in Dissent: Spectacular Performances of Race and Freedom, 1850-1910* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).



this chapter focuses on the reception of string band music at a reenacted tent dance where Lost Cause ideology was embedded into the commemorative practices. Building on Paul Ricoeur's theories about historical truth and *happy forgetting*, I problematize the role of music in the construction of authenticity and its contribution more broadly to the normalization of war through public celebration of military conquest.<sup>208</sup>

Chapter six investigates digital reenactment and presents a taxonomy of Civil War-themed music videos on the basis of the audio and visual content. This reading is informed by Diane Railton, Paul Watson, and Michael Wesch's theories about digital forms of identify formation and expression. As a digital site of musical expression, individualism, commercialization, and community for Civil War enthusiasts, Civil War music videos document and foster reflexivity about our relationship to past, and the influence of mass media on cultural memory.

The analysis of the Stone Mountain Park Laser Show Spectacular in chapter seven broadens this examination of cultural memory transmission. Music and light at Stone Mountain Park normalizes public identification with the Confederate trinity, and encourages public participation in Confederate nostalgia. This site evidences the ability of commercial entertainment to revitalize and repackage an iconic Lost Cause monument as a culturally relevant twenty-first century tourist destination. The laser show is a powerful example of how music can re-signify sounds and images to transmit new narratives about the value of this past.

Chapter eight blends humor, kitsch, violence, and mythology about outer space, dinosaurs, Appalachia, and the Civil War. The combination of music and mythology at an

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<sup>208</sup> See, Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

art installation called Dinosaur Kingdom created a rich sensory experience that exploited the fantastical nature of American Civil War memory. Visitors actively performed a Lost Cause conspiracy theory through their interactions with this exhibit. The fictionalization of history in this exhibit demonstrates the ability of music to create emotional tension and release patterns at Civil War monuments. This site highlights the interactive, bodily, sensory play that is the heart of musical reenactment.

Chapter nine relates my findings to a broader discussion of music's role in the construction and contestation of social identities, deliberates the wider context in which music contributes to American historical memory, examines implications of the framework developed by this project, and suggests paths for future inquiry.

## CHAPTER 2

### SOUNDING SLAVERY IN ST. LOUIS

In January 2011, a slave auction, reenacted in St. Louis, Missouri, produced a contemporary perception of nineteenth-century chattel slavery. It was not the first performance of its kind; indeed, slavery has been invoked and re-performed in a variety of contexts. Because the history of performing slavery no doubt influenced the planning, execution, and reception of the St. Louis reenactment, this chapter begins with a brief overview of four earlier productions that took place from 1830 to 1994. This is followed by an introduction to the organizers of the St. Louis auction that prepares the ethnographic description and analysis of four musical moments that made the St. Louis mock auction a sonically powerful expression of Civil War memory. This analysis will include an examination of the risks and benefits of such performances, and concludes by reconsidering the St. Louis slave auction as a site of Civil War memory that mediated a public dialogue about the legacy of slavery.

#### **Mock Slave Auctions in American History**

As early as the 1830s, white abolitionists experimented with strategies to portray the cruelty of chattel slavery.<sup>1</sup> Henry Ward Beecher staged his first mock auction in 1848

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<sup>1</sup> Pre-Civil War abolitionists circulated narratives about the evils of plantation life that centered on the division of families and physical abuse, particularly rape. These ideas were integrated into abolitionist demonstrations, especially mock slave auctions, where the abominations of slavery were mapped onto black (usually female) bodies. These acts, according to historian Michael Pierson, perpetuate white

in order to expose northern white audiences to the auction scene.<sup>2</sup> Beecher not only invited his congregation to gaze upon the bodies of enslaved people, he presented spectators with opportunities to purchase the freedom of enslaved individuals.<sup>3</sup> He selected beautiful, young, ultra-feminine, light-skinned, biracial women to play victims in his mock auctions, and in doing so, enabled his congregations to indulge sexual fantasies of almost-white racial exoticism while empowering white spectators as patriarch-saviors.<sup>4</sup> Historian Lisa Merrill notes that despite the complex race and gender representations in Beecher's theater, the audiences of these slave auctions could choose to transcend the narcissism of racial voyeurism and enact life-changing actions.<sup>5</sup> Beecher's mock auctions popularized a performance model that relied on black women's bodies to incite abolitionist protests.<sup>6</sup>

A second mock-auction model developed after the Civil War. When African Americans paraded through the streets of Charleston in 1865, they displayed slave auction dioramas on parade wagons, described by David Blight as follows, "The first wagon rolled along carrying an auction block and an auctioneer selling two black women

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American interpretations of slavery as a patriarchal institution, and about the natural dependence of slaves, children, and women upon white men. As the abolitionist movement overlapped with other reform efforts, including the burgeoning women's rights movement, so did abolitionist interests in patriarchy, dependence, and individual determinism. See Michael Pierson, *Free Hearts and Free Homes: Gender and American Antislavery Politics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> Lisa Merrill, "'May she read liberty in your eyes?' Beecher, Boucicault and the Representation and Display of Antebellum Women's Racially Indeterminate Bodies," *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism* 26 (Spring 2012), 127–144.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 130; Jason Stupp, "Slavery and the Theatre of History: Ritual Performance on the Auction Block," *Theatre Journal* 63 (March 2011), 61–84. This voyeurism was not lost on Beecher, who acted as the auctioneer. In his analysis of theatrical performances of slavery, Stupp argues that Beecher and his audiences were caught in a contradiction between their desire to experience an authentic slave auction and a yearning to mark themselves as morally superior to slave auction-goers.

<sup>5</sup> Merrill, "'May she read liberty,'" 142.

<sup>6</sup> These early performances also prompted a fundraising model whereby theatrical representations of slavery served to entertain while raising funds.

and their children. The second wagon contained a coffin labeled on its side: Death of Slavery—Sumter Dug His Grave on the 13<sup>th</sup> of April, 1861.”<sup>7</sup> These floats evidence the use of mock auctions as political entertainment, as well as the ability of the auction block to symbolize the evils of slavery.<sup>8</sup> These parades were common in southern cities following the Civil War, an emancipationist commemorative tradition that lasted well into the twentieth century.

Growing interest in African American heritage tourism and memorials in the second half of the twentieth century inspired new means of enacting slave auctions. Television and film presented new possibilities for representing slavery, the most famous being a scene from the 1977 television miniseries, *Roots*.<sup>9</sup> When Kinte, the male slave protagonist, is auctioned, the camera shifts between his perspective and that of an audience spectator, a pattern that accelerates as the auctioneer’s rolling vocal rhythm drives up the price.<sup>10</sup> The emotional power of this auction scene derives partly from the

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<sup>7</sup> James Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 83; David Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory & the American Civil War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 183-184. This parade celebrated the first anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. The site of this parade was particularly symbolic, as Charleston was where the first Civil War shots were fired, and also because most white citizens had evacuated Charleston after the Union captured the harbor and the 21st U.S. Colored Infantry accepted the formal surrender of the city by the mayor.

<sup>8</sup> Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield*, 184; Cobb, *Away Down South*, 183. While my earlier Beecher example commented on the continuation of slavery, this parade float presents a mock-auction model that enabled post-slavery recovery and reflection.

<sup>9</sup> Stan Margulies, et al. *Roots* (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 30 anniversary edition, 1977, 2007). This saga chronicles the life trajectories of a multigenerational slave family beginning with the eighteenth-century bondage of Kunta Kinte and ending with the Civil War-era emancipation of Kinte’s grandson. The auction scene begins with the beating of a drum to draw bidders to the auction. As the auctioneer addresses the crowd, the camera cuts to the bodies of flailing and screaming female slaves who are dragged out of the holding pen. Their screams are important aural details that instantly set the tone for the scene. The television public watches the auction of a terrified slave woman through the eyes of Kinte, who peers through the wooden slabs of the male holding pen. The auctioneer’s stoic composure serves to underscore his difference from those being auctioned. The slave stands silent while her youth, strength, and childbearing capabilities are described to the crowd by the auctioneer. His face betraying no emotion and his voice in the quick style of a tobacco auctioneer, he drives up the bids and sells her to a Virginia planter.

<sup>10</sup> *Roots* Part 2/Episode 2.

camera's ability to rhythmically immerse the television viewer in a conflict in which s/he cannot intervene.<sup>11</sup> Hollywood slave auctions such as this can forge a powerful intimacy between the subject and spectator that may be reproduced on demand with the ease of pushing a play button. *Roots* and other Hollywood representations of slavery are important to the history of slave auctions because they stir public debate about the meaning of slavery and the limits of its representation.<sup>12</sup>

No mock slave auction in American history is as infamous as the October 1994 auction at Colonial Williamsburg. Titled "To the Highest Bidder," the largely unscripted event was developed by the all-black Department of African American Interpretations and Presentations (DAAIP), headed by Christy Coleman, and was fiercely opposed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).<sup>13</sup> In the days leading up to the event, Civil Rights leaders ordered the museum to cancel the show because they believed the "sale"

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<sup>11</sup> The *Roots* scene may be interpreted as a variation of the Beecher mock auction tradition that uses the slave auction as a form of public education and spectacle for those unable to experience a real slave auction. The tropes of this tradition are evoked when the beautiful young woman is auctioned first, and her bodily response becomes the index from which all other characters are compared and defined. Nonetheless, twentieth-century technology produces a different sort of representation than the participatory mock auctions at Beecher's church.

<sup>12</sup> More recent Hollywood productions, including *Django* (2012) and *12 Years A Slave* (2013) may be added to this list. But the tradition of live reenactment also continued in the twentieth century. For instance, in 1984, welfare rights activists in Lansing, Michigan staged a mock slave auction as a public protest strategy. See, (AP) *The Argus-Press*, Owosso, Michigan, Thursday March 8 (1984), 7. In contrast, a mock slave auction at the University of Wisconsin, which students performed in blackface to raise money for a fraternity, attracted national attention in 1988. See Rogers Washington, "No Penalty for Fraternity's Racial Skits: U of Wisconsin students volunteer to do community work," *The Chicago Tribune*, November 17, 1988.

<sup>13</sup> See Erin Krutko, "Colonial Williamsburg's Slave Auction Re-enactment: Controversy, African American History and Public Memory" MA thesis (The College of William and Mary, 2003) 2–6, 25–28. Coleman invited museum staff to voluntarily participate in the production as both enslaved and free black characters, and intended to maintain control of the event by barring audience members from bidding or otherwise actively participating in the production. It was performed just two weeks after the Walt Disney Company had abandoned plans to build a theme park in relatively close vicinity to the living history museum, a park where tourists would "feel what it was like to be a slave." Statement by a Disney Vice President Robert Weis, as quoted in Krutko, "Colonial Williamsburg's Slave Auction," 5.

of black museum interpreters would be received by the museum's elite white audience as light entertainment instead of history.<sup>14</sup> When the mock auction was performed it attracted approximately 2,000 spectators.<sup>15</sup> Critics met Colonial Williamsburg's performance with mixed reviews. The political director of the Virginia NAACP, who had originally opposed the slave auction, later described it as a transformative experience, noting, "Pain had a face, indignity had a body, and suffering had tears."<sup>16</sup> His response evidences how the emotionality of mock slave auctions that takes precedence over factual information. This is both an advantage and a limitation of mock auctions, including the 2011 St. Louis reenactment, which is a prime example of spectacular audible and visual representations of slavery that possess the potential to dramatically influence public memory.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 18–19. In a closed meeting with Colonial Williamsburg administrators, NAACP and SCLC leaders questioned the museum's intentions and expressed concerns about the pain of reenacting slavery. Reflecting upon that meeting, NAACP spokesperson King Salim Khalfani said that they were confronted by a white male committee and "it was like women in the feminist movement say about men – that you all just don't get it," 18.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 24–26. The last sale, often referred to as the dramatic climax of the Williamsburg auction, depicted the separation of husband and wife. The wife, played by Coleman, was visibly pregnant. This added to the scene's emotional tension by testifying to the husband and wife's love, removing the father figure from the unborn child, and implying the enslavement of her children. Coleman's heightened emotional performance included the sounds of wailing and gasping while her character's husband is sold on the block. Historian Jason Stupp comments on this portion of the slave enactment by comparing the script and audience to those at Henry Beecher's spectacles. "Like Beecher's auctions, the Williamsburg reenactment probably met the expectations of many spectators; by highlighting one of several possible narratives—the separation trope—Williamsburg used the same melodramatic structure often framing the history of slavery," Stupp 2011, 82.

<sup>16</sup> James Oliver Horton, "Slavery in American History: An Uncomfortable National Dialogue," in *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, eds. James Oliver Horton & Louise E. Horton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 41.

<sup>17</sup> The examples presented in this chapter are by no means the only American mock auctions, nor are they necessarily the most recent. For example, a series of regrettable classroom auctions that divided students into slaves and masters drew attention and scrutiny to the training and judgment of history schoolteachers. See Kevin Sieff, "Va. teacher holds mock slave auction," *The Washington Post*, April 11, 2011; Samuel King, "Alabama kindergarten class holds mock slave auction, parents outraged," *NBC National News*, Thursday, February 21, 2013. Heritage organizations and community groups have combined auction scenes with poetry and speeches to memorialize black history, for example the Black Student Assembly at the University of Southern California (see Alexandra Tisley, "Slave auction re-enactment draws crowd," Featured News, *Daily Trojan*, University of Southern California, November 13, 2009). This auction was in honor of Nakumbuka Day (meaning "I remember" in Swahili) in remembrance of those who died during the Middle Passage.

## Inspiration for the St. Louis Slave Auction

When Governor Jeremiah Nixon announced the creation of a Missouri Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission on April 2, 2010, some of St. Louis' African American leaders worried about how black history would be handled by these appointed cultural authorities.<sup>18</sup> Angela da Silva, a museum interpreter and public history professor at Lindenwood University, was among these skeptics. She is a seventh-generation Missourian with an established reputation as a black history advocate in St. Louis. As a child, she was fascinated by her grandmother's stories about their family, and this interest in genealogy led her to become a professional historian.<sup>19</sup>

Long before *Roots* came out, I knew we were slaves, and the stories that my grandmother told me. And by the time I got to high school, I realized that my grandmother was the last living link to an era of American history that was never, hopefully, to be lived again. The stories she told me were heard firsthand, not out of a book. She heard them from her grandmother's lap. From her kitchen. And it wasn't lost on me then.<sup>20</sup>

Da Silva earned a Master's degree in history with an emphasis on historic interpretation. Her preference for blending oral with written history has enabled her to alternate between academic and public history environments with great ease. Her passion for preserving history and memory is evidenced by her museum work and her founding of the National Black Tourism Network. She has performed as a slave at Civil War battle reenactments and in a History Channel television documentary. She developed a slave

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<sup>18</sup> Office of Missouri Governor Jay Nixon, "Executive Order 10-20," <http://governor.mo.gov/orders/2010/10-20.htm>, accessed (10/30/2013); Office of Missouri Governor Jay Nixon, "Gov. Nixon signs order establishing Civil War Commission in ceremony at historic Jefferson Barracks," [http://governor.mo.gov/newsroom/2010/Sesquicentennial Commission](http://governor.mo.gov/newsroom/2010/Sesquicentennial_Commission), (accessed 10/30/2013).

<sup>19</sup> Angela da Silva remarks about her role as the family historian, "My dad admitted that when they were growing up, they didn't care about her [grandmother's] stories. But I could not get enough of them... Some of the things she told me served me well because after I went after history professionally, I had a working knowledge of how these [historical] things worked." Angela da Silva, interview with author, 3/14/2013. See Appendix E for interview transcript.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.



character, Lila, whom she performs at the Daniel Boone Home museum in St. Charles.<sup>21</sup>

The embodied performance of historical documents is a thread that runs the gamut of da Silva's career. Says da Silva,

I've been doing public history for over thirty years. My goal was to bring lesser known aspects of black culture to life, and to understand how multifaceted our history and our past has been. And so I am one of those people who always wanted to share that information, but the best way for me to share this information was in first person interpretation.<sup>22</sup>

When the creation of the Missouri Sesquicentennial Commission coincided with the continued underrepresentation of black history in St. Louis' museums and public money was being allocated to promote Civil War battle reenactments, Angela da Silva decided to stage a public protest so loud that it would be impossible for her city to ignore.

Da Silva explained her intentions as follows:

Various organizations were planning all of this stuff, and none of them were talking about slavery... And this is why it was done in January, right after the first of the year, to be the first event, to make everybody realize and to remember that this was about slavery... to put Black people back at the heart of it.<sup>23</sup>

### **Staging the St. Louis Slave Auction**

Staging a mock slave auction on a weekday in downtown St. Louis required careful planning. Da Silva teamed with the National Parks Service and the City of St. Louis, and scheduled her slave auction to occur before Missouri's first sesquicentennial Civil War battle reenactment. She selected the Old Courthouse, where the Dred Scott trials occurred, to be the auction site; a location that was not only historically appropriate,

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<sup>21</sup> Angela da Silva performed the "Lila" character at the 2011 St. Louis mock auction.

<sup>22</sup> Clayton Stalter, "Angela da Silva: Making History Personal," photo essay with audio, 2011, <http://www.missouriscivilwar.com/AngelaDaSilva.html>, (accessed 6/5/2013). Transcription by Elizabeth Whittenburg Ozment, 2013.

<sup>23</sup> Angela da Silva, interview with author, 3/14/2013. See Appendix E for interview transcript.

but also a place with heavy foot traffic from locals and tourists.<sup>24</sup> The National Parks Service deployed their staff to remove unruly spectators from the vicinity, and the city blocked off streets around the courthouse to protect participants from traffic. The road block restricted the duration of the event, so da Silva planned the auction to last approximately half an hour, followed by a brief question-and-answer period inside the courthouse. The auction was scripted in the sense that there were fixed characters, props, and a planned sequence of events, but in the living history tradition, most of the dialogue was improvised in order to capture the raw emotion of the actors. She recruited reenactors from a heritage organization called the Blue Gray Alliance to act as costumed bidders, hired a tobacco auctioneer, and used her own company of black reenactors to play the slaves. According to da Silva, character actors from seven states traveled to St. Louis in support of her event. Props for the auction included a large wooden wagon, a pair of mules, and a set of shackles that were left over from the filming of a documentary.<sup>25</sup> Da Silva hoped that these details would create such a vivid sensation that spectators would be overcome by a bodily experience of history.

Most people do not like history when it is taught one-dimensionally... My whole goal has always been to bring history off the page... So you can read about slave auctions until the cows come home, but until it is actually in front of you, and you see that misery and what happens, and the way that the slaves are treated, that becomes a reality. So for 45 minutes, that's what I wanted. I wanted people to be transported. For people who walk past those courthouse steps every single day, now when they go there, those steps have a different meaning.

Although visual horrors of the slave trade can be revisited through photographs and material traces of slavery, there is no comparable audible trace. This is maybe why

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. Angela da Silva had hired a living history blacksmith to reproduce iron chains that she found in a photograph in a Mississippi museum.

the sounds of slavery that were produced on the courthouse steps so powerfully humanized this story. In the following section, I visit four musical moments during this mock auction that created sites of temporal slippage.<sup>26</sup> The first of these moments occurred before the slave characters were auctioned.

### Music and Temporal Slippage

When six actors gathered together on a St. Louis street corner on the morning of January 15, 2011, they prepared for their looming performance as slaves by singing.<sup>27</sup> The identity of these songs is less important than the affect that they had on these actors, what was reminiscent of Lindon Barrett's descriptions of the singing voice as an emblem for dispossessed African diasporic populations in the New World.<sup>28</sup> Knowing well that their impending performance would be difficult to enact, singing psychologically prepared the actors to become slaves. Through music they "slipped" into slave characters, a temporal time-traveling process in which they imagined being delivered into the shackles that their ancestors once wore. Shackled together as a coffle, the actors processed down the sidewalk to the courthouse steps where approximately 200 spectators had gathered.<sup>29</sup> The slave-actors did not utter a word, but their gestures made each step of their procession an audible announcement of their arrival. Within their containment, they

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<sup>26</sup> I borrow this term from Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). "Slippage" in this context refers to a temporal experience of past and present at the same time. The characters that these actors became were neither in the now nor in the then, but in a past-present. This meant that the actors could feel the weight of slavery's shackles in an environment that was full of the sounds of city traffic and construction.

<sup>27</sup> Angela da Silva, interview with author, 3/14/2013.

<sup>28</sup> Barrett explains, "Singing voices mark counterpresences, countercultures, and counterliteracies so that, as opposed to the signing voice, they compose the primary legacy of African diasporic populations." Lindon Barrett, *Blackness and Value: Seeing Double* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 86.

<sup>29</sup> I am taking my estimates from my interview with da Silva and from newspaper and television coverage.

produced three distinct rhythmic patterns that were repeated at a steady pulse. They shook their wrist shackles in unison to produce the first rhythm, their steady footsteps created a second rhythm, and the uneven limp of the last slave in the coffle created a syncopated sound that filled the space between the footsteps of the other slaves.<sup>30</sup>

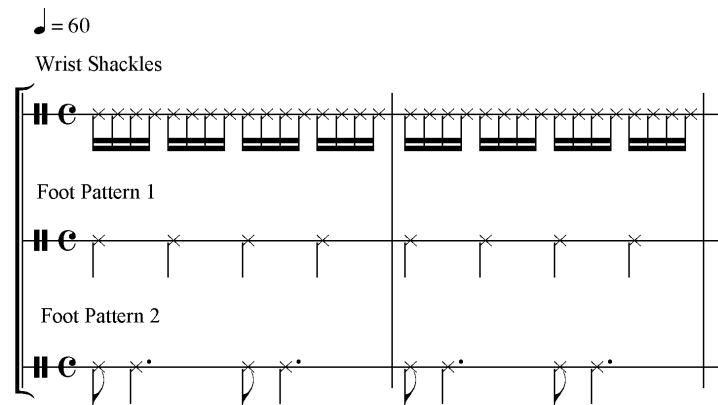


Figure 2.1. Rhythms of the coffle

I propose that the rhythms produced by the coffle made the actors excessively audible to the extent that the surrounding witnesses heard the arrival of slavery before any bodies could be seen.<sup>31</sup> The sounds of their orchestrated gestures allowed the actors to control the representation of their bodies in this past-present landscape.<sup>32</sup>

### Sounding the Bid-Call

The second musical moment deserving of analysis is when the auctioneer’s bid-call. After the slaves arrived at the courthouse, a uniformed National Parks Service

<sup>30</sup> His limp might be read as a form of resistance to the social order of the coffle, as an articulation of pain during a ritual that otherwise denied individual expression, as an audible trace of past abuse and neglect.

<sup>31</sup> It is often noted that black bodies have been made hypervisible in American culture, and I would like to pose that the rhythms produced by the coffle also made them excessively audible.

<sup>32</sup> Historian Saidiya Hartman’s study of slave coffles left her wondering if the origins of a distinctly American theater tradition originated in the public display of black dispossession, this spectacular representation of bondage where black terror met white curiosity and pleasure. See Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*.

representative addressed the crowd through a wireless microphone and delivered the following introductory speech:

A hundred and fifty years ago, slavery was allowed here... They were sold by auction at different places downtown, and even here at the courthouse, a temple of justice... Today, as part of the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the American Civil War, the first event, we want to try to put a face, blood, bones, and flesh on some of those names. The Civil War was fought in a large part to settle the issue of slavery. You know, Abraham Lincoln says, a nation can't exist with slaves *and* have freedom. This event is not being held in the spirit of degrading people or as spectacle, but rather is a piece of our history. A piece of our history that we may rather forget, but nevertheless, we must remember...

The Parks Service representative then passed the microphone to a tall white man who acted as the auctioneer. He opened the auction by stating, "We have two lots of slaves we're gonna sell today. The first is a lot of four." As four slave characters were escorted to the auction block, the auctioneer began his call for bids. Because his voice had a lower tessitura than those of the other actors, it was easy to distinguish. His recitation was melodically and rhythmically styled in a way that easily lends itself to musical analysis. The bid-call had stable pitch centers, predictable melodic gestures, and repetitive rhythmic patterns that made his recitation sound as a singing voice.

Earlier studies of auction chants have revealed similarities among auctioneers regarding drone pitches, melodic contours, ornamental/chromatic pitches, and rhythms, as well as differences among auctioneers who specialize in different items (ex. tobacco vs. livestock) or according to national styles (e.x. British vs. American).<sup>33</sup> In musical

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<sup>33</sup> See Nicole Edwards Malley, *The Sound That Sells: The Musical and Improvisatory Practices of the American Auctioneer*, PhD diss. (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 2012), 78–128; and Koenraad Kuiper and Douglas Haggio, "Livestock Auctions, Oral Poetry, and Ordinary Language," *Language and Society* 13 (1984): 213–216.

analyses of auctioneer bid-calls, rhythm and pitch have been identified as the most important elements in this song-speech.

The rhythm of the auction chant is crucial to speeding the bidding.<sup>34</sup> The price of the sale largely determines the chant's meter, and explains why and when auctioneers commonly change meter mid-chant. Auctioneers often use "filler words" at the end of phrases to smooth out transitions or make phrases fit into a given meter, what Malley calls a "rhythmic placeholder."<sup>35</sup> Skilled executions of rhythmic patterns can create pleasurable and hypnotizing patter that is more musical than speech.<sup>36</sup>

Regarding the melodic and harmonic characteristics of auction calls, there is also a formulaic structure that makes it easier for auctioneers to maximize the sonic effects of their calls, while devoting their attention to the bidders. A "drone" or "hum pitch" is considered the structural center of the chant because it is the most frequent pitch and is usually heard at the beginning and ending of phrases. "Ornamental pitches" create melodic interest, and the combination of hum and ornamental pitches create distinct pitch collections for each call. The "calling contour" is the series of melodic intervals, the most common being the interval of a third, that leave and return to the hum pitch.<sup>37</sup>

The St. Louis slave auctioneer's chant exhibited many of these characteristics. His performance paralleled the English low-to-high bid system, the fast-paced American

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 138. According to Nicole Malley, the auction chant is supposed to be "fluid, continuous, tempo-consistent, and metrically organized."

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 141. For example, the auctioneer may change meter when the price rises from fifty to fifty-three cents in order to accommodate the added syllable.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. Evidence that the bidding audience recognizes these sounds as musical can be observed in the body-rocking and foot-tapping among bidders.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 78-96. These collections may or may not correspond to western modal and scalar structures. She describes auctioneers as "singing salesperson[s]," 78.

tobacco style, and the structure of a livestock sale.<sup>38</sup> Three rhythmic motives, illustrated in Figure 2.2, dominated throughout the chant.

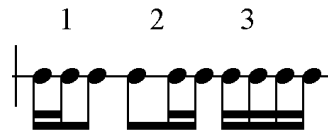


Figure 2.2 Most Common Bid-call Rhythms in the St. Louis Auction

These rhythms are frequent throughout the chant regardless of meter, which occasionally shifts from 2/4 to 3/4 and back. All three motives are short and unsyncopated. A few pauses between rhythms present opportunities for breaths, and the rare occasions when rhythms repeat in succession are placed at areas of emphasis, such as repetitions of price. As illustrated in Table 2.1 below, the auctioneer performed a consistent C hum pitch, with the most common ornamental pitches being a third above (E/Eb) or below (A) the drone. His approximate pentatonic pitch set with two to four ornamental pitches and the occasional chromatic outlier reflects the most expected patterns in tobacco auction calls.<sup>39</sup>

Table 2.1. Auctioneer Pitch Collections

Hum Pitches	Auxiliary Pitches
C, C#	E, Eb, D, A

The only curious melodic feature of the slave auction recitation was that its structural center gradually shifted from C to C#. Malley's found that auctioneers' drones would rise

<sup>38</sup> For English bid calls, see Bill Mansfield, "The Development of the Bright-Leaf Tobacco Auctioneer's Chant," in *Arts in Earnest: North Carolina Folklife*, eds. Daniel W. Patterson and Charles Zug (Duke University Press, 1990), 105.

<sup>39</sup> Malley, "The Sound That Sells," 114.

in pitch after several hours of calling, and rare modulations were explained as moments of “drama” that reflect intense bidding competitions.<sup>40</sup> The St. Louis chant modulation certainly corresponded to a moment of drama, as this was when reenactors from the audience began to bid on the slaves. This tension between buyers, slave-objects, witnesses, and the auctioneer was sustained for over half an hour, and according to da Silva, the auctioneer-actor became so emotionally distressed that he cried after the auction. His emotional reaction and inability to sustain a constant pitch center during the auction attest to the intensity of this reenactment, as well as the trauma that many Americans continue to experience when engaging with evocations of chattel slavery.

To convey the intensity of this performance requires further examination of the reenactment’s proceedings. At first, the slaves were so quiet that only the clanking of their shackles could be heard. They diverted their eyes from the audience, and as the auctioneer described their labor skills, the slaves occasionally shook their wrist shackles to audibly insert themselves into the action. After the auctioneer identified each slave by age and trade, he welcomed potential buyers to approach and examine their bodies. The approach of bidders to the auction block incited the first slave to speak, who alerted her fellow slaves to their impending separation by calling out, “they’re going to separate us.” Her resistant cries grew in volume but her unamplified voice was drowned out by the auctioneer. She was physically and audibly overpowered by her captors. When a white man grabbed one of the slave men, the slave did not speak, but his chains clanked loudly as he flinched and resisted being handled. A female slave shouted, “Don’t take him away!” Her cries transitioned into screams as the auctioneer drove up the bid. As each

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<sup>40</sup> Malley, “The Sound That Sells,” 101, 118.



slave was sold, dragged through the crowd, and loaded onto a wagon, female slaves shouted, “Don’t let them separate us!”

### The Sounds of Separation

This moment of separation is the third musical event that I wish to examine. The transcription provided in Figure 2.3 is an approximate notation of the sounds that were produced on the courthouse steps by the auctioneer and the first vocal slave. The purpose of this transcription is to illustrate the musicality of their voices, their overlapping dialogue, and their melodic and rhythmic differences.

The audible differences in their voices constructed these characters as essential opposites. The gestures that are captured in Figure 2.3 began a process of audibly marking the race and gender of the slave in comparison to her captor. Not only were they created in relation to each other, they gave each other meaning.<sup>41</sup> Her voice was high and traditionally feminine, countering the deep sounds of the auctioneer. Her voice was acoustically natural while his was technologically mediated by a microphone.<sup>42</sup> He demonstrated mastery and control over his sonic environment, victims, and audience.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> At no time during the slave auction do the male slaves scream or plea with their captors as do the women, and this may be interpreted in a myriad of ways. However one reads this moment, it is clear that the woman’s screams help the audience make sense of the scene. When she broke the silence, she disrupted the unquestioned authority of the auctioneer, and as she progressively struggled to make her voice heard, her cries constructed her identity as a female slave; this sonic performance of blackness was synonymous with victimization and terror.

<sup>42</sup> However, none of the actors during the mock auction drew attention to this amplification, a historical inaccuracy, or to the strange juxtaposition whereby white amplification renders all black-produced sounds subordinate in their natural dynamic range.

<sup>43</sup> Even if audience members turned their backs and walked away from the auction, they would have to move a substantial distance away to escape the sound of the auctioneer.

♩ = 92

Auctioneer

*ff* Take a good look at them now, 'cause we're gon - na sell them, that's how we're gon - na do it. The first

Slave

Auctioneer *mf* Oh, no! Don't take him! Please, no, no! *f* Don't

*ff* lot we're gon - na sell is this four. Make your bid, make sure I see you now. I want to see, I want to get your bid.

take him, 'way! Oh, no! No - o. O - h! No, Lo -

*ff* Take this four, we've got a se - ller he - re. we've got a black smith a - ppen - tice. We've got a car -

rd! Pl - ease! Please don't. Please don't. Oh, no! *ff* Don't se - par - ate

pen - ter whose good with a finished ar - pen - ter's wo - rk; we've got a laun - dress, and a se - cond one who's a laun - dress and al -

my fam - ily! No, please, don't. No! No! Not I.

so she' a kitch - en help. I'm go - ing to sell them as is, as they stand, all four of them one buy - er.

No. No. No! No! No, Lord! No! You can't do this to

Look them o - ver now. Who's go - na start the bid - ing, here? Gon - bring good mone y they are, Five hundred bill -

m - e.

How 'bout five, who'll give me five who'll give me five?

Figure 2.3 Slave and Auctioneer song-speech<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Approximate transcription by author. This transcription is intended to illustrate differences in rhythm and melodic contour between the auctioneer and slave subject.

In comparison, the woman's speech pattern was less syllabic, lacked a pitch center, and was less metrically predictable, which made her sound erratic. It is partly the juxtaposition of her sounds to his that her performance indexed such a degree of distress. Her voice interrupted the order of his patter, and in doing so, to borrow Lindon Barrett's phrase, is an "acoustic disturbance" that "announc[es] a crisis" that "reopens the very issue of making sense of the New World."<sup>45</sup> Although her voice does not dismantle slavery, it does resist this colonizing force.

It is important to note that no slave had spoken before this moment in the auction. Their silence may be read a number of ways, as the denial of subjectivity, as a symptom of their hypervisibility, or as an unintentional response by the actors to their newly found slave status. But I want to suggest one more possibility, it was vital that this mock auction be framed by the auctioneer's white male voice. His patter created a rhythm which enabled him to curtail the excitement of the crowd. His voice framed the proceedings; it initiated the scene and set the rules. In the manner of a composer, he harnessed the repetition of rhythmic patterns to make each slave sale seem part of an inexorable loop, and this predictability made the auction scene seem ordered and calm.<sup>46</sup> These sonic consistencies became a crucial marker of difference between captor and slave.

When the auctioneer began the process of selling the last slave, who was played by Angela da Silva, the auction was disrupted by a new character who waved a piece of paper above his head and told the auctioneer that he had an injunction from a distant relative to cease the sale. The auctioneer declared the auction to be over and invited the audience inside the courthouse for a public forum, the site of a third last musical event.

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<sup>45</sup> Barrett, *Blackness and Value*, 86.

<sup>46</sup> These sounds also incite our anxiety as we, the audience, feel caught and powerless in the scene.

## Musical Release

Participants who entered the courthouse created an additional soundscape for this event that was characterized by the sounds of public dialogue that bounced off marble columns and crowded bodies. When the slave-actors entered the rotunda, one of them refashioned the soundscape by unleashing an intense performance of a spiritual.<sup>47</sup> I choose to read her song as a full-bodied release of tension that had registered from the auction scene. Her musical enactment is reminiscent of Michele Russell's description of black women's methods of resistance: "[A]bove everything else tower Black women's own voices, raised in resistance to death and slavery – of the body and spirit.... It is an old song with many verses, but just one refrain: freedom."<sup>48</sup>

When the reenactors described their motivations, some quoted famous speeches or scripture. In response to the question, "Why do this?" Angela da Silva responded, "If we don't tell our story, who is going to tell it?" Following the mock auction, da Silva passionately described her motivation as follows,

St. Louis, Missouri cannot ignore its slave past. They can't whitewash it, they can't say it never happened, because it did. Four million people were not in control of their lives. Four million people had no agency; didn't even own their own bodies; didn't own their children. How can you just ignore that and just sweep it under the rug? Not going to happen. Not allowing it. Because that would be to deny my ancestor. I'm not going to do it, and I'm not going to let you do it. All right? They existed.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> This spiritual was identified by journalists as "Lord, How Come Me Here."

<sup>48</sup> Michele Russell, "Slave Codes and Liner Notes," in *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave*, eds. Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell-Scott, and Barbara Smith (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1982), 130.

<sup>49</sup> Clayton Stalter, "Angela da Silva: Making History Personal," photo essay with audio, 2011, <http://vimeo.com/21385474> (accessed April 6, 2014).

## Risks and Benefits of Reenacting Slavery

Reenactment reimagines and memorializes the past. However, public displays of reenactment pose certain dangers for disadvantaged social groups, which complicates the St. Louis slave auction. African American history is dually painful due to its historical omissions as well as the pain of knowing what these ancestors endured. For many African Americans, the trauma of slavery paired with its continued legacy of racial inequality is too much to bear, and therefore ignoring this topic remains a common coping mechanism to prevent re-experiencing that pain. But according to Pearl Cleage, this tactic fails to put slavery behind us (which she questions as even possible or desirable) because avoidance perpetuates the misinformation and resentment that makes conversations about slavery so daunting.<sup>50</sup>

A second risk of reenacting slavery is that the actors cannot control the cultural conditioning of the crowd and their interpretation of the scene.<sup>51</sup> If the goal of these performances is to recover pain, then the production is compromised if the audience experiences pleasure. This raises a second but closely related question about why the auction block is the most popular slavery scene in American theater and literature. Why are the most excessive moments of physical torture, particularly to women's bodies, America's most poignant memory of slavery? Frances Foster's polemic work on this subject demonstrates that the authors of slave narratives generally used black women in their narratives when they wanted to depict extreme violence.<sup>52</sup> If contemporary slavery

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<sup>50</sup> Pearl Cleage, "My American Herstory" in *Flat-Footed Truths: Telling Black Women's Lives*, eds. Patricia Bell-Scott and Juanita Johnson-Bailey (New York: Henry Holt, 1998), 154.

<sup>51</sup> Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 22.

<sup>52</sup> Frances Foster, "Ultimate Victims: Black Women in Slave Narratives," *Journal of American Culture* 1, no. 4 (1978): 850.

reenactments continue this tradition, then we must probe why Americans prefer to engage with slavery through black women's tortured bodies.<sup>53</sup> Do these representations incite pain or is a socially acceptable form of pleasure being gained? Saidiya Hartman argues that the slave auction is an alienating process and the moment of sale renders the black body abstract. Black bodies on the block become empty vessels from which the white actors may compare, reflect upon, and fashion their subjectivities. In this vein, an equally dangerous risk of reenacting slavery is the potential for performances of racial or gender difference to allow socially privileged groups to bond and take refuge in the safety and comfort that results from these differences instead of challenging themselves to identify with or as the slave subject.

On the other hand, a benefit to reenacting is the recovery of lost or repressed knowledge. It is difficult to find historical sources from the perspectives of slaves because so many traces of their cultural production were ignored, manipulated, or destroyed.<sup>54</sup> This reality is particularly true regarding African American women's history. Helen Lock suggests that the best methodology to restore the historical presence of these lost Americans is to creatively combine fragments of family and community pasts that include, but are not limited to, oral history and reenactment.<sup>55</sup> While this strategy similarly poses the danger of misrepresentation, imaginative remembering is beneficial in its ability to produce black-defined histories of slavery. Henry Louis Gates Jr. explains,

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<sup>53</sup> Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 15-16.

<sup>54</sup> Jean Fagan Yellin, "Afro-American Women 1800-1910: Excerpts from a Working Bibliography," in Hull et al., *But Some of Us Are Brave*, 221.

<sup>55</sup> Helen Lock, "'Building Up from Fragments': The Oral Memory Process in Some Recent African-American Written Narratives," *College Literature* 22, no. 3 (Oct 1995): 116.

“If various Western cultures constructed blackness as an absence, then various generations of black authors have attempted to reconstruct blackness as a presence.”<sup>56</sup>

In her study of slave museums, Sandra Richards claims that African Americans, many of whom are unable to trace their ancestors’ names or origins, have developed sonic remembering as an alternative method of engaging with a history that is based on a collective identity of disenfranchisement. Richards writes, “Memory thus becomes a creative act, akin to the method Toni Morrison deployed when she began writing *Beloved* as an answer to the lack of interiority in the slave narratives.”<sup>57</sup> Imagining may be supplemented with the strategy of substitution, which Richards describes as acts by contemporary Americans who use the materiality of their own bodies to fill historical absences. Because no tangible artifact can fully capture the overpowering horror of the slave’s experience, the cultural production of literature, theater, art, and music may be the most effective strategy available to African Americans to mourn their ancestors.

The answer to why slave auctions function so well as theatrical scenes may be their sound. According to Malley, the structure of the bid-call facilitates the auctioneer’s ability to initiate an altered sense of time for everyone in the room.<sup>58</sup> Through meter, rhythm, and tempo, the auctioneer differentiates bid-chants from normal speech, and in doing so, places both the auctioneer and the audience in a virtual time. Removing witnesses from normal time and audibly transporting them to a virtual time-out-of-time is exactly the type of creative act, or temporal slippage, that Richards, Morrison, Hartman,

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<sup>56</sup> Henry Louis Gates, Jr., “The Trope of a New Negro and the Reconstruction of the Image of the Black,” *Representations* 24 (1988): 131.

<sup>57</sup> Sandra Richards, “What Is to Be Remembered?: Tourism to Ghana’s Slave Castle-Dungeons,” *Theatre Journal* 57, no. 4 (December 2005): 626.

<sup>58</sup> Malley, “The Sound That Sells,” 307.

and others have advocated for through reconstructing slavery. The St. Louis slave auction presented the actors with an opportunity to temporarily enter into a collective imagining of the past. Their enactment constructed an arena in which the cultural struggles of race and gender could be replayed. During the course of this performance, music and sound shaped the representation of historical characters and made a traumatic past imaginable. Their representation was indeed painful, but it was productive in that it sparked a public dialogue about the legacy of slavery during Missouri's Civil War sesquicentennial.



## CHAPTER 3

### PRELUDE TO FREEDOM, A CONTRABAND FOLK OPERA

The 2005 premiere of Gerri L. Hollins' folk opera, *Prelude to Freedom: The Contraband Slave Story*, commemorated the thousands of refugee slaves who fled to Hampton, Virginia and were claimed by the Union Army as "contraband" property during the U.S. Civil War. The arrival and freeing of these slaves is represented in the opera as a historic juncture in the development of a national black identity. *Prelude to Freedom* was composed in a fifteen year period in Hampton during which local leaders struggled to engage the public in a dialogue about the legacy of slavery, and the opera reflects the cultural politics of historic preservation in that locality during that time.

Hollins' opera was one of many activist projects initiated by the composer to preserve slave history. The composer campaigned to save slave burial grounds and the Fort Monroe fortress from encroaching development, lobbied for a public contraband slave memorial, and pressured local museums to interpret black history.<sup>1</sup> When other forms of activism failed, she used opera to advocate for the preservation of this history. Drawing inspiration from both oral and archival contraband slave stories, Hollins continually readapted them to a variety of performance contexts in order to appeal to

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<sup>1</sup> Hollins collaborated with the Citizens for a Fort Monroe National Park to preserve Fort Monroe after the army base was retired in 2005 under the Base Realignment and Closure Act. Fort Monroe was evacuated by the army in 2011, and President Obama designated Fort Monroe a national monument on November 1, 2011.

contemporary audiences. In supplying Hampton with a black-centered Civil War folk opera, she thus became a gatekeeper to public understanding of Virginia's contrabands.

*Prelude to Freedom: The Contraband Slave Story* functions as an alternative political platform for voicing minority perspectives about American history. As an instrument of protest, this opera is a form of black history reenactment, and a forum for Americans to negotiate their relationship to the legacy of slavery. First performed on stage by a cast of contraband slave descendants in 2005, the work was subsequently adapted for a variety of other contexts including film, puppet theater, speeches, and other forms of pageantry. The premiere and subsequent adaptations functioned didactically to preserve and validate black history. Performed for different constituencies, utilizing different media, and held in different contexts, the varied iterations of the opera pose the same ultimate question: what do the experiences of contraband slaves mean to those living in the present?

In order to understand how Gerri Hollins represents the contrabands in her opera, it is critical to understand the geographic location, people, and context that inspired *Prelude to Freedom*. Therefore, this chapter begins with a brief introduction to the contraband slaves of Fort Monroe in Civil War-era Virginia. This is followed by a series of excerpts from the folk opera that illustrate Hollins' narrative and compositional style. By chronicling the first three male contrabands escape from bondage, the plot to this opera may be interpreted as conforming to a previously established nationalist model that uses individual black male achievements to represent a larger collective. But the music resists and decenters this model to construct powerful representations of black women within the story. In doing so, the opera initiates a conversation about the diversity of

personal journeys and obstacles experienced by individual slaves during a period of great social change. An introduction to the opera's content will be followed by an examination of performances and adaptations of *Prelude to Freedom*. I will describe the contemporary socio-political context from which this production emerged. Hollins' folk opera developed from a political necessity and succeeded in providing the Hampton community a valuable tool to celebrate their heritage. A cycle of productions and reception of *Prelude to Freedom* linked the work to Hollins' greater political project.

### **Historical Background**

The city of Hampton is located on Virginia's southern coast, where the nation's largest stone fortress named Fort Monroe guards the Chesapeake Bay. Hampton was home to an established antebellum black population. Race relations here were unusual for the South because established free black, and mixed-race populations were considerably integrated within the white community. Free blacks owned property, were literate, and had an independent black church.<sup>2</sup>

Its location at the southern edge of the Virginia peninsula made Fort Monroe strategically valuable as a federal base, and the Union army continued to occupy the fortress after Virginia's 1861 secession. After the War Department increased the number of Union forces at Fort Monroe following the fall of Fort Sumter that April, neighboring white residents abandoned their homes or remained Union-occupied confederate

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<sup>2</sup> Robert Francis Engs, *Freedom's First Generation: Black Hampton, Virginia, 1861-1890* (Fordham University Press, 2004), 8-10. Engs describes life in Hampton for freed and enslaved black residents as "freer" than most southern communities.

citizens.<sup>3</sup> The federal occupation of Hampton during the ensuing Civil War undermined Hampton's plantation system. Escape from slavery was easier in this destabilized social environment, and many slaves took refuge in surrounding forests and along waterways. During the night of May 24, 1861, three slave men named Shepard Mallory, Frank Baker, and James Townsend crossed the causeway that connected Fort Monroe to the mainland. The slaves told the Fort's commander, General Benjamin Butler, that they were bound to be slave labor for the Confederacy if returned to their owner. Major John Cary entered Fort Monroe the next morning to retrieve the slaves under the Federal 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, but Butler denied Cary's request by claiming the slaves as captured enemy property. They were thus the first humans to be categorized as "contraband of war," and impounded by the Union. The Secretary of War approved Butler's decision on May 31, 1861, which established a precedent for federal protection of runaway slaves, and foreshadowed Congress's 1862 Confiscation Act, as well as President Lincoln's 1863 Emancipation Proclamation.<sup>4</sup>

More slaves fled to Fort Monroe as news of the contrabands spread. An estimated nine hundred contrabands took refuge outside the fortress by July 1861, a figure that ballooned to nine thousand black refugees in the greater Hampton region, as reported by the federal wartime census of freedmen in December 1862.<sup>5</sup> Reverend Lewis Lockwood

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<sup>3</sup> Cassandra Newby-Alexander, *An African American History of the Civil War in Hampton Roads* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2010), 27.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Little Pierce, "The Contrabands at Fortress Monroe," *Atlantic Monthly*, November 8, 1861; Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, 14-25; Newby-Alexander, *An African American History of the Civil War in Hampton Roads*, 28-29; James McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 69. Available literature on this topic debates whether this event took place on the 23<sup>rd</sup> or 24<sup>th</sup> of May. I employ Engs' designation of May 24, 1861.

<sup>5</sup> Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, 16, 27; John W. Blassingame, *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews, and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 606.

of the American Missionary Association established schools, employing teachers to educate the contrabands. Refugees built shelters from the wood of homes of evacuated White Hamptonians. The two largest camps were named “Slabtown,” and the “Grand Contraband Camp,” and occupants of these camps lived in extreme poverty. While it is arguable that contrabands failed to actualize true freedom, according to historian Robert Engs, it was the desire to escape a more oppressive bondage and separation of families that drove slaves to Fort Monroe. An estimated twenty-five thousand people lived in refugee camps by the war’s end, and the peninsula’s overall black population exceeded 40,000 by 1865.<sup>6</sup>

Hampton’s refugees were the first of many contraband camps, but their history never rose to national importance.<sup>7</sup> Of the contraband slaves, Engs argues, “That their origins, and the special people and events that created them, have been nearly forgotten illustrates how little we yet know or understand about black life in the postbellum South.”<sup>8</sup> Emphasizing black perspectives during this enormous freedom migration on the Virginia peninsula transforms American slaves from objects to individuals who actively accelerated slavery’s demise.

Virginia’s contraband slaves demonstrated the determination of black Americans to self-emancipate. Their story thus contradicts dominant American narratives about slavery that continue to fundamentally attribute emancipation to the genius of Abraham

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<sup>6</sup> Engs, *Freedom’s First Generation*, 32, 51; Newby-Alexander, *An African American History of the Civil War in Hampton Roads*, 31.

<sup>7</sup> Fort Monroe was not the only Union base to protect contraband slaves. Contraband slave were also reported in Tennessee, South Carolina, Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois, and Maryland. See, James McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), 100-102; 170-171.

<sup>8</sup> Engs, *Freedom’s First Generation*, 159.

Lincoln.<sup>9</sup> Dominant American popular culture has perpetuated passive stereotypes of early black Americans as practically anonymous masses. W.E.B. Du Bois noted that such stereotypes function in the national imagination to both deny slaves their agency, and to justify the continued oppression that followed emancipation.<sup>10</sup> Silencing, or completely omitting black actors from American history primarily functions to alleviate white discomfort with slavery, and it results in perpetuating a hegemonic master narrative that celebrates white dominance.<sup>11</sup> Gerri Hollins' *Prelude to Freedom* transcends these cultural tropes by promoting historical examples that confront such typecasting.

### **The Politics of Composing the Folk Opera**

*Prelude to Freedom: The Contraband Slave Story* took almost fifteen years to complete, and is reflective of Virginia politics during that time. As James Oliver Horton writes, "During the mid- and late 1990s heated debates over the historical and cultural interpretation of American society reached from the local community level to the halls of Congress. The South was a particularly explosive arena for issues of race and the interpretation of slavery."<sup>12</sup> Gerri L. Hollins turned to opera as an alternative public

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<sup>9</sup> For perspectives on emancipation, see James McPherson, "Who Freed the Slaves?" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 139, no. 1 (1995): 1-10; Barbara J. Fields, "Who Freed the Slaves?" in *The Civil War: An Illustrated History*, ed. Geoffrey Ward (New York: Knopf, 1994), 178-81.

<sup>10</sup> W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Propaganda of History," in *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader*, ed. William Edward Burghardt and David Levering Lewis (New York: H. Holt, 1995), 201-214.

<sup>11</sup> See Ira Berlin, "Coming to Terms with Slavery in Twenty-First-Century America" in *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, ed. James Oliver Horton & Louis E. Horton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 1-17; Lisa Woolfork, *Embodying American Slavery in Contemporary Culture* (University of Illinois Press 2008), 175-177.

<sup>12</sup> Marie Tyler-McGraw, "Southern Comfort Levels: Race, Heritage Tourism, and the Civil War in Richmond," in *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, ed. James Oliver Horton & Louis E. Horton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 152; James Oliver Horton, "Slavery in American History: An Uncomfortable National Dialogue," in *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, ed. James Oliver Horton & Louis E. Horton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 45.

history forum while her state passionately grappled with racial memory. Virginia elected America's first African-American state governor, while debating whether and how black history should be interpreted at museums. Colonial Williamsburg received national attention for its infamous recreation of a slave auction, and Richmond struggled to control white protest over the placement of an Arthur Ashe statue on Monument Avenue. As debates about the political correctness of Lee-Jackson-King state holiday persisted, governor Gilmore designated April as Confederate History Month soon after the Virginia legislature retired the racist state song, *Carry Me Back to Old Virginny*.<sup>13</sup>

During the period that Hollins reworked her opera as puppet theater, and anniversary commemorations, Virginia battled over public history and collective memory. Sons of Confederate Veterans rallied in objection to an Abraham Lincoln statue at Richmond's Confederate Tredegar Ironworks. Norfolk's mayor informed the president of the NAACP that after consulting the books in his city's public library, he was confident that slavery was not a primary cause of the Civil War. The Virginia Board of Education's state-endorsed public school textbook, *Our Virginia: Past and Present*, dripped with Lost Cause mythology.<sup>14</sup> This coupled with the indefinite postponement of Virginia's National Slavery Museum evidence that racial politics greatly impacted when and how slavery's legacy was discussed.

Virginians needed new strategies to discuss slavery, and how that past relates to current social conditions. *Prelude to Freedom* as a grass-roots project grew from a public

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<sup>13</sup> Louis Horton, "Avoiding History: Thomas Jefferson, Sally Hemmings, and the Uncomfortable Public Conversation on Slavery," in *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, ed. James Oliver Horton & Louis E. Horton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 47, 50-51, 137; Charles Bullock and Mark Rozell, *The New Politics of the Old South: An Introduction to Southern Politics* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998), 137.

<sup>14</sup> Carol Sheriff, "Virginia's Embattled Textbooks: Lessons (Learned and Not) from the Centennial Era," *Civil War History* 58 (March 2012): 37; Tyler-McGraw, "Southern Comfort," 152, 162-165.

need to revisit slavery. Heated political debates surrounding the folk opera reveal extra-musical reasons why local authorities may have hesitated to encourage unregulated public engagement with a potentially volatile topic. We should also consider the opera's temporality in light of regional monument protests. *Prelude to Freedom* rejects the fixedness of commemorative statues. It so successfully accomplishes Marie Tyler-McGraw's predictions for future American monuments; that "heritage tourism cannot be a pilgrimage to an unchanging shrine, and sites are going to be forums, not temples."<sup>15</sup> This folk opera succeeds in providing casts and audiences safe spaces to negotiate racial histories. Thus, *Prelude to Freedom* suggests the continued ability of music to reflect regional political consciousnesses while actively engaging citizens in a dialogue about their community's past, present, and future.

### **Composing Heritage**

Gerri Hollins' connections to the contraband slave history of Hampton ran deep. Herself a descendent of contraband slaves, Hollins dedicated much of her adult life to disseminating family stories about them. She lived in a previously contraband-occupied neighborhood, attended a contraband-established church, and was once employed by a contraband-founded university. After leaving Hampton as a young woman in the 1960s to complete conservatory vocal training, she moved to New York City to sing professionally in the 1970s, and taught music at the Harlem School of the Arts during the 1980s.<sup>16</sup> It was in Harlem that Hollins first combined music and contraband slave stories in order to

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<sup>15</sup> Tyler-McGraw, "Southern Comfort," 167.

<sup>16</sup> Gerri L. Hollins, interview by author, Hampton, Va, June 22, 2011. Hollins attended The University of Michigan and Peabody Conservatory.



construct positive black role models for her students. She believed all Americans could find their identities reflected in Fort Monroe, and hoped contraband characters would improve black children's interest in African American heritage. Teaching experiences in Harlem influenced her decision to return to Hampton and share this story.<sup>17</sup>

In an effort to construct a united contraband heritage identity, and spread her vision of this slave story, Gerri Hollins founded the Contraband Historical Society in 1997. Members of this organization conducted genealogical research, petitioned commercial development at slave burial sites, pressured museums to interpret black history, and lobbied for a contraband slave memorial.<sup>18</sup> Despite public campaigning, early efforts to promote the contrabands and her budding society were repeatedly dismissed. Although Hollins was unable to muster enough support for a museum or memorial, she was successful in developing a public reputation among local politicians and journalists. When lobbying at Hampton City Council meetings, Richmond's State Capital, and in Washington D.C., she used press assemblies to her advantage and her comments regularly appeared in local newspapers. Along with name recognition, she developed a reputation as a difficult figure and her passion about African American heritage was sometimes dismissed as eccentricity. As Patricia Hill Collins notes, the suppression of black women's activism in traditional political arenas has led them to use alternatives sites, including music, to articulate their messages.<sup>19</sup> Following that tradition,

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid. The struggle for upward mobility at a military base by disadvantaged populations is a story that still resonates across the Virginia Peninsula, which has the densest military population in the United States. Military employment is respected in this region as a way to ascend the social ladder, and military occupation is largely responsible for the continually shifting population demographics in this region.

<sup>18</sup> The Fort Monroe Casemate Museum added a commemorative plaque to their museum, yet the size and corner placement paled in comparison to the exhibit of Jefferson Davis' prison cell, and military artifacts.

<sup>19</sup> Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 198.

Hollins turned to opera as an alternative format to elevate the status of contraband history and to construct her own public monument.

Exploration of history and genealogy led members of the Contraband Historical Society to speak publically, or to practice what Audre Lorde might identify as “the transformation of silence into language and action.”<sup>20</sup> Lorde was keenly interested in “the way we help give name to the nameless so it can be thought,” and identified social change as deriving from ideas that are forged from words.<sup>21</sup> Contraband descendants confirmed this process through their activism. Oration was the most frequent strategy that they used to commemorate their ancestors, and members of this Historical Society attributed Hollins’ campaigning talents to her story telling.<sup>22</sup> To construct a unified story about the contrabands, Hollins combined family stories from society members with data from museums and library archives. She then embedded this story in interviews with journalists, and in public speeches at churches, museums, and political assemblies. The following radio interview excerpt captures Hollins condensed version of the story.

In 1861, slaves ran from plantations all over Virginia and from two hundred miles out of North Carolina to get to Fort Monroe to get behind Union lines. General Butler had confiscated three slaves: Frank Baker, Shepard Mallory, and James Townsend as “Contrabands of War.” Since the southerners referred to the blacks as property, he [Butler] felt he had the authority in war time to confiscate property. Now this is important, gentlemen, because Fort Monroe is a beacon of hope for this nation. Those slaves called that fort the “Freedom’s Fort.” And in doing so, thousands of slaves, ten thousand ran to get behind Union lines. They came from Shirley, Berkeley, Friendly, Westover, Carter’s Grove, and like I said, two hundred miles out of North Carolina. And liberating themselves, they liberated our nation.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches By Audre Lorde*, (Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press, 1984, 2007), 40.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Brauchle, “History Advocate Gerri Hollins Dies,” *The Daily Press*, July 20, 2012; Denise Watson Batts, “Funeral Memorializes Fort Monroe Advocate Hollins,” *The Virginian-Pilot*, July 28, 2012.

<sup>23</sup> Citizens for a Fort Monroe National Park, “Multimedia,” Citizens for a Fort Monroe National Park, <http://www.cfmpnp.org/multimedia.htm> (accessed December 1, 2010). Transcription by author.

This brief excerpt demonstrates how recitation of this slave story was both political and artistic. It is political because Hollins identified a problem regarding the dominant representation of local history, revised that story, and remedied the problem on the radio with this public service announcement. What gives this excerpt its communicative power is Hollins' command of oratory, which incorporated great variation of pitch, volume, and inflection. It is the aural details in her speeches that render the story compelling. The text flows with a careful rhythm that builds momentum as she accentuates the origins of refugee slaves through syllabic ordering; naming two syllable plantations (Shirley, Berkeley, Friendly), then three (Westover, Carter's Grove), followed by four (two hundred miles), and ending with five syllables (North Carolina). This careful attention to sound extends from Hollins' public addresses to her music. Her speeches, such as the example above, fused the oratorical with the musical, and were as performative as they were pedagogical. These were vocal performances in themselves and should be read alongside other musical iterations of the contraband story that she authored and performed.

### **Introduction to the Opera**

*Prelude to Freedom: The Contraband Slave Story* is a folk opera in three acts comprising a prelude, overture and twenty-nine music numbers. Nearly all the music is strophic and sung as solos with orchestral accompaniment to develop characters and forward the plot. Topically organized to reflect cultural changes in Civil War-era Hampton, this production may be interpreted as a meditation on freedom. Both music and plot complicate narrow constructions of antebellum blackness by presenting diverse lived

experiences of black and mix-race, enslaved, free, and refugee Americans. Each act combines singing, spoken dialogue, narration, and develops new sets of characters representing different lived identities within a spectrum of freedom. Modeling a broad range of social conditions, the opera constructs freedom as an individually determined process with varying outcomes. *Prelude to Freedom* depicts a series of ‘coming of age’ narratives, where pure autonomy represents the desired end to the slave character’s journey. These characters also experience journeys of self-enlightenment by learning about their heritage, or discovering their inner courage. How characters come of age within the opera depends on their race, class, and gender identities.<sup>24</sup>

A large cast with mostly black characters constructs the contraband slave story as a history of the masses. Blackness is depicted as a spectrum through free, enslaved, and biracial characters, including freed business-owning black townspeople, freed farmers, African-born and American-born enslaved plantation characters, and fugitives. Black identities are best described as alienated due to their lack of citizenship and social disruption originating from their forced removal from the African continent.<sup>25</sup> Haunting disruptions that shaped their identities include dehumanization, social stagnation, familial separation, cultural foreignness, and forced assimilation. For black characters, disruption can also be a hopeful condition because the temporary disappearance of masters during the Civil War facilitated opportunities for escape.

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<sup>24</sup> For example, male slaves physically transcend physical and legal boundaries. Female characters in *Prelude to Freedom* also desire freedom, but their coming of age is expressed differently. These characters walk a difficult rope that challenges conventional femininity while remaining respectable mother figures in the Black community.

<sup>25</sup> For theories about African American alienation and commemoration, see Lisa Woolfork, *Embodying American Slavery in Contemporary Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

Of the twenty-plus characters in *Prelude to Freedom*, most are confined to one of three acts. The most important characters include Mary Peake, Emma Ann, Charles Mallory, Shepard Mallory, Frank Baker, and James Townsend. Charles Mallory is the primary slave owner depicted in the opera, and his slaves (Mallory, Baker, and Townsend) are the first refugees claimed as contraband at Fort Monroe. Emma Ann, the aging slave victim, is based on Hollins' great grandmother. These characters become archetypes whose personal journeys illustrate Hampton's distinctive cultural history.

For instance, Mary and Thomas Peake were a married couple who illustrate the diversity of early black social experiences in this community. Mary Peake was a free-born, mix-raced woman, and one of the first to open a reading school for both freed and enslaved black people. She married Thomas, a freed slave who became a Union spy during the Civil War.<sup>26</sup> The Peakes' opportunism represented possibilities for black self-determination in antebellum Hampton. It is important that these types of characters appear in the opera in order to illustrate how the Civil War only expanded the potential for social mobility.

### **Musical and Narrative Themes in *Prelude to Freedom***

Hollins' dramatization of the escape and social transition of Hampton's contraband slaves incorporates narrative conventions associated with antebellum slave narratives, and this allows her work to be located within a larger trajectory of African

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<sup>26</sup> Engs, *Freedom's First Generation*, 5-9; William Link, *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 3. These characters appear in Gerri Hollins' folk opera to broaden public knowledge about black life in ante- and post-bellum Virginia.

American literary and performance art.<sup>27</sup> Although Hollins did not claim to model her opera on slave narratives, her portrayal of slavery resonates with James Olney's descriptions of period escape narratives.<sup>28</sup> His findings may be condensed into the following list, and all twelve of these conventions are found in *Prelude to Freedom*: specifying place but not date of birth, account of parentage involving a white father, cruel masters with women victims, extraordinarily hardworking yet defiant slaves, literacy barriers and value of education, descriptions of slave life and work patterns, slave auctions and familial separation, successful and unsuccessful slave escapes, pursuits of slaves by masters, traveling by night, reception by abolitionists, and reflections on slavery. Hollins' ability to construct the contraband slave story in a similar style to first-person slavery accounts, and clear references to this literary tradition evidences her familiarity with black literature from this time period.

Frances Smith Foster characterizes authors of antebellum escape narratives as more concerned with their moral message than with any particular literary model, which is also true of how Hollins presents the contraband slave story. According to Foster, "writers had long discovered that elements from mimesis, romance, history, and myth could be combined in ways which far exceeded the advantages offered by any one structure."<sup>29</sup> This willingness to blend and alter literary and performance models can be

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<sup>27</sup> James Olney, "I Was Born": Slave Narratives, Their Status as Autobiography and as Literature," *Callaloo* 20 (Winter 1984), 50-51. For histories of African American women composers, see Helen Walker-Hill, *From Spirituals to Symphonies: African-American Women Composers and Their Music* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002); Teresa L. Reed, "Black Women in Art Music" in *Black Women and Music: More Than the Blues*, Eileen Hayes, and Linda F. Williams, eds. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 179-196.

<sup>28</sup> Hollins read slave narratives, but did not attribute direct influence to any one narrative. Gerri L. Hollins, interview by author, Hampton, Va, June 22, 2011.

<sup>29</sup> Frances Smith Foster, *Witnessing Slavery: The Development of Ante-Bellum Slave Narratives* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 82.

found in the adaptations of Gerri Hollins' opera that will be described later in this chapter. *Prelude to Freedom* also shares narrative themes found by Daphne Brooks in her analysis of early black dramatic products including William Wells Brown's *The Escape*, *A Leap for Freedom* (1857), the first published drama by an African American, and Pauline Hopkins's *Peculiar Sam* (1879), the first full-length musical written by an African American.<sup>30</sup> Similar to these escape narratives, Gerri Hollins' folk opera celebrates black resistance and self-emancipation.<sup>31</sup>

*Prelude to Freedom* also relates to a 20<sup>th</sup> century tradition of "neo-slave narratives," modern stories built from oral and folk materials that recount the process of escaping bondage.<sup>32</sup> Such works are described by Ashraf Rushdy as "contemporary novels that assume the form, adopt the conventions and take on the first-person voice of the antebellum slave narrative."<sup>33</sup> Influenced by emergent historiographies of slavery from the 1960s and 1970s, the proliferation of neo-slave novels during the 1970s and 1980s negotiated contemporary racism as an enduring product of slavery. Bernard Bell describes African American authors, particularly those of neo-slave narratives, as working "within and against a narrative tradition, oral and literary, that each inherits as

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<sup>30</sup> Daphne Brooks, *Bodies in Dissent: Spectacular Performances of Race and Freedom, 1850-1910* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 3.

<sup>31</sup> Brooks, "Bodies in Dissent," 3, 104. 19<sup>th</sup> and early-20<sup>th</sup> century Black art often referenced Black marginalization, resistance, and self-liberation. *Prelude to Freedom* similarly reworks previously established literary and performance genres similar to African American productions described by Brooks. *The Escape* combines melodrama with satire while reworking slave narratives as adventure stories by constructing scenarios where slaves emancipate themselves. This 19<sup>th</sup> production resembles Gerri Hollins' folk opera through its theme of resistive knowledge, and self actualization. The plot to Hollins' contraband slave story resembles Brooks's descriptions of *Peculiar Sam* as exemplary of 19<sup>th</sup> century black performances of liberatory alienation. In *Prelude to Freedom*, the fugitive journey to Fortress Monroe is a grand transformation scene. The refugees must alienate themselves from the plantation-slave community, and cross the swampy crossway to Fort Monroe in order to seize freedom.

<sup>32</sup> Bernard Bell, *The Afro-American Novel and Its Tradition* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987), 289.

<sup>33</sup> Ashraf Rushdy, *Neo-Slave Narratives: Studies in the Social Logic of a Literary Form* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3.

part of one's cultural legacy and in which each participates, however marginally, in the elusive quest for authority, autonomy, and originality."<sup>34</sup> Gerri Hollins came of age during a period of renewed interest in slave escape stories, and regardless of whether she consumed neo-slave novels, her contraband slave story shares a strategy of challenging white manipulation of the memory and representation of black Americans. Her amalgamation of drama, music, and history is captured in a notated performance tradition that blends Afrocentric and Eurocentric traditions. Thus, her folk opera negotiates African American narrative, performance, and historiography traditions, while commenting on the marginalization of black history.

### **Thematic Elements**

Set in 1861 Hampton, the first act of *Prelude to Freedom* explores Virginia plantation life on the eve of war. A series of isolated scenes immerse the audience in historically and regionally specific cultural conditions, and introduce a handful of character archetypes. White characters include plantation owners, craftsmen, and poor farmers. Free and enslaved black characters are depicted as skilled and tireless workers of various trades. Literate characters are well spoken, while others are uneducated and speak in a broken-English dialect. Diverse character-types construct Hampton as an established multiracial network of both suffering and success.

Black characters absorb news from white conversations, and secretly disseminate information throughout the black community. Workplace interactions among white and black townspeople spread news about the impending Civil War. These details eventually

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<sup>34</sup> Bernard Bell, *The Afro-American Novel and Its Tradition*, xiv.



spread to Charles Mallory's plantation, where slaves overhear white masters debate the risks and benefits of war. White masters inform the slave's knowledge of local and national news, as depicted in the opera when white men debate the pros and cons of secession. White characters may be formally educated, but their knowledge is limited to white affairs. Black knowledge is notably different because their survival depends on information about black and white communities.

A racial construction of knowledge is evident in the music to *Prelude to Freedom*. Two musical examples from the first act, "What Will Be Virginia's Choice" and "Did You Hear" compare black and white perspectives about secession. The choice before the state is whether to remain in the Union or join the Confederacy. "What Will Be Virginia's Choice" personifies the state as an impulsive, vulnerable woman, who unpredictably decides the fate of her residents. Cynthia Enloe notes that nationalism emerges from gendered discourse, and the anthropomorphization of Virginia in this scene similarly constructs a masculinized war front and feminized home front, as "she" and the actual women inhabiting her become symbolic of a southern honor in need of defense.<sup>35</sup> The gendered portrayal of a militarized Virginia frequently appears in period documents, and its usage here evidences Hollins' breadth of historical understanding. In the following excerpt, Virginia's love struck citizens vow to blindly defend her body of land as they are thrust into war. This explains how feminizing the South in "What Will Be Virginia's Choice" rationalizes confederate enlistment.

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<sup>35</sup> Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches & Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 42.

Tutti: What will be Virginia's choice?  
If we fight we will be her voice.  
All we need are a few brave men.  
Sign up now, let the war begin!

Solo 1: We must begin to gather men to fight if she secedes.  
We must prepare; we must take care to gather what she  
needs.

Solo 2: The time has come to defend her.  
We must fight to save our land.  
We'll be here this time to commend her for the choice that  
she made, we will stand.<sup>36</sup>

To suggest that Virginia's white elite lacked the agency to resist the war seems absurd, and yet these lyrics reflect a particular type of contemporary Civil War memory that downplays slavery as the primary concern of either army.<sup>37</sup> Contrasting this account with slave perspectives is a critique of Civil War narratives that privilege white history. Ironically, the white characters musically express their lust for war in an environment that is visibly and actively staffed by slaves; they are literally surrounded by them on stage. The omnipresence of black bodies throughout *Prelude to Freedom* decenters the white narrative, stealing attention from the white characters and reminding the audience of what is not being spoken. Their very presence draws attention to flaws in white southern discourse and the white characters duplicity.

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<sup>36</sup> Gerri Hollins, "What Will Be Virginia's Choice," in *Prelude to Freedom: The Contraband Slave Story*, score, 1999.

<sup>37</sup> James McPherson's research demonstrates how documentation of this war changed over time. See, William Cooper and James McPherson, eds. *Writing the Civil War: The Quest to Understand* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998). Overarching themes of honor and patriotism found by McPherson in his examination of Civil War-era letters resonate with the self-perceived apolitical innocence of plantation masters in *Prelude to Freedom*. James McPherson, *For Cause & Comrades: Why Men Fought In The Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 131.



Figure 3.1 “What Will Be Virginia’s Choice” excerpt.

Although “What Will Be Virginia’s Choice” is scored in a minor key, the quick tempo and steady pulse sounds as an upbeat march that constructs succession as an exciting opportunity. The melody is choppy, repetitive, and the solos are restricted to a narrow range effecting the characters to sound robotic or one-dimensional. The song is also short in duration suggesting that it is of minor import, and thus denies white male characters the same type of development and humanity accorded black characters. These features typify the music Hollins composed for white characters, which functions to detract the audience from white history and focus on the slaves.

As the next example demonstrates, musical numbers reframe the Civil War as a black history event.<sup>38</sup> A slave named John Taylor counters the white perspective expressed in “What Will Be Virginia’s Choice” with his song, “Did You Hear.” Taylor reconstructs the war as a violent and fearful opposition to black emancipation. The following excerpts from “Did You Hear” demonstrate that slaves understood their relationship to the Civil War, and interpreted it as an opportunity for freedom.

Did you hear what Massa Mallory say?  
 Dey don talked about the war today.  
 And Miss Twine is scared as she can be.  
 ‘Cause she may have to set her Niggras free.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Black characters perform more numerous, expressive, longer, and challenging music than accorded white characters. Black actors spend the most time on stage, and benefit from greater character development.

<sup>39</sup> Gerri Hollins, “Did You Hear,” in *Prelude to Freedom: The Contraband Slave Story*, score, 1999.

Did you hear\_\_\_ dey gwine to send de slaves ? To de war  
 \_\_\_ to help\_\_\_ to dig\_\_\_ de graves?\_\_\_ And I know\_\_\_ De fight\_\_\_ in' gwine behard  
 . I just hope dey knows to pray to God . But I ain't a-fraid .  
 I ain't a-fraid . 'Cause if I die de Lord gwine come for me . Take me home  
 \_\_\_ where I\_\_\_ knows I be free - - - - .

Figure 3.2 “Did You Hear,” excerpt.

“Did You Hear” highlights three recurrent themes of location, disruption, and knowledge that typify music from the first act. The lyrics to these songs inform the audience of each character’s social location, interpretation of the impending war, and prediction of how war will disrupt their lives. This excerpt from “Did You Hear” also introduces a recurrent theme throughout the folk opera: as both earthly and ultimate destination, “home” and “heaven” are synonymous metaphors for freedom.

Freedom is understood throughout *Prelude to Freedom* in comparison to bondage, and accordingly, the primary emphasis of act two is the depiction of slavery through a series of plantation scenes. Set on the Mallory plantation, the second act breaks from the plot of act one, and introduces a new set of characters that are confined to the plantation. Hollins constructs the plantation as suspended in time, which emphasizes the trappings of slavery. In dealing with the hardships of plantation life, this act is differentiated from act one not only in location, but also in the structure of the plot and the type of music

performed. Furthermore, act two is characterized by its indeterminacy. It resists linear progression. This break from chronology freed Hollins to experiment with more imaginative characters and musical development. The act concentrates almost exclusively on the private lives of the hidden and conquered, documenting those who might otherwise be missing from written documentation of public life. The music here relies more explicitly with conventions associated with African American folk music traits, including call and response sequences, exclamations and cries, and syncopated rhythms. If the first act expands possibilities for staged constructions of antebellum African American life beyond racial stereotypes, then the second act links the slave characters in established African American music, history, and literary traditions.

These features surface during scenes that involve Emma Ann, who symbolizes the forgotten slave. She once bore her master's child, and plunged into deep depression after years of abuse and familial separation. Upon reuniting with Joseph, her adult mix-raced son, she recounts her autobiography for him in song. Her story affirms the inhumanity of slavery. Her reflections complete her freed mix-raced son's identity search and coming of age journey; the free man finds his heritage in Emma's slave narrative. This plot point validates the larger political project of the opera by demonstrating how slave narratives enrich the lives of descendants.

Emma and Joseph's story is one of several subplots within the opera that bear no direct relation to the escapes of the first three contraband slaves. Given that the few published histories of contraband slaves focus primarily on men, one might expect *Prelude to Freedom's* libretto to represent male slaves as the ultimate heroes. But hearing the second act of this opera produces the opposite interpretation. While chronicling the

escape of three male slaves, Gerri Hollins showcases compelling female characters, thus elevating black women's history, her own family heritage, as well as her dual role as composer and performer. As a descendant of a female contraband slave, and as a vocalist who wanted to perform her own work, the most powerful music in the opera was composed for the female characters Gerri Hollins portrayed herself.

An example that illustrates the musical representation of race, class, and gender in this opera is a duet from the second act that recounts humiliation and exhaustion endured by slave women. "Emma and Joseph's Duet" stands out as the only song featuring overlapping vocal entrances at the climax.<sup>40</sup> As Emma's lamenting melody sinks, we hear the characters reunite through moments of vocal overlap. The woman's voice establishes the tonal progressions as she initiates each phrase, and Joseph's two downward resolving suspensions may be interpreted as conforming to Emma's melody. Despite Joseph's raced, classed, and gendered power over Emma, his voice is subordinate to hers, as reflected in the song's title. Emma's songs inform us that she owns no material possessions, but like many of the songs in *Prelude to Freedom*, slave characters are privileged musically.

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<sup>40</sup> Gerri Hollins, "Emma and Joseph's Duet," in *Prelude to Freedom: The Contraband Slave Story*, score, 1999.

Emma  
Mass - a I is old, Sleep - in' in de cold.

Joseph  
When she close her eyes, You will re - a -

5  
You's got all I own. Please leave me a - lone.

lize. 'Twas meant to be. Sell this slave to me.

Figure 3.3 “Emma and Joseph’s Duet,” excerpt.

As the first interpersonal confrontation, “Emma and Joseph’s Duet” is a critical moment in the opera. Emma is the first character to subvert the power structure so clearly constructed in the first act. In this manner, Emma’s duet is similar to another operatic duet in *María la O* that Susan Thomas describes in her study of Cuban Zarzuela as a white male character’s attempted “ownership over the musical conversation.”<sup>41</sup> Voices by women of color threaten (however temporarily) pre-established social hierarchies in both operas. In *Prelude to Freedom*, this duet not only suggests that a black dismantling of slavery was already underway before the first three male slaves entered Fort Monroe, it begins to deconstruct the larger narrative of American exceptionalism that frames emancipation stories. The purpose of *Prelude to Freedom* is not to position the contrabands as a chosen people, but to reinsert black voices into a national narrative that so frequently silences them. This interpretive twist may clarify *Prelude to Freedom*’s winding structure, tapestry of family histories, and feminine subjectivity in a narrative that traditionally reinforced the heroism of first white (Butler), and then black (three

<sup>41</sup> Susan Thomas, *Cuban Zarzuela: Performance Race and Gender on Havana’s Lyric Stage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 54.

slaves) men. What distinguishes Emma is that her agency is not achieved by physical journey, but through music.

After Emma initiates each phase in the duet, Joseph interrupts and imitates her melody. His efforts to sway Emma with his text combine with a sly maneuver to regain musical control at the first fermata. Joseph sabotages her musical authority with his suspension, when his third to her root resolves downward to make her voice sound as the seventh of his chord. But his victory is short-lived, and although the lyrics appear unresolved at the end of this song, the music indicates otherwise. Emma's melody supplants Joseph in the final suspension as he conforms to her root. Music is a discursive space for these characters to negotiate their raced, classed, and gendered identities in ways nonexistent in normal conversation. This duet thus achieves one of the rare instances of opera narration described by Carolyn Abbate as reciting by musical gestures.<sup>42</sup> Moments of vocal overlap and suspensions that force Joseph's voice to submit to Emma's melody may be understood as a layer of narrative activity in the music that overcomes the events described or enacted in the plot. Such gestures disrupt the opera's sonic character and the social hierarchy in which Emma and Joseph live. Because music can function independently of the text, the structure of this song performs narrative functions that resist Joseph's attempted control of her.

Much of the power of "Emma and Joseph's Duet" emanates from what Abbate might call the "sheer sonic force" of the performer's voice.<sup>43</sup> Gerri Hollins always cast herself as Emma, and lent this character a volume, color, tone, and range that surpassed

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<sup>42</sup> Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) 19, 29.

<sup>43</sup> Carolyn Abbate, *In Search of Opera* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), xv.



all others at the opera's premiere. In other performances of this duet, Hollins repeatedly paired herself with weaker vocalists, thereby manipulating the professional/amateur dichotomy that hindered her in other public venues. In opera, Emma and Hollins fused into one being, both empowered by the musical voice. Emma's voice not only resists domination by other characters, it is musically unbound. An unaccompanied solo performed by Emma after the second act duet demonstrates how Emma's vocality operates as a mode of resistance.



Figure 3.4 "When is I gon' be free," excerpt.

Sung without accompaniment on an empty stage, this rare moment of autonomy accompanies her emotional breakdown. Emma's break is similar to the "manipulation of tonal space" that Susan Thomas identifies in other operas as capable of subverting stage-time and character tropes, but in contrast to the artificiality that this produced in Cuban Zarzuela, Emma's solo contributes a stark hyper-reality to the second act.<sup>44</sup> The repetitive descending melody reflects Emma's physical and psychological damage. If the upward leap of each phrase suggests a sustaining hope, her collapsing confidence and steady grammatical breakdown (I know, I don't know, I doesn't know) affirms her decline, as if she were doomed. In spite of Emma resistance to expectations for her character, as Susan

<sup>44</sup> Susan Thomas, *Cuban Zarzuela: Performance Race and Gender on Havana's Lyric Stage*, 52.

Thomas writes of similar opera heroines, “it also shows her inability to escape from those conventions, creating an ambivalent tension between her desire to define herself and the poverty of expressive options with which she is faced.”<sup>45</sup>

It is interesting, though perhaps not surprising, that the only death scene (however metaphoric) involves the female lead. Audre Lorde writes of black women, “For to survive in the mouth of this dragon we call America, we have had to learn this first and most vital lesson – that we were never meant to survive.”<sup>46</sup> The bleakness of Emma’s isolation in this scene encapsulates Hollins’ depiction of slavery as black imprisonment that portrays what Angela Davis describes as the institutionalized social and civil death of slaves.<sup>47</sup> Emma’s social isolation and literal removal from the orchestral accompaniment freezes time. Free from distraction from supporting actors or orchestra, we witness a powerful moment of agency by the slave subject who demands our full attention. Abbate has remarked that unaccompanied opera solos are powerful in their ability to overpower plot.<sup>48</sup> Such sonic anomalies draw attention to the voice and body of the performer, indeed to opera’s performativity. Emma, who might otherwise be a marginal character in an operatic subplot, is elevated in status through song. Her solo and duet differ from the rest of the opera’s music, thereby emphasizing her difference. This is how the second act differs from the establishment of Hampton’s public life in the first act, and the dramatic action of the third act.

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<sup>45</sup> Susan Thomas, *Cuban Zarzuela: Performance Race and Gender on Havana’s Lyric Stage*, 56. María la O is a famous mulata character in Cuban Zarzuela. Thomas describes la O as both possessing an established raced, classed, and gendered mythology that may be either reaffirmed or subverted by the character in Zarzuela.

<sup>46</sup> Audre Lorde *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches By Audre Lorde*, 42.

<sup>47</sup> Angela Davis, *The Meaning of Freedom: And Other Difficult Dialogues* (San Francisco, CA: City Light Books, 2012), 140.

<sup>48</sup> Abbate, *Unsung Voices*, 4-5; 9-11.

The remaining musical material from the second act invokes African American performance conventions that are less frequent in the first or third acts. The layering of calls and responses, exclamations, and religious references in “Out In De Fields,” typifies music from the second act. The following lyrics describe the pain of familial separation and violence experienced by slaves. The call, “I search for my [family member],” is followed by a painful response that reveals that family member’s fate, and an exclamation appealing to a Christian God. A second call-response pattern between soloist and unison chorus fluctuates between the pain of the protagonist and the shared experiences of slaves. It also depicts the negotiation of Christianity and slavery, as good slaves question why their God allows their pain to persist.<sup>49</sup>

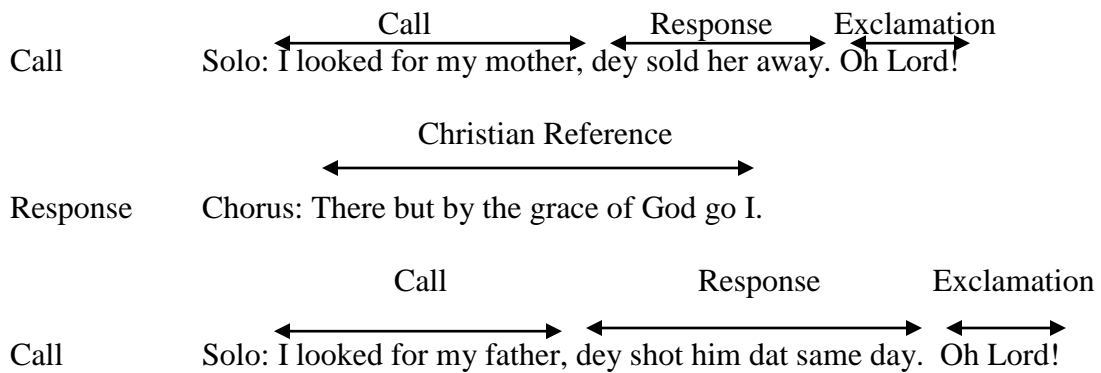


Figure 3.5 Call and Response Patterns in “Out In De Fields.”

“Out In De Fields” is one of many examples that represent slaves with Christian symbols. A second example from the opening scene of Act II, “I Am Bound,” captures religious allusions in Hollins lyrics. In this excerpt, Christian imagery blends with the opera’s larger themes about journeys and transformations.

<sup>49</sup> This solo-chorus call-response pattern resembles responsive readings in Christian church services.

I am bound fo' heaven  
Jesus callin' me  
If I miss my callin'  
I ain't gwine be free.

[...]

If you hear me callin'  
Come and go wid me  
We can go to heaven  
Dats where we'll be free.<sup>50</sup>

“Bound” dually evokes opposing circumstances of bondage and travel. Heaven is the ultimate escape from slavery, whether geographic or spiritual. Jesus is referenced as an emancipatory symbol and a missionary figure that traveled to save others. In the third verse, the singer transforms into the Jesus-like leader, promising others that freedom is within reach. “I Am Bound,” provides agency for the enslaved vocalist by developing recurring themes of autonomy and transformation. Varying the meaning of “bound,” the slave opposes his master’s control. This musical moment captures the character’s present condition in Act II and foreshadows his fate in Act III, as “bound” signifies both the chains of slavery and his destiny to find freedom.

While the first and second acts develop the meaning of race and bondage in antebellum Virginia, the third act presents stories of escape and freedom. Directly inspired by period sketches and photographs, the third act most closely resembles surviving documentation of Fort Monroe’s contraband slaves. This act chronicles the journey of Shepard Mallory, Frank Baker, and James Townsend from the Mallory plantation. A slave working inside the Mallory house overhears Charles Mallory describe his plan to dispatch slaves to build Confederate fortifications in North Carolina.

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<sup>50</sup> Gerri Hollins, “I Am Bound,” in *Prelude to Freedom: The Contraband Slave Story*, score, 2001.

Word spreads across the plantation that families would be separated yet again. Mallory, Baker, and Townsend plot their escape and prepare to seek shelter at the Union-occupied Fort Monroe. Three songs in this act, “Honeysuckle Kiss Da Sun,” “Dey Ain’t No Slave,” and “Contraband,” narrate their escape through forest and swamp to the fort where General Benjamin Butler claims the slaves as contraband property. Perhaps the most important scene is a reenactment of Mallory, Baker, and Townson’s encounter with Butler. In a room staged to appear similar to paintings of Butler’s Fort Monroe office, the slaves celebrate freedom by praying to God. Fort Monroe symbolizes heaven’s gates that deliver these characters from slavery’s hell, thereby blending coming-of-age stories with Christian imagery. This moment makes the story emblematic of other African American narratives that depict journeys from South to North, and from countryside to city.<sup>51</sup>

The remainder of act three portrays escapes and arrivals of contraband refugees to the Union fort. Several slave characters from the first two acts reappear as contrabands in Act III to build the “Slab Town” refugee camp and be educated by Mary Peake. Her song, “I Will Teach You To Read” describes the educational opportunities for freed and enslaved black people that differentiated Hampton from other southern antebellum communities while reinforcing themes of self-determination and community. Black characters construct community in the opera through the erection of refugee camps, dedicated charity work of teachers, and the collective claiming of Fort Monroe. The folk opera ends triumphantly by celebrating the contrabands renaming of Fort Monroe as “Freedom’s Fortress.” Similar to Frederick Douglass’s *Narrative* where freedom is linked to the realization of full manhood, the mass contraband migration represents a social

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<sup>51</sup> Claudine Raynaud, “Coming of age in the African American novel,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the African American Novel*, ed. Maryemma Graham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 111.

maturation that completes the characters' (and the opera's) development. The last musical number, "My Gift To You," closes the opera by addressing the audience. Their gift is the memory of the contraband story, and the freedom they forged.

You can see me in the early spring,  
You can hear me when the robins sing,  
I will hear you when you sing that Suwannee River Song.

You can see me when a flower grows,  
You can even see me when it snows,  
You will know that I'll be there to always see you through,

I will love you even when I'm gone,  
Yes my love will help you carry on,  
Oh, I love you. It's my gift to you.<sup>52</sup>

Although "My Gift To You" was composed for the final scene of the folk opera, these words eloquently characterize Gerri L. Hollins' own commitment to disseminating her contraband slave story. Perhaps it is no coincidence that "My Gift To You" was the excerpt most frequently performed by Hollins in other contexts.<sup>53</sup>

### **Reiterations of *Prelude to Freedom***

The premiere of *Prelude to Freedom* as a fully staged folk opera was in 2005 at the Mary T. Christian Auditorium at Thomas Nelson Community College in Hampton, Virginia. The cast and audience consisted primarily of family, friends, and members of the Contraband Historical Society. The York River Symphony Orchestra accompanied the program and Dr. George Shirley of The University of Michigan narrated the premiere.<sup>54</sup> Programs were distributed to the audience with a dedication (featured at the

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<sup>52</sup> Gerri Hollins, "My Gift To You," in *Prelude to Freedom: The Contraband Slave Story*, score, 2004.

<sup>53</sup> Based on conversations with attendees at May 21, 2011 sesquicentennial celebration at Fort Monroe.

<sup>54</sup> The folk opera was performed February 25-27, 2005 at Thomas Nelson Community College's Dr. Mary T. Christian Auditorium with accompaniment by The York River Symphony Orchestra. Each performance

opening of this chapter) that testified to the contraband slave's accomplishments, contextualized the opera within a larger national narrative, and reaffirmed Hollins' genealogical and religious authenticity. *Prelude to Freedom* was pedagogically motivated to preserve and teach others about this heritage story, and the themes found in this dedication were emphasized during subsequent reiterations.

*Prelude to Freedom: The Contraband Slave Story* was also performed in other contexts. Hollins built community and financial support for her opera by performing one-woman shows that described the opera's plot while singing at a piano.<sup>55</sup> And a partial staging of *Prelude to Freedom* is captured in a 1999 promotional DVD that was sold to raise funds for the Contraband Historical Society. The DVD includes one scene from each of the opera's three acts, sandwiched by a solo vocal prelude and postlude.<sup>56</sup> As captured in the Figure 4 frame, Hollins scripted the DVD to only include musical material that she composed for herself to perform. Thus, these reenactments, both live and filmed, illustrate how vocal performance was a strategy to elevate Hollins as the primary public spokesperson for the Fort Monroe slaves.

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exceeded two hours in duration. For a review of this production, see David Nicholson, "Local History Presented in Show," *Daily Press*, February 25, 2005. George Shirley is The University of Michigan's Joseph Edgar Maddy Distinguished Emeritus Professor of Music.

<sup>55</sup> These shows occurred at churches between 2001-2005, and at the Kaufman Theatre for the Norfolk Historical Society in 2007.

<sup>56</sup> Gerri L. Hollins, *Freedom's Fortress: The Contraband Slave Story*, DVD, 1999. The film was written by Gerri Hollins in 1992, produced by Gerri Hollins, Phillip Adderley, and Jennifer Adderley, and filmed by Jenphi Ent. for the Contraband Historical Society.



Figure 3.6: Gerri Hollins as Emma in *Freedom's Fortress: The Contraband Slave Story*

A third reenactment similarly centers on Hollins' musical rendition of the contraband story. A collaborative project with a puppet theater troupe called Rainbow Puppets produced a Virginia history play for the 2007 Jamestown anniversary.<sup>57</sup> One act from this puppet show is a condensed version of *Prelude to Freedom* that teaches children about the refugee slaves while promoting literacy. In this reiteration, a Mary Peake puppet lip-syncs to a recording of Hollins singing "I Will Teach You to Read," a song that also appears in the folk opera. Similar to her other productions, the music and placement of the Mary Peake puppet in center stage (as seen in figure 5), constructs the contraband story around Hollins' characters, and through her authorial voice. While puppet theater may be unusual for an opera presentation, this reenactment demonstrates how the composer was willing to adapt her music to appeal to children.

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<sup>57</sup> Rainbow Puppets, "Footsteps in History," <http://rainbowpuppets.com/footsteps.htm> (accessed March 12, 2013). The puppet theater production was called "Footsteps in History." Situating the contraband slave story within Virginia's larger historical timeline through puppet theater supports my theory about the composer's willingness to rework her folk opera.





Figure 3.7 *Prelude to Freedom* as Puppet Theater.

Gerri Hollins continued to refashion her opera, and while her inclination to utilize a variety of theatrical forms may be interpreted a communicative strategy, or as a deliberate malleability that invokes established African American performance traditions, an equally justified interpretation is that these revisions stemmed from a lack of resources and production opportunities.<sup>58</sup> Whatever her inspiration, these grassroots activist opera productions succeeded in disseminating the contraband slave story to new audiences.

The most publicized and best attended event produced by the Contraband Historical Society was the May 21, 2011 reenactment of *Prelude to Freedom* at Fort Monroe. The event began when Hollins led an African-heritage drum-accompanied pilgrimage across Fort Monroe. Descendants of slaves and slave owners retraced the contraband slaves' passage across the army gate and through the base to the fort's center. As drums announced their passage, participants bodies occupied spaces that their ancestors once inhabited while they processed, thereby rendering the historical subject visible.

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<sup>58</sup> As an "amateur" African American woman composer who was unaffiliated with a music institution (theater, company, or university), Hollins did not have the resources or connections that might be available to professional composers, despite her conservatory training and professional experience.



Figure 3.8 Gerri L. Hollins Leads Parade Across Fort Monroe

The sounding of contraband history continued during a commemorative ceremony at the Fort Monroe parade grounds that featured invited speakers from the Historical Society, local government, churches and the U.S. army. Their comments bounced off the walls of surrounding army buildings, interrupting visitation of the army casemate museum, and a wedding ceremony in the adjacent base church. The parade and commemorative ceremony may be interpreted as a public reclaiming of black cultural space, an expression of heritage, and an assertion of black community solidarity and leadership. During this demonstration, contraband descendants and advocates demanded to be seen and heard.

As part of the ceremony, a men's choir from a Hampton contraband-founded church performed arrangements of songs from the opera, including a rendition of "Contraband of War" with close, four-part harmony, choreographed body movements, and rhythmic block-chord keyboard accompaniment.<sup>59</sup> The music enriched and intensified the emotional impact of the Fort Monroe commemoration, as did a reenactment of the opera's escape scene. After reciting the scripted escape speech, three

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<sup>59</sup> The song describes the arrival of refugees to Fort Monroe, and the lyrics attribute the "contraband" term to Butler, yet the song still subverts the master narrative because Butler's agency is limited by God, who ultimately made the Union army free the slaves.

costumed men figuratively became contrabands by crossing the commemorative stage. Other festivities commemorating the Fort Monroe refugees included photographic history exhibits, a contraband slab house replica, and a partial restaging of the earlier described puppet theater production.

These ceremonies concluded with a musical offering by Gerri Hollins at the center podium. This important moment was her first public address since recovering from a medical condition that had temporarily impaired her speech. The song Hollins chose to close the ceremony was the same song that concludes her folk opera. The moment when she took the podium crystallizes my interpretation of *Prelude to Freedom* as an empowering narrative that constructs Hollins as a central authoritative voice of the contraband slave story. This performance of “My Gift To You,” reaffirmed her command as the primary producer of that pilgrimage, staged theater, speech, and song.

Gerri Hollins considered all of these variations to be performances of her folk opera. We may interpret the folk opera and its iterations as puppet theater, DVD, reenactment, and commemorative ceremony as embodied attempts to revisit a particular moment in time. Each of these performances commemorate the U.S. Civil War by encouraging reflection and dialogue about history. *Prelude to Freedom* calls attention to the silencing of black history and black peoples, and consequently negotiates past and present social circumstances. Music is essential to this reenactment medium for its ability to signify and captivate. Performances of *Prelude to Freedom* may thus be interpreted as resistant acts that challenge dominant public history and opera conventions.

## CHAPTER 4

### SONIC HERITAGE OF CIVIL WAR BRASS BANDS

A small segment of Anglo American men from across the United States with considerable amounts of leisure time and disposable income have dedicated many resources to researching, purchasing, refurbishing, and performing Civil War brass music. In doing so, they construct and reify a version of the past that does racialized and gendered cultural work by projecting a particular historical narrative. I argue that this reenactment of Civil War sonic heritage can be fruitfully conceptualized as an act of repatriation. Although the notion of repatriation has traditionally been limited to returning dispossessed objects to disenfranchised communities, what happens when dominant social groups appropriate that model and use it to engage in cultural reclamation and musical revival?

This chapter will explore how the repatriation of Civil War brass band music participates in contemporary disputes about the deeply contested meaning and ownership of a particularly turbulent moment in American history. Specifically, I question how the framing of Civil War brass music as a retrievable sonic agent of authenticity facilitates a simplification of the past that negates issues of power and racism that were the root of this war. If repatriation enables communities to control representations of past and present identities, then the literal and metaphorical “return” of Civil War brass music to

its “rightful” white male owners becomes a discursive strategy used to both privatize and police national memory.

I explore these issues using ethnographic data collected from 2010 to 2012 from brass band collectors, performers, and audiences at the Cornets and Cannons Civil War Sesquicentennial Music Festival, Gettysburg Remembrance Day Commemorations, the Berkley Plantation commemoration of *Taps*, both Shiloh 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary battle reenactments, the annual Cornet Conspiracy gathering, and nearly a dozen other concerts, reenactments, and observances, all related to Civil War memory. The majority of informants with whom I had close interactions identified as upper middle class, white, male American citizens over the age of 40, most of whom were either raised or resided on the East Coast, and who had an ancestor that fought in the Civil War.<sup>1</sup> These men generously shared their time and knowledge with me and I am grateful for their willingness to contribute their perspectives and intimate details about their hobby and personal lives. Like other elements of the Civil War re-enactment movement, these brass band revivalists are deeply invested in the preservation of Civil War-era history and music. They experience pleasure from their hobby and believe it to be their responsibility to preserve the memory of this war. Although most of these people had never met each other, they sincerely believed in the existence of a close-knit community founded on a shared interest in Civil War brass music. While I respect these hobbyists for their musical skills and uncompromising commitment to their cause, it quickly became apparent that more was at stake in their revival than the mere preservation of musical artifacts.

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<sup>1</sup> Although contextual identifiers resulting from the context of my data collection remain, in order to reduce the risk of deductive disclosure, my key informants will be identified in this chapter by initials. Prominent leaders (past and present) of music revivals will be identified by name.

I focus my analysis particularly on one sub-group of Civil War brass revivalists who collectively own nearly 2,000 Civil War-era instruments, many traceable to period instrument makers, regimental bands, and historical individuals. They call themselves the “Cornet Conspiracy,” a name that refers to the competition for instruments that ultimately kindled their friendship.<sup>2</sup> These men found each other while competing for antique brass instruments on the Ebay internet auction site. One member of the “Cornet Conspiracy” describes on his blog how he became an eBay relic hunter:

I wanted badly to collect vintage brass... but these were the days before the Internet, and you had to visit a lot of antique stores in Florida before you'd find an old horn of any type. It was largely a matter of luck... My first authentic vintage pocket cornets [were] a J.W. Pepper (Gautrot and a rare Boosey Eb “Miniature.” This was in the course of collecting all types of vintage cornets which became an obsession just short of addiction, starting in 1998 when eBay hit.<sup>3</sup>

A common obsession for Civil War brass music drove this man and other collectors to spend enough time on eBay that their bidding wars became a form of socialization and competitive community-making. As the men began to recognize the screen names or usernames of other relic-hunters, they sent threatening electronic messages to each other while bidding on auction lots. Said one collector, “We met through eBay. Seriously, we were sending each other hate-grams.”<sup>4</sup> Competition for resources only intensified their sense of individual and community purpose. While tracking other collectors’ bidding histories, they gathered data about each other and discovered themselves to be middle-aged Anglo American men who resided in New York, Ohio, Alaska, Texas, Kentucky,

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<sup>2</sup> They use the term “conspiracy band,” to describe a loose community of rival music collectors. While this term may describe numerous bands of collectors, the particular group of collectors uses the term “Cornet Conspiracy” to distinguish themselves from similar clubs. eBay inc, “Moving Stories about The Power of All of Us,” *The Chatter: The eBay Community Newsletter*, (January 2005) <http://pages.ebay.com/community/chatter/2005/january/poaoustories.html> (accessed 16 December 2013).

<sup>3</sup> Nick DeCarlis, “Pocket Cornets and Me” <http://www.pocketcornets.com> (accessed 12 December 2013).

<sup>4</sup> Cornet Conspiracy Brass Band. Group Interview with Author. April 20, 2012. Athens, GA.

Georgia, and Florida who share a considerable amount of expendable income, leisure time, and investment in Civil War memory. They traveled in 2001 to Atlanta, Georgia for their first annual meeting to compare their collections. It was during this gathering that they “conspired” to cooperatively hunt for particular object-types as a strategy to enlarge their individual and group instrument collections. The fetishes and skills of each man contributed a different expertise to the club.<sup>5</sup> Said one member, “We were fighting over instruments on eBay until we decided it was ok to let each other have instruments if we were able to play them together.”<sup>6</sup> This gentlemen’s agreement founded an exclusive community who are recognized within the larger brass revival community as some of the most accomplished collectors and musicians of Civil War music.<sup>7</sup>

Brass revivals are not merely about the reclaiming of objects, but also a reaction to a shared sense of lost or missing cultural heritage. As instrument collection and performance realizes the sonic possibilities of these artifacts, intangible expressions of the impulse to repatriate also occur. The correspondence and friendship by the The Cornet Conspiracy on the digital auction house eventually led to a collaboration to return American Civil War music to locations (both metaphorical and literal) where they believe that this heritage should reside. Some of these efforts include the donation of material musical culture to heritage organizations, museums, and archives, as well as the

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<sup>5</sup> Dale Olsen, interview with the author, April 20, 2012, Athens, GA. There is a symbiotic relationship and money flow within the ensemble among bidders, buyers, and repairmen.

<sup>6</sup> Jeff Stockham, interview with author, April 19, 2012, Athens, GA.

<sup>7</sup> During our group interview, the most pressing concern from members of the conspiracy band was to learn how many instruments each man owned. At one point during our interview, one of the collectors interrupted my questions to start a tally. “I want to know, down the line, how many horns each of us own... There are more instruments between us than any museum has, that I know of. There must be 2,000 some instruments between us.” Collector 1: 200, Collector 2: 30, Collector 3: 90, Collector 4: 100, Collector 5: 200, Collector 6: 850, Collector 7: 160, Collector 8: 50-60, Collector 9: 275, Collector 10: 120, Collector 11: 20-30. Cornet Conspiracy Brass Band. Group Interview with Author. April 20, 2012. Athens, GA.

establishment of performing ensembles. These activities were often conducted with the intent of encouraging descendants of Civil War soldier's to engage with what is believed by the practitioners to be a very significant and unique heritage.<sup>8</sup>

The primary strategy by which brass revivalists recreate an audible heritage is to impersonate mid-nineteenth century military bandmen in sound and in appearance. This particular form of escapism creates an artificial experience of time and an opportunity to socialize with likeminded people within temporary music communities. Although most visible on the East Coast, brass bands signify in racialized and gendered ways.

### **The Sounds of Conspiracy**

Around nine o'clock on April 20, 2012, eleven casually clad men carried armfuls of instrument cases onto the stage of a southern concert hall and curiously peeked over their shoulders to size up their competition while piling their arsenal in self-claimed corners. The unsheathing of their instruments revealed Eb and Bb cornets, alto and tenor horns, and baritone horns of various shapes, sizes, and lacquer hues.<sup>9</sup> With so many more instruments than there were men on the stage, they transformed the concert hall into a veritable museum of nineteenth-century musical instruments. There was a ritualistic pattern to how the men removed each artifact from its case, examined its body for

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<sup>8</sup> The Cornet Conspiracy described here is but one of many Civil War music communities that perform or loan their collections to be performed. These ensembles often model the identity of their ensemble after a documented nineteenth-century ensemble, which is usually referenced by the name of the revival band and the adornment of regimental uniform costumes. There is much overlap in the rosters of these clubs, as most members the conspiracy band described in this paper are also members of other Civil War brass revival bands.

<sup>9</sup> Nineteenth-century brass instruments possessed different valve combinations, tubing lengths, mouthpiece designs, and bore sizes than standard contemporary western brass instruments. Differences in instrument design and production are compounded with a natural softening of the metal and a history of dents and repairs that impact the timbre of each instrument.



imperfections, rolled their fingers over the valves, and then propped the instrument on its side for display. When they seemed satisfied with their exhibits, they turned to each other with handshakes, hugs, and group photographs. They spent nearly an hour asking after each other's families, comparing their instruments, inquiring after the minute details of the design and history of their horns, expressing jealousy and contempt for each other's prized possessions, and swapping war stories about the acquisition of their items and of being "sniped" by other collectors who out-bid them for prized artifacts.<sup>10</sup> It was at once a fraternal reunion and a confrontation between skilled competitors, a blend of comradeship and rivalry. This was the annual meeting of the Cornet Conspiracy.

By ten o'clock, they transitioned to a formal band rehearsal, and after warming up with a couple of scales, they arranged their chairs in a semicircle at the edge of the stage, tuned to a cornettist, and rehearsed the *William Tell Overture*.<sup>11</sup> One performer interrupted the rehearsal to deliver a critique, "That's a piece-of-trash horn," which garnered the response, "I don't feel comfortable on it," to which another man replied, "Why don't you go get another one?"<sup>12</sup> The musician in question exited with his devalued horn and returned with a different instrument of the same type. As the rehearsal continued, the musicians frequently paused for critiques, repairs, and inventory exchanges when players encountered intonation problems, uneven tone across the

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<sup>10</sup> Nick DeCarlis, "Pocket Cornets and Me" <http://www.pocketcornets.com> (accessed 12 December 2013); Cornet Conspiracy Brass Band. Group Interview with Author. April 20, 2012. Athens, GA. "Sniped" is one of many militaristic terms that these collectors use when describing their hobby.

<sup>11</sup> Although the *William Tell Overture* is a nineteenth-century opera overture by Gioachino Rossini and not purposefully composed for Civil War brass bands, wind ensembles from this era frequently performed arrangements from symphonies and operas. However, it may be this overture's American association with *The Lone Ranger* and other pop culture references that explains its popularity and frequent performance by revival bands.

<sup>12</sup> UGA Symposium on American Band History, open rehearsal with Cornet Conspiracy Brass Band, April 20, 2012, Athens GA.

instrument's range, or if the timbre of one horn that was too piercing stuck out from the rest. Seeming to aim for a homogenous, mellow, and almost muted sound quality, the band spent the first half hour of their rehearsal adjusting the balance and timbre of the ensemble, and appeared most satisfied when they produced an organ-like sound.

The remainder of their rehearsal time was devoted to selecting and rehearsing the repertoire that they would perform later that afternoon in a public open-air concert, reminiscent of Victorian-era gazebo concerts, in front of the concert hall. The musicians agreed that their repertoire should have a southern-theme since they were performing for a southern audience, but their opinions diverged as to what criteria constituted southern music. When the lead cornettist suggested that they play an arrangement of *Marching Through Georgia* because it identified a southern state in the title, another member declared it to be inappropriate because it was a Union army favorite, but this was quickly rebutted. "But they [the audience] won't know it. They will see the title but won't know the tune," the lead cornettist added. "When they hear it, they'll love it, and it will be[come] southern."<sup>13</sup>

The series of decisions made by the Cornet Conspiracy during this rehearsal reveals an acute awareness and attention to the active construction of heritage that is at the very core of Civil War brass revivals. Programming and performance practices by these musicians contribute to larger conversations about the meaning of Civil War music, and more generally, of the war. Members from this ensemble believe that nineteenth-century brass music represented a burgeoning national music ethos (one that particularly resonated with the rising middle-class) that was characterized by a blend of European and

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<sup>13</sup> UGA Symposium on American Band History, open rehearsal with Cornet Conspiracy Brass Band, April 20, 2012, Athens GA.

Anglo American popular and art music traditions. They claim that their interpretation of this music tradition revitalizes the memory and sounds of the common men who participated in this war.<sup>14</sup> The series of instrument, timbre, and repertoire choices made by the Cornet Conspiracy suggests that Civil War memory can be stabilized through brass music, which is why the sound quality by the conspiracy band was of vital importance.

While observing the 2012 annual rehearsal, I sat in the audience with a senior bandsman who shared with me his insight about Civil War music. He told me that it is not the repertoire, but the instrumentation that matters. Although he believed that repertoire should correlate to time period and function of the brass instrument during the war-era, it was not important if the audience recognized the melody. What was critical was that individual timbres and ensemble blend be historically accurate because these sounds aid his imagination process, and help him crystallize memories about American history.<sup>15</sup> Many of the musicians with whom I spoke are conscious of and attentive to how their preservation and re-presentation of Civil War music directly influences contemporary perceptions of American history. To Olsen, it did not matter if the music played was of northern or southern origin, nor if he were able to identify the composer. What mattered was that the ensemble somehow “sounded” like a Civil War-era ensemble, and however this is supposed to sound, it suggests that music can register the unspeakable aspects of the past.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Cornet Conspiracy Brass Band. Group Interview with Author. April 20, 2012. Athens, GA.

<sup>15</sup> Dale Olsen, Interview with author, April 19, 2012, Athens, GA.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. These sentiments were echoed by reenactors with whom I spoke in other settings, particularly at the 150<sup>th</sup> Shiloh reenactments.

Reconstructing Civil War brass music is an active embodied experience that may be interpreted as transforming a commodity into a living object with which practitioners are able to interact and control through touch, movement, vibrations, and breath. Collectors have described their performances as breathing life back into the metal, and when accomplished as an ensemble, the blending of instrumental timbres creates a sonic cohesion that enhances a sense of group homogeneity.<sup>17</sup> These collectors value and strive to replicate what they call a “sweet” or “warm” sound that they imagine characterized the brass soundscape of mid-nineteenth-century Anglo America.<sup>18</sup> Said one collector,

These instruments have such a sweet, melancholy sound that carries well outdoors. The keyed bugle is so good at producing a smooth, legato sound. The most comparable modern brass instrument would have to be the flugelhorn... I know that when I play different pitches from different parts of the horn, it sounds really different in my head. The difference comes from the cutting holes into the metal, so it feels different when the sound is coming out of here [points to a hole in the horn near the mouthpiece] than when the sound is coming out of here [points to the bell].<sup>19</sup>

This aesthetic informs the criteria from which they judge the authenticity of their own music and that of others. This is why the exhibition and critique of instruments during the Cornet Conspiracy rehearsal was significant. The obsession for authenticity makes collecting an ongoing heritage test, and those who pass the scrutiny of other aficionados can become influential cultural authorities.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Stockham specifically commented on this, stating that this music tradition “is not dead” because “there are a number of skill players who keep it alive.” Jeff Stockham, interview with the author. April 20, 2012, Athens GA

<sup>18</sup> Cornet Conspiracy Brass Band. Group Interview with Author. April 20, 2012. Athens, GA. The language that brass collectors use to describe their sound is very similar to the nostalgic rhetoric that Gage Averill found in his study of barbershop quartets. See Gage Averill, *Four Parts, No Waiting: A Social History of American Barbershop Quartet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>19</sup> Jeff Stockham, interview with the author. April 20, 2012, Athens GA.

<sup>20</sup> Holyfield and Beacham call this type of cultural authority a “memory broker,” see Lori Holyfield and Clifford Beacham, “Memory Brokers, Shameful Pasts and Civil War Commemoration,” *Journal of Black Studies* 42 no.3 (April 2011), 436-456.

## A Historicization of Revival

The conspiracy band examined here represents a larger impulse to return Civil War sonic heritage to its “rightful owners,” and briefly historicizing this movement will help clarify the political and discursive function of brass revival bands. Long and didactic relationships between Civil War hobbyists and American educational, military, park, and media systems have been instrumental in facilitating and legitimizing this revival.

Financial resources and access to archives and performance spaces by employees from these institutions paved the way for other people to participate in Civil War music. One of the first Americans to organize a Civil War reenactment band was Fred Benkovic, who began collecting instruments while serving in World War II, as did Arne B. Larson, a band director whose collection became one of the founding inventories for the National Music Museum.<sup>21</sup> Robert Eliason, a former curator of the Henry Ford Museum Musical Instrument Collection and notable brass historian, collects and performs with the Yankee Brass Band, and this type of public administrator-private collector identity continues to be common among Civil War instrument collectors.<sup>22</sup> The most famous Civil War brass music collector is Mark Elrod, a former historian for the D.C. Marine Band who teamed with Robert Garofalo, The Catholic University of America professor/conductor emeritus to author a two volume pictorial history of Civil War-era instruments and form the

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<sup>21</sup> Ralph Dudgeon, *The Keyed Bugle*. Metuchen, (N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1993), 118; Historic Brass Society, “Fred Benkovic (1924-2009)” obituary, <http://www.historicbrass.org/TheStacks/News/News2009/tabid/296/Default.aspx> (accessed November 24, 2013); National Music Museum, “The Arne B. Larson Collection,” <http://orgs.usd.edu/nmm/arne.html> (accessed October 12, 2013). Benkovic founded The First Brigade Band in 1964, often cited as the first regularly performing Civil War brass revival band.

<sup>22</sup> Ralph Dudgeon, *The Keyed Bugle*. Metuchen, (N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1993), 118; Trevor Herbert and John Wallace, *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). 142.

Heritage Americana Band.<sup>23</sup> As these examples suggest, leaders of the brass heritage revival have often had professional ties to military and educational institutions, and their heritage hobby seems to be a natural extension of their professions.<sup>24</sup> Through enactments of cultural heritage, these notable participants began to create communities of likeminded people who shared their passion for history and music.

Although it is arguable when the Civil War brass revival originated, it increased markedly in vigor during the 1961–1965 centennial celebrations that served as a historical milestone that compelled people to re-visit and re-negotiate the war’s contested legacies.<sup>25</sup> At this time, interpretations of the war were frequently re-vitalized through selective, scripted performances that were similar in content and style to “living history.”<sup>26</sup> When the United States Civil War Centennial Commission promoted commemorations that celebrated military heroism at the expense of emancipationist histories to avoid fueling regional and racial tensions during the Civil Rights Movement, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the Cold War, the arts were elevated as a strategy to

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<sup>23</sup> Mark Elrod and Robert Garofalo, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands* (Charleston, WV: Pictorial Histories Publ, 1985); Jon T. Borowicz, “The Mid-Nineteenth Century brass band – a rebirth,” *Historic Brass Journal* 2 (1990), 126.

<sup>24</sup> This certainly is not an exhaustive list. Dozens of ensembles and collections have revived interest in U.S. brass heritage. These hobbyists commonly volunteer and perform at museums, parks, and schools. They also create and distribute sound recordings and lend their collections to archives for public display.

<sup>25</sup> Richard Crawford, *America’s Musical Life: A History* (New York: Norton, 2001), 272-293; Christian McWhirter, *Battle Hymns: The Power and Popularity of Music in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 7-32. Music was intricately tied to the processes of representing the Civil War from its very outbreak. The mid-nineteenth-century brass band carried with it a music of European descent and presented progressive stories about speedy changes in instrument designs, amateur music collectives, masculine heroism and competition, and audible homogeneity that appealed primarily to Anglo-Americans who envisioned themselves as models of democracy during a period of rapid and uncertain social change. Similar to the reception of brass bands during the nineteenth-century, the performance of American patriotic songs and Western European themes on European derived instruments by contemporary musicians dressed in western military garb suggests that the American identity is undeniably rooted in a shared Western European heritage.

<sup>26</sup> Re-enactment is one more of living history performance that Jay Anderson defines as the reasoned attempt to simulate life in another time. See Anderson, *Time Machines*; Rory Turner, “Bloodless Battles: The Civil War Reenacted,” *TDR* (Winter 1990): 123-136.

celebrate the war while deflecting analysis of its unresolved social problems. The social insecurity that coincided with the centennial may have signaled a promising future for minorities but seemed to the dominant class to signify a world spinning out of control. Rapid cultural change continued in the latter half of the 1960s and into the following decade as the second wave of feminism, the counter culture movement, and anti-war protests threatened patriarchal governance. This correlates with Kammen's assessment,

Nostalgia is most likely to increase or become prominent in times of transition, in periods of cultural anxiety, or when a society feels a strong sense of discontinuity with its past. All three of those tendencies became apparent in the sixties and then were absolutely manifest during the seventies.<sup>27</sup>

Reenactments continued after the zenith of the centennial, and as government funding for these activities waned, the privatization of events greatly influenced the development of regional differences in how Civil War reenactments were organized, received, and performed. A great number of participants became extremely devoted to the hobby for a variety of reasons relating to individual and group identity, nationalism, escapism, nostalgia, and profit. For many working- and middle-class white suburban men, the Civil War offered a retreat to a past era when demonstrations of patriarchal power were evident in nearly all forms of public life and could even be heard in the brass bands. A burst of collecting, performing, and recording of music during the 1960s laid the groundwork for the movement to restore Civil War sonic heritage in the following decades.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 618. Kammen describes this period in American history as the "heritage syndrome."

<sup>28</sup> John Druessedow, "Music of the Civil War Era: A Discography," *Notes: Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 60 no. 1 (2003): 240-254; Susan Hamburger, "Musical and Narrative Recordings" in *The American Civil War: A Handbook of Literature and Research*, edited by Steven Woodworth (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 620-650. Many contemporary collectors cite books and recordings from the centennial as their inspiration to join this heritage movement, the most important recording being Frederick

A period of heightened heritage discourse developed during the 1970s and '80s while racial, ethnic, and religious diasporic groups developed strategies to publically defend their distinctive cultural identities. Demands for civil rights and refusals to assimilate into the dominant culture by Black, Native American, and Chicano nationalists deconstructed the myth of a cohesive American identity and gave reign to an era of multicultural education.<sup>29</sup> Great innovations in social history and multiculturalism inspired museums to adopt heritage enactment as a strategy to resist unproblematic representations of linear social progress that focused almost exclusively on narratives constructed around the accomplishments of powerful white men. American heritage and living history museums using costumed enactment to supplement or replace more traditional exhibits and collections boomed during the 1970s and '80s. These activities bore similarities to reenactment hobbies in that both movements presumed it was possible to resurrect the past through performance.<sup>30</sup> Museum curators and social historians alike strove to balance traditional narratives with ones that replaced white men with minorities, women, children, and the lower classes, and which would engage tourists with themes of social conflict and social cycles.<sup>31</sup> This and other movements to reinsert the lived experiences of women and minorities into the retelling of American history coincided with an increase in minority museums, archives, and heritage groups. Demands for

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Fennel's *Civil War Music*. This double album of brass music performed on period instruments with added sound effects and narration.

<sup>29</sup> Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 620.

<sup>30</sup> Scott Magelssen, *Living History Museums: Undoing History through Performance* (Toronto: Scarecrow Press, 2007), xxi.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.



community recognition, self-definition, and equal opportunities led to the repatriation of land, material objects, and public displays of minority arts.<sup>32</sup>

Because these efforts were interpreted by many white Americans as threatening the existing social order, legislative resistance and the appropriation of political strategies were two responses that the dominant culture used to counteract minority power movements. There was a return to traditionalist expressions of patriotism, heard in the rhetoric of conservative politicians, and minority nationalist efforts were confronted by lobbyists and legislators whose fears of white power erosion influenced new monolingualistic and anti-immigrant legislation.<sup>33</sup> As Anglo Americans appropriated the rhetoric and display of “heritage” as a tool to reaffirm their racial dominance, white heritage organizations exhibited newfound confidence about publicly celebrating their lineage.<sup>34</sup> By framing themselves as an endangered community under threat by women and minorities, many white men began to reclaim their historically-bestowed power by reconstructing American nationalist narratives in their own image. Not coincidentally, a renewed interest in Civil War history during this time allowed many people to channel anxieties about unthinkable social upheaval into reclaiming and reshaping historical legacies. This past became a source of agency for contemporary Americans because the manipulation of historical memory operated as a way to overpower minority voices. The 1980s saw renewed interest in reenacting among middle class suburban white men, which fed into the establishment of a large share of America’s Civil War revival bands. This

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<sup>32</sup> It is important to note that these events took place during the same time that America’s class system and national economy began to shift towards a global market, and that white anxieties were more complex than, although often displaced in reaction to minority power movements.

<sup>33</sup> Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory* 638.

<sup>34</sup> Kammen, *Ibid.*, 644.

renewal continued through the 1990s and intensified into the twenty-first century, as Ebay and other forms of digital commerce greatly aided revivalists efforts to collect, restore, and trade artifacts, recruit reenactor-musicians, and disseminate information about Civil War brass music.

### **The Politics of Sonic Heritage**

The politicized reconstituting and attempted reclamation of an imagined sonic legacy raises questions about the very meaning and fluidity of the concept of “‘heritage.’” Laurajane Smith asserts that “there is, really, no such thing as heritage” which might seem to suggest that nothing and anything could be claimed as heritage.<sup>35</sup> But perhaps it is not ‘things’ but the indexed meanings associated with things that are at the crux of the heritage debate.<sup>36</sup> Heritage is not a product, but a process that produces and promotes values and meaning through discourse.<sup>37</sup> This discourse is a tool that validates individual and group identities, and reaffirms their sense of purpose. It is used to claim social progress or the reverse, to restore lost or subverted values and slow social change.<sup>38</sup> Heritage romanticizes and naturalizes an idealized time and place of origin that is articulated through cultural practices. Repetition of these ideas constructs a homogenous national identity that binds people to each other and to ‘the past.’<sup>39</sup> The construction of

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<sup>35</sup> Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), 11.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 11. She goes on to argue that heritage is the construction and performance of a hegemonic discourse that regulates cultural practices.

<sup>37</sup> This is what D.C. Hall terms ‘heritageisation,’ see D.C. Harvey, “Heritage pasts and heritage presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7 no.4 (2001), 320.

<sup>38</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 38-41.

<sup>39</sup> Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2009). The use of quotes around ‘the past’ is intended to draw attention to the sociohistorical process of constructing historical knowledge and to recognize multiple forms/possibilities of the past.

“heritage” may evolve from a fear of present or future powerlessness as in the case of the Civil War brass band revivals; if so, such constructions promote a culture of nostalgia and escapism that promises a beneficial, usable, and visitable past.<sup>40</sup>

Heritage becomes identifiable when it is judged against official/authoritative criteria.<sup>41</sup> The United Nations Education, Science, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines heritage as either intangible: “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts, and cultural spaces associated therewith,” or tangible: “sites that bear witness to multiple cultural identities, are representative of minority cultural heritages, are of founding significance, or are in imminent danger of destruction.”<sup>42</sup> Campaigns modeled after Western European archeological and architectural preservation are a product of this bifurcated categorization of heritage and have been met with discomfort from non-Western governments and heritage organizations.<sup>43</sup> The creation of a “List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding” and the “Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanities” has been celebrated for generating concern and funds in support of the arts, but it has also been the target of much critique not only for potentially freezing living-traditions, but also creating a hierarchy of cultural production.<sup>44</sup> Within the

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<sup>40</sup> Jim Cullen. *The Civil War in Popular Culture: A Reusable Past* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).

<sup>41</sup> Harvey, *Heritage Pasts*, 323. Laurajane Smith and Akagawa Natsuko, *Intangible Heritage*. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 6. Harvey relates the founding of these organizations to the commodification of heritage.

<sup>42</sup> Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 5-7; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, “Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage,” 2003, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00006> (accessed October 12, 2013); United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, “World Heritage List,” <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/> (accessed October 12, 2013).

<sup>43</sup> Smith and Natsuko, *Intangible Heritage*, 2006.

<sup>44</sup> Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Intangible Heritage as a Metacultural Production,” *Museum International* 56 no. 1-2 (2004): 52-64.

UNESCO framework, music and other sonic traces of the past may be the most immediately felt type of intangible heritage. But there is increasing skepticism among scholars about the possibility or benefit of distinguishing between tangible and intangible culture. Instead, it has been proposed that heritage should be considered an embodied practice and the bodily transfer of knowledge.<sup>45</sup> Culture becomes heritage through performative acts of collecting, restoring, visiting, interpreting, sharing, and listening. These heritage acts produce meanings and perform cultural work by reinforcing the values and identities of individuals and social groups.<sup>46</sup> Through the manipulation or even the creation of heritage we seek affirmation and negotiate our relationships with others. Therefore, in sonic heritage we can hear ongoing struggles to control the representations of communities, and to claim our cultural and historical importance.

What is sonic heritage but audible representations that stand in for the essence of a nation, or a group, or a region?<sup>47</sup> The audible can be a social mechanism through which music and sound construct shared feelings about a common lineage or an agreed-upon past. If there is such a thing as collective memory, it may be found in sonic heritage. When the sounds of the “past” are marshalled to claim and explain contemporary identities, heritage becomes a form of sonic subjectivity. Sonic heritage functions as a story-telling device that transmits a micro-narrative about its practitioners within larger stories about, for example, a national narrative.

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<sup>45</sup> Chris Rojek and John Urry, *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 2006.

<sup>46</sup> Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton, *Heritage, Communities and Archaeology* (London: Duckworth, 2009), 292.

<sup>47</sup> For the purposes of this chapter, I am not only considering ‘nation’ to mean nation-state, but also any community that acts as a political group.

One advantage of sonic heritage is its ability to capture a sense of place, which can be newly made or re-constituted through the enactment of perceived historically-accurate sounds.<sup>48</sup> Audible heritage can announce our presence and claim space because the power of sonic projection and volume can permit us to control, however temporarily, a given soundscape. This seems to be a particularly effective way of reclaiming landscapes where ancestors once inhabited. Enactments of sonic heritage at places where ancestors once breathed initiates a conversation about the meaning of lineage and, in the case of Civil War brass band music, can spark debates about individual and community entitlement and ownership.

Heritage and all of its accompanying processes are inescapably political. As Kohl, Kozelsky, and Ben-Yehuda observe, “fabricating and molding strong and unambiguous connections to a past have – almost by definition – an ideological, moral, and political base.”<sup>49</sup> Similar to how I describe heritage as a process, politics are an active process that is repeatedly enacted in order to maintain social order. Advocates may claim their heritage promotes inclusivity by stimulating the sensation of communal belonging but this can only be accomplished by policing the boundaries that differentiate one culture group from another, and therefore, heritage is always charged with the politics of exclusion. Powerful communities need heritage in order to control their own people and justify authority over others. Thus *heritage* is always a process of enacting power-over someone else.

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<sup>48</sup> See, Steven Feld and Keith Basso. *Senses of Place* (Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press, 1996).

<sup>49</sup> Kohl, Kozelsky, and Nachman Ben-Yehuda, *Selective Remembrances*, 19. For the purposes of this chapter, I consider ‘politics’ to mean ‘power-over.’

Sonic heritage enables practitioners to manipulate space and objects that they associate with the past in order to legitimize and sustain contemporary political agendas. The stories that are told by sonic heritage either enfranchise or resist present social order. As Anthony Seeger notes, “Music is one of the ways that communities establish themselves and try to survive; music is also one of the tools other people may use to try to dominate them.”<sup>50</sup> Sonic heritage is a resource of pride and power.<sup>51</sup> As long as the world consists of segregated communities, those social groups will justify their existence and compete for resources by invoking the past, and as the case study in this chapter suggests, our desires to be recognized can be articulated through sonic heritage.<sup>52</sup>

### **What Was Lost?**

Here I circle back to examine the types of meaning that can be generated by the return of Civil War brass music. If heritage is not a product but a meaningful process, then I argue that this brass revival attempts to reclaim two specific heritage traits: race and gender. Evidence that the American brass band functions as a signifier of white male heritage is reflected in the visual and audible performance of this music by revivalists. One way this community reconstitutes its sonic heritage is through returning individual instruments with specific histories to a particular ensemble. Reuniting and reusing these instruments in re-incarnated ensembles, according to participants, salvages their sonic possibilities. Civil War brass enthusiasts are drawn to a blend of technical proficiency,

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<sup>50</sup> Anthony Seeger, “Traditional Music in Community Life: Aspects of Performance, Recordings, and Preservation” *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 20 (Winter 1996) <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/ourpublications/csq/article/traditional-music-community-life-aspects-performance-recordings-and-pres#sthash.moIPKBNh.dpuf> (accessed October 12, 2013).

<sup>51</sup> Heritage is also tied to markets and therefore can be an important source of income.

<sup>52</sup> Kohl, Kozelsky, and Ben-Yehuda, *Selective Remembrances*, 3.

military order, and expressive sentimentality that I argue conjures a sensitive soldier-musician archetype with whom they may empathize or identify. Preservation and performance of sonic artifacts and – by extension – a soldier-musician archetype by brass band revivalists thus becomes a form of communal remembering. One member of the Cornet Conspiracy described this process as follows,

You know, I heard this story on NPR about a descendent of those who were in the holocaust, who plays music on their instruments, and I guess it's kind of similar to that. It gives you empathy for the owner. It's the closest I will get to time traveling. It establishes for me almost a spiritual connection with those who played 200 years ago. That's really why I continue to play.<sup>53</sup>

Significantly, however, this type of memory facilitates deep and powerful engagement with the past while bypassing less desirable aspects of nineteenth-century life such as slavery and war violence. These efforts are in earnest. The ideologies perpetuated by this form of political activism are too deeply embedded in the heritage process for most practitioners to recognize, but it is precisely this absence of reflection about the causes and enduring consequences of the Civil War conflict that makes the continuation of this hobby a highly political practice.

What has been stolen from the brass band revivalists is not a set of instruments but a form of manhood, referenced briefly at an earlier point in this chapter that may be described as the “heroic artisan,” or “citizen-soldier,” which is mythologized by the “cult of the fallen soldier.”<sup>54</sup> This mythical man is rational, honorable, and exists in a world of men who judge each other on the basis of bravery and skill. According to Michael Kimmel, this type of male archetype “is free in a free country, embodying republican

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<sup>53</sup> Jeff Stockham, interview with author, April 19, 2012, Athens, GA.

<sup>54</sup> Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 167; Blight 2001, 38; Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 16.

virtue and autonomy. And he is white.”<sup>55</sup> This form of masculinity encapsulates a memory of the mid-19<sup>th</sup>-century that disentangles historical actors from the causes and consequences of the war. Brass bands that function within this discursive framework constitute exclusive music fraternities that facilitate male bonding and reinforce social privilege by providing space for contemporary men space to reaffirm the masculinity of one another and of their ancestors.<sup>56</sup> This space hearkens back to the nineteenth-century radicalized and gendered separations of public and private spheres, by excluding full participation of women and other men (including men of color or non-native-born men).

Ultimately, Civil War brass music revivals work as a strategy to retrieve lost identities and diminished social entitlements. Civil War reenactors have explained their craft to me as a response to a variety of social phenomena including the safety, isolation, and commercialization of the ever-expanding American suburbia, to the loss of power at home and in the workplace, to the perceived threat of non-white, non-Christian, non-English-speaking immigrants, the loss of Christian family values, disregard of our nation’s founding fathers by the nation’s youth, to what they identify in a variety of ways as the feminization of American culture. What has been lost to these men is not necessarily a musical heritage, a racialized form of gender that connotes white male privilege, a specific type of masculinity that they can see and hear in Civil War brass music. Collecting and performing Civil War brass music creates a site of negotiation across racial and gender social axes in order to audibly re-masculinize themselves, what

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<sup>55</sup> Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 151.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 291-328. According to Kimmel, these types of masculine hobbies “celebrate cultures with elaborate rituals for men, all the while protesting that such rituals have nothing to do with women. Since the rituals exclude women, they must only be “about” men and manhood,” 319. Civil War brass revival bands function this way whether or not they include women or people of color because the activity ultimately benefits white men.



Kimmel has described in other similar cases the “return to the scene of defeat and retrieve lost manhood.”<sup>57</sup> Even Richard Crawford’s descriptions of the Civil War brass musician point to this extra-musical value, “Indeed, the image of musicians in paramilitary garb signals that artistry is not the only impulse they serve, perhaps not even the primary one.”<sup>58</sup> We may therefore consider the celebration of white male privilege as part of the aesthetic achievement and appeal of this music tradition.

It may seem as though this revival is no different than men’s lodges or wilderness retreats, but what differentiates the former from the latter is that the repatriation of sonic heritage is a public statement made by a group to promote a particular vision of the past and to influence the production of a national consciousness. Sonic heritage becomes a resource to promote a type of exclusionary citizenship. As Glassberg notes, certain elements of the past must be remembered while others are forgotten in order to create group cohesion, and therefore all communities are formed at the expense of other groups.<sup>59</sup> The practitioners of brass band heritage celebrate music rituals while insisting that such rituals have nothing to do with women or people of color. The rationale here is that since the rituals in question do not explicitly mention these other groups, the tradition must only be about music. Thus, the enactment of a perceived sonic heritage becomes cloaked in the politics of its own ideology, rendering participants unlikely to interpret their actions as having any political motivation or consequence.

That the “heroic artisan” is imagined to be a man is important because it reaffirms the primacy of men in American history narratives. The brass musician in military garb

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 311.

<sup>58</sup> Richard Crawford, *America’s Musical Life: A History* (New York: Norton, 2001), 272.

<sup>59</sup> Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*, 13.

becomes emblematic of the “everyman” who reconciles the gentility of the southern plantation patriarch with the northern self-made businessman at the exclusion of all women, children, and persons of color. His imagined white identity is crucial because if the actors, achievements and sacrifices associated with this war are remembered as white, then the universal white male emerges as the founding father of the modern nation understood to be born from this conflict. This locates the criteria for full citizenship within a framework of lineage that happens to include large migrations of Irish, German and other European peoples who are now easily interpreted as part of the white racial category while excluding Asian, Latino and other migrant groups who came later to the United States. This sanitized interpretation of Civil War memory creates a framework that almost completely erases the memory of Native American and African American peoples who did not have as much primacy in the war as citizen-soldiers. Paul Shackel contends that patriotic and heritage commemorations are a method to control the past by bringing back the ideals of cultural leaders and authorities to develop social unity and maintain social inequalities in society.<sup>60</sup> When viewed according to Shackel’s model, the repatriation of Civil War sonic heritage is really about mediating contemporary relationships between racial, ethnic and gender groups within U.S. boundaries – an action which raises issues of repatriation and power relationships.

Further questions are raised about the power of collecting, and the relationship between repatriation and empowerment. Power can be harnessed by sounding authority. Lowenthal writes,

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<sup>60</sup> Paul Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-Bellum Landscape* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2003), 81.

The past is everywhere a battleground of rival attachments. In discovering, correcting, elaborating, inventing, and celebrating their histories, competing groups struggle to validate present goals by appealing to continuity with, or inheritance from, ancestral and other precursors. The politics of the past is no trivial academic game; it is an integral part of every people's earnest search of a heritage essential to autonomy and identity.<sup>61</sup>

In the sounding of Civil War sonic heritage we hear the struggle to control the official national narrative, to police the boundaries of national citizenship, to privilege limited interpretations of the past.

### **New Applications of Repatriation**

Repatriation, in its simplest sense, is a process of return. Relics or traditions that are considered stolen or dying are repatriated when they cross cultural borders and are exchanged under the guise of nationhood. The repatriation of heritage necessitates a symbolic transformation of heritage into a historical document that is "authentic," and which stands in for a particular history with which a community identifies.<sup>62</sup> Repatriation negotiates the owners' or practitioners' relationship to both past and present life and is often considered a moral obligation that can right past wrongs.

The repatriation process has historically been symbolic of larger cultural exchanges that both mediate and are mediated by a legacy of interaction between nations with disparate amounts of power.<sup>63</sup> As various groups struggle to define a nation's identity, the displacement and return of tangible and intangible heritage draws attention

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<sup>61</sup> David Lowenthal, "Conclusion: Archaeologists and others," In, *The Politics of the Past*, ed. Peter Gathercole and David Lowenthal (New York: Routledge, 1990), 302.

<sup>62</sup> Robert Lancefield, "Musical Traces' Retraceable Paths: The Repatriation of Recorded Sound," *Journal of Folklore Research* 35 no. 1 (1998), 48.

<sup>63</sup> For example, Native American repatriation requests may be interpreted as a form of opposition to dominant U.S. colonization and appropriation of Native American culture.

to struggles between classes, genders, and racial and ethnic groups. During this process, the actors involved inscribe heritage with economic and culture value. Anxieties about the meaning of heritage may stem from a contestation of ownership or the identities of both parties involved in the exchange. In repatriation discourse, identities are created, communal power is asserted, and the past is owned. This selective emic discourse represents, stabilizes, and ascribes power to an “imagined” community.<sup>64</sup> This description also characterizes sonic heritage, which Seeger has described as so personal and emotionally moving that it can simultaneously “create identity and dissolve it” by venerating one community’s past while silencing others.<sup>65</sup> As Kohl, Kozelsky, and Ben-Yehuda declare, “control over the past has become very important and is up for grabs.”<sup>66</sup> This competition both frames and justifies repatriation.

In the instance of Civil War brass band revivals, I argue that sonic heritage repatriation can be understood not as a return of dispossessed objects to subjugated communities, but as a discursive strategy to control representations of past and present identities. I realize that repatriation is a concept traditionally limited to disenfranchised communities and I recognize the possible danger of applying this this concept too broadly, but I also see the value in using the idea of sonic repatriation as a model for

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<sup>64</sup> Gregory Barz and Timothy Cooley, *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997: 108-109; Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts*, new ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005) 228-229; Benedic Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised ed. (New York: Verso, 2006); David Lowenthal writes, “To own the past today has become both a national crusade – the restitution of artifacts and archives felt integral to the cultural heritage, and a private goal – taking possession of our own personal history.” Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 44.

<sup>65</sup> Anthony Seeger, “Traditional Music in Community Life: Aspects of Performance, Recordings, and Preservation” *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 20 (Winter 1996)  
<http://www.culturalsurvival.org/ourpublications/csq/article/traditional-music-community-life-aspects-performance-recordings-and-pres#sthash.moIPKBNh.dpuf> (accessed October 12, 2013).

<sup>66</sup> Philip Kohl, Mara Kozelsky, and Nachman Ben-Yehuda, eds. “Introduction” in *Selective Remembrances: Archaeology in the Construction, Commemoration, and Consecration of National Pasts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 3.

critically examining the complexities of heritage construction and reenactment. I wish to allow for the possibility that repatriation models, like other forms of minority resistance strategies, can be appropriated by dominant social groups. In this case, Civil War-era brass instruments are treated as fragments of the past to be gathered and strung together by revivalists in order to restore an endangered historical truth. The displacement and subsequent return of heritage described in this chapter is not of one nation-state taking from another, but instead, the tracing of a musical diaspora that proves the existence of a unique “Civil War” sonic heritage. I argue that the repatriation of Civil War brass band music provides fertile ground for examining the cultural politics of sonic heritage. Trafficking in and attempting to repatriate musical objects and sounds associated with discrete historical events and eras illustrates an effort to exert physical and intellectual ownership of the musical past.

## CHAPTER 5

### SOUTHERN VICTORY AT THE GETTYSBURG BALL

Battle reenacting is a form of revival and national story-telling that provides limited escapism, socialization, and authorial power to its actors. These commemorations fulfill what Tomas Turino has described of other revivals, that “the community isn’t imagined but actual; nonetheless, it is sporadic, temporary, and geographically diffuse.”<sup>1</sup> Temporary communities of Civil War enthusiasts converge at battle reenactments for historical roleplaying celebrations. The most iconic of these events are iterations of war games by armed white men in mid-nineteenth-century military costumes. Although most prevalent in the American southeast, reenactment occurs across the United States and abroad. Since the start of the U.S. Civil War sesquicentennial observances in 2011, hardly a day has passed without a battle re-enactment event somewhere in the United States, most often occurring at physical battle sites, Civil War filming locations, museums, or land privately owned by war enthusiasts or heritage organizations.

Music and sound play a critical role in the crystallization of Civil War memory at battle reenactments. A review of the origins of American battle reenacting precedes a structural analysis of the activities, sights, and sounds that create a reproducible Civil War memorialscape. An ethnographic description and analysis of a musically powerful event at the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary Gettysburg reenactment demonstrates how the performance

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<sup>1</sup> Tomas Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 161.

and reception of music reflects broader trends in the ideology and social structure of battle reenactments. This chapter concludes by reflecting on how Lost Cause ideology is embedded in battle reenactments.<sup>2</sup>

### **GAR and Northern Origins of Battle Reenacting**

Historians and re-enactors debate the date of the first American Civil War battle reenactment, but most agree that several significant post-war developments shaped American commemorative practices that gave rise to the contemporary hobby. In the decades that followed the Civil War, veterans' organizations fostered a community of actors whose invented traditions laid the foundation for battle reenacting. By 1890, the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), initially a Union veterans' organization, had enrolled over 400,000 members in 7,000 chapters.<sup>3</sup> The GAR became a powerful lobbying organization for veteran's benefits and military history preservation with the goal of memorializing their victories and sacrifices. As it happened, the public celebration of their service became a veteran's benefit in itself.<sup>4</sup>

By 1866, the GAR had established a tradition of annual "encampment" conventions where thousands of veterans camped together in uniform.<sup>5</sup> These

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<sup>2</sup> See pages 38-41 in the introductory chapter for a discussion of the Lost Cause.

<sup>3</sup> Albert Smith, "The Grand Army of the Republic and Kindred Societies: A Guide to Resources in the General Collections of the Library of Congress," *Library of Congress Humanities and Social Sciences Division*, 2001, <http://www.loc.gov/rr/main/gar/> (accessed January 19, 2014). Other similar Civil War veteran and civil organizations that developed after the war included the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, Northern Women's Relief Corps, Sons of Union Veterans, United Confederate Veterans, Sons of Confederate Veterans, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

<sup>4</sup> David Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 71-76; David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990) 19, 39, 86. Of great concern to the GAR were veteran's pensions and grand gestures of thanks. Fundraising projects by GAR members established Civil War museum exhibits and archives. They raised impressive amounts of money to commission monuments and memorials, and for the establishment of parks and cemeteries.

<sup>5</sup> Their blue uniforms appeared strikingly similar to Union army uniforms.

encampments developed a framework for the group's activity programming and participant demographics of future reenactments. Lobbying efforts by the Grand Army of the Republic influenced the federal designation of the May 30<sup>th</sup> Memorial Day to honor soldiers who died during service.<sup>6</sup>

Commemorations became public opportunities to indoctrinate younger generations into a militarized gender ideology modeled after the nineteenth-century "cult of the fallen soldier," a vision that David Blight describes as follows:

In the cult of the fallen soldier, a nineteenth-century manly ideal of heroism...the Union dead – and soon the Confederate dead with them – served as saviors and founders, the agents of the death of an old social order and birth of a new one. Memorial Day became a legitimizing ritual of the new American nationalism forged out of the war.<sup>7</sup>

Politics increasingly influenced these observances; ministers, veterans, and politicians gave "Decoration Day speeches" that aired anxieties about the future and nostalgically turned to the Civil War as a golden age of glory and honor.<sup>8</sup> Observances associated with Memorial Day such as grave decorating, battlefield strolling, cemetery picnicking, memorial visiting, sporting, and war story orating later morphed with battle reenactment.

### **The Lost Cause and Southern Origins of Battle Reenacting**

In the South, Memorial Day stretched into weeks that functioned as temporary escapes from Reconstruction.<sup>9</sup> At church and cemetery gatherings, monument unveilings,

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<sup>6</sup> Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 71. Although this holiday is often attributed to the decoration of confederate graves by southern widows, David Blight traces this holiday back to the African American Decoration Day parades and celebrations that I describe in Chapter 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 79-80. Spring seemed to be a genuinely ceaseless performance of Civil War memory across the United States. Southern Memorial Days included including the April 26 anniversary of Joseph Johnston's surrender to Sherman, May 10 date of Stonewall Jackson's death, and on Jefferson Davis' June 3 birthday. Some towns had additional Memorial Days to mark community-specific Civil War events.



parades and other pageants, a usable Confederate past was fused with Christian scripture and theatrically presented to the public as infallible proof of a justified and undefeated Confederate Lost Cause.<sup>10</sup>

The Lost Cause is a south-centered interpretation of American history that values the ruling planter class, fears white disenfranchisement by people of color, and reveres the beliefs and actions of Confederate leaders. The Lost Cause celebrates a romanticized version of the Confederate south, and serves as a guiding civil religion. Lost Cause ideology perpetuates the belief that the South was merely outnumbered in battle, and although they lost their slaves, such changes would not reduce white paternalistic power. Proponents of the Lost Cause became what Brundage calls “custodians of southern heritage” and made it their duty to de-vilify the Confederates.<sup>11</sup> Through this interpretation, those who served the Confederate army can be remembered as ethically neutral, whose suffering ultimately led to the birth of a new nation of which they were the founding fathers. Civil War interpretations that focus on blind loyalty to a cause still resonates with many Civil War reenactors because it holds public attention on the shared experiences of white soldiers.

Intense ideological devotion by white southerners to the Lost Cause produced commemoration traditions that glorified Confederates as warriors who defended their families and homeland against an invading North. Unlike GAR encampments that buttressed the dignity of individual soldiers, United Confederate Veterans (UCV) reunions were open to relatives and townspeople in order to strengthen a southern

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<sup>10</sup> Among the South’s Lost Cause rituals were loud and boisterous United Confederate Veterans annual reunions that would completely overtake southern cities.

<sup>11</sup> W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 4.

national memory of the war.<sup>12</sup> These commemorations became infused with mysticism, fantasy, and spectacle as Southerners nostalgically turned to the antebellum past as their golden era, and according to Blight, “racialized Civil War memory for the postwar generations” that prevented them from finding closure to this conflict.<sup>13</sup>

### **Gettysburg Tourism and Reenacting Hobbies**

The majority of battles were fought in southern territory, but it was Gettysburg, Pennsylvania that became the geographic nucleus of Civil War military memory.<sup>14</sup> Before the armies had disbanded, relic hunters traveled to Gettysburg to profit from the memory of the war, signaling the transformation of this town into a heritage mecca.<sup>15</sup> By the 1913 semi-centennial, Gettysburg campaign was remembered as the turning point of this war, the last Confederate stronghold, and the site of Abraham Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation speech that redefined the war as an emancipationist cause.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Gaines Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987) 132-133.

<sup>13</sup> David Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 272.

<sup>14</sup> Gettysburg Campaign Overview: From 1-4 July 1863 in Gettysburg, confederate General Robert E. Lee led the Army of Northern Virginia into its last northern invasion. Confederate troops wrapped around Union troops that defended a range of hills and ridges. Northern and southern troops faced each other in a series of battles that became known as Devil’s Den, Little Round Top, the Wheatfield, the Peach Orchard, Cemetery Ridge, Culp’s Hill and Cemetery Hill. Although the Confederates gained ground, the Union army retained its ability to defend the territory. The confederate infantry charged the center of the Union line at Cemetery Ridge in one last attempt to weaken the northern army, but Lee did not have the resources to overcome the Union troops and the remaining confederates eventually retreated to Virginia. Both armies suffered great losses with over 50,000 men killed, wounded, or missing after the Gettysburg Campaign. Although the fatality count from the Gettysburg Campaign is debated by historians, scholars agree that this battle is important because of its high death rate. See Joseph Glatthaar, *General Lee’s Army: From Victory to Collapse* (New York: Free Press, 2008); James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

<sup>15</sup> This transformation coincided with social shifts to industrialization and consumerism that made America’s modern tourist industry. The Defense Department first preserved the Gettysburg battlefield in the 1890s.

<sup>16</sup> Jim Weeks, *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and American Shrine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 9. Paul Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-bellum Landscape* (Lanham MD: AltaMira, 2003), 662. Two years after this town was connected by rail, more than 150,000 tourists visited this site.

But most of all, Gettysburg was remembered for a military death toll that had not been matched.<sup>17</sup>

Memories of death and survival at this site were invoked during a grand spectacle in 1913 when U.S. government officials transported over 50,000 white veterans to Gettysburg for a bipartisan event in which they donned old uniforms, camped on the battlefield, and paraded in rank to celebrate reconciliation.<sup>18</sup> For thousands of white spectators, the sounds of Civil War anthems and the sights of uniformed veterans verified the myth of a unified nation that was reconstructed from the wreckage of this war. The maturity of these veterans, who were perceived by Americans as fathers of the new nation, was apparent in their age and ability to forego old quarrels in the name of national progress. The 1913 Gettysburg festival, dubbed by the organizers as the “Peace Jubilee,” concluded with a lone bugler’s sounding of “Taps.”<sup>19</sup> Music was a great reconciling force through which private memories of the war circulated. This was by no means the first Civil War commemoration, but it provided a model of remembrance that was based on anniversary pilgrimages to battlefield sites where partially scripted and costumed roleplaying performances of a selective and politically charged narrative guided public memory. Memorial installments, pageants, and war museums of the semi-centennial greatly renewed interest military history and tourism.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Gettysburg deaths were perhaps more emotionally felt due to the speed/condensed time period. Certainly the quantity of people who at Gettysburg cannot compare to the number of slaves who died in bondage during the antebellum period, but the visualization of so many dying at once makes the imagined vision of Gettysburg potent for many Americans.

<sup>18</sup> This reunion was a familiar performance in structure and sentiment to many veterans who, for years, had participated in the GAR encampments.

<sup>19</sup> While clearly marking an audible national heritage, the abstractness of music also allowed for personalized interpretation of the meaning of that war.

<sup>20</sup> The semi-centennial also provided a commemoration model that was based on racial and gender segregation, government sponsorship, commercialization, and media coverage.

## Centennial and Contemporary Trends in Battle Reenacting

By the planning of centennial celebrations in the 1960s, states enthusiastically sponsored battle reenactments, concerts, and genealogy projects in order to avoid the topic of slavery and its legacy at a moment when national anxiety brewed.<sup>21</sup> Battle reenactments became, for many eastern towns, valued expressions of local history and identity. White suburban males were drawn to the hobby for its militarized combination of history, nature, and sport. It became a multigenerational activity shared between fathers and sons, which led to the commercialization of this hobby, complete with mass produced equipment and publicized annual events.

Gettysburg remains the most iconic American battle reenactment and although performances of this campaign stretch back to the early veterans reunions, contemporary battle reenactments more closely resemble centennial-era pageantry.<sup>22</sup> When public interest waned after the centennial, control of the Gettysburg production was handed to reenactors and heritage groups. The result was two decades of Gettysburg reenactments that varied in size, content, organization, and local partnership. The 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary attracted over 150,000 people to the fairgrounds over two days in July of 1988 for a professionally choreographed Pickett's Charge. Historian Jim Weeks described that performance as follows,

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<sup>21</sup> John Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 204. See my discussion of this history on page 45.

<sup>22</sup> The reenactment gained an unfavorable reputation among many Gettysburg locals and business owners who complained about vandalism, unpaid bills. Only two thousand reenactors participated in the July 1976 reenactment, a number that rose to 12,000 for the 1988 reenactment (See *Remixing the War Sesquicentennial* page 10. See Gettysburg Anniversary Committee "About GAC" <http://www.gettysburgreenactment.com/about-gac/> (accessed January 20, 2014).

In a few clouded minutes of stabbing, clubbing, and shooting, the ferocity subsided. A red, white, and blue banner of Union rippled victoriously over the scene of carnage as gray survivors of Pickett's Charge limped back toward the Confederate lines. Only the absence of shredded flesh and a raised, panoramic perspective – revealing tens of thousands of spectators sporting sunglasses and shorts, scaffolding for technicians and camera crews, and surrounding fields turned into parking lots – belied the scenes' authenticity. For observers and participants the battle's 125th anniversary highlight had succeeded.<sup>23</sup>

Revival of the Gettysburg reenactment continued into the 1990s, fueled in part by the successes of Ken Burns' *The Civil War* (1990) and Ted Turner's *Gettysburg* (1993) films. The Gettysburg Anniversary Committee, a local advocacy group that has organized this event since 1995, greatly systematized these reenactments by permanently locating the festival grounds on the site of Ted Turner's film, thereby linking the historical memory of this war with Hollywood representations, and standardizing the festivities to last 3-4 days with 1-2 battle scenes performed each day during July 4<sup>th</sup> holiday weekend, thereby connecting public memory of Gettysburg to other wars, and to national traditions that are associated with the July 4th holiday.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Jim Weeks, *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 171. The 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary reenactment was very similar to Weeks' description. For contemporary spectators, the heavily trafficked morning drive to the fairgrounds is part of their Gettysburg reenactment experience. Parking attendants snap wrist bands on ticketholders and pass out maps with daily schedules. Inside the gates, hourly living history programs including concerts by brass and string bands entertain audiences in large shaded tents while reenactors explained 19<sup>th</sup> century clothing fashions and interpret medicinal displays in the living history zone, vendors sold food and memorabilia from their trucks. By noon, the grandstands fill with excited pop-corn munching spectators. After everyone sings the national anthem, an amplified Parks Service representative narrates the battle scene that unfolds on the battlefield. What followed was strikingly similar to Weeks' description of the 1988 battle scene, and after the battle concluded, visitors resumed their exploration of the fairgrounds until the next battle. When asked about their attraction to the Gettysburg reenactment, visitors most frequently identified the battle scenes as their favorite aspects, but music followed a close second. When the same question was asked to reenactors, responses differed greatly depending upon the identity of the respondents. Men over thirty were primarily drawn to the thrill of battle, while younger men came to socialize, and female respondents indicated great anticipation of the evening dance.

<sup>24</sup> This committee was founded in order to improve and standardize the structure of the annual event. They coordinate event registration, emergency management, event management, public service, finances, administration, and promotion. They provide wood, water, toilets, ice, emergency medical services, shuttles, traffic control, wildfire suppression, and security, which they model after the Department of Homeland Security's National Response Plan. By 1998, the committee was taking care of as many as

As detailed above, it is apparent that the explosion of public memory following the war established regional and national commemoration conventions. GAR encampments popularized costumed fraternal fairground tent camping. Memorial Days promoted the cult of the fallen soldier and made Lost Cause interpretations socially acceptable expressions of southern pride. Battlefield parks and museums commercialized public memory and popularized war tourism while roleplaying hobbies were used as effective public pedagogy. All of these strategies are reflected in the organization of contemporary battle reenactment conventions.

### **Geography of Battle Reenactments**

Most contemporary Civil War battle reenactments share a physical layout that spatially segregate memory rituals and regulates social behaviors while enabling participants to feel as if they are drifting backwards through time. There exists a social hierarchy of access and control of resources across these spaces, as well as a regulated collection of regularly occurring music and sounds.

The average reenactment space is divided into three zones: battle, actor, and commercial areas. The battlefield is usually a large rectangular field with left and right stage entrances, and is framed by trees or other natural objects that hide visual evidence of the contemporary world. These areas also function as staging areas and are generally off limits to the public. A spectator-viewing area in front of the field may be filled with

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25,000 reenactors in the annual reenactment. See Dora Apel, *War Culture and the Contest of Images* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 47. The cost to attend the weekend festivities is comparable to the admission to a theme park. Reenactors pay registration fees to attend. They must also register their weapons, horses, tents, and non-combatant family members, and sign several release forms regarding safety, liability, and filming/media rights.

bleachers or picnic blankets, and is usually equipped with speakers that transmit recordings of Civil War-era music before and after the show. To the sides of the stage are Union and Confederate actor zones that include regimental tent camps where many reenactors will reside for the duration of the reenactment. The most iconic socialization activity within this zone are evening campfire sing-alongs that occur after the fairgrounds are closed to the public. This singing tradition may be directly traced back to the GAR and UCV reunions, as can other musical activities in the camps, such as occasional minstrel shows and instrumental jam sessions.<sup>25</sup>

Campgrounds are usually surrounded by staged “living history” educational stations that serve as the primary area for tourist-reenactor interaction. Inside large tents, costumed reenactors exhibit relics and lecture about history and reenacting. They stage demonstrations about camp life, nineteenth century medicine, fashion, weaponry, and music. Formal lecture-performances by regimental brass bands and string bands are often scheduled throughout the day to entertain visitors between battles.

Adjacent to the living history area is a commercial zone where mementoes are sold. Commercial “sutler” tents that sell craft objects such as petticoats and musical instruments are separated from vendors that sell T-shirts, posters, CDs, and food.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> See Rory Turner, “Bloodless Battles: The Civil War Reenacted” *TDR* 34 no. 4 (1990): 123-136; Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998). Rory Turner documents the performance of a blackface minstrel show in his anthropological research, and similar activities are alluded to in Tony Horwitz’s *Confederates in the Attic*. Several of my informants from the Shiloh and Frankfurt reenactments described instances of blackface and other minstrel performances occurring in contemporary camps, but none one admitted to performing or witnessing such performances first-hand. More frequently, reenactors would admit to bringing instruments with them to reenactments for evening jam sessions. Reenactors who stay in these camps remain in costume and often in character, but their isolation from spectators allows for camping equipment such as cell phones and battery powered fans. Many reenactors, particularly non-regimental actors will stay in hotels.

<sup>26</sup> While non-costumed visitors may purchase items from these tents, most are geared to supply reenacting equipment, and provide a space where reenactors may sell items to each other. For photographs and examples of sutler merchandise, see “Fall Creek Sutlery,” <http://www.fcsutler.com/> (accessed January 20,

Heritage organizations, tourism bureaus, newspaper, and other community representatives are also stationed in the commercial zone near the fairground gates. This spatial compartmentalization relates to the values of logic and order that are performed and celebrated there through disciplined enactments of military rationale. It also reflects physical and temporal constraints of these performances, as they are by nature selective, and thematic. The organization of this landscape greatly influences the range and order of sounds heard at American battle reenactments, creating a memorialscape of expectations and practices that are generalizable and re-creatable at other sites.<sup>27</sup>

Music and sound exist in different forms in all reenactment areas. There are designated spaces for performance, reception, debate, creation, and consumption. Music can be seen and touched as tangible objects that are sold by vendors. Commercial vendors may sell CDs, sheet music, toys, and images of musicians in paintings, posters, and other physical objects. Sutlers may sell musical relics or instrument reproductions. Music is performed in the living history as concerts, participatory dances, religious services, and weddings. This soundscape is further shaped by the sounds that emanate from the speakers that surround the battlefield stage, and the iconic sounds of bugles, fifes, and drums during the battle. While impromptu singing may occur around campfires in the reenactment camps for the pleasure of small-groups, the size and structure of the Gettysburg festival has caused the production of music to be more closely regulated than the average American war reenactment. These soundscapes contribute to the perceived

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2014). Food vendors are also stationed in the commercial zone, but are located the furthest from the battlefield because of the noise produced by their generators and cooking devices.

<sup>27</sup> Professional consultants and event planning companies are often hired to organize battle reenactments.



authenticity of this space, to the memories that are created there, and to the knowledge gained from those experiences.<sup>28</sup>

### **Dancing the Civil War at Gettysburg**

The festival grounds closed to the public on the July 6, 2013 evening of the 150<sup>th</sup> Gettysburg anniversary reenactment. After a long day of military theater, a scheduled period of calm permitted the actors (many of whom had starred in the afternoon battle) to recoup in their tents, RV's, and hotel rooms, where they rid themselves of their battlefield musk before the evening ball. The annual Saturday night ball is particularly valued by women and girls because it is one of the rare opportunities for them to reenact Gettysburg in a primary social role, and so, they took great care to adorn themselves in ball gowns and braid their hair for this event. These freshly decorated actors ventured across the darkened festival grounds to a large white canopy that glowed from the electric lights that were strung across the ceiling. A tent that functioned by day as a living history exhibition area was by night a music venue that for some, would be the highlight of their Gettysburg weekend.

Balls are a mainstay of Civil War reenactments, but the 2013 Gettysburg ball differed from previous years. The organizers of this reenactment normally hosted two dances, Union and Confederate respectfully, each with their own regionally-identified band in a separate tent. Multiple balls meant more room for dancing, but more importantly, the partisan system was believed to have developed distinctly regional characters that audibly marked Union reenactors as different from Confederates. Rowdy

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<sup>28</sup> See Appendix P for photos and memorabilia from sesquicentennial battle reenactments.

rebel yells and “Dixie” strains that emanated from the southern tent contrasted the composure of the northern ball. Partisan balls were sonic celebrations of different regional identities, and veteran reenactors anticipated the dual ball tradition to continue in 2013, but upon arrival, there was only one.

A unified tent dance posed a series of challenges for the 150<sup>th</sup> commemoration. Too small to accommodate the thousands of reenactors who occupied Gettysburg that week, the physical limits of the tent necessitated closeness between select participants who squeezed in under its shelter. According to one witness, “So Union and Confederate in the same tent. Everyone was together amicably as far as I could tell. But the band was from South Carolina. And that became important at the end of the evening.”<sup>29</sup>

Inside the tent, an eight-member band sat in a row of metal folding chairs on an elevated stage surrounded by instrument stands that cradled guitars, fiddles, mandolins, banjos, tambourines, bones, penny whistles, fifes, and a transverse flute; instruments that they would alternate to diversify the timbre of their music. The instrumentation at the beginning of the ball consisted of a tambourine player on stage left, three banjo players beside him, two fiddlers stage center, and a guitarist and flutist stage right. They projected their music toward stand microphones on the edge of the stage that were amplified by two large public address speakers and illuminated by a row of electric candles. Accented by bow ties and straw hats, the musician’s antiquated costumes evoked a nineteenth-century white working-class ethos. The lead musician welcomed the audience, introduced the band, and signaled the musicians to play.

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<sup>29</sup> Amy Stallings, interview with author. See Appendix A for interview transcription.

Pouring from the tent were joyous sounds of music, chatter, hollers, and laughter that accompanied the introduction of new acquaintances and reunions of old friends. After the crowd settled, participants stood in crowded gender segregated lines and performed a series of turns that weaved intricate kaleidoscopic patterns of circles and stars. A designated dancemaster called out directions to the dance steps through a microphone, and when he was satisfied with the quality of their dancing, the dancemaster signaled the band to play “Arkansas Traveler.”



Figure 5.1 “Arkansas Traveler”<sup>30</sup>

“Arkansas Traveler,” is a nineteenth-century melody that takes its name from a story about a sophisticated urban man from the east coast who travels west by horseback, and after losing his way, encounters an uncivilized fiddler who speaks in riddles and cannot remember how to play his tune. Each man holds the information which the other seeks; the squatter knows the geography and the urbanite knows the fiddle tune. Although the juxtaposition of disparate regional and socio-economic identities of the two men hinders their ability to converse, their shared knowledge of the fiddle transcends their differences. The city traveler takes the fiddle from the frustrated squatter and finishes his fiddle tune. Relieved to solve his most immediate problem, the squatter invites the urbanite into his home for food.<sup>31</sup> Within these lyrics are metaphors for America’s race, class, and gender dilemmas from that time period that are negotiated by two men through

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<sup>30</sup> Melody transcribed by the author to reflect how it was performed at the tent dance.

<sup>31</sup> Sarah Brown, “The Arkansas Traveler: Southwest Humor on Canvas.” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1987): 348–375.

music. The story of the “Arkansas Traveler” is one of musical reconciliation. Within the context of the Gettysburg ball, this song selection became symbolic of battle reenacting, in which two opposing regional arsenals are dependent upon each other in order to retrieve historical knowledge. And while one might expect the unification of the tent dance to create tension between these two camps, it had the opposite effect. At no time during the 150<sup>th</sup> reenactment was reconciliation so literally embodied as during the ball, and evidence to support this claim can be found in their dances.

The dances performed at the Gettysburg ball did not reflect the most popular nor the easiest mid-nineteenth-century dance forms.<sup>32</sup> These social dances may have been selected for the Gettysburg ball to accommodate large groups of dancers, but the increasingly cramped conditions resulted in a series of body collisions. Less experienced participants imitated seasoned dancers, but they struggled to complete the dance steps and caused the lines to collapse. But the dancemaster always had another configuration up his sleeve and the crowd continued to perform these dance figures until the tent became too crowded to continue. Continued insistence on performing reels and country dances despite the chaos that ensued after repeated collapses of the lines evidences the desire for community as an ulterior motive for dancing. Social dances, as Tomas Turino has suggested, are particularly adept at creating the sense of shared identity, what he calls “sounding together,” a musical realization of community.<sup>33</sup> Dances performed at

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<sup>32</sup> The waltz and polka more accurately represented dance trends from this time period, but a slow waltz would not have coordinated with the energy and purpose of the tent dance. The type of dancing performed at the Gettysburg ball is representative of the dances performed at other Civil War reenactments. The dances performed to the music of the 2nd South Carolina string band were in many ways akin to the square and contra dances that continue to be performed throughout North America, and what these dance traditions share are romantic associations of community and heritage by a largely middle-class Anglo American public who generally come to the art form as adults.

<sup>33</sup> Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 157.

Gettysburg temporarily created democratic communities because all participants (regardless of rank, gender, or skill) perform the same body movements.<sup>34</sup> In this context, they symbolized the unification of an imagined North and South.<sup>35</sup>

During the second hour of the ball, the multigenerational mix-gendered audience crowded in front of the stage, with a movement by young men to the fore. They locked arms, waived their hats in the air, and sang. The crowd appeared more concerned with bonding with the living than reenacting the past, a shift in attitude that was best evidenced by the breeching of technological boundaries.<sup>36</sup> The tent lights were brightened and the costumed audience held their cell phone cameras high, self-documenting their experiences and proudly exhibiting their technology in a celebration of the present.<sup>37</sup>

The seated revival band sustained the energy and performance practices from the first half of the ball, and yet the soundscape differed greatly due to the vocal waves of audience participation. Cheers at the beginning of each musical selection communicated the audience's familiarity and approval of the music, exemplified by the joyful hollers in response to a song entitled "Southern Soldier."<sup>38</sup> The lead vocalist responded to their enthusiasm by encouraging the audience to fill-in the second phrase of each verse. This call and response pattern sent waves of sound rippling through the tent.

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<sup>34</sup> See, Amy Green, "Dance, Dance Revolution!: The Function of Dance in American Politics, 1763-1800," MA thesis, (Williamsburg: College of William and Mary, 2009).

<sup>35</sup> Another way to interpret the dance is although the participants greatly wanted to perform community through dance, the temporality and artificiality of the heritage being invoked magnified the flaws of their logic. These people did not, in actuality, share the type of socialization or cultural knowledge that would make possible an impromptu exhibition of a shared sense of rhythm or movement. Perhaps this why the reenactors eventually abandoned dancing at the tent dance and transitioned to a different form of participatory music making of which they did share a cultural knowledge.

<sup>36</sup> Most of the women retreated to the back of the tent where they also stood and sang.

<sup>37</sup> Their actions were simultaneously captured by professional videographers who filmed the event with cameras suspended from long booms.

<sup>38</sup> The band performed the song as it is recorded on their 1997 album of the same name. 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina String Band, *Southern Soldier*, Palmetto Productions B00005NKYB, CD, 1997.

“Southern Soldier”

Solo: If I must die for my home and land  
Tutti: my spirit will not falter.  
Here’s my heart and here’s my hand  
upon my country’s alter  
Upon my country’s alter.  
Here’s my heart and here’s my hand  
upon my country’s alter.

Solo: If heaven be with us in this fight,  
Tutti: be with the Southern soldier.  
We’ll drive that mercenary hoard  
beyond our Southern border.  
Beyond our Southern border.  
We’ll drive that mercenary hoard  
Beyond our Southern border.

Solo: I place my knapsack on my back,  
Tutti: my rifle on my shoulder,  
I march away to the firing line to kill that Yankee soldier.  
I’ll kill that Yankee soldier.  
I march away to the firing line to kill that Yankee soldier.<sup>39</sup>



Figure 5.2 “Southern Soldier”

Two young men in the front row leaned their bodies forward in anticipation of embellishments from the band, and rocked their bodies as they clapped in rhythm to the accented downstrokes by the string players. Their exaggerated body movements exhibited their knowledge of the arrangement. They temporarily fulfilled the role of dance-master whom the rest of the crowd imitated by clapping on beats three and four of

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<sup>39</sup> Excerpted transcription by author to reflect how the song was performed by the crowd at the Gettysburg tent dance. This Confederate-era song was re-popularized by John A. Lomax’s recording of Minta Morgan’s performance. This recording may be streamed on the Library of Congress website. See Library of Congress, “The Southern Soldier,” <http://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200197129> (accessed April 17, 2014).

each four-beat measure, a pattern that became more forceful as the lyrics grew increasingly violent. Shifts in audience behavior including the approval of technology, rock concert manners, looser and less frequent dancing, and singing changed the mood and meaning of the ball. It neared the end of the ball, and then came “Dixie.”

The powerfully loud and heartfelt mass incantation of “Dixie” at the conclusion of the ball defies adequate description. Dozens of people within the tent proudly recited four verses of Dixie; everyone else participated in the “look away Dixie Land” responses.

#### “Dixie”

Verse 1: Oh I wish I was in the land of cotton, old times there are not forgotten  
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land.  
In Dixie land where I was born, in early autumn one frosty morning  
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land.

#### Refrain

I wish I was in Dixie, Hooray! Hooray!  
In Dixie’s land I’ll take my stand to live and die in Dixie.  
Away, away, away down South in Dixie.  
Away, away, away down South in Dixie.

Verse 2 Ol’ Missus mary Will the weaver, William was a gay deceiver  
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie Land.  
And when he put his arm around her, smiled as fierce as a forty pounder  
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land.

Verse 3: His face was sharp as a butcher’s cleaver, but that did not seem to grieve her  
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land  
Ol’ missus acted the foolish part, she died for a man that broke her heart  
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land

Verse 4: Here’s to the health of the next ol’ Missus and all the gals who want to kiss us  
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land  
And if you want to drive away sorrow come hear our song tomorrow  
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land

Verse 5: The buckwheat cake and Injun batter makes your fat a little fatter  
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land  
Then hoe it down and scratch your gravel to Dixie’s land I’m bound to travel  
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> “Dixie,” lyrics transcribed by author to reflect how they were performed by the crowd at the tent dance.

As their performance progressed, they sounded less musical but more passionate. By the first chorus, the crowd abandoned the traditional melody in favor of a more monotone chant. In addition to the song, they performed the joy that their associations with that song stirred within them. The audience almost rioted when the band rose from their chairs and towered above the audience. By the end of the song, many men had wrapped their arms around their neighbor's shoulder and swayed from side to side. The musicians marked the end of the song by sustaining a tremolo that extended the duration of the last five words to the refrain. This gesture was interpreted by the audience as a signal to holler, wave their fists, and throw their hats. At no time during the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg was there as loud and genuine an expression of bipartisan community as during the closing "Dixie" performance. What does this this sonically powerful event reveal about Civil War memory?

Reflecting on that exciting moment when the band rose from their chairs, what does it mean to take a stand, "in Dixie" at Gettysburg? We might interpret this scene as a musical monument to the Confederacy. If it generated a shared memory and sense of nostalgia, we might interpret this scene as the building of a community on the basis of a common memory or amnesia of the past.<sup>41</sup> Gettysburg was refigured through "Dixie" as a Confederate space.<sup>42</sup> Evoking the Lost Cause by reciting "Dixie" required participants to recognize the song as a confederate anthem, identify with that cause, and construct a temporary community on the basis of that identification.

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<sup>41</sup> For theories of cultural amnesia, see David Glassberg, "Public History and the Study of Memory," *The Public Historian* 18 (Spring 1996): 7-23.

<sup>42</sup> It is particularly striking that white and black actors sang "Dixie" together.



The string band mediated a reconciliation of past and present time for northern and southern –identified actors while social and technological breeches created the sense of community between the “Union” and “Confederacy.” Everyone under the tent put on a mask of southern-ness; for one night, they resurrected the South together. The South became an exaggerated performance that anyone could temporarily do, as stubborn and militant traits that were expressed musically through repertoire selection, lyrics, forceful instrument strumming, and unbridled emotional responses. The ball was at once a reclaiming of masculine power, a release of tension between two camps, and a defiant statement that confirmed the South to be undefeated. This was how the South lost the war, but won the dance.

### **String Bands and the Folklorization of Minstrelsy**

The musicians who performed at the 2013 ball call themselves the 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina String Band, and they are one of the most popular revival bands among Civil War enthusiasts over the past twenty years. Five battle reenactors from a South Carolinian Civil War reenactment troupe formed this ensemble in 1989 to accompany campfire sing-alongs.<sup>43</sup> Soon after, they hired themselves out to perform at commemorations and sold studio albums of their music. They credit their popularity to the distribution of their recordings on YouTube and Amazon, but the inclusion of their music in Hollywood films including several Ken Burns documentaries and an onscreen appearance in *Gods and Generals* exposed their music to a mainstream consumer base.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> The five original musicians remain, but the ensemble expanded to perform with as many as eleven musicians.

<sup>44</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina String Band, “Civil War Music: The Second South Carolina String Band,” [www.civilwarband.com](http://www.civilwarband.com) (accessed March 6, 2013).

The majority of their repertoire is nineteenth-century American popular songs derived from blackface minstrelsy.<sup>45</sup> The band attributes their attraction to this repertoire to a belief that popular songs from this period represented a burgeoning national music ethos that blended Anglo and African American folk traditions.<sup>46</sup> These musicians do not deny the origins of their songs, as their albums and website celebrate the cultural impact of minstrel composers such as Stephen Foster and Daniel Emmett, yet they do not outwardly identify their actions as perpetuating or endorsing minstrelsy. Their strategies to recreate this audible past include impersonating Civil War soldier-musicians, which is described in their mission statement as reconstructing sounds “in the hearts and minds and on the tongues of the citizen-soldiers that made up the ranks of the armies of the North and the South as they marched off to take part in the cataclysmic struggle that was to become the defining event of our nation’s history.”<sup>47</sup> This quote demonstrates that it is not the composers or professional performers but the mass-consumers of minstrelsy that most interest the 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina String Band. Their reenactment constructs a secondary level of minstrelsy, that of a public whose cultural practices were conditioned through the consumption of blackface minstrelsy; a population who reproduced conventions derived from minstrelsy in the privacy of their homes, and in the case of the

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<sup>45</sup> A form of theatrical performance that emerged circa 1820 and peaked in popularity from 1850-1870, blackface minstrelsy was a form of fascination, exaggeration, exploitation, invention, and commodification of blackness. Blackface minstrelsy was originally performed by men who blacked their faces with burnt cork, but the musical and other cultural conventions that emerged from these theatrical performances continued well into the twentieth century (and to a certain extent, continues today) even after the blackface makeup became unfashionable. See, Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History* (New York: Norton, 1983), 89-96; Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 15-65. Lott demonstrates that audiences of early minstrelsy had a range of attractions and reactions to these performances.

<sup>46</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina String Band, “Civil War Music: The Second South Carolina String Band,” [www.civilwarband.com](http://www.civilwarband.com) (accessed March 6, 2013).

<sup>47</sup> String Band Website.

Civil War soldier, around the campfire. The most striking evidence of this process of divorcing minstrel music from the blackface stage is re-branding of minstrelsy as “string bands;” a coded way to skirt the racist history of this genre.<sup>48</sup> This revision of minstrel music cloaks the violence of this tradition under the guise of folklore.<sup>49</sup>

This folklorization process is reflected in the 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina’s performance of “Southern Soldier,” a song that became associated with twentieth-century folk revivals due to Alan Lomax’s 1937 recording of Minta Morgan’s rendition.<sup>50</sup> The re-release of the Morgan-Lomax recording on a handful of post-World War II American folk music albums and the transcription that was published in Irwin Silber’s Civil War sheet music collection in 1960 illustrates the precedence for imagining the Civil War as a folk era.<sup>51</sup> Some of the most popular Civil War reenactment musicians came to this music through the 1960s folk revival and saw their performances as an extension of that movement.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> The greater question remains, if blackface minstrelsy can be coopted by reenactors to construct a new southern heritage of militarized whiteness that ignores the history of white on black violence, then what cultural product can’t be appropriated to speak for this cause? This is a question that I will revisit in chapters six and seven.

<sup>49</sup> The folklorization of minstrelsy imagines a white folk identity by referring to minstrel repertoire as “camp songs” and the minstrel revival band as a “camp band.” In order to complete this process, ensembles such as the 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina re-name the genre with a term that is usually reserved to describe old-time and Appalachian folk music revivals from the first half of the twentieth century, thereby divorcing minstrel music from its originating context. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina’s performance of minstrel repertoire, neither the band nor their ball-going audience seemed to identify the music as a product of minstrelsy. The end result is a realignment of folk revivals with the Civil War-era, thereby inventing a new origin for American folk traditions

<sup>50</sup> Library of Congress, “American Folklife Center: Traditional Music and Spoken Word Catalog: The Southern Solider.” <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihaz/loc.afc.afc9999005.4726/default.html> (accessed March 25, 2014); 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina String Band *Southern Soldier* CD Liner notes.

It is this recording that the 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina String Band cites as their song source.

<sup>51</sup> The discourse that brings the idea of ‘the folk’ into existence is historically tied to nationalist and other modernist projects that need ideas such as ‘folk’ and ‘traditional’ to contrast to the conception of ‘modern’ as a valid cultural category. To Turino, the folk revival is “an intentional interest group that forms around particular activities, a particular style complex, as well as a particular discourse about the style and activity which, in this case, involves notions of ‘folk’ community and ‘traditional’ Americanness.” See Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 151.

<sup>52</sup> Irwin Silber, *Songs of the Civil War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960); Horton, Bobby. *Homespun Songs of the C.S.A., Volume 4*. Birmingham, AL: Bobby Horton, 1988; Various Artists, *Songs and Ballads of American History and of the Assassination of Presidents*. Compilation (Cambridge, Mass:

From this perspective, contemporary performances of Civil War-era music reflect twentieth-century folk revivals more than nineteenth-century conventions.<sup>53</sup>

What happened under the Gettysburg tent was as more an outcome of the 1920s string band revival, an important part of the twentieth-century music industry that recorded rural “hillbilly” southern musicians’ renditions of minstrel and blues songs, as it was a reflection of the nineteenth-century war culture that battle reenactors revere. In the end, what they produced was an intermingling of minstrel sounds, Civil War imagery, and dances of the twentieth century folk movement. This is how minstrelsy becomes divorced from its historical context and repackaged as a socially acceptable form of contemporary entertainment. The proponents of this folklorization select American music genres with multi-ethnic histories and whiten them to a point that non-white influences seem entirely peripheral, if at all present. Erasing blackness from minstrelsy is one step towards obliterating black people from history altogether. This is where the racial politics of string band revivals intersect with the racial politics of Civil War battle reenactments.

It is imperative that the bands at the forefront of this revival are southern-identified musicians who regularly perform at battle reenactments that have previously been confirmed to celebrate white male heroism and sectional reconciliation at the expense of emancipationist and other minority-centered Civil War memories.<sup>54</sup> The performance of this music at the 2013 Gettysburg tent dance reflects a greater project enacted by battle reenactments to whitewash history and diminish the vital importance of

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Rounder, 1998). This is sensible because both Appalachian and Civil War folk movements idealistically looked backwards to a purified past that is imagined to have Anglo-American roots.

<sup>53</sup> See Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 160.

<sup>54</sup> See my discussion of Civil War memory in the chapter one literature review, my discussion of the construction of heritage in Chapter 4, and the history of battle reenacting at the beginning of this chapter.

slavery to this war, a project that remains intertwined with the pro-confederate Lost Cause ideologies that are already deeply embedded in the history of Civil War battle reenacting.

Music performances that either explicitly perpetuate pro-confederate ideas or create social climates in which the Lost Cause may be safely outwardly celebrated allow some Americans to nurture a cultural memory that eclipses black contributions or struggles. It also excuses if not vindicates the Confederates from their political and ideological flaws. In this way, participation in the Gettysburg ball compensated for whatever defeat the “South” reenacted on the battlefield stage. By denying the music of its blackface origins and reconfiguring the genre to represent the origin of a uniquely Anglo-American folk identity, the Gettysburg ball was a musical enactment of “whiteness” and “southern-ness” that equated Confederate-ness. String bands forge a collective racial identity that permits geographically and politically diffuse audiences to bond through temporary enactments of southern-ness.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Identification by the 2nd South Carolina String Band as “Civil War” and “southern” musicians compounds their process of re-coding this music. The band constructs romanticized visions of working-class, white male southern rebel characters by producing “boisterous,” “high spirited” music performances that “infect” their audiences with the rowdy spirit of the South. Quotes borrowed from the string band’s website. The choice to identify as southern instead of Confederate absolves the group of the politics implied by a Confederate revival of minstrelsy. When bands such as the 2nd South Carolina disregard the responsibility of censoring their music in the name of authenticity, they pass the burden of decoding and valuing that music to the audience. This is one way that contemporary minstrels market themselves to an increasingly mainstream consumer base. Jon Bohland and Brian Tongier argue in their study of contemporary confederate music that the whitening of southern music traditions by Lost Cause supporters should be interpreted as part of the wider neo-Confederate project of crystallizing purest and most authentic Southern identity as white. Bohland and Tongier found that contemporary confederate music is often coded as “Southern” music, and neo-confederate music is most often performed at heritage festivals and Civil War reenactments in front of mostly white audiences. Many of these musicians present themselves as military or folk musicians by wearing nineteenth-century styled costumes. See Jon Bohland and Brian Tongier, “You Ain’t Just Whistlin’ Dixie: Neo-Confederacy in Music” in *Neo-Confederacy: A Critical Introduction*, edited by Euan Hague, Edward Sebesta, and Heidi Beirich (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 253-280.

## CHAPTER 6

### AESTHETICS OF REITERATION IN CIVIL WAR MUSIC VIDEOS

When the founders of YouTube uploaded “me at the zoo” to their online database in April 2005, this pilot video became the first step in making an important cultural archive. The success of this web service may be measured by the size of its holdings and the frequency of video consumption. Between 2005 and 2011, more than 72 hours of video content were uploaded to YouTube each minute, and one trillion videos were played on approximately 1 billion devices.<sup>56</sup> As the world’s largest video collection, this archive has become an important global network. It inspires creative output and contributes to a greater surveillance of life by enabling the distribution of localized cultural artifacts to international audiences. The increased availability and quality of internet connections, video cameras, and editing software has changed, for many, how humans organize, document, share, and remember cultural events.

YouTube productions offer a glimpse into the inner-psyches, aesthetic tastes, identities, talents, life experiences, and world views of content creators, and their video view-counts evidence similar information about its users. The videos are fascinating exercises in individualism, self-presentation, and virtual community that leave behind overwhelming documentation of human thought. This archive has been described as a social domain of community-building, self-expression, identity-shaping, and reflexive

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<sup>56</sup> YouTube, “About YouTube: Statistics,” <http://www.youtube.com/yt/press/statistics.html> (accessed May 25, 2013). Although this site was an American invention, the majority of video browsing is now tracked to devices outside the United States.

confession.<sup>57</sup> These activities preserve traces of humanity that might not otherwise be expressed or noticed. Similar to blogging, web page creation, and social media, this digital archive encourages mass audiences to become active participants and producers of cultural knowledge. It is this redistribution of creative power that makes YouTube different from more traditional forms of mass media such as radio, television, or film.

This chapter will examine YouTube music videos that are exponentially increasing in number and exemplify a processes of constructing and disseminating ideas about the American Civil War. These products are an emerging form of digitally-mediated re-enactment. The objects of analysis in this chapter will shift from professional to amateur productions that string together sounds and images. These videos are artistic ideological products that evidence the meaning and value that the videos' authors ascribe to the Civil War. The chapter begins by classifying these videos based on the origin and presentation of their audio-visual content. This will be followed by close readings of two user-generated YouTube videos with aesthetic traits that are common among music videos with Civil War themes.<sup>58</sup> In order to account for some of the most relevant trends among Civil War-themed videos in the YouTube archive, the chapter will end by

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<sup>57</sup> See Neil L. Whitehead and Michael Wesch, eds., *Human No More: Digital Subjectivities, Unhuman Subject, and the End of Anthropology*, (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado), 2012. YouTube is often referred to as a free speech platform because it offers the power of authorship and anonymity to anyone with internet access.

<sup>58</sup> Amateur YouTube videos pose problems for researchers. Due to the sheer size of this archive, it is humanly impossible to view all of YouTube's holdings, nor is there any way to guarantee that a researcher has seen all of the videos related to a delimited research topic. YouTube is an unstable research environment because its holdings are in constant flux. There is no guarantee that any of the videos described in this chapter will still be accessible to readers. Given the sheer size of YouTube materials, the samples of musical-visual data that I will analyze will only be a representative snapshot of the material I encountered during my digital fieldwork over a three year span.

proposing that YouTube contributes to a dialogue between live reenactment theater and social media creativity that influences products in both mediums.<sup>59</sup>

### **A Taxonomy of Civil War Music Videos**

YouTube has emerged as a site to store and share commemorative Civil War. Search terms such as “American Civil War” produces hundreds of videos that document a variety of commemorative acts. In May 2013, a search for “Civil War Music” returned 35,000 videos. Without specifying nationality, the first 80 “most relevant” videos were about the American Civil War, and constituted some of the most viewed music videos in the YouTube archive with explicit U.S. Civil War-themed content.<sup>60</sup> But what are these videos and how do they relate to each other? One way to answer these questions is to classify the videos. In order to do this is, it necessary to define the boundaries between music video genres. For the purposes of this study, a music video will be defined as a video that is accessible within the YouTube archive and the audible stimuli take priority over the visual in creating meaning.<sup>61</sup>

There are four primary genres of music videos on YouTube: commercial, non-commercial, amateur, and professional. All music videos preserve music, but commercial music videos exist foremost to promote the performers as purchasable products whereas

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<sup>59</sup> In this regard, I build on Susan Burgess’ “Constitutionalism 2.0” theory which describes YouTube users as confronting old and new ways of thinking about the American founding fathers. Susan Burgess, “YouTube on Masculinity and the Founding Fathers: Constitutionalism 2.0,” *Political Research Quarterly* 64 (March 2011): 120-131.

<sup>60</sup> View counts and commentary provide useful information about public knowledge, aesthetics, and interests among YouTube’s primary demographics. According to the user data graphs that are found underneath each video viewing box on the YouTube website, the main demographic of Civil War music video spectators with YouTube accounts are white males between the age of 35-50. This data correlates to the demographic who most actively participates in Civil War-themed hobbies.

<sup>61</sup> This definition is intended to distinguish videos with soundtracks from videos with the intended purpose of showcasing music.



non-commercial videos focus on sounds and stories.<sup>62</sup> Distinguishing between amateur and professional videos accounts for disparities of financial, technological, and labor resources available to video creators, and also for differences in professional and amateur video aesthetics.<sup>63</sup> Within the professional music video category, I defer to Railton’s and Waterson’s genres of “pseudo-documentaries” that imitate biographical documentaries of the artists, art music videos that focus on form in lieu of narrative, narrative videos that storyboard a linear account, and staged presentations that are performed for the camera.<sup>64</sup>

Two examples of professional-commercial music videos with Civil War themes on YouTube include “Some Nights” (2012) by Fun and directed by Poppy de Villeneuve, and “Cross The Green Mountain” (2003) by Bob Dylan and directed by Tom Kreuger.<sup>65</sup> Both of these narrative videos incorporate the musicians bodies and song performances into the visual Civil War story. “Some Nights” captures a staged performance by the band on a recreated battlefield. The pounding snare cadence and adolescent male battle cries that are produced by the band create a loud and energetic sonic character that is visually complimented by the rushing of armies and firework-like explosions. In contrast,

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<sup>62</sup> Diane Railton, and Paul Watson. *Music Video and the Politics of Representation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 48. Also see, Carol Vernallis, *Unruly Media: YouTube, Music Video, and the New Digital Cinema* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 125-205. Descriptions and categorizations of music videos in these texts greatly influences my own music video taxonomy, as represented in Table 6.1.

<sup>63</sup> All professional products mentioned in this document will be considered commercial products while amateur videos may fall under either commercial or non-commercial categories. I believe that aesthetic differences in these products most likely relate to the commercial or non-commercial intent of the video. I have not yet found a non-commercial YouTube music video produced by a professional author. Professional videos may be accessible through iTunes, MTV, etc., but user-generated videos are generally limited to YouTube. Videos in the YouTube archive have the potential to be viewed by very large numbers of people, but most amateur videos are limited to a small, self-selecting viewership. Commercial products do find their way onto YouTube by-way-of amateur posts, but these second-hand postings are considered in this project as amateur videos, for reasons to be unfolded.

<sup>64</sup> Railton, Diane, and Paul Watson. *Music Video and the Politics of Representation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 48. Scholarship on music video history and analysis has almost exclusively been focused on commercially produced products that function as advertisements for professional artists.

<sup>65</sup> See appendix K for additional information, including screenshots of these videos.

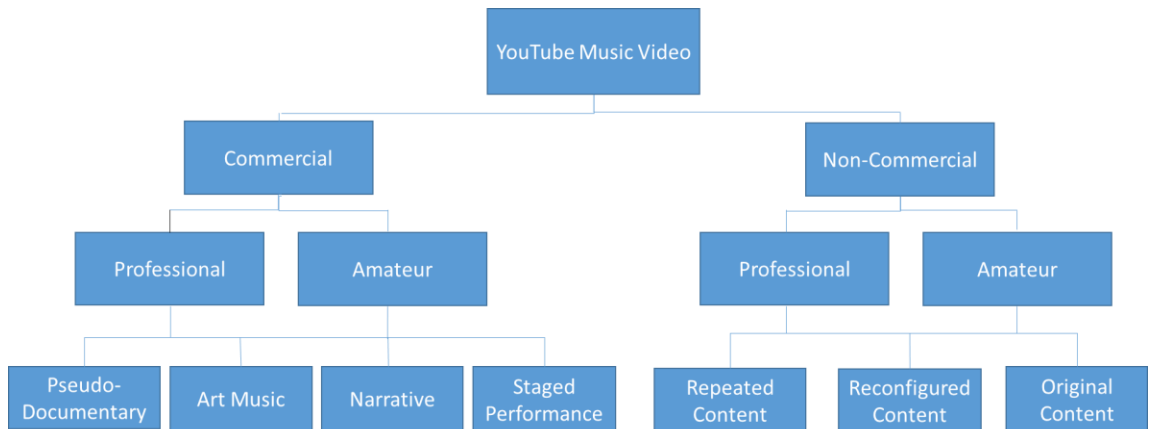
Dylan’s gruff solo dirge is paired with images of dying and disheartened soldiers in the “Cross The Green Mountain” post-battle camp scene. Both videos contain iconic imagery that locates their products within a larger tradition of Hollywood war movies, create narratives that trace the life stories of individual soldier-protagonists, use Civil War reenactor-hobbyists as extras, and are visually saturated in blues and greys that create a rustic film aesthetic while referencing the uniforms of both armies. These notable features commonly occur in professional-commercial Civil War music videos.<sup>66</sup>

Amateur music videos, on the other hand, are created with different motives and provide a different viewership experience that are better categorized on the basis of the origin and presentation of their content. Most user-generated YouTube music videos are not created in partnership with the sounding musician(s), nor do they premiere original music content. They are, however, often deliberately stylized to mimic commercial music videos, film trailers, and television commercials, so it is no surprise that many of the stylistic devices found in professional videos are also regularly found in amateur videos. Just as the YouTube archive is a blend of professional and amateur content, so are the individual videos by amateurs that refashion commercially released recordings. User-generated music videos follow three of the primary YouTube-wide trends that I am categorizing as repeated content, reconfigured content, and original content. Table 6.1 illustrates how I distinguish between commercial and non-commercial music video categories by professional and amateur authors.

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<sup>66</sup> “Cross The Green Mountain,” as a single from the soundtrack to the Ted Turner film *Gods and Generals* (2003). “Cross The Green Mountain” also includes a significant number of cuts to stock Hollywood Civil War film footage.

Table 6.1. YouTube Music Video Taxonomy



### Original Content

The most populous form of original content videos are live performances that were filmed by audiences or the performers.<sup>67</sup> Of the 4,970 videos found by the search term “US Civil War brass band” in May 2013, the majority of videos were original content performances by musicians wearing historical costumes and performing in parades or staged concerts.<sup>68</sup> Similar to the intent of professional-commercial music videos, some amateur musicians use YouTube to advertise their music albums, such as a 2009 video by Lisa Godino that pairs her music with a slideshow of Civil War paintings.<sup>69</sup> But not all video advertisements are produced by the featured musicians, as seen in “My Brother Paul & Me,” which combines Civil War battle reenactment footage

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<sup>67</sup> Home movies with original content, and among those with Civil War themes are videos that depict Civil War battle reenactments and other commemorative ceremonies, living history exhibits and interpretation, pilgrimages to museums and monuments, and lectures. In order to be considered original for the purposes of this chapter, these videos do not re-use commercially released material.

<sup>68</sup> Most prevalent among these videos were performances by Civil War brass revival bands. See appendixes K & N for screen shots of these video examples.

<sup>69</sup> The “About” caption below her video describes her album as telling “a fabulous story about the American Civil War Soldier,” and directs viewers to her website and cdbaby.com to order the full-length album.

with a neo-Civil War ballad that is attributed to a friend of the cousin of the video author. Other original content videos are created with the intent of advertising upcoming events, organizations, and hobbies. In these videos we see amateur creators harnessing the advertising power of the music video medium that has been so central to the film-genre since its inception.

### Repeated Content

Repeated content music videos preserve traces of pop culture that induce powerful and memorable emotional affects.<sup>70</sup> Repeated content videos may excerpt a musical number from a film, such as the “Bonnie Blue Flag” music scene from *Gods and Generals*. But because musical numbers are rare in Hollywood Civil War movies, this type of video is less common. A search for commercially released Civil War movies such as “Gods and Generals,” “Glory,” and “Ken Burns’ The Civil War” will return repeated content.<sup>71</sup> The most popular repeated content video of 2013 was titled “Gettysburg Movie the best part,” a 4:29 copied clip from Ted Turner’s *Gettysburg* that received over 900,000 views and depicts Union army colonel Chamberlain leading his regiment in a downhill charge that contributed to the Union’s victory against the Confederate army at Gettysburg. The portion of the film features “Battle of Little Round Top,” a sweeping orchestral processional from the original movie soundtrack by Randy Edelman. This excerpt captures the moment when the soundtrack is heard at its loudest, making it both

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<sup>70</sup> We might infer that the greater the view count, the greater the emotional resonance that musical moment may have elicited.

<sup>71</sup> Repeated content often re-distributes these films in their entirety.

the dramatic and sonic climax of the film. It emphasizes the musicality of a particular scene, and thus transforms the scene into a music video.

A third type of repeated content video features sounds from a recorded album that are paired with a still image of the album cover. Although these videos exist in great numbers, they are less frequently viewed than videos with moving images. And while this may suggest that YouTube users prefer more visually stimulating content or do not turn to this database for strictly listening to music, this oversimplifies their impact.<sup>72</sup> The prevalence of these sound-intensive videos, many redistributing music from older or hard-to-obtain recordings, demonstrate the ability of YouTube to preserve and redistribute this music, and broaden the possibilities for this content to be re-used.<sup>73</sup>

### Reconfigured Content

Reconfigured videos are the most complex and diverse form of amateur video authoring that may combine a soundtrack with a slideshow of still images, add new soundtracks to commercial films, or blend commercial and original content.<sup>74</sup> They are

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<sup>72</sup> Because these videos are usually identified by song title, they are less likely retrieved by broader “Civil War” or “Civil War music” YouTube searches.

<sup>73</sup> Although I cannot prove any causal relationship, I find it interesting that these songs are frequently featured in popular videos from the reconfigured content category.

<sup>74</sup> These mashups were one of the earliest YouTube Civil War music video trends and range considerably in content and professional quality. An example is the “Song of the Irish Brigade (Confederate) video from 2008 with over a million views featuring a David Kincaid recording with the same title from his 2003 album “The Irish American’s Song: Songs of the Union and Confederate Irish Soldiers 1861-1865,” and a series of Civil War battle pop art paintings by Don Troiani. Videos such as user Gilad Pellaeon’s “Gods and Generals Music Video” combines six audio clips by John Frizell and Randy Edelman from the Gods and Generals soundtrack with nearly a dozen video clips from the accompanying feature movie. The same technology that inspired this best-of compilation has enabled YouTube users to combine previously unrelated content. For example, a 2009 video titled “Dixie-Gettysburg” layers video clips from the commercial Gettysburg film with a recording of country musician Lee Greenwood (best known for “God Bless the USA”) performing “Dixie.” In cases where music in appropriated videos is misidentified, sometimes video commenter’s take it upon themselves to correct and advertise the music, as happened in the 2010 video “Civil War Music-New York Volunteers” that attributed the music to a video game, but video commentators footnote it as performed by reenactor/folk singer Bobby Horton and was borrowed from his “Civil War Songs of the Union” album.

intertextual by nature, created by manipulating pre-existing images, video, and sound recordings.<sup>75</sup> One form of reconfigured videos combine Civil War home videos with commercial music content, and mimic the cinematography styles of Hollywood battle scenes.<sup>76</sup> An example is the 2012 video “Battle of Shiloh Part 2” is described by the author as combining footage of the 150<sup>th</sup> Battle of Shiloh reenactment and the song “Enemy” by the rock band, Mumford and Sons, which were spliced together using YouTube Video Editor software.

The oldest remaining music video, possibly the first Civil War-themed music video to exist in the YouTube online archive, “Glory [Civil War]” by Serge Stiles that was uploaded by Stiles on November 20, 2005 during the first month that YouTube officially debuted to the public. His video combines a collage of video footage borrowed from the (1989) Civil War blockbuster, *Glory*, and a soundtrack that incorporates “Civil War” by Guns and Roses and a rendition of “Scarborough Fair” by Simon and Garfunkel. As were many early amateur music video creators, Stiles was forced by YouTube to mute his video due to copyright infringement. Stiles notes about his video, “I did think about taking it down, but it was one of the first YouTube videos before the website became, well, what it is today. It has a lot of history attached to it, comment-wise, so I like to keep it around for nostalgic purposes.”<sup>77</sup>

Amateur YouTube music videos are a valuable resource for understanding ongoing dialogues about music, memory and representation. And as Stiles states, each

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<sup>75</sup> See Table 6.1. This material is often copyrighted. I place any music video with altered music selections or visual material that differs from the album’s cover art in the appropriative content category.

<sup>76</sup> The increasing professionalism of these amateur videos made possible by affordable technology make reenactors appear similar to protagonists in commercial productions.

<sup>77</sup> Serge Stiles, interview with the author (October 12, 2013).

video develops its own history. Although they may not directly reference prior videos, they do indeed speak to and across each other to create a larger dialogue about the meaning and memory of the past and its relationship to our present and future. In what follows, I focus my examination on two Civil War music videos that exemplify the possibilities for YouTube products to construct virtual communities, mediate pre-existing audio-visual materials to speak for the Civil War, and virtually reenact this American conflict.

### **“US Civil War Music Video”**

A music video that was uploaded to the YouTube archive in March of 2007 is described by video creator Ryan C. MacKenzie as “A somewhat decent Civil War video i made about 7 years ago from some low quality video... i just found it and thought I would post it.”<sup>78</sup> It is very possible that the generic title to “US Civil War Music Video,” contributed to its success as the most frequently viewed Civil War-themed reconfigured music video in the YouTube Archive.<sup>79</sup> But this product is also notable for exhibiting aesthetic qualities that are common among the popular Civil War-themed music videos of 2013, including the combination of contemporary American pop music with battle reenactment footage and Civil War pop art images. There are dozens of music videos on YouTube that recycle the same visual material as McKenzie’s product, but none are as popular as “US Civil War Music Video.” Music is responsible for the video’s success, as

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<sup>78</sup> Ryan C Mackenzie, “US Civil War Music Video,” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXgzpUx42Ks> (accessed March 25, 2014). Grammar and emphasis as originally published by Mackenzie.

<sup>79</sup> If it is true that the title made it rank high in “Civil War music video” searches, then the relatively heavy traffic that this video received indicates that a great number of people are actively searching for Civil War music videos on YouTube.

evidenced by the nearly 1,000 comments that most frequently discuss the song and singer's identity.<sup>80</sup>

The song heard in "US Civil War Music Video" is the power-ballad "The Day The Sun Stood Still," performed by country artist Travis Tritt on the album *The Civil War: The Nashville Sessions*. This studio album of music from Frank Wildhorn's Broadway musical *The Civil War* was performed by country music stars and released before the opening of Wildhorn's stage production in 1998 to generate interest about the show.<sup>81</sup> The song contains structural features that are common among power ballads in Broadway musical and country music traditions, making it a familiar and familiar reiteration of those genres.<sup>82</sup> It was composed in verse-chorus song form with syllabic text settings, tuneful and repetitive melodic lines that are mostly restricted to a range of a fifth, and harmonic progressions that repeat an I-IV-V-I chord pattern. Each 8-bar verse conforms to a fixed melody and closed harmonic progression in the C# major key. A mid-song bridge adds interest and tension through the use of a half cadence that is resolved by a return to the opening musical material.

The melody grows from a four-beat excerpt from the confederate "Dixie" anthem that is passed between a fiddle and electric guitar as an opening hook, a motive that establishes the song's key, instrumentation, and main motivic gestures before the

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<sup>80</sup> Comments by viewers are displayed on a message board immediately below the video screen.

<sup>81</sup> The 1999 Broadway production depicted war experiences through a cycle of songs and projected images at New York's St. James Theater, but closed within three months after critics canned the plot and music as trite and overly repetitive. And yet, I believe that these are the same characteristics that make the music from this musical such an appropriate soundtracks for Civil War-themed YouTube videos. The country ethos is largely constructed through timbres of fiddles, slide guitar, and the strained southern twang of the baritone vocalist. The emotionality and rock styling's is what makes this song a power-ballad.

<sup>82</sup> Aaron Fox, *Real Country: Music and Language in Working-Class Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 256. Fox notes that country music proudly perpetuates timeless and generic narratives, but nuanced changes to the musical models and lyrical stories keeps fans interested.



entrance of the vocals. The hook is important for instituting a southern-confederate ethos. Furthermore, the presentation of the opening motive evokes a tradition of reiteration, as the electric guitar repeats the opening motive after the fiddle. The alternating fiddle and electric guitar blend iconic associations of a rustic American folk authenticity with a contemporary music industry sound.<sup>83</sup> The vocal melody consists of a rising stepwise three-note melodic gesture that is drawn from the “Dixie” hook and sequenced by ascending seconds until it passes through the phrase’s larger I-V harmonic movement. These predictable gestures are repeated at the beginning of each phrase in all verses, the formulaic features making the song easily accessible to an unfamiliar audience by directing the listener’s attention to the lyrics.

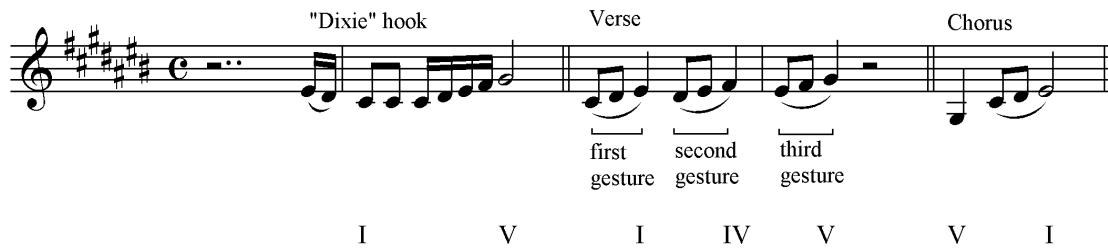


Figure 6.1 “The Day The Sun Stood Still” reduction

The lyrics to “The Day The Sun Stood Still” are a nostalgic reflection about confederate soldier’s experiences. The protagonist is a veteran who passes through a range of emotions (excitement, fear, remorse, and resolve) as he remembers being a young soldier. He describes both armies as equally blood thirsty and dedicated to their cause. War is constructed as a chivalrous rite of passage, and while the protagonist is

<sup>83</sup> It is possible that this blending of rusticity and technology captures the spirit of Civil War hobbyists who search for an authentic connection to the past that is actively constructed to be interpreted by those living in the present. Evidence that the “Dixie” hook appeals to confederate sympathizers is found in the YouTube comment board immediately below the video.

meant to be a Civil War veteran, the ideas presented are generic enough to describe any war experience.

A declaration of the song's title at each important harmonic arrival functions as a transitional marker that differentiates between formal sections in the music. As the only retained lyrics during each chorus, declarations of the song's title in the chorus' function as a roadmap to the song's structure.<sup>84</sup> The lyrics at the bridge are an important shift in address that open the story to reflect more broadly on war, duty and morality. There is an audible vulnerability that is heard in Tritt's vocal strain, and thus locating the vocalist in a militarized culture permits the exhibition of emotional excess without threatening his gender. While the average power ballad presents a story about a failed romantic entanglement, it is war that is the object of desire in "The Day The Sun Stood Still." The song celebrates the military without getting weighed down by the deeper politics of the war, which may explain the popularity of this video among Civil War enthusiasts, many of whom may hear or see their own identities reflected in the video's audio-visual materials.

The video engages with a variety of reconfigured visual materials that may be familiar to Civil War enthusiasts, including a series of still images of battle scenes from the 1997 simulation video game, "Grant-Lee-Sherman: Civil War Generals II" that are stylized to mimic Civil War pop art paintings by Mort Kunstler, and video segments from a Gettysburg battle reenactment that was performed at the filming location of Ted

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<sup>84</sup> Jocelyn Neal notes, "the chorus's text in contemporary country songs frequently changes from one appearance to the next, creating formal sections that are best defined through their rhetorical function of reflection and supported by musical intensification and harmonic closure, rather than any simplistic labeling of text/melody recurrence." Jocelyn Neal, "Narrative Paradigms, Musical Signifiers, and Form as Function in Country Music" *Music Theory Spectrum*, 29 no. 1 (Spring 2007): 45.

Turner's 1993 *Gettysburg* film.<sup>85</sup> The video also includes scenes from the 135<sup>th</sup> Gettysburg reenactment that was filmed and sold to reenactors and spectators. The 135<sup>th</sup> Gettysburg is infamous and revered among reenactors as the largest (most populous) battle reenactment with approximately 30,000 registered reenactors. The size and success of this reenactment was largely related to the success of Ted Turner's film that relied on 5,000 reenactors to fill the ranks as extras, and inspired many to begin or return to the reenactment hobby.

Both of the originating visual materials in "Civil War Music Video" are themselves intertextual, referencing a genre within a genre, in a very similar way that the musical material references multiple genres, including the Broadway musical form from which it originated. Given these pop culture references, the music video visuals do indeed reference many facets of Civil War reenactment: battle reenactment, Hollywood blockbuster, Broadway musical, video game, and pop art. Tables 6.2 and 6.3 outline the alignment of reconfigured materials in this music video. As these tables demonstrate, each musical phrase from "The Day The Sun Stood Still" corresponds to a particular image and the scene transitions neatly align with the song's formal sections.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> "Grant-Lee-Sherman: Civil War Generals II" was released in 1997 by Sierra Entertainment and embedded in this strategy game are short Civil War reenactment videos and still images that are stylized to imitate contemporary Civil War art in the vein of Mort Künstler and others. Since the Gettysburg Anniversary Committee formed in 1995 to organize annual battle reenactments, the reenactment has been held at the farm used in Ted Turner's film, thereby directly linking the memory of the Gettysburg war to the memory of film.

<sup>86</sup> For instance, images of gunfire align are synched to percussive hits, and confederate iconography is always displayed when the "Dixie hook" is heard.

Table 6.2 Audio-visual Material in “US Civil War Music Video” 0:01-2:01<sup>87</sup>

Time	Structure	Musical Material	Visual Material
0:01	Hook	“Dixie” excerpt	Painting: Confederates in Retreat
0:15	Verse 1	We were young and bound for glory	Painting: Army confrontation
0:17		Itching for a fight	Painting: Armies with both flags
0:21		Bringing hell	Footage: Line formation progressing down battlefield
0:25		Boys who wore the blue	Footage: Horses and soldier in background
0:28		I'd seen it all	Footage: Dead bodies
0:34		The sun did blaze	Footage: Line formation with first row lying dead
0:40	Verse 2	I got shot and lost my rifle	Footage: Combat close-up
0:44		When the first wave hit	Footage: Soldiers Collide in Combat
0:47		Guns rolled out	Footage: Line formation and choreographed shooting
0:50		Black smoke burned	Footage: Man falls to ground
0:53		I watched it all unfold	Footage: Still men in fore, running men in background
0:57		The way the bible told	Footage: Confederate army rushes, Confederate flags
1:00		Joshua's endless day	Footage: Union army
1:03		Keepin' the night at bay	Painting: Defending earthworks
1:07	Pre-chorus	The soldiers kept a comin'	Footage: Battlefield shot with a lot of gun smoke
1:11		Blue and grey	Footage: Confederates remove body from field
1:18		Wonderin' if I would've fought	Footage: Union army progresses forward
1:24	Chorus	The day the sun stood still	Footage: Confederates retreat toward left of screen
1:28		Beat the bloody drums	Footage: Confederates retaliate toward right of screen
1:30		Seconds moved like hours	Footage: Union army retreats toward right of screen
1:34		Sunset never comes	Footage: Union artillery shoot toward left of screen
1:41		Bullets test your will	Footage: Line formation gun fire
1:42		Even shadows found no cover	Painting: General on horse leads union army forward
1:46		God forsaken hill	Painting: Generals on horses lead confederate army
1:50	Refrain	The day the sun stood still	Painting: Army in smoke and fog in forest setting
1:53		“Dixie” excerpt	Footage: Confederate with gun and flag
1:58	Verse 3	I watched them	Footage: Confederates charge to left of screen
2:01		To the fearful hail of lead	Footage: Confederates approach Union line

<sup>87</sup> Lyrics in this chart are truncated.

Table 6.3 Audio-visual Material in “US Civil War Music Video” 2:07-4:27<sup>88</sup>

2:07		I cried	Footage: Union troop retreats to right of screen
2:14		A cold indifferent sky	Footage: U.S. flag waves
2:17		Castin' a deadly glow	Footage: Union troops fire guns
2:22	Pre-chorus	All the hours	Recycled footage: Confederate troops approach Union
2:26		Don't add up	Painting: Lee at camp looks down at map
2:32		Heroes and the cowards	Footage: Dead bodies
2:36		Look the same when they have fallen by the gun	Footage: Troops march away from dead bodies
2:41	Chorus	The day the sun stood still	Footage: General rides by cheering troops
2:44		North and south	Footage: Union and Confederate flags
2:50		Daylight wouldn't rest	Footage: Tattered U.S. battle flag
2:53		On the killing floor	Footage: Armies collide
2:57		Red sun on the hill	Footage: Dead bodies and armies in close combat
3:02		Strange and eerie chill	Footage: Armies shoot across field
3:05	Refrain	The day the sun stood still	Footage: Union retreats
3:12	Bridge	Do not judge what you brother does	Footage: Union soldiers march across screen
3:22		Rank by bloody file	Footage: confederates march across screen
3:24		Who's to say if you'll run or stay	Footage: Soldiers run in various directions
3:35	Chorus	The day the sun stood still	Footage: General on horse rides by dead bodies
3:38		Beneath the skin	Footage: Dead bodies in gun smoke
3:41		In the soul of every soldier	Footage: Soldier limps away
3:48	Chorus	The day the sun stood still	Footage: Soldiers walk away into sunset
3:53		Haunt your dreams	Footage: Camp scene
3:55		Stalk your every sunrise	Footage: Man leans on cannon and wipes forehead
3:58		You will not know it till	Recycled footage: Battle scene
4:01	Chorus	The day the sun stood still	Recycled footage: Confederates charge to screen right
4:06		Seconds move like hours	Recycled footage: Union retreats to right of screen
4:08		Sunset never comes	Footage: Soldiers on horseback charge across screen
4:13		Cannons shake the ground	Recycled footage: cannon fire
4:20		Shadows found no cover	Footage: Smoke clears, reveals soldiers taking cover
4:23		God forsaken hill	Footage: Confederates continue to shoot as they retreat
4:25	Refrain	The day the sun stood still	Recycled footage: Flags
4:27		“Dixie” excerpt & repeated declaration of song title	Footage: Dead bodies

<sup>88</sup> Lyrics in this chart are truncated.

The interesting alignment of sound and image throughout the video evidence a considerable amount of labor on the part of the video author to create this product. These visual materials guide listeners through the song to shape interpretations of the lyrics. While it is impossible to infer how any or all viewers of this video will receive and interpret its content in relation to their own identities, it is safe to assume that viewers who share a similar pre-knowledge of the reconfigured materials and pre-existing outlook on this war are likely to identify similar narratives. But it is also safe to assume that there will be a range of interpretations of this video, as evidenced by the accompanying comment board below the video screen. For example, the visual material make it possible to interpret the lyrics as a meditation on reenactment performances, and even dares the viewer to try the sport before judging its practitioners. The lyrics, “do not judge what your brother does ‘til you walk a mile rank by bloody file...” are choreographed to video footage of marching reenactors in rank representing both armies.<sup>89</sup>

Comment board participants have shared great enthusiasm for this scene and other moments from that video that champion participation as a strategy to learn and empathize with historical subjects. It suggests that certain viewers interpret this video as commenting on the war reenactment hobby as much, if not more than the war itself. The video creator and his audience both seem conscious of the artificiality of these Civil War performances. Whether through music video or battle reenactment, practitioners harness strategies, rhetoric, and performance genres to engage with this history. Practitioners of

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<sup>89</sup> It is one of the few moments in the music video when soldiers do not have their weapons drawn, and as such, compliment the lyrical contrast. It could be read as, do not judge men for killing each other in war. It could be read as, do not judge men for joining either army. Or it could be read as, do not judge reenactors who produce Civil War-themed YouTube music videos.

both art forms are incredibly conscious of the limitations of their theater, and yet successful performances require them to abandon this awareness.<sup>90</sup>

Perhaps this is why a country music rendition of this power-ballad seems so appropriate to be used as the soundtrack to a Civil War video. The power-ballad genre is detested by many music critics as an artificial spectacle of emotion. These songs, as Simon Frith notes, have been used by pop musicians to create emotionally connected fan communities. In a similar way, Civil War-themed YouTube videos bring together history buffs and military enthusiasts and bind them through shared experiences of multimedia spectacles. “Civil War Music Video” exemplifies this process by blending iconic associations of an imagined golden age with a modern music industry sound. Reconfiguring and reperforming these audio-visual materials reinvigorates traces of music and war. These reconstitutive and repetitive acts prove YouTube Civil War music videos to be important sites of reenacted Civil War memory.

### **“The Columbia Flying Artillery”**

The “Columbia Flying Artillery” is a 2009 Civil War YouTube video that is intended to recruit members to a war reenactment troupe.<sup>91</sup> The video combines a slideshow of Civil War re-enactment photographs of a Confederate re-enactment troupe,

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<sup>90</sup> Original paragraph saved for later: Obsessions with authenticity are perhaps the strongest common thread in country music and Civil War reenactment. Accompanying this obsession comes a common language to describe authenticity, what Tony Horwitz hears reenactors distinguish as “hardcores” and “farbs.” Pamela Fox documents in the country community as “hard-core” and “soft-shell.” See, Pamela Fox, *Natural Acts: Gender, Race, and Rusticity in Country Music* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009). As Fox explains, hard-core suggest a natural core identity and folk wisdom that emerges from “unspoiled rural life, and this is contrasted by soft-shell performativity or fakeness.”<sup>90</sup> Although Fox explains that country musicians are well aware of the performativity inherent in the presentation or performance of country music, which creates an identity contradiction that country musicians must constantly negotiate.

<sup>91</sup> Columbia Flying, “Columbia Flying Artillery,” [http://youtu.be/X\\_oSf6CGwAo](http://youtu.be/X_oSf6CGwAo) (accessed November 7, 2011). The video had received approximately 200 views from 2009-2013.

imitations of 19<sup>th</sup> century broadsides, and borrowed images of iconic paintings of the Anglo American family by Norman Rockwell, with a soundtrack featuring contemporary rap artists Eminem and Ca\$his. Similar to “Civil War Music Video,” this is a reconfigured music video that blends iconic representations of past and present American pop culture. In contrast, “The Columbia Flying Artillery” has received significantly less internet traffic. And yet, because it exists in the YouTube database, it retains the potential to reach an unlimited number of viewers from across the globe. As a potentially influential product, this video is positioned in the database to do important cultural work, and the reconfiguring of seemingly disjunct images and sounds in this video demonstrates how practically anything can be re-signified to speak for the Civil War.

The soundtrack to this recruitment video is lifted from the album, *Eminem Presents: The Re-Up*. The rappers who perform these songs are Eminem and Ca\$his. Eminem, otherwise known as Marshall Mathers is a rap artist from Detroit whose white identity and aggressive performance style led him to become one of the best-selling American musicians of the early 2000s and *Billboard Magazine*’s Artist of the Decade in 2009.<sup>92</sup> Ca\$his, otherwise known as Ramone Johnson, is an African American rapper from Chicago who was signed to Shady Records by Eminem, and *The Re-Up* was his debut on a professional album.<sup>93</sup>

The two songs that are spliced and edited together in the “Columbia Flying Artillery” video are “Shady Narcotics,” and “We’re Back,” the first two tracks to *Eminem Presents: The Re-Up*. Common to Eminem’s albums, the studio mixing and post-

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<sup>92</sup> Billboard, “Artists of the Decade,” <http://www.billboard.com/articles/news/266420/artists-of-the-decade> (accessed March 25, 2014).

<sup>93</sup> The album also features a handful of other Shady Records rappers.



production techniques make a song seamlessly flow into the next track.<sup>94</sup> Combining these two songs in the order they appear on the album, and keeping the album’s track transition intact renders “The Columbia Flying Artillery” video to sound as one unified song. These tracks are condensed into a two and one-half minute product and have censored the language. Although it seems logical to assume the video’s creator used a clean or radio-edit version of this song, remnants of amateur editing suggests otherwise; rather that the creator edited out certain words to create a version appropriate to the video’s message. This is illustrated by the comparison of excerpted lyrics from *Eminem Presents* versus the “Columbia Flying Artillery” video in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 Edits to “Shady Narcotics”

Original “Shady Narcotics”	Columbia Flying Artillery Video Edit
(Gunshots) Yeah!	(Gunshots) Yeah!
God Damn!	
Feels like a long time don’t it?	Feels like a long time don’t it
Did you miss us?	Did you miss us?
We missed you	We missed you
Ha, Shady narcotics	Ha, Shady Narcotics
This is the Re-up	This is the Re-up
Pussies	
And we’re back	And we’re back
Myself (Gunshot)	Myself (Gunshot)
D12 (Gunshot)	D12 (Gunshot)
50 Cent (Gunshot)	50 Cent (Gunshot)
Obie Trice (Gunshot)	Obie Trice (Gunshot)
Stat Quo (Gunshot)	Stat Quo (Gunshot)
And I’d also like to introduce	And I’d also like to introduce
The two newest members of the family	The two newest members of the family
One goes by the name of Bobby Creek (Gunshot)	One goes by the name of Bobby Creek (Gunshot)
The other goes by the name of Cashis (Gunshot)	The other goes by the name of Cashis (Gunshot)
From Orange County	From Orange County
And I think it’s about time we just cut the bull shit	And I think it’s about time we just cut the bull
(3 Gunshots)	(2 Gunshots)

<sup>94</sup> For instance, the gunshots heard throughout “Shady Narcotics” recur at the end “We’re Back.”

Both “Shady Narcotics” and “We’re Back” are censored by the elimination of the words “pussies,” “God damn,” and “shit” among other edits. But Eminem’s lyrics were edited to clear him of harsh language, while Ca\$his is characterized by the most linguistically violent portion of his solo. The beginning of his verse is omitted, and portions of his lyrics are distorted to the point that they are almost intelligible.<sup>95</sup> What remains is a verse about rebellion, bravery, and guns. Table 6.5 illustrates which portions of “We’re Back” were included in the Columbia Flying Artillery video, as well as the type of language the video author permitted Eminem to use.

Table 6.5 Video edit “We’re Back” lyrics

<p>Chorus: Shady, We’re Back          Verse 1: Eminem          Nothin’ can stop and nothin’ can change it          You better just make new living arrangements          If you think you’re the top and king of the castle          You’re about to get thrown off the throne and ripped a new asshole          And all I hear is I’m best at this and I’m best at that          But I don’t hear my name, no man brought up in rap          And I don’t usually trip or dare get caught up in that          But when they say one of the best I’m nowhere thought of as that          Now even the same league as Jay-Z          Nas, Pac, Biggie or maybe they’ll name me          Somewhere down at the bottom right after AZ          Or say he ripped that Biggie verse or that Jay-Z          Yo, his verses were crazy on that renegade beat          But I ain’t never bought no whole CD of Shady          And all I hear is pop tunes come on the rad-i          O and they play them 20 times in a row daily          And that very well may be the same reason they don’t say me          When they speak of hip-hop legends which has amazed me          Cause I thought the formula was to hit mainstream          And make it...          (Verses 2, 3, 4, omitted)          Chorus          Verse 5</p>
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<sup>95</sup> For example, the middle of the verse where “pitch forks held high” morphs into a confrontational “pitchforks can meet.” It is interesting that the phrase “niggas run away from it” was included in The Columbia Flying Artillery video when other portions of this verse with non-racial language were removed. An interesting omission is the phrase “I’m a walkin’ obituary, death lives in me” which might seem to epitomize the re-enactors’ embodiment of living history. This begs the question of how black and white masculinities are articulated in the Columbia Flying Artillery recruitment video, and who will be so drawn to this representation that they will enlist with this re-enactment troupe.

“We’re Back” is heavily edited with verses two, three, and four omitted. The remaining music includes the first verse (featuring Eminem), and the fifth verse (featuring Ca\$his).<sup>96</sup> In the original release of “We’re Back,” black rap artists accompany Eminem, each of whom perform one solo verse throughout the song. A reprise that consists of the word “Shady,” followed by toasting the soloist’s name, and the title of the song is used to separate and prepare the listener for each vocalist’s solo. But in “The Columbia Flying Artillery” version, only the opening chorus to the first reprise is present. The words to the first reprise are “Shady, We’re Back,” dually using the word “Shady,” as a nickname that toasts Eminem, and as a launching motive. Especially interesting is the video creator’s choice to re-use this same reprise to introduce Ca\$his. This entailed eliminating Ca\$his’ original reprise and splicing-in the first reprise that names Eminem, thereby removing Ca\$his’ identity and authorship from his solo, illustrated in Table 6.6.<sup>97</sup>

Table 6.6 Cashis’s Video Edit

Original “We’re Back”	Video Edit
Chorus: Shady, Cashis	Chorus: Shady, We’re Back
Verse 5: I carry over my street ethics to the booth	Verse 5: I carry over my street ethics to the booth
In the Shady crime fam, Al Capon in his youth	In the Shady crime fam, Al Capone in his youth
The difference between me and you	The difference between me and you
I already done it and lived the street life	I already done it and lived the street life
Niggas run away from it	Niggas run away from it
You follow my life in the Midwest blunted	You follow my life, in the Midwest blunted
Pitchforks held high, 4/5 by the stomach	Pitchforks can meet
You find me right now on the C.A. streets	
I’m n the roof of the building shootin’ at police	
Some of the homies feel opposition can’t kill me	
I’m a walkin’ obituary, death lives in me	
I take life through the pen by the way I’m seen	
I’ll have you raped in the pen like American meat	
I’m connected, gettin’ weight from Ms-13 with	I’m connected getting weight, from MS-13 with
SK’s, AR’s and Mini-14’s	SK’s, AR’s and Mini-14’s
I’m Cashis	I’m Cashis
The last of the real, we’re strapped on Prozac B’s	The last of the real, we’re strapped on Prozac B’s
and E pills it’s the rap	and E pills it’s the rap
Got the block on tip two tins of crack	Got the block on tip, two tins of crack
I’m in a life time contract, Shady’s back, Nigga	I’m in a lifetime contract, Shady’s back, Nigga

<sup>96</sup> As illustrated in Table 6.3, Cashis’s words are twisted and altered to fit the video slideshow.

<sup>97</sup> Not naming Cashis strips him of the respect afforded to Eminem.

It is a provocative juxtaposition to join re-created images of nineteenth-century Southern rebellion with the sounds of aggressive contemporary rap. Images of armed and militant white (neo-) Confederate soldiers in pastoral settings. If image and sound work dialogically in multimedia to ascribe new meanings to each other, then what messages are being produced by “The Columbia Flying Artillery?” A closer examination of several scenes from this music video will provide some plausible answers. At the beginning of the video, a photograph of formally posed Civil War reenactors crowded around a canon, kneeling and holding their guns is stylized to appear like a rustic period photograph that has faded to brown & white hues. This artificial artifact is aligned with the sounds of Eminem declaring “Feels like a long time, don’t it?” The next black and white image depicts armed reenacted soldiers approaching a pile of limp bodies. The image begins to glow purple and then green and special effects cause the image to ripple and shake until the image appears in color. It is followed by an additional photograph of armed reenactors huddled together, and the entire image spins around the video screen. These images are paired with the sounds of Eminem asking “Did you miss us? We missed you.”

Heard in this context, the song seems to be referencing the temporal distance between the nineteenth-century and today. Eminem’s lyrics cause the figures in the images to appear ghostly, as if they were extinct creatures calling out from beyond the grave. And as their bodies shake and turn to color, the energy produced by the movement appears to bring the soldiers back to life. In the song, Eminem calls this the “Re-up,” and within the context of this video, “Re-“ seems to suggest the process re-surrecting or re-enacting. From this point forward, Eminem’s voice sounds as a character from this reenactment troupe. When he names himself and his entourage, images of individual

reenactors faces are centered in the screen. Semi-automatic gunshots heard in the music are synchronized to photographs of rifles, canons and limp bodies. The following chart illustrates how each event in the lyrics are synchronized to a photograph.

Table 6.7 Musical and visual cues at beginning of video<sup>98</sup>

Time	Soundtrack	Video Slideshow
0:01	(Gunshots) Yeah!	B&W image of canon
0:05	Feels like a long time	B&W photograph of re-enactors around canon
0:09	Did you miss us?	Wavy purple and green colored photo
0:14	Shady Narcotics	Spinning photo effect
0:16	This is the Re-Up	Spinning photo effect
0:18	And We're Back	Color photograph of re-enactors looking away
0:20	Myself (Gunshot)	Color photograph portrait of re-enactor
0:21	D12 (Gunshot)	Color photograph portrait of re-enactor
0:23	50 Cent (Gunshot)	Color photograph of man on surgeon's table
0:25	Obie Trice (Gunshot)	Color photograph of re-enactor
0:27	Stat Quo (Gunshot)	Color photograph of re-enactor charging forward
0:32	I'd also like to introduce	Color photograph of re-enactors around canon
0:35	The two newest members	Color photograph of soldier kneeling with a bible
0:39	Bobby Creek (Gunshot)	Color photograph of prayer leader
0:42	Ca\$his (Gunshot)	Color photograph of reenactor

This introductory portion of the video shapes the viewer's interpretation of the song by re-associating the rappers voices with the bodies of reenactors so that the rappers perform *as* Civil War soldiers. This is an involuntary militarization of the vocalists. They become Confederate rebels who suffer from the emasculation that was caused by Northern aggression/invasion, and are provoked to defend their property, families, and masculinity by means of armed combat. Their lyrics are re-signified to represent the

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<sup>98</sup> Unless otherwise stated, transcriptions and video descriptions are by the author.

frustrations of neo-confederate men. This process of transference is dialogic, ascribing new meanings to both the audio and visual materials.

The transition to the second song, “We’re Back” marks the complete resurrection and reanimation of the confederate army. And while the video only includes still images of this reenactment troupe, the video author creates the sense of movement and action by presenting action shots of battle scenes, and through the quick transitions, zooms, and focusing of each photograph. The visual material remains synched to the musical events, thereby borrowing the energy from the music to create active images. The song’s pounding 2/4 dance beat is reinterpreted as a military march that is paired with photographs of men marching down the battlefield flying Confederate flags. The violent attributes that sound militant including the shouting, cursing, and verbal threats by the vocalists are projected onto the visual characters, making them seem more intimidating and powerful. In other words, the active and aggressive masculine codes that can be heard in Eminem’s and Ca\$his’ music are transferred to the confederate reenactors who are pictured on the screen.

The entrance of Ca\$his’ solo marks an important shift in how masculinity and power are constructed in this music video. His deep voice, confrontational address, and violent lyrics about renegade life add to the performance of masculinity in this video, but in a notably racialized manner. Ca\$his’ character is constructed in relation to Eminem’s character. While Eminem’s lyrics emit a series of threats, Ca\$his’s character brags about having already enacted those threats, which by comparison, creates a more dangerous, hyper-masculine character. The lyrics selected for this video link Ca\$his to crime, weapons, and drugs, and this becomes directly linked to his blackness through his use of

the racial slur, “nigga.” The white male reenactors in this video construct their own masculinities through the transference of Ca\$his’ masculine attributes from this excerpted material that perpetuate stereotypes of black men as criminal and violent. This practice of constructing white masculinity through and in comparison to imagined blackness can be tied to nineteenth-century white culture and the institution of blackface minstrelsy.

Since the root of the black stereotyping found in this video is inextricably related to the time and place depicted in the “Columbia Flying Artillery” video, it is vital to consider the layering of Ca\$his’ black voice over confederate images during his performance, especially at the moment when he utters “I’m in a lifetime contract... Nigga.” What do these words mean in a confederate context? When paired with reenacted imagery of a white supremacist movement, the performance of this text underscores associations between Confederates and the Ku Klux Klan.<sup>99</sup> We must wonder why a black character is even present in this southern/confederate pastoral setting. Does Ca\$his sound like a confederate agent? And if so, can Ca\$his, benefit from the association with the white masculine power that is associated with confederate imagery in the same manner that Eminem might? If not, and this video may be interpreted as a depiction of Confederate control over a black voice, then this voice summons questions about agency and power. Ca\$his’s black identity and inability to choose to participate in this music video generates racial tension that draws out associations between confederates, the southern rural landscape, and violence to people of color. Unlike so many Civil War-themed music videos that gloss over the racial politics that defined this war, The

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<sup>99</sup> Robin D. Barnes, “Blue By Day and White By [K]night: Regulating The Political Affiliations for Law Enforcement and Military,” *Iowa Law Review* 81 (1996): 561. Barnes writes, “Embittered by the South’s defeat during the Civil War, early Klansmen set out to keep the “niggers” in their place and to eliminate all northerners who preached political and social equality for blacks,” 561.

Columbia Flying Artillery's artist selection brings issues of slavery and racism to the forefront, without apology or comment.

The end of the video uses the true ending of the studio release with a repetition of the reprise, and the same gunshots from "Shady Narcotics," resolve both songs. Directions as to how to join the Columbia Flying Artillery flash across the screen as Eminem laughs in an emotionally unstable manner. He settles the moment of comic relief by calling out "What!" a gesture that is used to warrant a quick response or to provoke an opponent. Provoke the viewer to do what? To join the Columbia Flying Artillery.<sup>100</sup>

While the selection of rap music for this recruitment video may seem arbitrary or disjunct, there may be valid reasons why the video author thought that potential reenactors would be drawn to this combination of sounds and imagery. Re-enactors and rappers both value artificially "authentic" performances. Rap authenticity is measured by the artist's subjectivity which materializes in the truthfulness of the lyrics, knowledge of rap history, and allusions to past performers while maintaining elements of originality. It may be possible for re-enactors to identify with the pleasure of constructing and performing the rapper persona because there is a shared appreciation across rap and re-enactment communities for mimicking, shifting identities, and embodied performance. Civil War re-enactors enter the hobby as unauthentic modern beings, and must prove themselves through the demonstration of historical knowledge and masquerading skills.

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<sup>100</sup> More information about the Columbia Flying Artillery and their recruitment process may be found via their public Facebook page: Columbia Flying Artillery, "Columbia Flying Artillery," <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Columbia-Flying-ArtilleryCS-Federal-Marines/163079687071068?sk=wall> (accessed November 7, 2011); and their website, Columbia Flying Artillery, "Home," <http://www.geocities.com/southernsoldier29332/> (accessed November 7, 2011).



Although defined and measured differently by both communities, this preoccupation with authenticity may allow re-enactors to identify with the frustrations of a white rapper who must continually prove his legitimacy.<sup>101</sup>

“The Columbia Flying Artillery” video blurs pastness and presentness by combining images of a southern antebellum pastoral landscape and confederate army with a recently invented and currently popular music genre that is associated with industrial urban centers. The video’s author makes urban sounds speak for rural landscapes resulting in the absorption of urban characteristics by confederate actors in pastoral settings. Through music video, Civil War re-enactment may appear more fashionable and fast-paced. If the Columbia Flying Artillery wants to attract younger participants, these binary reversals may be a demographically-specific recruitment strategy. As a recruitment tool, this video may resonate with Americans who are interested in the past, but reluctant to abandon their modern selves, and thus, this video evidences Civil War re-enactment as a negation of past and present identities. The Columbia Flying Artillery music video provides evidence of re-enactment as a staging of historical scenarios that construct and comment on an idealized version of the present.

## **Conclusions**

YouTube has become a medium for staging an ongoing conversation about the Civil War. The videos described in this chapter circulate stories about this conflict and document contemporary interpretations of the war. YouTube videos represent the past in stylized ways that romanticize and fictionalize this history. The production and stringing

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<sup>101</sup> If Civil War re-enactors fail to escape the reality of their posing and never achieve the authenticity they desire, then perhaps they suffer from a similar syndrome that Eminem faces as a White rapper.

together of sounds and images that sanitize the least appealing aspects of the war and instead focus on the most spectacular, pleasure-producing, adventuresome aspects of military culture. We can interpret these videos as the manipulation of historical memory, or as meditations on what it means to be “history.” These videos are a grassroots opportunity for people to assume ownership of Civil War history. Their global reach has the potential to influence other people’s knowledge/interpretation of this history and spread the hobby. The potential of these videos to do cultural work on a global scale makes them important instruments for influencing public memory of the past.

In order to keep the memory of this war alive in the public imagination, stories about Civil War history must be constantly repeated. But because the Civil War is too complex to reproduce in its entirety, reenactment is selective and condensed by nature. To broaden their audience base and to keep these stories relevant and reflective of their storytellers, reenactors make use of a variety of performance mediums to replay their stories. During this creative process, Civil War stories and the genres of their retelling are molded into something new. In response to these necessities, most valued aesthetics to emerge from this commemorative tradition are repetition, excerption, and reconfiguration. These three traits also happen to be the most valued YouTube aesthetics. What Carol Vernallis terms “insistent reiteration,” accounts for the repeatability of each video via the play button and link sharing, the viral video phenomenon, the repetitive actions required to access content on this website and the visual repetitiveness of staring at a computer screen, mimicking, thematic trends, and production techniques. But as an aesthetic, Vernallis believes that the repetition has a deeper function, to normalize and organize the disorder of contemporary life. She states, “reiteration reigns supreme on

YouTube and within each genre, distinct features linked to repetition are foregrounded... repetition becomes a virtuosic experience.”<sup>102</sup>

Reiteration is also a reflexive act that acknowledges the influence of mass media on amateur video creators. The sheer number of Civil War hobbyist videos that mimic television documentary models evidence a reflexivity about the hobby’s relationship to mass media. The “US Civil War Music Video” reflects knowledge of pop culture developments and an implied expectation that audiences will also enjoy these references. The video thus exemplifies what Umberto Eco calls “intermedia” because a deeper understanding of the borrowed references requires both a pre-knowledge of the war, and of mass media discourse about the war. Eco notes that the exclusivity of these unmarked cultural quotations reserve secret pleasures for knowledgeable insiders. This is how user-generated intertextual products build community online, because shared understanding of the frames creates a sense of insider-ness and community among consumers. References that occur within clips, among collections of videos, and across media platforms create a larger media discourse. This hybridization is what Vernallis describes as linking and talking to one another.<sup>103</sup>

The high degree of reiteration in YouTube videos may be attributed to broader cultural customs and anxieties. Repetition is a form of comfort that help citizens cope with sociocultural disruptions.<sup>104</sup> An observable tension between individual and

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<sup>102</sup> Carol Vernallis, *Unruly Media: YouTube, Music Video, and the New Digital Cinema*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 130-131. The eight aesthetics are: pulse and reiteration, graphic values, a sense of scale that matches the medium, unreality and weightlessness, reanimation, unusual casual relations, intermediality and transmediality, sardonic humor and parody. According to Vernallis, any clip may embody some of these features, but not all of them.

<sup>103</sup> Vernallis, *Unruly Media*, 133. YouTube documents and fosters reflexivity among video creators about their hobby and their relationship to a variety of media.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

community reenactment experiences is symptomatic of a larger national dilemma that Michael Wesch describes as “cultural inversion,” the search for authentic community experiences in a culture that values individualism and simulation.<sup>105</sup>

Music videos on YouTube employ a variety of construction techniques including recycling, re-contextualizing, and reconfiguring borrowed and original content. What remains common among all YouTube videos is their repeatability. They reflect individual and group identities, and mark the boundaries of communal belonging through shared emotional experiences. Music in Civil War videos evidence that many musical styles can be associated with the Civil War.

YouTube music videos are an important site of Civil War memory. Civil War reenacting extends into the digital world to combine representations of previously established Civil War mythologies with new ways of thinking about the legacy of that era. This argument counters dominant beliefs about reenactment as an escapist activity. In contrast, these videos evidence a desire to bring memories of the Civil War to the present and to engage with these ideas through the use of contemporary media technology. Video representations of this war reflect contemporary fantasies and anxieties about race, class, and gender. And while representational strategies have changed as new creative technologies emerge, the memories/narratives have largely remained the same.

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<sup>105</sup> Michael Wesch, “An Anthropological Introduction to YouTube,” <http://mediatedcultures.net/youtube.htm> (accessed March 25, 2014).

## CHAPTER 7

### MUSIC AND LIGHT AT STONE MOUNTAIN

A forty-five minute musical laser show in Stone Mountain Georgia is one of the nation's most visited Civil War tourist sites. The laser show is one facet of a theme park that was built around a granite mountainside sculpture of the confederate trinity.<sup>1</sup> This park has a complicated history that has received considerable scholarly attention, but precious little is documented about the laser show. This chapter will demonstrate how music is a vital component of the Stone Mountain laser show. I argue that this production repackages the confederate monument to contemporary American consumers. In order to demonstrate how this goal is accomplished, I will describe how several music segments from the 2012 laser show transmitted narratives about Stone Mountain and the Civil War.

Because the history of this site is fraught with conflict, it is imperative that the laser show be examined within its socio-historical context. Therefore, I begin with a brief introduction to the history of Stone Mountain, followed by an overview of the laser show. A comparison of my own Stone Mountain experiences to a famed description by Tony Horwitz demonstrates the need for a closer examination of the music in the laser show. My reading of this tourist attraction will be supplemented by findings from a 2012 reception study that discussed the impact of music and light in this production. Two case studies drawn from the show will demonstrate how music operates at Stone Mountain.

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<sup>1</sup> The Confederate trinity comprises Confederate generals Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, and Confederate President Jefferson Davis.

The first example is the only portion of the show to directly reference the Civil War and is accompanied by a recording of Elvis Presley performing “An American Trilogy.” The second example is an excerpt from a portion of the exhibit that the park titles “Our Music is Georgia Music” and features a recording of Whitney Houston performing “I Go to the Rock.” These case studies will illustrate how mainstream American pop music veils the history of this site and normalizes the monument through a process of mass commercialization.<sup>2</sup>

### **Socio-Historical Context**

Stone Mountain, the world’s largest exposed granite feature, is located fifteen miles east of Atlanta, Georgia. The surrounding town of Stone Mountain was deeply impacted by the Civil War when the majority of white male residents enlisted as Confederate soldiers in Georgia’s 38<sup>th</sup> Regiment and used the granite mountainside as a training camp.<sup>3</sup> This geographic area functioned long after the war as a site of Confederate memory. In 1915, an eighty-year-old confederate widow and active member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy named Helen Plane proposed a confederate monument be carved into the mountainside.<sup>4</sup> Fundraising for the monument project coincided with the release of D.W. Griffith's film, *Birth of a Nation* and the revival of the second Ku Klux Klan. This white power organization became intrinsically tied to carving of the confederate monument through the mountain's owner, the project committee, and

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<sup>2</sup> By “normalize” I mean the process of making something appear normal or natural.

<sup>3</sup> Three Confederate hospitals were located in this town and the soldiers who died there were buried in the Stone Mountain cemetery. Union and Confederate forces skirmished nearby, and a portion of Sherman’s army camped at Stone Mountain during his March to the Sea. Barry Brown and Gordon Elwell. *Crossroads of Conflict: A Guide to Civil War Sites in Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 99-101.

<sup>4</sup> John Coski. “Carved in Stone the History of Stone Mountain (Review),” *Southern Cultures* 4 no. 3 (1998): 102-104.

sculptor Gutzon de la Mothe Borglum, all of whom were personally involved with the Klan.<sup>5</sup> The Stone Mountain memorial became a national effort after President Calvin Coolidge and the U.S. Congress authorized the circulation of Borglum-designed half dollars in honor of the project. After sculptors finished carving Lee's head, Forbes Magazine endorsed the memorial as an American artwork and spiritual tourist destination. But when internal power struggles within the memorial committee led to the subsequent firing of Borglum, and southern economic woes during the 1920s negatively impacted funding for the project, work on the carving halted.<sup>6</sup>

Governor Eugene Talmadge took up the confederate memorial effort in 1941 as a state project and hired native Georgian artist, Julian Harris, to redesign the sculpture. Although construction ceased during World War II, the Georgia General Assembly reinvested in the project during the 1950s. They formed the Stone Mountain Memorial Association in 1957, purchased the mountain with \$1,100,000 of Georgia tax money, and funded the completion of the project from 1958-1970 for use as a tourist attraction.<sup>7</sup> Relying largely on prison labor to finish the carving and amphitheater, state representatives were optimistic that the project would be completed before the Civil War centennial. Stone Mountain opened as a state park in 1963, but it took an additional seven years to complete the monument carving.<sup>8</sup> The resulting memorial depicts Jefferson

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<sup>5</sup> Grace Elizabeth Hale, "Granite Stopped Time: The Stone Mountain Memorial and the Representation of White Southern Identity," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 82 (Spring 1998): 22-44. The mountain was owned by the Venable family. Gutzon Borglum is most often remembered for designing Mount Rushmore. The degree to which Borglum was involved in the Klan, including the question of membership, remains debated.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 39-40; Barry Brown and Gordon Elwell. *Crossroads of Conflict: A Guide to Civil War Sites in Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 101.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

Davis, Stonewall Jackson, and Robert E. Lee on horseback, honorably posed with hats over their hearts.

The period when the State of Georgia acquired this land and completed the sculpture should not be divorced from its socio-political context. State funding of this sculpture coincided with resistance to the end of Jim Crow, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Civil War centennial. One decade before the state assumed control of the mountain, the gubernatorial election had a lasting effect on race relations in Georgia. The state's county-unit voting system awarded the majority of political power to rural localities, preventing urban black populations and those who practiced what historian Stephen Tuck calls Atlanta's "more moderate race relations" from exerting political influence.<sup>9</sup> Herman Talmadge won that gubernatorial election on a white supremacist platform, warning white Georgians of an impending "nigra takeover."<sup>10</sup> Stephen Tuck notes that Talmadge's victory excited hate organizations and initiated a white supremacist backlash that dismantled progress toward civil rights for people of color. In the following years, racial violence in Georgia exceeded the level documented in the rest of the South, and the heightened racism at the root of this civil unrest became institutionalized when leaders of hate organizations were appointed to political offices. Dr. Samuel Green, then Georgia's Imperial Ku Klux Klan Wizard, was appointed a lieutenant colonel and "aid-de-camp" to Governor Talmadge, thereby directly linking Georgia's administration to the Klan, and according to Tuck, "defense of white

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<sup>9</sup> Stephen Tuck. *Beyond Atlanta: The Struggle for Racial Equality in Georgia 1940-1980* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 75. See also Kevin Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton University Press, 2005), 19-42. Tuck concludes that the 1948 governor election primed the 1950s and 1960s racial protests.

<sup>10</sup> Herman Talmadge remained a state politician until he lost a senate race in 1980. Stephen Tuck. *Beyond Atlanta: The Struggle for Racial Equality in Georgia 1940-1980* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 66.



supremacy and defense of the county-unit system, therefore became synonymous during the 1950s.”<sup>11</sup> As a testament to southern white supremacy, the Stone Mountain project was symbolic of Georgia’s dominant political and social ideologies.

Georgia joined other southern states in rejecting the 1954 Supreme Court *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Anti-integration politics unified the white South, as demonstrated by Strom Thurmond’s 1956 Southern Manifesto that pledged to reverse the Supreme Court ruling.<sup>12</sup> That year, state general assemblies in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi pronounced the *Brown* decision “null and void.”<sup>13</sup> Southern states negotiated state expressions of confederate memory while resisting integration, exemplified by Georgia’s 1956 adoption of a state flag that incorporated the Confederate battle flag.<sup>14</sup> Legislators claimed the flag change was instituted as state support for the 1960s centennial, but the flag was interpreted by constituents as a bold anti-segregationist emblem. According to historian John Coski, new meaning were ascribed to the flag and it became coded as a symbol of southern rebellion. The use of the flag by the Dixiecrats confirmed its association with resistance to the Civil Rights movement and by the mid 1950s, the Confederate flag had reemerged as a powerful symbol of white southern militancy.<sup>15</sup> This era of civil rights activism, anti-integration protests, flag changes, and centennial celebrations was the political backdrop to the state funding of the Stone

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<sup>11</sup> Stephen Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta: The Struggle for Racial Equality in Georgia 1940-1980* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 75.

<sup>12</sup> Numan V. Bartley, *The New South 1945-1980: The Story of the South’s Modernization* (Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 198.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 195. This platform was adopted by eight southern states by 1957.

<sup>14</sup> See Michael Martinez, "The Georgia Confederate Flag Dispute," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 92 (summer 2008): 200-228; Numan V. Bartley, *The New South 1945-1980: The Story of the South’s Modernization*. (Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 198; John Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 138.

<sup>15</sup> See Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag* 124.

Mountain memorial. And as Grace Elizabeth Hale has noted, the completion of the carving was intended to demonstrate southern resiliency and white power to the nation.<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile, black struggles against segregation intensified across the South. Community boycotts and the creation of Civil Rights advocacy groups during the 1950s gave way to 1960s protests that have been described by historian Numan Bartley as individualistic efforts to break into the white economic system.<sup>17</sup> Music was a unifying protest tool during Civil Rights sit-ins, marches and freedom rides of this era. Spirituals simultaneously linked black demonstrators to the religious non-violent protest ideology advocated by Martin Luther King Jr. and to the fulfillment of their enslaved ancestors' legacy.<sup>18</sup> Black protest was met with unpunished white violence. From hostile intimidation by store owners to the 1963 Ku Klux Klan bombing of Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, the fight for white supremacy continued.<sup>19</sup>

White southerners protected their right to violence by controlling political elections. The confederate battle flag flew above the Alabama capitol building when George Wallace took the oath of office as governor 1963, linking his inaugural anti-integration speech to confederate ideology. Said Wallace,

Today I have stood, where once Jefferson Davis stood... It is very appropriate then that from the Cradle of the Confederacy, this very Heart of the Great Anglo-Saxon Southland... I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny... segregation now... segregation tomorrow... segregation forever.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Granite Stopped Time*, 40. The state planned to sponsor a grand pageant, "Century of Progress' made in the South," at the base of Stone Mountain, had it been completed in time for the Civil War centennial.

<sup>17</sup> Numan V. Bartley, *The New South 1945-1980: The Story of the South's Modernization* (Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 299-300.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 301.

<sup>19</sup> Eric Sundquist. *King's Dream: The Legacy of Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" Speech*. Yale University Press, 2009, 20.

<sup>20</sup> "1963 Inaugural Address of Governor George C. Wallace" Alabama Governor, Inaugural addresses and programs, SP194, Alabama Department of Archives and History: January 14, 1963, [http://www.archives.alabama.gov/govs\\_list/inauguralspeech.html](http://www.archives.alabama.gov/govs_list/inauguralspeech.html) (accessed April 10, 2014).

Southern segregationists proclaimed Wallace a spokesman of a unified white South, and his address a resistant message to Washington.

Wallace's speech occurred the same year Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his "I Have A Dream" speech at the March on Washington. The Lincoln Memorial location of King's speech invoked the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation in dual opposition to Wallace's acceptance speech in the "cradle."<sup>21</sup> By 1963, Stone Mountain was so linked to violence against black people that Martin Luther King Jr. identified the site in his national address, "Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia."<sup>22</sup> King's dream of reforming America's racial hierarchy did not sit well with white supremacists, who continued to use the mountain as a site for their rallies after Stone Mountain opened as a state park in 1963.<sup>23</sup> Three days after Martin Luther King Jr.'s speech, the Ku Klux Klan rallied atop Stone Mountain. An advertisement for this event in the *Atlanta Constitution* read: "National Ku Klux Klan Rally. Prominent Speakers. Cross Burning. Stone Mountain, Georgia. August 31, 1963, 7:30pm. Largest Ever Held in the Country. Delegations from 46 States. Press Representatives from 5 Foreign Countries.

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<sup>21</sup> Eric Sundquist, *King's Dream*, 103-104. Both speeches locate the Civil Rights Movement within a Civil War framework. King began his speech, "Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation..." Additional Civil War references are scattered throughout the speech. Stone Mountain's granite mountainside is compared to the granite terrace of the Lincoln Memorial. This materializes in King's speech as a "stone of hope;" two granite stones safeguarding opposing Civil War ideologies. Sundquist notes that the mountaintop becomes a metaphor for upward mobility, transcendence, and freedom.

<sup>22</sup> Transcript from "The Estate of Martin Luther King, Jr." August 28, 1963, [http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/kingweb/publications/speeches/address\\_at\\_march\\_on\\_washington.pdf](http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/kingweb/publications/speeches/address_at_march_on_washington.pdf) (accessed April 6, 2014).

<sup>23</sup> The state did not prevent hate groups from using the landmark for their rallies.

Public Invited. Klansmen and families urged to attend. Free parking.”<sup>24</sup> Their rally intoned that the primary cultural function of this site was to safeguard white patriarchy.

Georgia launched state advertising campaigns that represented Stone Mountain as a family-friendly site of Old South nostalgia. The main attraction of this segregated park was a restored plantation that was intended to represent “Tara” from Margaret Mitchell’s *Gone With The Wind*. Butterfly McQueen, the actress who portrayed “Prissy” in the film version of Mitchell’s novel, was hired by Stone Mountain to play a slave in the plantation kitchen from 1963 to 1965. Grace Elizabeth Hale describes the park as a place where “whites could visit an imagined time and place when sovereign white southerners created in the guise of ‘authentic’ recreation their own racial utopia.”<sup>25</sup> Even after Stone Mountain ceased to evoke Tara in its advertisements, and surrendered plans to erect a Margaret Mitchell museum on the park grounds, romanticized stereotypes about the plantation south continued to draw tourists to this site.<sup>26</sup>

The monument thus continued to reflect the priorities of the state and tax funding of this project under the auspices of the state government was intended as an insult to black Georgians and their allies. By the 1970 dedication of the memorial carving, the average black family in Georgia earned fifty-two percent of the average white Georgia family’s income, Black unemployment doubled white unemployment, and approximately one third of Atlanta’s African American families were below the poverty line, and yet a portion of their state taxes was allocated to the confederate memorial project.<sup>27</sup> Although

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<sup>24</sup> Eric Sundquist, *King’s Dream*, 104.

<sup>25</sup> Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Granite Stopped Time*, 42.

<sup>26</sup> Traces of these images abound in the contemporary laser show

<sup>27</sup> Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 233-238; Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Granite Stopped Time*, 42; Bartley, *The New South 1945-1980*, 352; William H. Chafe, “The End of One Struggle, The Beginning of Another,” in Lewis, David L., and Charles W. Eagles. *The Civil Rights Movement in America: Essays* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986), 137. Vice President Spiro T. Agnew substituted for President Nixon

segregationists slowly lost their legal battles, it is more than plausible that they drew comfort from the completion of a monument that idolized their Confederate ancestors.

Locating this monument within a broader socio-historical context demonstrates how Stone Mountain carries with it a legacy of racial power inequity, white intimidation, resistance, and violence. Cultural contexts and emotional reactions to the monument have changed over time, but Stone Mountain continues to symbolize America's unresolved racial, class, and gender dilemmas as it continues to reflect white anxieties about the restoration or maintenance of white power.<sup>28</sup> Meanwhile, the monument remains a major success for state tourism and draws four to five million visitors annually. In what follows, I will describe the development of the Stone Mountain laser show and how it contributes to the success of this theme park.

### **Introduction to the Laser Show**

Stone Mountain Park estimates that 25 million people have experienced the laser show over the past twenty-five years. It is promoted as the world's longest continually running laser show and Georgia's most visited tourist attraction. The laser show superimposes laser light animation atop of the 90 x 190 foot memorial carving while accompanying music flows from speakers that surround the amphitheater viewing area. . It is described by the park's website as "a dazzling display of neon laser lights featuring characters, stories, graphics and fireworks choreographed to popular musical scores,

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as keynote speaker at the carving dedication. This was interpreted by some of Atlanta's elite as a presidential snub to the South. Another speaker on the program, Dr. William Holmes Borders, an Atlanta African-American minister, drew the ire of James Venerable, the Klan Imperial Wizard and descendent of the mountain's original Venerable family owners as "repugnant to the confederate memory." From the moment of the monument's dedication, Stone Mountain stood as a backdrop to American social crises.<sup>28</sup> Grace Elizabeth Hale describes the monument as a "paradoxical measure of white regional insecurity, nationalism, and ambition." See Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Granite Stopped Time*, 25.

transforming the park into a natural amphitheater.”<sup>29</sup> These productions are meticulously choreographed as thematic medleys, so each nightly performance has a standard appearance and sound.<sup>30</sup>

In 2010, the managing Herschend Family Entertainment Company invested \$4 million into renovating the show, which is described on the Stone Mountain website as “enhanced with Mountainvision, a digital projection technology that adds 3-D like effects without the glasses.” The new version of the show premiered during the 2011-2012 season.<sup>31</sup> It was organized into eight chapters, with thirty three music selections featuring artists including The Black Eyed Peas, Ray Charles, Lynyrd Skynrd, The Indigo Girls, Outkast, Elvis, and Mariah Carey. The Mountainvision renovation differs from previous shows in musical and visual content. Not only is it longer, with more pyrotechnics, and featuring a louder amplified bass pulse, the newly renovated show incorporates the Lost Cause memorial into the laser show more explicitly. Table 7.1 outlines the order of songs, artists, and medley titles.

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<sup>29</sup> Stone Mountain Park Website, <http://www.stonemountainpark.com/> (accessed January 14, 2013).

<sup>30</sup> Although there is no narration or guiding program to that explains this organization to spectators, it is advertised as such on the park’s website, and the animation accompanying the music medley helps convey how the songs are supposed to relate. It is organized into thematic medleys with music selections that relate to the segment’s theme.

<sup>31</sup> “Lasershow Spectacular in Mountainvision This Summer” 2011 Press Release: [http://www.stonemountainpark.com/press-room/press\\_releases.aspx?id=370](http://www.stonemountainpark.com/press-room/press_releases.aspx?id=370) (accessed July 1, 2013).

Table 7.1 Music Order in the 2011-2012 Stone Mountain Laser Show Renovation

Medley Title	Artist Name	Song Title
Sports Medley		
	Synthesized Marching Band	Untitled Fanfare
	Black Eyed Peas	I've Got A Feeling
		Let's Get It Started
	Marching Band	Georgia State Fight Song
		Georgia Southern Fight Song
		GA Tech Fight Song
		UGA Fight Song
Southern Regionalism		
	Ray Charles	Georgia On My Mind
	Buddy Jewel	Sweet Southern Comfort
	Lynyrd Skynrd	Sweet Home Alabama
	Keith Urban	Who Wouldn't Want To Be Me
	Big & Rich	Loud
American Trilogy		
	Elvis	An American Trilogy
Instrumental Rock Interlude		
	Edgar Winter Band	Frankenstein
	Boston	Foreplay
Excellent Georgian Music		
	Whitney Houston	I Go To The Rock
	Little Richard	Tutti Frutti
	Ray Charles	I Can't Stop Loving You
	Indigo Girls	Closer To Fine
	Outkast	Hey Ya
	REM	End Of The World As We Know It
	Zac Brown Band	As She's Walking Away
	Sugarland	Something More
	Allman Brothers	Ramblin' Man
	B52s	Roam
	James Brown	I Feel Good
	Third Day	Follow Me There
Southern Evolution		
	Jeff Smith	Untitled
Fiddle Convention		
	Charlie Daniel Band	Devil Went Down To Georgia
Patriotic Finale		
	Aaron Copland	Fanfare for the Common Man
	Mariah Carrey	Hero
	Michael Bolton	I Will Go The Distance
	Sandi Patty	Star Spangled Banner

The Laserium Company developed the laser show in 1981 as a one-year attraction but positive reactions by the estimated 200,000 tourists led to its permanent installment in 1983.<sup>32</sup> The production has experienced many renovations, with newer music tacked onto the program's beginning and close. While the park is open year-round, the Stone Mountain's laser show is seasonally produced on Saturday evenings between April and October, and can be seen nightly during Atlanta's summer tourist season.<sup>33</sup>

April 1-9, 16, 23, 30.....	Dusk (8:30-9:00pm)
May 7, 14, 21.....	9:30pm
May 28-August 7.....	9:30pm
August 13, 20, 27.....	9:30pm
September 3-5, 10, 17, 24.....	Dusk (8:30-9:00pm)
October 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.....	8:00pm

Figure 7.1 Stone Mountain 2011 Laser Show Schedule

### Stone Mountain Experiences

As part of his 1998 travelogue, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War*, Pulitzer Prize winning journalist, Tony Horwitz published a richly detailed account of the Stone Mountain laser show. He visited Stone Mountain during a larger study of Civil War commemoration during the 1990s that took him through much

<sup>32</sup> Patricia Daukantas. "A Short History of Laser Light Shows." *Optics and Photonics News*, 21 no. 5 (2010) 42; Laserium Company Client List. [http://www.laserium.com/LII\\_info/Clients.html](http://www.laserium.com/LII_info/Clients.html) (accessed August 4, 2013).

<sup>33</sup> Stone Mountain's 3,000 acre park and laser show is an affordable attraction for local, regional, national, and international tourists with daily admittance set at \$10 per car in 2012.



of the South, and his interpretation of the laser show is certainly influenced by those experiences. His vivid description of the 1998 laser show lays the foundation for my examination of music and light at this monument, and demonstrates how this tourist attraction used to look and sound. The following is an excerpt from his study:

I ended my drive at Stone Mountain, just east of the city. Reputedly the largest hunk of exposed granite in the world, the dome-shaped mountain poked up from Atlanta's wooded perimeter like a very tall, very bald man in a crowd... As the lights came up, I was struck by how different Stone Mountain was from Mount Rushmore. Here, the figures were shown in profile, in relatively shallow relief, as though a huge Confederate coin had left a fossil-like imprint in the mountain's face.

The impression lasted about ten seconds, the time it took for the sound track to kick on, playing as overture a familiar soft-drink jingle: "There's always Coca-Cola!" Laser beams created a Coke bottle dancing across the mounted Confederates. This was followed by a cartoon strip featuring a good 'ol boy named Buford, traveling through a time tunnel – though not very far. Animated rock guitarists flashed onto the mountain to the strains of ZZ Top and the Beatles. This segued into the theme song from Beverly Hills Cop, accompanied by abstract images: trapezoids, stars, clusters.

No musical riff or laser image lasted more than a few seconds. I caught snatches of the B-52s singing "Heading down the Atlanta Highway" and Alabama doing "Forty Hour Week." Charlie Daniel's "The Devil Went Down to Georgia" collided with Ed Sullivan introducing the Beatles as airplanes landed to the strains of "Back in the U.S.S.R." Then came sports iconography – the Braves, the Falcons, the Hawks – before Elvis appeared, thrusting his pelvis across Traveller's rippling flank. At this point, I felt sure I could hear Robby Lee and his famous mount rolling over in their graves up in Lexington.

The show concluded in a blur of clichés: Scarlet O'Harra, peaches, plantation, and the mascots of various Georgia universities. Then Elvis appeared again, singing "Dixie" in a slow, sensual drawl as the lasers outlined Lee, Jackson and Davis. The crowd began to cheer. But as the mounted men sprang to life and galloped across Stone Mountain, "Dixie" segued into the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" and Lee broke his sword across his leg. The two halves of the blade quickly transmogrified into a map of North and South, merging together as the sound track belted, "His truth is marching on." Finally, to expunge any last hint of the Cause, the soundtrack played "God Bless the U.S. A." amidst images of the Lincoln Memorial, JFK's grave, Martin Luther King Jr., and a ballot box. Fireworks exploded and the mountain became, in turn, an immense American flag, the Statue of Liberty and Mount Rushmore. The music and lasers abruptly cut off and the three horsemen of the Confederacy melted into the night. I sat there for a while, letting "Dixie" and the "Battle Hymn" and Lee and Lincoln and Elvis all jangle around in my head. The show was a puddle of political

correctness. The message seemed to be that there was no message – no real content to any of the divisive figures or songs or historic episodes the laser show depicted in its fast-paced cartoon. Why debate who should or shouldn't be remembered and revered when you could just stuff the whole lot in a blender and spew it across the world's biggest rock?

Like so much in Atlanta, Stone Mountain had become a bland and inoffensive consumable: the Confederacy as hood ornament. Not for the first time, though more deeply than ever before, I felt a twinge of affinity for the neo-Confederates I'd met in my travels. Better to remember Dixie and debate its philosophy than to have its largest shrine hijacked for Coca-Cola and MTV songs.<sup>34</sup>

Horwitz interprets the show as politically correct, as an attempt to erase the Lost Cause and detach the monument from its original intentions. Through this lens, Stone Mountain is an empty product of mass consumerism. I agree with Horwitz that the laser show is an attempt to expunge this site of its violent and racist reputation, but I am not convinced that this intention is successful. Sounds and images projected on the monument's surface narrate a story of greater complexity than the one Horwitz depicts. To write off this nightly production as light entertainment is to trivialize its potential to influence public perception of Stone Mountain, the Civil War, and the South. Horwitz's reading of the laser show serves, in this chapter, as a data set from which I will compare changes and continuities in this light show.

Nearly fifteen years after Horwitz wandered onto the amphitheater lawn, I ventured to Stone Mountain to see the laser show for myself. I viewed the production from a grassy, sloped amphitheater lawn that is framed by large granite rocks and mature trees. Visitors were welcomed into this space by light pop music that emanated from speakers that were placed around the amphitheater. Sitting in the grass, and covering

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<sup>34</sup> Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998), 286-88.

myself in bug spray on a warm June 2011 evening, I found myself to be the only unaccompanied woman in this area of the park. I was surrounded by multigenerational families who picnicked on the lawn before the laser show. Children ran across the lawn and played with glowing, battery-operated plastic swords that had been purchased from toy kiosks in the park. Visitors played ball, talked, snapped photographs and purchased Coca-Cola products vendor carts around the amphitheater. Teenagers wandered away from their families, and graying baby boomers relaxed in folding chairs. Pockets of people occasionally stood and participated in instructional dances when Gloria Estefan's "Conga" and "The Chicken Dance" played. Preshow communal activities on the lawn fostered a relaxed, participatory, family-oriented, consumer culture that was maintained until the end of the laser show.

After the pre-show music ended, the park lights dimmed as a cue that the show was about to start. Visitors quickly returned to their seats and aligned their bodies toward the mountain. A pre-recorded announcer introduced the show. "And now, Humana is proud to present, Stone Mountain Park's Lasershow Spectacular!" Two fireworks shot above the mountain, temporarily illuminating the scene, to which audiences exclaimed "ooh," and the laser show began. Commercial American music blasted through speakers around the amphitheater as fireworks exploded. Laser beams animated cartoon figures and the Confederate monument was periodically illuminated by bright lights.

The Stone Mountain laser show was a skillfully crafted product that reconfigured commercial musical materials. Nearly all music in the show was a top ten hit from previous decades. This music was re-heard by those who grew up with the songs, but inserted into a new context that changed the purpose of these sounds. Music was also

received by new audiences who only understand it within the Stone Mountain context. Similarly, the monument was re-seen by some audience members who knew it from their youth, and simultaneously introduced to new audiences. By participating in the show, audiences were simultaneously indoctrinated into a popular music tradition and Lost Cause mythology. Music and light repackaged the Confederate memorial as an apolitical tourist attraction.

### **Reception Study**

In October of 2012, I organized a Stone Mountain Laser Show focus group, comprising four women and one man whose ages ranged between 27-50, three of whom were African American, the other two Caucasian. Their occupations included musician, historian, and registered nurse, all of them residing in Georgia. Two participants had formerly visited Stone Mountain, and one participant had previously seen the laser show.

The design and method of this focus group was unconventionally de-centered. Because the participants resided in different regions of the state, and had varying methods, three of them traveled on their own to the event while the other two were passengers in my car. My transportation service provided the opportunity to isolate two volunteers as a control group. They participated in ninety-minute pre- and post-show interview sessions as we traveled to and from Stone Mountain. This offered me the opportunity to gather data about their pre-knowledge, predictions, and reactions to the laser show in a relaxed environment, where they had ample time to formulate their answers.<sup>35</sup> When we arrived at Stone Mountain, the focus group viewed the laser show

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<sup>35</sup> Conversations by these participants were not limited to Stone Mountain, but for the purposes of this study, I include only their answers to my questions in their pre- and post- show interview transcripts.

together. Immediately following the show, all participants were handed clip boards with discussion questions and were encouraged to design their own methods for conducting the group interview. Two leaders that emerged controlled the clip boards and read the questions aloud to the other participants. Everyone responded conversationally and commented on each other's responses.

Data from the focus group interview evidences how these spectators processed the musical and visual content of this show. Participants interpreted the laser show as telling a story about America. Said one participant, "it started out as Georgia, and then it became regional, and then it was all America..." Statements by other respondents echo this sentiment; they were interested in how Georgia "represents the South and every southern person in embodiment."<sup>36</sup> The focus group was critical of the show and disappointed by its use of dated recordings. They were also critical in their analysis of race, class, and gender representations. One participant described these music selections as perpetuating racial stereotypes, reinforced by visual imagery in the show. "When they played the gospel that was the "black moment." And the images of the people looked more African American." This idea was revisited later in the focus group's conversation on the limited musical representation of African Americans in comparison to white artists; they seemed particularly surprised by the exclusion of hip hop during a period when Atlanta has had a vibrant hip hop music culture. But the most striking commonality among the focus group's reception was their otherwise positive reaction to the show. They described the park as family-oriented, interactive, and demographically diverse. One participant who had previously visited Stone Mountain seemed pleasantly surprised by changes to the

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<sup>36</sup> See Appendix C for a transcript of this group interview.

physical park and the laser show's content. Even the respondent who had previously expressed concern about racial stereotyping declared that she would take her children to the laser show.

The focus group identified recurrent themes and representational strategies they interpreted to construct a narrative about the South. They identified and compared musical segments, including the Elvis and Whitney Houston segments, discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. The focus group was easily able to identify both artists, and associated Elvis' segment with the Civil War. The violent war imagery bothered some focus group members, but the short duration of the segment seemed to satisfy them, and some participants were comforted by Elvis' singing.<sup>37</sup> One participant noted, "If I had kids, we would have to have a conversation about the Confederacy and the Civil War part."<sup>38</sup> No other portion of the laser show was interpreted by the focus group to represent the Civil War. As one participant noted, "not only did they do such a short period on the Confederacy... that was only a small percentage of the show."<sup>39</sup>

Participants identified moments during the show when they saw the carving. As one respondent notes, "those generals were still looming over... like ghosts or guardians of authentic Georgia culture... like it's all a reflection of them." This observation, similar to Horwitz's observations, is significant because, as the focus group viewed the renovated Mountainvision show, which added high definition graphic backdrops to pre-existing laser animation segments, the resulting effect is that the monument is more visible to audiences in the renovated version than in previous years. As this group's observation

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<sup>37</sup> One participant described Elvis as "the great unifier of our nation." This interpretation resonates with an academic analyses of this song as a "healing" moment, discussed later in the chapter.

<sup>38</sup> See Appendix C for a transcript of this focus group interview.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

demonstrates, the illumination of the Confederate carving impacts how audiences make meaning from the show.

A prime example of this lighting technique is found in a segment from the second half of the laser show, with a recording of the Zac Brown Band's "As She's Walking Away."<sup>40</sup> These Atlanta-derived country musicians are among several country artists featured in the laser show, and the lighting techniques during every country music segment illuminates the Confederate monument. In the Zac Brown segment, an Atlanta cityscape is depicted across the mountain, with the monument illuminated in the clouds.<sup>41</sup> The Confederate trinity looms over the Atlanta skyline, as if retaining the city's Confederate presence. This scene is reminiscent of previous country music moments, including Keith Urban's "Who Wouldn't Want To Be Me," when a bird travels past a cityscape and a ghostly image of the Confederate trinity appears in the distance, and the monument is incorporated into pastoral imagery in the "Sweet Southern Comfort" segment, when the generals' heads, becoming the face of the moon, emerge from a morning sunrise, and remain a steady backdrop to a quickly shifting cityscape. This lighting technique is also used during the Southern rock anthems "We Like It Loud," and "Sweet Home Alabama." In each of these instances, the Confederate trinity is depicted above the earth in godlike grandeur.

The identification of these characteristics by the focus group presents an opportunity to deconstruct the choreography of music and light in the laser show.

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<sup>40</sup> Zac Brown's twang voices a masculine working-class rusticity visually reinforced by his stylized physical appearance, and his [?] collaboration with country and southern rock icons including Greg Allman of the Allman Brothers. Both band's [or is it just the Allman Bros?] music videos frequently feature images of whisky-drinking crowds, pick-up trucks, and weapons. These associations are not seen in the Stone Mountain laser show, but Zac Brown Band fans may find the band's identity appropriate to this space.

<sup>41</sup> See appendix L for images from this portion of the laser show.

Animation and lighting techniques make the monument appear to respond differently to different genres. It is significant that the carving is not visible during segments that incorporate recordings by black artists, or in African American-associated genres such as R&B, funk, hip hop, or gospel. Perhaps the show's designers choose not to light the monument during the James Brown or Outkast segments because they cannot associate that music to the monument's grand narrative. I argue that because the monument is most visible during country music segments performed by white male musicians, this genre and its performers are marked as the Voice of the monument. Stone Mountain constructs a southern music lineage that ties contemporary rock-influenced country artists, from the Zac Brown Band to the country-rock icon Lynyrd Skynyrd, through shared lighting, animation, and storyboard techniques. Repetition of these visual cues promotes associations between white male voices and country sounds with the Confederate South, and the Confederate trinity. Their music contributes to the celebration of a militarized Southern identity rooted in a white rustic past seen in the laser show's imagery. But perhaps this identification is less a reflection of the music and musicians than of the laser show's audience base. The expectation is that this audience will be more comfortable seeing the Confederate figures glow during songs performed by southern, white male country musicians. Whether the creative minds behind this laser show are constructing a "country" identity for the monument, or are responding to pre-existing associations of their primary audience demographic, the choreography of music and light demonstrate Stone Mountain as actively constructing a monument to whiteness.



## Two Kings: Elvis and Lee at Stone Mountain

The centerpiece of the Stone Mountain laser show is a thematic segment called “American Trilogy,” which is structured around Elvis Presley’s recording of “An American Trilogy.” This is the only chapter of the laser show that is developed around one pop song, and is one of the few songs to be heard in its entirety. It is the only portion of the laser show to incorporate the confederate carving into the animation, and narrates a story about the Confederacy. I find it essential that Elvis was selected to tell Robert E. Lee’s story. As the king of rock n’ roll vouches for these confederate generals, this chapter in the show combines the star-texts of these men to create a masterful musical tribute to the Confederacy.

In January 1973, Elvis Presley performed “Aloha from Hawaii – Via Satellite,” a benefit concert at the Honolulu International Center Arena. It was broadcast as the first international live satellite music concert.<sup>42</sup> An extended version of this concert was broadcast on NBC in April 1973, and RCA’s live recording of this performance hit #1 on the U.S. billboard charts.<sup>43</sup> One hour into “Aloha from Hawaii,” Elvis performed *An American Trilogy*, a medley of “Dixie,” “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” and “All My Trials” that was arranged by Mickey Newbury.<sup>44</sup>

The intention and cultural impact of Presley’s adoption of this medley has given rise to several interpretations by scholars and fans. A reading by Glen Jeansone, David

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<sup>42</sup> Janice Gregory and Neal Gregory, *When Elvis Died: Media Overload & The Origins of The Elvis Cult* (New York: Macmillian, 1992), 69.

<sup>43</sup> Glen Jeansone, David Lührssen and Dan Sokolovic, *Elvis Presley, Reluctant Rebel: His Life and Our Times* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 187.

<sup>44</sup> Tim Parrish, *Walking Blues: Making Americans from Emerson to Elvis* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 218. Mickey Newbury (1940-2002) first arranged this medley for himself, and recorded it for his album *Frisco Mabel Joy* (1971). Newbury’s recording of the medley sounds less triumphant than Elvis’s rendition.

Luhrssen and Dan Sokolovic claims that Elvis performed this medley “as an act of national healing” in response to the 1960s Civil Rights and anti-war movements. This interpretation of “An American Trilogy” as therapeutic is embraced by many Elvis fans, and echoed in southern studies by Charles Reagan Wilson and Tim Parrish.<sup>45</sup> In Wilson and Parrish’s reading, “Battle Hymn of the Republic” and “Dixie” reference America’s northern and southern white population, while the spiritual “All My Trials” represents an African-American population. In this interpretation, regional and racial faction references function as symbols of American unity.

A second interpretation by Linda Ray Pratt focuses on musical duration and argues that the domination of “Dixie” in the medley was a political statement that commented on America’s white cultural hegemony and the exploitation of minorities.<sup>46</sup> Elvis epitomizes Pratt’s description of cultural appropriation because he performed traditionally black gospel and R&B music styles for white teenagers. White America’s appropriation of black music is heard by Pratt as the inclusion of a spiritual in-between renditions of “Dixie.” Interpreted through this lens, the medley depends on the spiritual for character, but the spiritual is ultimately overpowered by “Dixie.” Durational disparities in the music call attention to American racial politics, namely white privilege and exploitation of black cultural production. Pratt’s interpretation of “An American Trilogy” reflects Southern history “through the changes of the civil rights movement and the awareness of black suffering which had hitherto largely been excluded from popular

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<sup>45</sup> Charles Reagan Wilson, “‘Just a Little Talk with Jesus’: Elvis Presley, Religious Music, and Southern Spirituality,” *Southern Cultures* 12 (Winter 2006): 88; Jeanson, Luhrssen, Sokolovic, *Elvis Presley, Reluctant Rebel*, 187; Tim Parrish, *Walking Blues*, 219-220.

<sup>46</sup> Linda Ray Pratt, “Elvis, or the Ironies of a Southern Identity,” *Southern Quarterly* 18, no.1 (1979): 40-51.

white images of Southern history.”<sup>47</sup> Pratt does not interpret the medley to heal regional or racial politics, but rather, it is an acknowledgement of inequity.

In contrast, a third reading by Greil Marcus interprets the song as a blatant avoidance of racial and regional politics.<sup>48</sup> He interprets the decision to title the medley as “An American Trilogy” instead of a “Civil War” medley as a strategy to disassociate Elvis from regional hostility or violent racism that was occurring during the time of the song’s release. According to Marcus, “Elvis transcends any real America by evading it. There is no John Brown in his ‘Battle Hymn,’ no romance in his ‘Dixie,’ no blood in his slave song... The divisions America shares is simply smoothed away.”<sup>49</sup> To Marcus, what is brilliant and disturbing about the medley is its ability to de-politicize one of America’s most heated debates.

All three of these interpretations have merit, and it is not my objective to discredit their scholarship, but to examine them within the context of this theme park’s appropriation of the “Aloha from Hawaii” recording. The laser show necessitates a new reading of this song and that accounts for Stone Mountain Park’s re-contextualization of Elvis’ “An American Trilogy” as a Lost Cause anthem. My analysis will show that in this context, the arranger’s and performer’s intentions for “An American Trilogy” are less significant than the cultural work enacted by the inclusion of the song in this laser show.

“An American Trilogy” is the only song segment in the laser show to directly reference the Civil War. This is important because the laser light show documents a

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<sup>47</sup> Linda Ray Pratt, *Elvis, or the Ironies*, 46. For a critique of Pratt’s interpretation, see Will Kaufman, *The Civil War in American Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 86.

<sup>48</sup> Greil Marcus, *Mystery Train: Images of America in Rock ‘n’ Roll Music*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Plume, 1997), 124.

<sup>49</sup> Greil Marcus, *Mystery Train*, 124.

change in the understanding/perception of Stone Mountain. While the Lost Cause narrative and imagery was at the center of the park during the nineteen-seventies and -eighties, the managers have taken steps since the 1996 Atlanta Olympics to deescalate the controversy surrounding the carving.

Presley's voice constructs a safe environment for confederate nostalgia. Musical cues at the beginning of "An American Trilogy" signal that this thematic segment is important and different from preceding multimedia material. A solo military snare initiates the song, a war theme, and with the slowest tempo in the show. As Elvis slowly serenades the audience about the land of cotton, his voice sounds as a soft lullaby to the audience who sit in complete darkness. When Elvis settles to tonic C on the words "Dixie land," the carving's natural shade is illuminated, as if to tell us that *this* is the Dixie land we long to resurrect, and our feelings are OK because Elvis reinforces our fantasy. As a men's chorus sings "Dixie," shimmering dots outline Robert E. Lee's figure, revealing the true confederate symbol.

The trilogy's first climax is built from two step-wise two quarter-note, half-note motives (a descending 8-7-6 in the bass, and ascending 3-5-6 in the brass). If the song's beginning is wandering and reflective, these three-note motives mark an important moment of forward movement that is tied to Stone Mountain's carving of the confederate trinity. Contrasting movement implied by the descending 8-7-6 motive is reflected in the visual representation, choreographed to the first moving image. This climax arrives one-minute and thirty seconds into the segment when Robert E. Lee leads the animation by riding his horse forward as Elvis sings "Glory, Glory Halleluiah." Lee's re-animation and riding descent to the bottom left of the projection area emulates the three-note motive

repeated in response to Elvis's halleluiahs. Elvis sings as if one king praises another. The "Battle Hymn of the Republic" is no longer about John Brown's body, the union army, or freed slaves; it was about Lee all along.

As the screen fades to black, the climax resolves, orchestral strings descend to tonic. After a brief lull, Elvis transitions to the medley's second song, three lines of text from "All My Trials." It is so truncated, it is barely recognizable. The instrumental accompaniment is sparse, and male back-up singers chime in with reminders of the three-note-motive that defined the medley's first climax. Paired with images of white men shooting weapons, this portion of the trilogy concludes with a flute's solo return to the "Dixie" melody, accompanying Robert E. Lee as he rides past tombstones.

Two minutes and thirty seconds into the trilogy builds the second climax. Lee holds his sword high and signals the return of the three-note motive from the first climax, but this time the motive only ascends. The motive sounds hopeful as Lee breaks his sword across his knee, and the shattered pieces transform into a map of the United States re-united in red, white and blue. Elvis belts the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" as Jackson and Davis triumphantly join Lee. When Elvis sings, "His truth is marching on," the music and accompanying visual material make it evident that Elvis is hailing Lee. It is a confederate truth that marches on at Stone Mountain, illuminated in granite glory by fireworks and heralded by trumpets screeching up the octave to a perfect authentic cadence. If the Lost Cause is no longer the only Stone Mountain story, it certainly lives on in the four-minute "American Trilogy" tribute to Robert E. Lee.

Table 7.2 Audio/visual descriptions of “An American Trilogy” in Stone Mountain’s Laser Show

Time	Structure	Music/Lyrics	Images
11:05	Introduction	Drum Rolls	Darkness
11:15	“Dixie” Verse 1	Elvis: Oh I wish	Confederate monument illuminated
11:22		Old times there	Lights shift in color from purple to green
11:27		Look away, Dixie Land	Shift from green color to natural lighting
11:40	“Dixie” Chorus	Male Backup Singers: Oh I wish I was in Dixie	Black background with bright sparkles dotting the monument outline
11:45		In Dixie Land I'll take my stand	Dots outline Robert E Lee carving
12:05		Elvis: Where I was born	Dots complete outline of Lee & horse
12:25		Look away, Dixie Land	Outlines draw in the Davis & Jackson and their horses
12:44	“Battle Hymn of the Republic” Chorus	Elvis: Glory, Halleluiah	Statue remains outlined & animation begins. Lee looks at audience
12:45		Instrumental quarter, quarter, half note Motive	Lee rides horse to the bottom left of projection area
12:50		Elvis: Glory, Glory, Halleluiah	Animated Davis and Jackson ride horses
13:00		His truth is marching	Lee draws sword and gallops forward
13:14		Elvis: on	Generals turn as if riding to the audience
13:18	Transition	Strings lead instrumental transition.	Screen fades to black
13:30	“All My Trials” Verse 1	Elvis: Hush little baby	Image of Civil War soldiers
13:35		Your daddy's	Image of mural of Calvary battle
13:38		Bound to die	Animated Calvary soldier slashes sword
13:45		All my trials	Animated soldiers load and shoot guns
14:00		Soon be over	Still image of Robert E. Lee's face
14:07	Transition	Flute Solo	Lee rides past a dead body & graves
14:32	Recapitulation	Dramatic instrumental crescendo on cadence	Image of drummer boy, and soldiers furling confederate flag
14:40	“Battle Hymn of the Republic”	Return of quarter, quarter, half note motive	Lee takes out his sword and breaks it across his knee
14:45		Brass instruments lead Battle Hymn melody	Pieces of Lee's sword falls to the ground
14:50	“Battle Hymn of the Republic” Chorus	Elvis & Backup vocals: Glory Halleluiah	The United States map is patched back together
15:00		His Truth	Lee rides his horse
15:15		His Truth	Trinity re-appears
15:30		His Truth Is Marching On	Lee removes his hat. Outline image realigned with carving. Fireworks.

Returning to the three interpretations of Elvis’ “An American Trilogy,” previously described, traces of each analysis can be found in the Stone Mountain production, but that Stone Mountain re-contextualization ultimately weakens each

reading. Jeansone, Lührssen and Sokolovic's first analysis understood Elvis' rendition as a response to American Civil Rights and anti-war struggles, contextualizing twentieth-century social conflicts as a continuation of an American protest tradition. Stone Mountain similarly defends an American protest tradition by memorializing the leaders of a radical American social movement. Yet the history of Stone Mountain, the confederate ideology, and the anti-integration reasoning behind Georgia's public funding of monument's completion, negate any identification with or empathy for Civil Rights and anti-war demonstrators. The Stone Mountain version of 'An American Trilogy' is a reactionary political statement in opposition to Civil Rights and anti-war protest movements.

The second analysis by Linda Pratt interpreted the medley as an attempt to problematize unequal power distribution among racial groups by inserting the spiritual between "Dixie's." Yet the Stone Mountain rendition reverses Pratt's claims, and eliminates all minorities, leaving only a conservative white southern confederate male identity to represent a unified America. The Dixie nostalgia emphasized by Stone Mountain's Elvis encourages, if not justifies white supremacist fantasies, and heralds the confederate trinity carving as a symbol of those desires.

The third analysis interprets Elvis's performance as avoiding politics. Although it seems Marcus's analysis best suits Stone Mountain's project, this interpretation also falls short. Marcus claims that the title "An American Trilogy" avoids Civil War political references, yet Stone Mountain clearly identifies the confederate south as the song's object. If Elvis's original version avoids controversy, the Stone Mountain version is unapologetically political. But one point made by Marcus remains true. Stone Mountain's

‘An American Trilogy’ successfully erases John Brown, and any mention of slavery. America’s racism and regionalism is obliterated because only a confederate America is represented. This is how Stone Mountain powerfully re-narrates ‘An American Trilogy’ as a Lost Cause anthem.

A dual manipulation of music and monument influences tourists understanding of both histories. Stone Mountain’s laser show sells American popular culture that can influence our memories of the past, and is important for enacting this cultural work. Audiences who remember “Aloha from Hawaii” reconcile their knowledge of the song’s and artist’s history with the Stone Mountain presentation, while younger generations discover Elvis at Stone Mountain, and interpret this representation as authentic Elvis. Thus, Stone Mountain efficiently re-packages Lost Cause mythology as a highly-controlled commercial tourist experience that predictably resembles others theme parks.<sup>50</sup> As an emergent form of musical tourism, Stone Mountain constructs spectacle by layering pop multimedia and confederate sculpture, which enables the monument to be sold to consumers as innocent entertainment.

### **Whitney Houston Goes to the Rock**

Unlike the “American Trilogy” segment, most chapters in the laser show do not directly reference the monument. The following discussion examines a song segment to demonstrate how the show integrates songs by black artists. At the beginning of “our music is Georgia music,” the portion of the show featuring Whitney Houston, an

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<sup>50</sup> Stone Mountain achieves what Ritzer and Liska would term “McDisney-ized Post-Tourism.” See George Ritzer and Allen Liska, “McDisneyization and Post-tourism: Complementary Perspectives on Contemporary Tourism,” in *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, ed. Chris Rojek and John Urry (London: Routledge, 1997), 96.



animated “Georgia Music Hall of Fame” sign opens a music history book, which becomes a frame from which the audience can understand this collection of songs.<sup>51</sup> Among the artists included in this segment are Outkast, James Brown, the Allman Brothers, Whitney Houston, and the Georgia Mass Choir. The sheer number of sound bites packed into this episode exceeds the density of musical excerpts in the remainder of the show, effectively representing Georgia as a state bursting with music.

The first feature artist in the “Our music is Georgia music,” chapter of the Stone Mountain Laser Show is Whitney Houston, one of America’s best-selling vocalists, who was known equally for the power and clarity of her voice as for her embellishment style.<sup>52</sup> Although she was not born in Georgia, her work with the Georgia Mass choir, the Atlanta location of her television show, and her public praise of Atlanta fostered loyalty among many Georgia residents. The recording representing Houston in the laser show is “I Go to the Rock,” one of several tracks from the *The Preacher’s Wife* movie soundtrack.<sup>53</sup>

The song begins softly and gradually builds in volume as Whitney Houston poses a series of questions: “Where do I go?” “Who do I talk to?” “Who do I lean on?” The pianist engages in a conversational call-response with Houston, filling the spaces between

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<sup>51</sup> This portion of the show promotes the Georgia Music Hall of Fame museum.

<sup>52</sup> Colette Simonot, “Houston, Whitney,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed March 21, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2224643>; Jon Caramanica, “The Pop Goddess Who Fell to Earth,” *New York Times* (February 12, 2012) C1 New York Edition.

<sup>53</sup> The Georgia Mass Choir is a Grammy-nominated gospel ensemble formed in 1983, in Macon, Georgia, and nationally recognized for performing at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics. The ensemble was founded by Reverend Milton Biggham. The Choir has since toured and commercially released nearly a dozen albums of gospel classics. Their contribution to “I Go to the Rock” represents more Georgians than any other selection in the 2012 laser show. See <http://www.billboard.com/artist/georgia-mass-choir/23976#/artist/georgia-mass-choir/bio/23976>; <http://www.malaco.com/Catalog/Gospel/Georgia-Mass-Choir/list.php>.

questions. Houston's personal crisis is answered by the Georgia Mass Choir, who unanimously tell her to "go to the Rock," a metaphor for seeking guidance from the Lord. Houston and the choir sing the chorus loudly and with joy, representing the "saving" of Houston.

During Houston's opening solo, the animation of the show plays on the word "go," depicting people traveling around a city. When the chorus enters, the visual transitions to a set of Christian symbols, including a cross and steeple. If, at the opening of the segment, the audience—like Houston—felt "lost" spiritually, the Georgia Mass Choir leads them to the song's message. At the harmonic cadence that corresponds to the lyrics, "When the Earth all around me is sinking sand... I go to the Rock," a large white cross appears on the mountainside and glows as a man-woman couple embrace. The second image places the glowing cross on top of a steeple, surrounded by sun rays. Table 7.3 illustrates how the music and imagery from this segment align.

Table 7.3 Music and Imagery Alignment in “I Go to the Rock.”

Time	Structure	Whitney Houston Vocals	Georgia Mass Choir	Visual Material
0:00	Instrumental Introduction			“Music of Georgia” book opens
0:10	Verse 1	Where do I go, when there’s nobody else to turn to?		Still images of steeple, sun beams, house
0:18		Who do I talk to, when nobody wants to listen?		Man awakes from bed and yawns
0:25		Who do I lean on, when there is no foundation stable?		Man drinks coffee and drives car
0:32			I go to the Rock	Man in car picks up child from library
0:33		I go to the Rock		
0:34			I know He is able	Man in car picks up child from veterinarian
0:35		He’s able		
0:36		I go to the Rock	I go to the Rock	Man in car picks up child from karate class
0:39	Chorus	I know!		
0:40			The Lord is the rock	Car bounces down street
0:41		Of my!		
0:42			Of my salvation	
0:44		I go!		Steeple on mountainside
0:45			I go to the stone that the builders rejected	Zoom out
0:46		I run to the mountain!		Man and woman embrace, facing the steeple and mountain
0:48			I run to the mountain	
0:49		And the mountain, He stands by me	And the mountain, He stands by me	Steeple turns into glowing cross
0:54		When the Earth all around me is sinking sand		Cross appears on top of steeple surrounded by sun beams
0:58		On Christ, the solid rock I stand	On Christ, the solid rock I stand	Zoom out to see image as illustration within the “Music of Georgia” book
1:02		When I need shelter, when I need a friend	When I need shelter, when I need a friend	Pages of book flip to new chapter
1:06		I go to the Rock.	I go to the Rock.	

The alignment of music and light in the Whitney Houston segment differs from the “American Trilogy” portion in that much of the animation accompanying “I Go to the Rock” is recycled from previous productions and reconstructed in ways that lack a fluid storyboard.<sup>54</sup> What kinds of meanings are audiences likely to draw from Whitney Houston’s segment? Certainly the audience may interpret the recording in a variety of ways that relate to their personal background. The abstractness of the visual material and the ambiguity of how diverse populations will interpret the music lend many valid interpretations to this material. Let me present five possible interpretations of this one-minute multimedia segment. A) The segment gives closure to fans who mourn Whitney Houston’s death; B) that it enacts a revivalist tradition; C) the segment is an intertextual reference to the history of cross-burnings and racial violence at Stone Mountain; D) the segment suggests a progressive narrative about American popular song as rooted in African American sacred music traditions; and E) that it presents an example of black appropriation of white gospel music traditions.

Given the timing of the Mountainvision renovation in relation to Whitney Houston’s untimely death in 2012, fans may relate the audio-visual material to Houston’s star-text and interpret the segment to be a tribute to her passing.<sup>55</sup> How might we read

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<sup>54</sup> This is not unique to the show. When newer recordings substitute previous laser show segments, the animation that accompanies these songs is often recycled excerpts from previous shows.

<sup>55</sup> Houston began singing in a gospel choir in the 1970s and modeled herself after her mother, Cissy Houston, who led Elvis Presley’s vocal group, the Sweet Inspirations. Her R&B career peaked in 1992 when she starred in *The Bodyguard* and recorded a rendition of Dolly Parton’s “I Will Always Love You” for this best-selling soundtrack album. She starred in and recorded soundtracks for other films, including Disney’s 1996 feature *The Preacher’s Wife*. As her career and personal life declined in the early 2000s, she and her family were targeted by the reality-television industry and [they? was it the actual family?] starred in the Atlanta-based show “Being Bobby Brown.” After suffering an abusive marriage and drug addiction, Houston died at the age of 48 in 2012. See Dave Laing, “Houston, Whitney,” *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed March 21, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/47708.aing>; Colette Simonot, “Houston, Whitney,” *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University

this segment as a reflection of Houston's life? While living in Atlanta, she struggled with drug addiction and was unfavorably depicted in local and national tabloids. The crises depicted in the opening lyrics to "I Go to the Rock" might be interpreted as referencing the downward spiral and co-dependence that ultimately led to Houston's death. The pairing of gospel choir sounds with images of crosses and pastoral scenes could easily be associated with funerals, and the animated ascent of the glowing cross might be read as the subsequent ascent of her spirit to heaven. Perhaps the triumphant ending to this song offers solace and closure to fans who were mourning her passing.

Visitors may interpret the laser show segment as reflecting developments in the gospel music industry. "I Go to the Rock" is a contemporary gospel song, composed by Dottie Rambo during a period musicologist Tammy Kernodle identifies as "The First Era (1969-1985)."<sup>56</sup> This era of gospel music is characterized by a series of aesthetic and organizational changes in the gospel music industry, including the increased occurrence and improved reception of experimentation with non-traditional musical instruments, collaboration and eventual hybridity with other popular music genres, and membership of female vocalists in quartets. Debates about the future of the gospel sound, and the pros/cons of conforming to mainstream popular music models in order to reach new and younger audiences, concluded with divisions into aesthetic camps by gospel industry artists. Rambo is associated with a southern gospel branch that was largely identified as

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Press, accessed March 21, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2224643>.

<sup>56</sup> Tammy Kernodle, "Works the Works: The Role of African-American Women in the Development of Contemporary Gospel," *Black Music Research Journal* 26 (Spring 2006): 89-109: 91; James Goff, "The Rise of Southern Gospel Music," *Church History* 67 no. 4 (Dec 1998): 736. Dottie Rambo was a member of the Kentucky gospel ensemble, the Singing Rambos, but is more notable for her solo career and compositions. Her gospel music has been recorded by celebrated artists including Houston and Elvis.<sup>56</sup>

politically conservative white evangelicals.<sup>57</sup> “I Go to the Rock” was a product of her southern gospel style, but the song owes its popularity to Dannibelle Hall, an African American who had been part of the contemporary gospel movement since her work with Andraé Crouch in The Disciples. Kernodle notes that Hall’s “music contributed considerably to the Sunday morning repertoire of black and white churches,” and that her arrangement of Rambo’s “I Go to the Rock” remains the standard.<sup>58</sup> Houston reenacts Hall’s arrangement of this song in the rendition heard at Stone Mountain.<sup>59</sup> Houston’s recording evokes the drumset’s shuffle rhythm, organ-piano pairing, brass instruments, syncopated chorus, off-beat emphasis, and solo-chorus dialogue also heard in Hall’s *Live* gospel recording, but absent from Rambo’s original *Love Letters* album.<sup>60</sup> The “I Go to the Rock” excerpt in the laser show thus encapsulates the stylistic divides of 1970s gospel, while demonstrating mutual influencing and borrowing among black and white American popular music artists.

In many ways it seems appropriate to hear Christian music with this monument to the American nineteenth-century, a time of great religious revival.<sup>61</sup> This portion of the laser show may be interpreted to tell a story about the Bible Belt more generally. If the choir-congregation sounds as a unified Christian community, then their unison declamation may be interpreted as a powerful force that stabilizes the protagonist in her spiritual journey. Houston’s “born-again” passage is voiced in a nuanced manner comparable to a type of southern preaching developed during the nineteenth-century’s

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Tammy Kernodle, *Works the Works*, 93.

<sup>59</sup> Dottie Rambo is credited as the composer in the liner notes to *The Preacher’s Wife*, but a variation of Hall’s “I Go to the Rock” arrangement is performed by Houston and the Mass Choir.

<sup>60</sup> Dottie Rambo performed and recorded versions of the song that incorporated these elements.

<sup>61</sup> The increased emphasis on personal experience, social responsibility, and evangelism by nineteenth-century Christians directly influenced the development of music styles that we may label as gospel.

Second Great Awakening.<sup>62</sup> Audiences familiar with this oratory style may recognize Houston's increasing emotional intensity as a religious awakening, and also her transition from song-speech to expressive singing as evocative of southern preaching styles. Dennis Owen writes that revivalist Christianity focuses on personal religious experiences recalled and relived through crisis-to-conversion stories.<sup>63</sup> After Houston's testimony, the choir's sung "preaching" produces Houston's transformation and conversion. Houston's transcendence thus articulates a main theme of southern Christian revivalism.

From another perspective, it is quite possible that listeners might interpret the sequence of musical excerpts in the "Our music is Georgia music" segment as a linear music history. The ordering of gospel, R&B, soul, country, and rock music excerpts construct a progressive narrative rooted in the music traditions of the African American church and culminating with the development of white southern rock. This story is not unlike the dominant narrative of American popular music history, which accounts for the plurality of pop musical styles, the borrowing of ideas by artists across generations and genres, and appropriations of African American music styles by white musicians. This may explain why the recordings in this portion of the laser show are not in chronological order, but reflect a broader acknowledgment of the sacred influences on secular music genres. If interpreted as a linear progression, Houston's piece can be perceived as the motherload, symbolic of a past era to which all subsequent musicians are indebted. And

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<sup>62</sup> Bruce Rosenberg, "Preaching Style, Black," in *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* Volume 1: Religion (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 116. This oratory style is characterized by gradually shifting from conventional Christian pulpit speeches to emotional shouts and song in applying biblical texts to contemporary moral issues. This preaching style encourages active congregational participation.

<sup>63</sup> Dennis Owen, "Protestantism," in *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* Volume 1: Religion (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 122.

in a similar vein, the white male rock artists at the end of the “Our music is Georgia music” segment represent the crowning achievement of the popular music industry.

Houston’s performance of gospel may also be read against Stone Mountain’s Confederate history. Biblical texts were used by southerners to justify slavery, rationalize the Confederacy, and vindicate their defeat during Reconstruction.<sup>64</sup> According to historian Charles Reagan Wilson, southern churches became “repositories” of Confederate memory when ministers propagated a militant Lost Cause religious-morality through their sermons.<sup>65</sup> In doing so, they mythologized, ritualized, and gave new meanings to the Confederacy later adopted by the Ku Klux Klan after the club’s revival at Stone Mountain. With this framework, the sounds of a lost black woman, combined with images of pastoral settings and burning crosses at the central Klan landmark, is disturbing. Given the legacy of racism and violence enacted by Confederates and Klansmen, we must therefore wonder why audiences seem undisturbed by the use of black music in the Stone Mountain laser show.

The presence of black gospel music at Stone Mountain encourages black identification with the Confederate carving and discourages critical engagement with the legacy of violence by Confederates and Klansmen. The show is part of a grander process of commercialization that both detaches the monument from its history and repackages

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<sup>64</sup> Stephen Haynes, *Noah’s Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 66.

<sup>65</sup> Wilson, Charles Reagan, *Judgment & Grace in Dixie: Southern Faiths from Faulkner to Elvis* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 5; Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 20. Wilson’s theory explores two Lost Cause theological concepts that portray white southerners as a “Chosen People” and a “Tragic People” who were destined by God to fail in order to spawn a new Southern nation that would surpass the rest of the U.S. in morality, spirituality, tradition, and culture. An idea disseminated by white southern ministers was the belief that slavery was good because it exposed black people to Christianity and Western civil society. White southerners romanticized slavery as a Christian missionary institution, and the continuation of post-emancipation African American Christian practices justified Lost Cause beliefs in productive slavery.



the landmark as a value-free, easily consumable product. Given that many spectators only visit the park to see the laser show, this production is an important generator of cultural knowledge about the mountain, with the potential to radically influence public perception of this site, and a contested history.

## **Conclusions**

The case studies presented in this chapter describe processes of musical reconfiguration and enactment that create new narratives for Stone Mountain, but crucial differences lie between the segments. Houston, and other black musicians featured in the show, benefit little, if at all from their association with this monument because it memorializes leaders of a white supremacist movement, promoting instead the revival and sustenance of the second Ku Klux Klan and the Lost Cause tradition. Excerpted recordings by black artists at Stone Mountain fit uneasily with the monument's message. The appropriation of this music however commercially profits the park in appealing to a diverse demographic and resignifying the monument as something other than a racist symbol. As the Whitney Houston case study demonstrates, if the show's management is able to recontextualize gospel music with burning crosses at this site, then Stone Mountain Park benefits from the re-politicization of this imagery.<sup>66</sup>

Elvis' recording, on the other hand, as the most literal dramatization of the lyrics and the longest segment in the show, benefits from its representation at Stone Mountain because it positions him as the central figure in American popular music, and his star-text has an interesting relationship to the figures carved into the mountain. He is located at

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<sup>66</sup> The show poses ethical questions about the responsibility of the owners to moderate public discourse about the history of the mountain.

Stone Mountain in a grand narrative of white male power and conquest. Both Elvis and the Confederate trinity represent deities and Lost Causes to their followers. The denial of Elvis' death by many of his fans, and the rejection of the Confederacy's defeat by many southerners, meld and reaffirm each other at this site. The audio-visual representation of this segment simultaneously resurrects Elvis' voice and the generals' images; in so doing, each one becomes an analogy for the other, thus triumphantly resurrecting the "glory and truth" of these idols.

The presentation of the laser show as entertainment may distract the public from engaging with broader socio-historical issues.<sup>67</sup> Considering recent shifts in interpretation of this site by the park management, which downplays Stone Mountain's affiliation with the Klan, any intention to lead customers to a socio-historical reading of the laser show is unlikely. The production in itself may be an attempt to rebrand the park through new traditions. For instance, a fifty-year tradition of the exclusive Ku Klux Klan Labor Day cross-burnings at the base of the Stone Mountain amphitheater is now replaced by a heavily advertised Labor Day Laser Show.<sup>68</sup> While it may be logical to surmise that in keeping with other recent managerial strategies that detract attention from the carving, the laser show renovation might reduce awareness of the Confederate background, in fact, the memorial is illuminated more frequently in the revised version. Creative lighting designs emphasize the carving, which is more visible in the background of thematic

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<sup>67</sup> Without any method to gauge public reaction to this spectacle by millions of tourists over three decades, my conversations with tourists and focus group interviews lead me to postulate that the majority of tourists are unlikely to relate this song segment to the socio-political history of Stone Mountain.

<sup>68</sup> Sengupta, Somini, "Georgia Park Is to Hail 'Southern Spirit,'" *New York Times*, October 08, 2000, <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/08/us/georgia-park-is-to-hail-southern-spirit.html> (accessed April 6, 2014); Georgia Department of Economic Development, "Stone Mountain Park's Labor Day Weekend Celebration," <http://www.exploregeorgia.org/Georgia/Events/Stone-Mountain-Parks-Labor-Day-Weekend-Celebration/2410023> (accessed April 6, 2014).

segments that never directly reference the Civil War, thus subtly reducing what one focus group participant called the “Dixieland” character of the laser show. The issue at hand is not the erasure of the Confederate trinity, but the re-contextualization of the image.

In her study of Stone Mountain Park, Victoria Gallagher found that management and personnel struggled to define the park’s mission and targeted audience.<sup>69</sup> Does it exist to be educational, historical, or entertaining? Gallagher notes that promotional materials emphasize all three of these missions, but that advertising emphasizes first and foremost the entertainment aspect. Tony Horwitz wrote that “the message [of the laser show] seemed to be that there was no message.” This sentiment has been similarly expressed by Stone Mountain’s creative director, Stan Morrell, who states, “It’s not rocket science. We’re not trying to educate people. You just want to let them have a good time.”<sup>70</sup> Statements by both men obscure the laser show as an effective tool to re-politicize the Confederate monument, while distancing or absolving the owners from any responsibility for its content. But descriptions of the laser show on the Stone Mountain website recognize that the park is indeed narrative-driven. I do not suggest that all audience members recognize or interpret these narratives similarly;. Instead, I suggest that the laser show has a political purpose: to blur the semiotic meaning of the carving and demonstrate that Confederate symbols can signify positively. At the very least, the message of the laser show seems to exonerate Stone Mountain from its past as a site of white supremacy rituals. In this sense, the laser show succeeds in rebranding the Confederate memorial as a family destination.

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<sup>69</sup> Victoria Gallagher, “Displaying Race: Cultural Projection and Commemoration,” in *Rhetorics of Display*, ed. Lawrence Prelli (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 189.

<sup>70</sup> Howard Pousner, “Stone Mountain Unveils Lasershow Spectacular 2.0,” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, May 26, 2011.

The laser show at Stone Mountain Park is a powerful example of the influence of music on the public memory of the Civil War. As the focus group demonstrated, the laser show changed the audience's relationship to the mountain carving and the history associated with the carving at this site. Tony Horwitz and the focus group both demonstrated that although the laser show is distracting, it is impossible to completely ignore the Confederate figures. Regardless of image or music selection, the presence of the Lost Cause is inescapable. The audience may hear Whitney Houston, or Elvis Presley, but they still gaze upon a Confederate memorial, and it is ultimately up to the audience to reconcile the music with the monument.

Disguised as apolitical, family-friendly entertainment with a nationalist flare, Stone Mountain's Laser Show Spectacular functions to legitimize public participation in neo-Confederate nostalgia. Music and images revitalize an icon founded on racist principals in ways that allow it to appeal across both generational and ethnic boundaries of a global audience. The laser show convinced a Pulitzer-Prize-winning journalist that a heroic image of Confederate martyrs on a Ku Klux Klan mountain was "bland." Horwitz's trivialization of the Stone Mountain laser show is proof of music's power to recontextualize objects and influence public perception of memorials. I interpret "bland" as code for "comfort," therefore political because the laser show reassures tourists that Stone Mountain is a virtuous place no longer connected to its turbulent, racist past, through associations or otherwise. Although my interpretation parts from Horwitz, his testimony demonstrates an important facet of this park: the laser show cannot be performed on a blank surface. No matter what was projected, he never fully forgot that the monument lay beneath. He could never escape the carving.

## CHAPTER 8

### CIVIL WAR NOSTALGIA AT DINOSAUR KINGDOM

When an artist in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley blended his talent for sculpting dinosaurs with the region's affinity for Civil War history, the resulting roadside attraction that existed from 2005-2012 featured a looped recording of Gustav Holst's "Mars" that was piped through speakers hidden inside a forest tableaux of dinosaurs and Union army soldiers. This chapter examines the intersection of nostalgia about dinosaurs, the Civil War, and music at a site called Dinosaur Kingdom. Following an introduction to the geographic region where the theme park was located, this chapter describes the park and analyzes the music heard at this site. This pop-art exhibit transported Civil War memory from historical time and resituated it in mythical time. In doing so, the development of a dino-Civil War mythology commented on the fictionalization of history in the American popular imagination. Music was bound to this theme park, as at other Civil War monuments, as nostalgia for heritage stories. My analysis of this site draws on Svetlana Boym's theories of "techno-nostalgia" and "Jurassic Park Syndrome" in order to demonstrate how a looped music recording contributed to nostalgia that emerged from a longing for inauthentic history and myth. As Svetlana Boym notes, American fantasies about the resurrection of extinct species induce nostalgia and conflict resolution.<sup>1</sup> I argue that blending music and historical mythology at Dinosaur Kingdom created an emotional

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<sup>1</sup> Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 34.

tension and release pattern that mirrors Boym's descriptions of time-out-of-time layering of linear and cyclical time that is common to nostalgic flashbacks.

## **Geography**

Rockbridge County is a predominantly rural Appalachian agriculture community in the Shenandoah Valley that is named after a bridge-shaped rock formation called Natural Bridge. Lexington is the primary city in Rockbridge County, a town that owes much of its contemporary character to Civil War tourism, and two local universities, Washington & Lee, and the Virginia Military Institute (VMI). Stonewall Jackson's pre-Civil War VMI faculty position and Robert E. Lee's post-war residency inspired artists to travel to Lexington to capture these generals in their artwork. Confederate sympathizers pilgrimaged to this city to pay homage to Jackson and Lee's tombs.<sup>2</sup> In the following decades, an eclectic mix of tourist sites and hotels opened across Rockbridge County in response to the economic benefits of this tourism, and the region quickly packaged itself as a regional spectacle and fantasy destination for road-trip travelers.<sup>3</sup>

Among the most eclectic and controversial establishments in the region are a collection of roadside attractions by a sculptor named Mark Cline, who was raised in the Shenandoah Valley during the nineteen-sixties, and learned to sculpt in a factory that

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<sup>2</sup> Barbara Crawford, *Rockbridge County Artists & Artisans* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), 53. Some of these works continue to be displayed in Lexington on the Virginia Military Institute campus. The Natural Bridge tourism website describes the area as follows, "Once owned by Thomas Jefferson, surveyed by a young George Washington, and traversed by Civil War soldiers - the Natural Bridge is a portal to history." See, Natural Bridge of Virginia, "Home," <http://www.naturalbridgeva.com/> (accessed February 10, 2014).

<sup>3</sup> Barbara Crawford, *Rockbridge County Artists & Artisans*, 35. President Coolidge dedicated a musical light show that dramatizes the Biblical creation story at the Natural Bridge formation, around which a wax museum, toy museum, butterfly garden, hiking trails, cavern tours, zoo, miniature golf, safari tour, and Native American interpretive village have been built. The dedication was in 1927. This show continues to be a popular attraction and remains largely unchanged.

made resin figurines. Cline's boyhood passion for theater led to a career as a freelance actor and artist. He opened a studio in Natural Bridge in 1982, created a series of large cartoony sculptures for restaurants and boardwalk fun houses, and later opened a series of attractions in Rockbridge County, including a full size foam replica of Stonehenge, a ghost tour, Hunt Bigfoot with a Redneck tour, a Monster Museum fun house, the Enchanted Castle, and Dinosaur Kingdom.<sup>4</sup> His art received a mix of praise and disdain from local residents, and the life-spans of these attractions varied in duration, but Cline's opportunist art entrepreneurship undoubtedly added to the eclecticism of Rockbridge County tourism.<sup>5</sup>

Cline's most outrageous attraction was Dinosaur Kingdom, which he advertised as a "bizarre, one of a kind attraction, filled with animated displays and humorous, impossible scenarios."<sup>6</sup> This was Cline's first Civil War-themed attraction and the first self-guided tour that incorporated music recordings with his figurines, but it was not his first attempt at sculpting dinosaurs. He attributes the inspiration for Dinosaur Kingdom to hundreds of dinosaurs that he previously built in other places.<sup>7</sup> Many sculptures that were featured at Dinosaur Kingdom were recycled from an April Fools stunt that involved the placement of dino-statues throughout the town of Glasgow, Virginia. Said Cline, "we called it "the town that time forgot" and we kept them there for about two years. It

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<sup>4</sup> Mark Cline, Interview with the author, 9/3/2012. Mark Cline; "About Mark Cline."

<http://www.monstersanddinosaurs.com/About-Mark-Cline.html> (accessed February 10, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> Cline's art has a cult following. Three of his sites infamously burned to the ground. Cline's first monster museum only lasted a year, but was later resurrected, and recently destroyed by a fire. Similarly, after opening his Enchanted Castle workshop to "Willy Wonka style" tours in 1992, the building was destroyed in a fire in 2001. Dinosaur Kingdom, which I will describe in better detail, opened beside the revived Monster Museum in 2005, but both attractions were destroyed by fire in 2012. In each of these fire instances, accusations of both arson by and insurance fraud were brought by Cline and locals.

<sup>6</sup> See appendix M for photographs of Marc Cline's sculptures.

<sup>7</sup> His first dinosaur was created for the Luray, Virginia zoo.

became quite an attraction in its own right... So I thought I would yank these dinosaurs out of the town and create Dinosaur Kingdom.”<sup>8</sup>

The resulting park was located adjacent to his Monster Museum, a haunted house that he opened in 2002 inside the abandoned 1950s Stonewall (Jackson) Lodge, on (Robert E.) Lee Highway.<sup>9</sup> The location of this park in Appalachia is important as the region is itself seeped in American mythology that imagines this place to be frozen in time. The wooded landscape from which the park emerges added realism to the park, as if the real experience of nature on the park trail compensates for the artificiality of the sculptures, and yet, the wooded landscape also created a tension between the nature and artifice. Jean Baudrillard has written that theme parks present imaginary environments in order to make us believe that everything beyond the park walls are real.<sup>10</sup> The absurdity of this park made other Civil War stories appear more real, even while it drew attention to the constructed-ness of all historical memory.

Cline notes that when planning this attraction to supplement the Monster Museum, “we were looking for something that was a little broader and more colorful.”<sup>11</sup> On his website, Cline attributes the aesthetic of his dinosaurs to a 1969 stop-action sci-fi cult film, *Valley of the Guangi* in which living dinosaurs from a forbidden valley are captured for use in a Wild West show.<sup>12</sup> At Dinosaur Kingdom, a similar plot assembles prehistoric beasts and Civil War soldiers. Cline’s creation therefore evokes multiple pop

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<sup>8</sup> Mark Cline, Interview with the author, 9/3/2012.

<sup>9</sup> Hawes Spencer, “Burning roadside: Can Mark Cline rise again from the ashes?” *The Hook* May 23, 2012, <http://www.readthehook.com/103993/burning-roadside-can-mark-cline-rise-again-ashes> (accessed February 10, 2014). Civil War references were built into the site of Dinosaur Kingdom.

<sup>10</sup> Jean Baudrillard, “Simulacra and Simulations” in *Jean Baudrillard, Selected Writings*, edited by Mark Poster (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 166-184.

<sup>11</sup> Mark Cline, Interview with the author, 9/3/2012.

<sup>12</sup> Mark Cline, “Dinosaur Kingdom,” <http://www.enchantedcastlestudios.com/dinokingdom.htm> (accessed February 10, 2014).



culture genres: sci-fi movies, documentaries, reenactment, art exhibits, toy figurines, zoos, and theme parks. Cline's awareness of the intertextual references in the park made these objects emblematic not only of his art, but of all previous uses of dinosaurs and the Civil War in pop culture. His statues are cult objects because they reflect previously established archetypes that have been played out in a multiplicity of formats. A joke brought to life, Dinosaur Kingdom profits from America's nostalgic obsession with dinosaurs and the Civil War.

### **Touring Dinosaur Kingdom**

In 2012, self-guided tourists walked through a dark cave where the only guiding information was a note on the wall that read:

**It's 1863.** While digging for dinosaur bones in the **Lost Caverns** the **Garrison Family** has discovered an entire valley on the other side filled with Living Dinosaurs. Unfortunately, so has the **Northern** army who seeks to use the Dinos as **Weapons of Mass Destruction** against the south. Can the Garrisons and their pet monkey "**Blinky**" stop them before it's too late to **Escape From Dinosaur Kingdom**<sup>13</sup>

This opening cave scenario blended familiar cavern scenes that dot the Shenandoah Valley with exotic time traveling references to the Civil War-era and post-9/11 national security rhetoric. The dark confines of this cave marked the suspension of reality and passage into an imagined alternate universe.

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<sup>13</sup> Text transcribed by the author. The bold print reflects the text seen in the park. The post 9/11 "weapons of mass destruction" rhetoric found in the cave wall plaque identifies the Union army as the villains, and Cline describes his careful decision to create Union soldiers instead of Confederates as follows, "You've got to have the good verses the bad. It's biblical. You have to have the Devil and Jesus. So, we're living in the south. They have to be the bad guys. If I built Dinosaur Kingdom in the north, I'm sure I would reverse the color of the uniforms." While the Union is remembered as victors of the Civil War, Cline inverts this history so visitors do not identify with their cause.

Upon exiting the cave, tourists found themselves in what appeared to be a maze with high plank fences lining each side of the path. A red button reading “push” protruded from the wall, and when initiated, an animatronic dinosaur head rose from behind the wall and opened its mouth to reveal a sculpted corpse of a Confederate soldier. Speakers behind the fence projected high pitched screeching sounds as the jaws of the dinosaur opened and closed to chew the corpse before it retreated back behind the fence. Progressing beyond the cave and animatronic head to a densely wooded path created the sensation of transitioning between dimensions. Visitors wound their way through a forest of sculptures depicting dinosaurs and Union soldiers. A green dinosaur stalked Abraham Lincoln, and soldiers crouched under wagons to hide from the various dinosaur bodies that protruded from forest vegetation. Many visitors experienced pleasure from surprise and amazement as they witnessed sculptured soldiers being gobbled up by prehistoric monsters at each turn.<sup>14</sup>

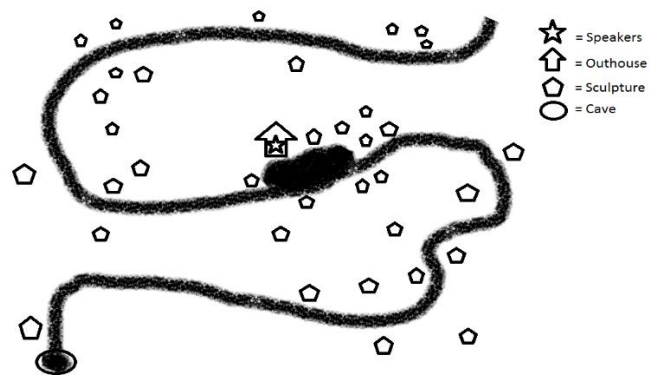


Figure 8.1 Approximate Map of Dinosaur Kingdom<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> This raises broader ethical questions about weapons and war in pop culture.

<sup>15</sup> This map is intended to illustrate an approximate layout of the park and is by no means reflective of spatial distance or scale.

Creaking and growling sounds filled the park, and with each step, a looped recording of “Mars” from *The Planets* grew clearer and louder. This recording was piped through speakers that were hidden inside a centrally-located statue of a grotesque white male union soldier that cowered inside an outhouse.<sup>16</sup> The relative volume of music in different parts of the park related to the arrangement of visual material, making the tableaux visually thematic, but not uniform in volume. At times when the music was soft, tourists were less likely to see fully exposed dinosaur bodies. The dinosaur sculptures were placed at a distance in the forest at the beginning and end of the wooded path where it is more difficult to hear the music; whereas areas where music sounded loudest were also places where tourists could reach out to touch the sculptures and feel enveloped in the action. Statues located near the speakers depicted the most active and violent scenes, creating a visual and sonic climax to the theme park. Upon leaving the center staging, the music gradually decreased in volume with each step until visitors reached the exit.

The volume of music and ambient sounds impacted visitor behavior in the park. During my observations, the traversing speed by visitors correlated closely to the volume of the music in the park. As tourists wandered past dozens of Confederate and dinosaur sculptures on the first half of the park trail, such as the Abraham Lincoln tableaux, the distance between the statues and speakers prevented tourists from hearing all but the loudest moments of the “Mars” recording. Tourists tended to respond by whispering in these areas, treating the statues as museum exhibits. As visitors progressed down the dirt trail and the music seemed to increase in volume, they walked faster as if drawn to the

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<sup>16</sup> This sculpture is interesting because it located the white male figure at the center of the park’s narrative. The data that informed visitor’s experiences of the park emanated from a figure whose racial and gender identity mirrored the park’s creator.

center of the park where the music was very loud. Tourists congregated longer in this space, behaved louder, and seemed less inhibited. The loudest accessible speaker in the park was hidden inside an outhouse, and when tourists opened the door to the outhouse they were physically overcome by the music.

### **The Recording**

Visitors did not need to know the identity of the looped recording in order to make sense of the sounds in this context, but I believe that a pre-knowledge of the music only added to its appeal. Holst certainly did not intend *The Planets* to accompany a conspiracy theory driven Dino-war park, but that is what was interesting all the more. Marc Cline's implementation of the looped recording of "Mars" restored Holst's music and kept the composition alive in a novel context.

*The Planets* was not intended to be programmatic in the sense that it narrates a fairytale, rather, each movement embodies one human characteristic and suggests a journey into the unknown.<sup>17</sup> Holst subtitled the "Mars" movement as, "bringer of war," referring to the Roman God. Richard Greene argues that Holst imagined warfare to be a primordial impulse that connects man to nature, as evidenced by the repetitive 5/4 ostinato that was intended to sound primitive and forceful.<sup>18</sup>

In the context of Dinosaur Kingdom, it is possible to interpret the aggressive sounds that represent "the bringing of war" as two opposing species. The symphonic

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<sup>17</sup> Richard Greene. *Holst: The Planets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 40. Greene states, "the music is not about the planets; it is about human character, for which planetary influence is but the ruling metaphor." Because of this, Greene argues that critics are wrong when they assume *The Planets* to be astronomical, because they are really astrological and refer to human traits, not the traits of actual planets.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

timbre of *The Planets* is a Western orchestral sound that links the Union soldiers to an audible Anglo Saxon heritage. Simon Rattle, conductor of the Berliner Philharmoniker, describes *The Planets* as “a nostalgic look back at an England that never existed.”<sup>19</sup> Several timbres in the orchestration aid this interpretation, including the climatic unison snare, timpani, and brass fanfare that resembles 19<sup>th</sup> century military music.

In the theme park, the nostalgic properties of the score rooted Dinosaur Kingdom within a Western fairytale story-telling practice, particularly within a cinematic science fiction tradition. Repetitive rhythmic and melodic motives, swells of volume and harmonic tension/release patterns that characterize this composition resemble scoring techniques that are typical among Western movie soundtracks, particularly those with kitschy dinosaurs.<sup>20</sup> The catastrophic and anticlimactic ending to “Mars” made it particularly suited for use as a looped track, and complimented the open-narrative of Cline’s attraction. In art and sound, the audience never learned the fate of these dinosaurs, however, the music reassured visitors that the Union Army’s decision to restore these extant creatures was a poor choice indeed.

In our interview, Mark Cline acknowledged the impact that music and sound had in his display, and compared his sound design to other American theme parks, including Busch Gardens. He described the soundscape as “adventurous” and “Indiana Jones-ish.” He intentionally selected *The Planets* because he believed it helped narrate the park’s story.<sup>21</sup> Dinosaur Kingdom shows a story instead of telling it, and so the music helps set the mood and guide the tourist’s emotional response to the sculptures. Although he did

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<sup>19</sup> Berliner Philharmoniker, Simon Rattle, *The Planets* (EMI Classics, 2006).

<sup>20</sup> “Mars, Bringer of War” has been used as movie soundtracks, such as *The Right Stuff* (1983).

<sup>21</sup> Mark Cline, Interview with the author, 9/3/2012.

not necessarily expect his clients to recognize the music, it was important to him that the soundscape equally reflect American pop culture depictions of Dinosaurs. When he tried to remember the identity of the recording used in his theme park, he compared *The Planets* to a host of sci-fi and horror films. It was the lushness and emotional excess in the recording that not only attracted Cline to Holst, but to this particular movement from *The Planets*. Music operates at Dinosaur Kingdom to seduce tourists as they gaze upon foam statues, while aiding in the park's narration.

### **Caught in Cyclical Time**

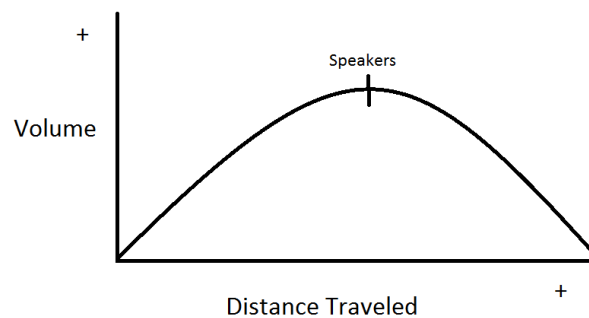
The looped recording successfully created a sensation of cyclical time that structured tourists' experiences in this park. The soundtrack is unnamed, word-less, omnipresent but not the primary focus, but nevertheless, the recording was an essential determinant of the physical experience of time at Dinosaur Kingdom. Given the length of the recording in relation to the size of the park, it is likely that visitors heard "Mars" several times, but the rate of repetition depended both on the speed by which the visitor traversed the park and the timing of their entrance in relation to the point of time-lapse in the loop. Physical passage across the wooded path coupled with the driving rhythm and steady tempo of the music contributed to the feeling of forward movement within the park.<sup>22</sup> But the looping of "Mars" ultimately functioned to undermine this feeling of progression, to slow the experience of time, to create a cyclical experience, as if visitors were caught in a time-warp. The looped soundtrack disoriented and trapped visitors in a

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<sup>22</sup> Cyclical audible experiences at Dinosaur Kingdom broaden our opportunity to interpret the sounds. Visitors are unlikely to enter at the beginning of "Mars," or exit at the movement's close, so it is safe to assume that there is no universal Dinosaur Kingdom experience.

dream that would only be escaped by forward physical movement. The cyclicity of “Mars” makes it impractical to chart an accurate timeline of audible, visual or spatial experiences at Dinosaur Kingdom, but we can imagine a bell curve diagram charting the overall progression of volume due the placement of speakers.

Table 8.1: Park Tension and Release Pattern



Repetitive thematic content and looped presentation of the recording made “Mars” sound cyclical, but the arched sensation of volume and visual narrative was experienced in a linear order. These fluctuations in volume created a large-scale emotional tension and release pattern for the park. Increasing volume drew visitors to the center of the exhibit and held their attention once they arrived because the volume and violence of the diorama built and climaxed together to create a story about destruction. In this way, the soundtrack mirrors the time-out-of-time layering of linear and cyclical time that is common of nostalgic flashbacks.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Svetlana Boym describes this type of disorientation as the “time-out-of-time” daydreaming that is so important to nostalgic reflection. See Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 33.

## Nostalgia at Dinosaur Kingdom

Tourists experienced nostalgia at Dinosaur Kingdom by entering into a family-owned and handmade theme park in homage to 1950s-60s monster movies, plastic dinosaur toys and army figurines, and Civil War fandom that makes it so appropriate to Rockbridge County, a destination littered with kitschy roadside attractions that reflect 20<sup>th</sup> century American road-trip culture. This park offers the sensation of both time and space displacement in a world that is both and neither situated in historical time or place; it is a representation and enactment of myth. Since dinosaurs and the Union army have a pre-established mythology in the American imagination, this mythical status exonerates Cline from the need to present a detailed plot. Cline's ability to rely on tourists' pre-knowledge of these characters, and refigure those ideas into a new narrative created what Roland Barthes termed "artificial myth."<sup>24</sup> Both dinosaurs and civil war soldiers existed at one time, but their reality differed from how we remember them. Borrowing content from pre-established myths about these characters naturalized Cline's story and made this dino-soldier scenario seem more plausible.

Svetlana Boym's theories of nostalgia can help explain this cosmic Jurassic Civil War massacre. Of the nostalgia categories described by Boym, "techno-nostalgia" or "Jurassic Park Syndrome" best suits Dinosaur Kingdom.<sup>25</sup> This theme park relates to Svetlana Boym's descriptions of a Jurassic Park syndrome that leads Americans to use modern technology to reanimate extinct creatures. It is also techno-nostalgia because it is modeled after Hollywood narratives in which white men employ scientific inventions to

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<sup>24</sup> Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, translated by Annette Lavers (New York: Noonday Press, 1972, 2007) 135.

<sup>25</sup> Boym, Svetlana, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 33.



recover and control the prehistoric past. Boym writes that techno-nostalgia “both induces nostalgia and offers a tranquilizer... it provides a total restoration of extinct creatures and a conflict resolution.”<sup>26</sup> The type of nostalgia found at Dinosaur Kingdom is a restorative nostalgia, as are most nostalgic products related to national or religious identity. It takes its plot from history or conspiracy theory, and relies on a specific time, place, and outcome that is reconstructed as a present-past product. Constructed from an invented past, techno-nostalgia is a form of entertainment, and pleasure, that sidesteps critical engagement with underlying and often unresolved social conflict.

Similar to war stories, Boym considers American stories about dinosaurs to produce a mythology that reflects a masculine heroic and patriotic American identity. Dinosaurs are to Americans what dragons and unicorns are to Western Europeans, and she uses the film *Jurassic Park* as support for this claim. In *Jurassic Park*, a white man finds an amber fossil that Boym compares to a nineteenth-century bourgeois souvenir. His scientific technology reanimates the extinct creature, and invents a fairy-tale world where he is the ruling “patriarch-entrepreneur,” that she describes as a “didactic hero’s journey [where] he encounters the dragon (here, the dinosaur) as well as his own inner self (not the inner child, but the potential father). The hero overcomes the dragon, saves the children and wins a princess.”<sup>27</sup> *Jurassic Park* is revealed to be a techno-nostalgia of self-discovery that explores the limits of man’s control over nature. His encounters with dinosaurs reveal his inner-self, thus only good men survive the scenario. Boym posits that this type of dinosaur encounter is repeated in American culture to separate good from

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 35.

evil, and support the myth of American superiority against all Others.<sup>28</sup> In Cline's scenario, the Union Army dually tests their limits of control over nature, and their inner-morality. Similar to the Hollywood film, the Union Army's inner-self is not pure enough to survive their Dinosaur encounter. Wandering through the park, visitors experience a Dinosaur based techno-nostalgic conflict resolution to the Civil War. The kitschy foam characters are our tranquilizer, and the dinosaurs are our historical conflict resolution. Cline chose the dinosaurs to devour the Union Army instead of Confederates, thus combining techno-nostalgia with Lost Cause conspiracy theories.

Boym writes about the appeal of nostalgic ownership that people prefer to be nostalgic on their own terms. The lack of guidance or supervision of Marc Cline's visitors empowers them to control their time, experience, interpretation, and memory of this event. Similar to many Civil War commemorative sites, Dinosaur Kingdom uses a soundtrack to guide the emotions of tourists as they stare upon the memorial. The techno-nostalgia of dinosaur invaded American history is similar to other forms of reenactment in that they attempt to create visitable pasts, preserve myths, and guide the emotional reaction of participants through music. Dinosaur Kingdom and more iconic forms of Civil War re-enactment both express a nostalgia for non-reflection; for the enjoyment of a Civil War story without complicating matters of slavery, reconstruction, or political correctness. The absurdity of it all helps alleviate anxiety about politics, as Cline says, "its all about family fun."

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 36. According to Boym, "If the hero and heroine are made of the right stuff, nature and technology can coexist in harmony; thus in the last shots of the film the couple of scientists marvel at the beauty of the sky, where natural birds and steel birds, the airplanes, hover happily together over the human world."

What is nostalgic about Cline's Dinosaur Kingdom is not the longing for inauthenticity, or kitsch, or for the easy division between good and evil. These forms of nostalgia may be expanded to include a longing for hand-made grass roots entertainment, and a return to folklore and myth. If, as Boym suggests, Dinosaurs are the perfect nostalgia industry topic because although we know they existed, no one can remember them, then the American Civil War is going the way of the dinosaur.<sup>29</sup> Both are extant creatures with an established mythology and nostalgia industry built around them. And similar to Western fascination with outer space that led a commercially successful planetary nostalgia that even Holst played on with his *Planets*, dinosaurs and the Civil War are origins stories that contemporary Americans revel in to explain and escape from modernity.

### **The Mythology of Dinosaur Kingdom**

Roland Barthes describes the ultimate purpose of myth to transform history into nature, thereby hiding the ideological underpinnings of stories.<sup>30</sup> He writes, "Myth lends itself to history in two ways: by its form, which is only relatively motivated; by its concept, the nature of which is historical."<sup>31</sup> One feature of myths is that they are not

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<sup>29</sup> Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 33. In accordance with Boym's "Jurassic Park syndrome," Dinosaur Kingdom is a sideshow similar to Jurassic Park, which allows visitors to temporarily suspend modern rationality as they navigate these past-meets-present worlds. The Dinosaur Kingdom tableaux's, ask us to re-enact a conspiracy theory based alternative history. I think fantasies of Dinosaur re-animation share similarities with American Civil War re-enactment because both rely on the idea that modern Americans better understand history through re-creation. Similar to the mad scientists of the Jurassic Park movie, Civil War re-enactors seem to believe that the right combination of dedication, material objects, and technology can bring the past back to life into something real that can be seen and experienced.

<sup>30</sup> Barthes, *Mythologies*, 129. "it [myth] is not read as a motive, but as a reason."

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

fixed and are easily invented, altered, and forgotten.<sup>32</sup> This fluidity is why myths are so easily molded to new contexts, such as the myth of the self-sacrificing Civil War soldier. Newly created intertextual myths such as Cline's creation are labeled by Barthes as "artificial myths." By robbing/borrowing from previous mythologies, Cline's new creation has the potential to re-politicize and even deconstruct previous myths by drawing attention to their fallacies. Because Cline represents himself as a mythologist and not a historian, he is exempted from the responsibility of engaging with complex and often discomfiting aspects of the Civil War. By explicitly authoring a fable, Cline is able to sell the war as apolitical entertainment, what Barth calls "depoliticized speech."<sup>33</sup> Barthes writes that myth is a form of speech, and therefore outwardly fictitious memorials including Dinosaur Kingdom contribute to American discourse about the Civil War.<sup>34</sup>

The soundscape of Dinosaur Kingdom is integral to narrating the myth through sensory experience. Levi-Strauss believed that music and myth both originate from language. To Strauss, music emphasizes the sound of human language (even without words), while mythology emphasizes the meaning (cause-effect) of language.<sup>35</sup> From this logic, the combination of music and mythology at Dinosaur Kingdom creates a rich sensory experience that speaks volumes about American Civil War memory. This park may be interpreted as a prehistoric Civil War, or as I prefer to interpret it, as a battle between myth and history. Dinosaurs and Appalachia are mythologized in American pop

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 120. "there is no fixity in mythical concepts... And it is precisely because they are historical that history can very easily suppress them."

<sup>33</sup> Barthes, *Mythologies*, 143.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 109.

<sup>35</sup> Claude Levi-Strauss, *Myth and Meaning: Cracking the Code of Culture* (New York: Schocken Books, 1995), 52-54. "Since I was struck by the fact that music and mythology were, if I may say so, two sisters, begotten by language, who had drawn apart, each going in a different direction – as in mythology, one character goes north, the other south, and they never meet again – then, if I wasn't able to compose with sounds, perhaps I would be able to do it with meanings..."

culture as forgotten pasts and natural spectacles, or nature-in-excess. In contrast, Americans resist acknowledging the mythology of Civil War soldiers, instead imagining them to represent a truthful history, science, and reason that explains both our nation's origins, present state, and future trajectory. In all of its absurdity, *Dinosaur Kingdom* comments on the invention of history by bringing historical-myth figures together. As Levi Strauss notes, the binary opposition between myth and science is itself a fantasy, which begs the question, "where does mythology end and where does history start?"<sup>36</sup>

### **Devouring Soldiers and Swallowing Grief**

Immediately following the Civil War, many Americans grieved the death and destruction that had ensued as well as their uncertainty about how the nation would mend. One response to this sustained feeling of loss was the development of memorial associations that built tangible testimonials to the sacrifices of the dead and disabled. America became littered with monuments to the Civil War in the form of statues, museums, grave yards, literature, art, theater, and music that reconstructed/re-membered public losses. Memorializing brought reflection and revision that rekindled the ideological investment into the originating conflict, and many of these memorials still haunt the American landscape and popular culture. As the chapters in this project have shown, many contemporary Americans continue to grieve this conflict and memorialize this past with their reenactments.

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<sup>36</sup> Levi-Strauss, *Myth and Meaning*, 38. "I am not far from believing that, in our own societies, history has replaced mythology and fulfils the same function that for societies without writing and without archives that aim of mythology is to ensure that as closely as possible... the future will remain faithful to the present and to the past."

One form of loss that has been explored in this project has been the sense of growing distance and detachment from one's Civil War ancestors, a condition that has been confronted by many by physically acting out the past. In many of the dramatic displays in the previous chapters, contemporary citizens confronted and enacted control over their grief by invoking their ancestors through embodied retrieval of the past.

Sites such as Dinosaur Kingdom respond to existing commemorative traditions. But the type of memorial offered by this amusement park operates differently, as it dehumanizes historical actors through gruesome caricatures and depersonalizes the past through fantastical representations. Instead of reflection and validation, it incites amusement and wonder. To laugh at one's past is to take a stance, to say that the past no longer matters and no longer holds power over the present. This can be a freeing realization and a much needed escape from the trappings of the war's politics, but sites such as Dinosaur Kingdom are not free of commemorative politics. As with each of the sites discussed in this study, the questions at hand are these: what are the politics of Dinosaur Kingdom, and who benefits from this past?

### **In the Jaws of Extinct Confederates**

At first glance, it may seem odd to pit the Union against dinosaurs, but upon closer examination, this story relates to a greater American mythology, that of the existence of a distinct, decipherable, and vengeful South. Edward Ayers has noted that Americans have always imagined the South, or at least the white South, to be distinct, that the regional geography is believed to be physically and culturally separate from the rest of the nation, and that Southern difference has been used as the basis of a white

American ethnicity.<sup>37</sup> The Southern region and the people who inhabit it exist in the national imagination as vestiges of the past, and in this way, authentically antimodernist. As the antithesis to progress, southern-ness is required to be constantly under threat and in continuous decline because the passage of time is inevitable. According to Ayers, they imagined themselves to be "people in search of their true identities, in conflict with the materialistic modern world."<sup>38</sup> Finding themselves increasingly on the defensive in regards to the continuation of slavery in the years leading up to the Civil War, white southerners began to unite by constructing themselves to be a unified people with a separate history and culture. Consequently, southerners became incredibly defensive about regional separatism, which contributes to stereotypes of staunch southern stubbornness, militancy, and backwardness. Says Ayers, "The South has always seemed to live on the edge of extinction, the good as well as the bad perpetually disappearing."<sup>39</sup> It is this primitivism and threat of annihilation that invites a useful comparison of southerners to dinosaurs, opening new interpretations for Dinosaur Kingdom.

It is quite possible to interpret the plot to this theme park, in which the exploitation of Dinosaur labor by the Union army in an attempt to destroy the South is met with an unavoidable and unparalleled rebellion, as a symbolic revisionist Civil War narrative in which Dinosaurs stand-in for the confederacy. This interpretation would envision the Confederacy as having naturally reacted against a northern oppressor, a perspective that is not unfathomable because, as Ayers explains, many Americans believe the Civil War was the inevitable response of "an agrarian economy locked in battle with

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<sup>37</sup> Edward Ayers, *What Caused the Civil War*, 47.

<sup>38</sup> Ayers, *What Caused the Civil War*, 55.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

its natural adversary to the North, a sort of blameless struggle between the old and the new.<sup>40</sup> Southern confederates, from this perspective, were similar to Cline's dinosaurs in that they naturally existed as a potentially dangerous force who had simply been pushed over the edge by a northern aggressor. It is therefore possible to relate to and even sympathize with Cline's dinosaurs as a Confederate force. Confederate identification of Cline's dinosaurs presents entirely new meanings to this theme park, emerging as a Lost Cause victory in which the Confederate South not only rises, but is the war's victor. The plausibility of this conclusion being drawn by visitors was not lost on Cline, whose assumptions about the southern identities of his ticket buyers influenced his decision to depict a Union army butchery.

The South continues to struggle with its history, but it remains incredibly invested in its imagined difference. The most common way that Americans reaffirm the existence and importance of regional difference is through stories, and the tales most frequently told about the South are fables about the passing and meaning of time, making Edward Ayers' quote, "there is a tendency for Southerners to see time as the enemy, erasing the inscriptions on the land, destroying whatever certain identity the South has ever had" a particularly interesting in the context of Dinosaur Kingdom where prehistoric creatures and cyclical time and substitute for the Confederacy.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>41</sup> Ayers, *What Caused the Civil War*, 63.



## CHAPTER 9

### THE POLITICS OF MUSICAL REENACTMENT

Americans have used a variety of musical and other performance strategies to represent the Civil War. The different sites of reenactment discussed in this project highlight the diversity and complexities of cultural memory in the United States. These physical, digital, and psychological arenas showcase strategies used by present-day people to negotiate their relationship to the past through evocation, appropriation, reconstitution, and reconfiguration. My analysis has dealt with the morals of performance, the ethics of preservation, and the aesthetics of representation by repeatedly questioning how Americans benefit from history.

Additionally, these chapters also inquired after the relationship music has to the politics of representation. In music and other dramatic forms, the Civil War becomes a process of engagement with a national dilemma, and every interpretation is a political statement. The multidimensionality of the Civil War debate exemplifies the type of political discussion that John Bodnar describes as central to public memory, that the negotiation of the present with the past teases out “fundamental issues about the entire existence of a society: its organization, structures of power, and the very meaning of its past and present.”<sup>1</sup> But the issues at the heart of this conversation are perceptual, meaning

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<sup>1</sup> Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 14.

that there is no universal truth or ultimate way to know Civil War history because all knowledge is situated and partial.<sup>2</sup> Patricia Hill Collins states,

Each group speaks from its own standpoint and shares its own partial, situated knowledge. But because each group perceives its own truth as partial, its knowledge is unfinished. Each group becomes better able to consider other groups' standpoints without relinquishing the uniqueness of its own standpoint or suppressing that aim of mythology is to ensure that as closely as possible... the future will remain faithful to the present and to the past."<sup>3</sup>

The unfinished-ness of situated knowledge helps explain the compulsion to revisit history and probe at its dilemmas. Michel-Rolph Trouillot argues that we can never fully know what the past was or what it means because "pastness" is a stance, meaning that ideas about previously occurring time results from the dual inclusion and exclusion of historical information, and that its very construction implies an argument is being made in favor of the included data. The arguments embedded in different music, media, and other spectacular strategies create competing stories that expand on and influence each other. This symbiotic relationship is most apparent in the competition among white and African American communities to be honored for their people's part in the Civil War. Pastness, in this context, is a stance about whose present community is entitled to social rewards that accompany the reverence of their ancestor's contributions to history.

The performances described in this project are all temporary presentations, and thus their liminality incites impulsive needs to return and sustain these ideas through repetition. Each site: an opera in hiatus, a one-performance slave-auction, a collection that is never complete, the 150th anniversary of a battle, videos that may be digitally erased, audio-visual spectacles that are frequently renovated, an art installation that

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<sup>2</sup> Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 236.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

burned to the ground, must all be reenacted in order to exist, generate value, and have impact. The actors presented throughout this study do not necessarily consider their crafts to be reenactment. Rather, this is a term I have applied in order to describe musical acts and other repeated performances that are organized and enacted in public spaces as a strategy to mediate Civil War memory. Music at these sites highlight the active processes of remembrance, and the polarization of historical interpretation that both reflect and reproduce a stratification of power.

It is not revolutionary to conclude that different interpretations about the Civil War have been formed and perpetuated by different individual and collective identities. Those who purport these stories are aware of their contradictions, and yet these groups continue to speak past each other instead of listening attentively. Without listening, Americans forfeit the opportunity to better understand each other and the world that they inhabit. The reverberations of their conflicts evidence that the Civil War is an ongoing conversation, a dialogue in which the identities of each party continue to shift as they draw meaning from each other. Their musical acts function as a form of epistemology that offers different ways of knowing the Civil War. As a form of spectacle, it accomplishes what Taylor describes of all enacted spectacle,

It stirs and manipulates desire, allowing a population insight into events and blinding it to the meaning of its situation... [It] engenders and controls a viewing public through the performance of national identity, traditions and goals.<sup>4</sup>

These sites should be considered a collection of performances that participate in the contestation of individual and collective identities in the United States. What knowledge is generated when living bodies enact and transmit audible performances

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<sup>4</sup> Diana Taylor, *Disappearing Acts*, ix.

about the past? Musical reenactment is, to borrow Patrick Hutton's phrase, "an art of memory" that makes the past meaningful to the present. Such performances are powerful in their ability to simultaneously forge and dismantle collective identities among people who believe they share a singular past. Through imaginative reenactment, a past becomes the heritage of those living in the present, and by evoking this heritage, as Assmann has argued about cultural heritage more generally, "a society becomes visible to itself and to others."<sup>5</sup> The specific past that a community chooses to tell about itself evidences the ethics and aesthetics of its performers. Whether or not these productions are a form of resolution, they capture a snapshot of our current state and provide direction as to what people wish to become.

Musical reenactments perform contemporary desires and anxieties that are brought into fruition by human bodies to gain social power by curtailing access to and interpretations of the past. Privileging any one interpretation of history decenters narratives and identities held by others, and thus reenactment becomes a continual struggle for or against shifts in interpretative power. The ultimate desire, it seems, is to shape public memory so that it presents the author in a positive light. In this way, Americans do not turn to the Civil War, but project themselves onto the past.

The charge that any one interpretation of the past holds comes from its response to others, and as conversations extended across time through repeated performance, they exemplify what Rebecca Schneider would call "past-present-ness."<sup>6</sup> But the significance of reenactment lie not in how closely representations bring us to past realities but their repercussions in contemporary life. As Paul Ricoeur reminds us, "people do not

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<sup>5</sup> Jan Assman, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," 133.

<sup>6</sup> Schneider, *Performing Remains*, 35.

remember in isolation, but only with the help from the memories of others... they preserve their own memories with help from the commemorations.”<sup>7</sup> Composers and performers of musical acts mediate public memory, and spectators of these performances also contribute to the dialogue. Consider the audiences who watched the slave auction unfold; their sustained presence validated public interest in painful African American histories that were not being told by St. Louis’ memory institutions, and their embodied reactions to the proceedings demonstrated to other bystanders what they believed to be an appropriate response to the event.

As the chapters in this volume have shown, the very presence of an audience validates Civil War stories, and can dramatically influence the shape of the reenactment’s proceedings by regulating socially acceptable/unacceptable behavior. Indeed, audience presence was important to each of the sites in the previous chapters. Audiences of the folk opera generated social and monetary support for lobbying efforts by Gerri Hollins and the Contraband Historical Society. Attendees at brass band concerts validated the performers’ musical interpretations and collection efforts, as well as the belief in Civil War heritage. Audiences at the tent dance actively claimed the music and musicians as a part of their community through cheers and incantation. Collective cheers and silence at certain moments during the Stone Mountain laser show may be interpreted as social guidance as to how to judge and relate to that audio-visual presentation. Spectators are actors whose performance contributes to the process of ascribing meaning to the past. Both the production and reception of reenactment music is part of a conversation that manufactures individual and communal identities. But audiences do not always validate

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<sup>7</sup> Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 11.

these performances. For instance, YouTube comment boards often contain strong critiques and heated debates about the content and style of music videos. And it would be inaccurate to claim that all of these sites are experienced collectively, as the music videos may be viewed privately, and tours of Dinosaur Kingdom could easily be conducted in isolation. What remains true of about reenactment in each instance is that these creative representations enable people to negotiate their own identities in relation to others by interpreting the stories that are told by these cultural artifacts. In this way, reenactments may dramatically shape what we know about a given topic, and lead to new discoveries or theories about human life.

Frequently, reenactments reassure people about what they already believe to be true. When contemporary bodies stand-in for the past, they bring with them contemporary bias' and agendas. This is why reenactments are political projects, as Vanessa Agnew writes, "More so than other forms of historical performance, reenactments wears its ethical project on its sleeve." Reenactments such as the slave auction, folk opera, and tent dance, where the contemporary actors stand-in for historical figures most easily demonstrate this point. Performances of slavery that have been authored and performed by African Americans tend to embrace the unavoidable physical and emotional pains that accompany the history of slavery. In this context, musical bodies substitute for lost or unwritten documentation of slavery, resist the racial and gender bias' embedded in dominant national histories, and can therefore be powerful (however temporary) opportunities to liberate past and present actors. Resistant slave protagonists in African American productions bring with them a desire to rectify past injustices by constructing histories of individual self-determinism, while masses of white soldiers at battle

reenactments reinforce already popular ideas about military chivalry and ideologically neutral citizen-soldiers. But both examples demonstrate how the Civil War has been identified as a milestone in the formation of modern American identities.

A question that I have posed in a variety of ways throughout this document is, who owns historical memory? A greater conflict being negotiated through reenactment is the question of who has the authority to author historical narratives, to collect and store traces of the past, and to make decisions about what and how the past is remembered or forgotten. If reenactors have taken it upon themselves to monitor representations of the past, and are successfully doing so, then they are, in Diana Taylor's words, "power brokers" of American cultural memory.<sup>8</sup> It seems fitting that these contemporary conflicts are enacted through representations of the Civil War, since this was/is a great ideological conflicts about social hierarchy. The stratification of power is often acutely reflected in the representation, as was the power struggle between the unamplified voices of black women in the slave auction, who struggled to capture attention away from the amplified voice of the auctioneer. Those who hold the more power seem less likely to be aware of the politics of their performance. Musical performances of the Civil War perform race, class, gender, ethnicity, and citizenship in ways that suppress or resist the power of other social groups through the control of historical knowledge.

Those who already hold powerful positions, such as the brass band musicians who are wealthy and often employed by powerful institutions exert that power through the acquisition and performance of cultural artifacts, while those with more limited resources may turn to music as an alternative arena to escape institutional barriers to cultural

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<sup>8</sup> Diana Taylor, *Disappearing Acts*, 247.

capital, as did Gerri Hollins. In its musical representations, we can hear traces of the racial identities that developed in its wake. It cannot be denied that many of our most pressing and nationally felt social conflicts can be traced back to the Civil War, and the staging of this conflict. Saidiya Hartman argues that the Civil War and the passing of the Thirteenth Amendment marked a shift in power over people of color from white citizens to the state, which continued to dominate and exploit these populations in direct- and indirect methods, a system of disempowerment that continues today.<sup>9</sup> People of color, especially African Americans thus continue to be systematically subjected to a past that denies them freedom, and this pain is exposed in Civil War reenactments as clearly demonstrated by both the slave auction and folk opera sites that were inspired by the subjugation of their authors.

Reenactment, by nature, requires the appropriation of past materials. These materials (whether they be historical or newly composed) are borrowed, refashioned, and combined in order to create new products that speaks to and about the Civil War. We might expect reenactments to showcase music from the war-era, and yet this study has shown that the opposite is frequently true. Practically any musical sound can be manipulated to index this era. Whether it be the appropriation of spirituals in stories about African American survival, of band music to construct white utopias, of symphonic literature to influence sensory experiences of art, or of pop songs to condition the viewership of Confederate monuments, music is an intricate part of this ongoing

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<sup>9</sup> As Saidiya Hartman puts it, “Although the Thirteenth Amendment abolished the institution of slavery, the vestiges of slavery still acted to constrict the scope of black freedom. It proved virtually impossible to break with the past because of the endurance of involuntary servitude and the reinscription of racial subjection.” Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 172.



appropriation process. Svetlana Boym writes that the faster the pace and scale of modernization, the more conservative, selective, and unchangeable traditions become.<sup>10</sup>

To an extent, this study has proven Boym's remarks to be true, but where I diverge from Boym is that rapid social and technological changes have greatly expanded the ways that these stories get told. Audio-visual collages such as the reconfigured materials in YouTube demonstrate how pop-culture trends such as sampling and pastiche in postmodern videos filter down to influence amateur representations of the Civil War. A similar process occurs at Stone Mountain where audio-video combinations distort the signifying power of Confederate monuments. And at Dinosaur Kingdom, the tradition of war monumentalization is invoked and amplified in ridiculous ways in order to fabricate mythical stories about the corruption and destruction of humanity. As music so keenly demonstrates, performances forms fluctuate as present people exploit their available resources to form an argument about the past.

Issues that arise in Civil War musical reenactments extend beyond U.S. history to reflect how people understand present situations. Music is a volatile dividing or reconciliatory force that reveals the human capacity to articulate cultural knowledge through creative representations; to build futures from past wreckage.<sup>11</sup> It may be intricately linked to American Civil War memory, but the methods and intents with which music is used to engage with this topic differs based on identification. It is here that we can see the intersection of race, class, and gender in cultural performances.

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<sup>10</sup> Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 19.

<sup>11</sup> The issues outlined here are not limited to America because all history is contested and humans have fought to control representations of the past throughout time and space. If music has any role in this process then it is indeed an important field of study.

Among the many other tensions at play, the Civil War was/is a racial conflict and a war about slavery. In many ways, the re-enactment of the Civil War with and through music has changed over time, but the segregation of Civil War memory remains. Most of the white military reenactors described in the previous chapters share a reverence for the ruling planter-class who became the military officers that led both armies to the battlefield. Their embodied celebration of the victories and losses of these leaders, and their affinity for Civil War stories about middle-class masses who they remember as having blindly followed these leaders lead is, at its core, the celebration of the white patriarchal system that caused this conflict. When music aids selective remembrance of this war as a mostly middle- and upper-class white male story, musical practices evidence a degree of identification with these characters. In these contexts, music aids in the propagation of a memorialscape in which (an idealized) military culture marginalizes the history of slavery by deflecting the causes and consequences of this war. These stories evidence there are many white people who are either disinterested in identifying with slave subjects, or do not recognize their history to be as important to the American metanarrative. The ultimate consequence of circulating these stories through music, scholarship, and other documentary performances is the conservation of white privilege and male entitlement that accompanies their designation as founding fathers.

Music reflects and feeds fantasies about power and difference. And it is this internally ongoing Civil War that repetitively resonates, holds our attention, shapes our understanding, and transfixes us. Gage Averill notes that hearing is an act that “links participants in relationships of internalization and externalization of sound, enveloping listeners in auditory co-present... Collective audition – hearing together – is a persuasive,

physical confirmation of connectedness.”<sup>12</sup> To Averill, music is a transformative experience that can make people feel as if they are a part of a community. In music, we hear reflections of ourselves, the ways that we perceive others, and the clashes in-between. By listening closely, we may not only hear a melody but the reverberations of conversations that span back to initial rumblings of this war, and it is through this reception that listening becomes a powerful form of Civil War reenactment.

Spectacular representations and heated debates that are musical Civil War reenactments boil down to a longing to be heard. I call this the *audibility of cultural performance*. The sounds of Civil War reenactment generate volume, making the underlying visions/arguments memorable to both the producers and consumers of these acts. Competition over whose story sounds loudest motivates Americans to drown out the other voices through their own audibility. The Civil War is thus a battle against silence. To voice the dominate interpretation is to achieve narrative legitimacy (to be recognized as in the right), and so the dialogue of reenactment continues with hopes of influencing the direction of that discourse. This is the driving force behind public reenactments. The rhetoric by the defenders of these traditions about authenticity and truth, is not about preservation, but authorship. Amidst the dissemination of Civil War stories through embodied action and pitched utterances are significant moments of agency that can alter public perception about the legacy of this war. These are the stakes of musical reenactment: to ensure that one’s voice is heard and one’s community is not drowned out by the sounds of others. To accomplish this, voices must be sustained and repeated to ensure that they do not fade away and become forgotten. Audibility implies the desire to

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<sup>12</sup> Gage Averill, *Four Parts, No Waitin*, 178.

control the state of affairs, and to privilege one's own voice, even if it requires silencing others.

The examples presented in the previous chapters are by no means intended to be a comprehensive representation of musical Civil War reenactment practices. On the contrary, they are intended to be one component of a larger discussion about music and cultural memory, something that will facilitate further research and debate about musical sound in reenactment, which is vital and understudied. This is why the study of music is vital to understanding cultural performances of the past, for in reenactment are the sounds of a national dilemma.

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## APPENDIX A

### AMY STALLINGS INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

7/25/2013<sup>1</sup>

A: I don't know how useful my information will be to you, but I'll try, because, you know, I did not stay in the camp at night, which is when they tend to gather around the camp fire and sing and things.

1) When did you go and how long were you there?

A: We went up on Wednesday, but we did not join the regiment until Friday because this was D's first time going and he didn't have any clothing. The fellow who was bringing all of D's accoutrements was coming from Rochester and he arrived on Friday. He did not arrive in time for D to participate in the first battle, but he was able to stand by and watch in uniform for the second one, although he had not been able to drill, so he wasn't actually allowed to fire a musket until Saturday. But he got one battle under his belt on Saturday.

2) Was this your first time working with this reenacting group?

A: I had been to a reenactment with this regiment once before.

3) And you participated as a reenactor?

A: Yes.

4) Is it different to experience this event as a reenactor rather than a spectator?

A: Well my understanding was that we had to be officially associated with a regiment. So we gave our names and information to S. L. who is the leader of the regiment and he got

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<sup>1</sup> A note about the interview transcripts that are found in these appendices. These examples of formal interviews with consenting informants were conducted, recorded, and transcribed by Elizabeth Whittenburg Ozment. The interviews presented here represent the opinions of but a fraction of my informants. These transcripts were selected for inclusion in this document because of their relevance to the previous chapters. Regarding my transcription style, the phrasing, grammar and sentence structure presented here reflects the speech, inflection, and overall vocal pattern of the informant. These transcripts do not necessarily adhere to traditional grammatical rules. Informants were given the choice to use pseudonyms to protect their identities. All identifiers of the focus group in Appendix C were removed for consistency. After notating the interviews, I returned the transcripts to my informants and they were given the opportunity to add additional material, such as the material included as Appendix B.

insurance cleared and everything so we would officially be part of the regiment, the 134th North Carolina, which strangely enough, gets most of its membership from western New York. Five years ago I went to the 145<sup>th</sup> [reenactment of Gettysburg] with the same regiment. We all sort of converged when we were able to get there. Some of the members of the regiment had already been there a few days because there were two events this year.

5) I heard about that. There were two Gettysburg reenactments this year?

A: Yeah. I was very confused about which one I was going to. But I'm glad they split it up over two weekends because the traffic was bad enough. Ok. So we went to the registration and they give you, in this case, a paper pass. And it wasn't practical because you had to keep it with you at all times, and they were all sweaty. And that is how you got into camp areas in your vehicle. No one ever asked me for it when I was walking around, but you did get a discount on food if you showed your reenactor pass. It was my understanding that you could be questioned at any time if you were suspected of anything nefarious. But I suspect by Sunday most of the guys had illegible passes from the sweat and the folding and whatever else. I think it also stormed on Sunday as well, but we had already left by that point. Because I had Les Mis rehearsal.

6) How was the area organized? What was it like?

A: My understanding is that it was farm land that someone has agreed to allow the reenactment to take place on every year. It was quite hilly. There were essentially two hills with a valley in between, and there was one of those red, very traditional Pennsylvania barns in one area. There was a significant portion that was wooded and part of that extended into the confederate camp area. The confederate camp was located across the road and up a hill.

7) Were the confederate and union people separated?

A: Yes. The union camp was right beside the sutlers and the food and the tourist area, so I think they had a lot more visitation than the confederate camp. No one in the confederate camp was complaining, really. They ran what I can only describe as a hay ride pulled by a tractor from both camps to certain stopping points on the field.

8) Was this for the reenactors or the tourists?

A: For the reenactors. No, the tourists had to walk. They had three very large grandstands, very comparable to a large sporting event, I would say, and they were pretty packed with lookers on.

9) What happened at the grandstands?

A: Well, they were on two sides of the battlefield, so they had a gentleman giving a basic narration of what was going on and what battle they were representing at that time, and



which units were on the field, and what happened during that battle. I actually find that incredibly distracting. I would rather just watch the battle. But for those who are not concerned with living in the moment, I imagine they find it very useful. It was possible to get far enough from the grandstand that you could no longer hear the narration. They set up a fence and a stone wall across the battlefield. There is a stream that runs across it naturally, and they left one large square area. I wish I could tell you the acreage but I really have no concept of that.

10) Bigger than a football field?

A: Yes. Wider, certainly. One of the battles that they represented was the wheat field. So they let a portion of the battlefield grow. It wasn't very high, but it was to attempt to represent fighting through crops.

11) Battles are represented several times a day for multiple days. Is each battle the same? Do they use the same area?

A: Different battle scenes, but they use the same field for the most part. For the wheat field battle, they concentrated most of the action there. But there were still other activities going on across the field. There were too many troops to confine it to just the area that they designated as the wheat field.

12) As a woman, did you ever walk on the battlefield?

A: I didn't. However, I saw this year many more female soldiers than I saw five years ago. But I was probably paying more attention to it this year because I was under the impression that it was frowned upon. It was very accepted when I was a revolutionary war reenactor. I actually would spend one day as a man and the next as a woman when I did revolutionary war reenacting. But I was pleasantly surprised, really, by the number of women on horseback and in the ranks. But probably another advantage of a battle this size is that from a distance, no tourist will know. Whereas, with much of the revolutionary war events I went to, you were much closer to the action.

13) Were the tourists kept off the battlefield?

A: Yes. There were stakes with ribbon or string tied across.

14) Did you watch from the area with the tourists?

A: Yes. I believe you had to have a special ticket to sit in the grandstands. And everyone else was just sort of milling around.

15) Could you see?

A: Yes.

16) What was the size of the crowd?

A: I thought it was an enormous crowd.

17) How did it compare to the 145<sup>th</sup> reenactment?

A: It seemed bigger, and yet I felt that they dealt with the traffic very well. They were as prepared as they could be in what was a really confined space. And I know that there were some significant traffic issues when the reenactors first arrived, but you would not have realized how big it was just from the traffic pattern.

18) What were the demographics like?

A: Of the people that I actually interacted with, which were not many, mind you, there were a significant number of family members. And I wouldn't have said there was a strong leaning either towards male or female attendance. I'd say they were mostly 50 and younger, mostly. There were some elderly people there because the announcer in the grandstands... this is something interesting that he would do before each battle. He would ask for people serving in the United States armed forces to stand or clap. And then the wives and children and husbands of those serving in the military would stand as well. And he said, I could not see into the grandstands from where I was, but he said there were a significant number of people standing at that point. And he also asked for veterans of WWII to stand and there were several. But much of the attendance seemed to have a family member in the military who was still serving, and for that reason were maybe on the younger side.

19) Was the man speaking in the grandstands amplified?

A: Yes. He had a microphone.

20) So I am assuming there were speakers. During the time between battles, did you hear music or background noises coming from the speakers?

A: No. I did not hear any music.

21) Were there official bands or performing groups between battles?

A: Um, I really can't say. I would have to check the schedule. You can check that online.

22) Did you hear music that seemed unofficial or spur of the moment?

A: Gosh, vague memories. I know there was music at night because my regiment was actually complaining that a gentleman from one of the neighboring units came over and told them to be quiet. But they had probably guitar, fiddle, stringed instruments primarily. Evidently, at least among the gentlemen of the 134<sup>th</sup>, it is quite customary to sit around the camp fire and sing Irish drinking song type music in the evening and they were really taken aback that anyone would complain about it because it was only 11pm they thought that it was still early enough not to bother anyone.

23) Was there any music during the battles?

A: It was just the man talking during the battle.

24) Did you see him [the announcer]?

A: No. I think it was the same fellow that did the announcing last time.

25) Did he talk while the battle was going on?

A: Yes. He talked through it. Whenever a unit would advance or retreat, he would talk about what was going on.

26) Did he [the announcer] involve the crowd? Did he tell them when to cheer?

A: No. It was entirely unbiased in that regard.

27) That differs from some of the reenactments I have witnessed in the south.

A: Really. Well then, you might be interested in what happened at the ball.

28) Yes. You will have to tell me everything about the ball. Before you describe the ball. Can you give me a description of a full-day at the reenactment? You woke up, and then what happened?

A: Saturday then. Because on Friday we sat around mostly waiting for D's clothing to arrive. On Friday I had bought myself a new skirt from one of the sutlers, which was really a good decision on my part. They didn't have many sutlers, and I know this is not pertinent to music at all, but they did not have many sutlers selling separates, which I thought was interesting. Dresses or clearly matching elements. I would say that there were more items intended for the reenactors, but there were also some tents that were clearly catering to people who had no idea what they were doing, in terms of historical accuracy. And contrary to my expectations, it leaned more towards men's attire. So D and I went over before the battle at 11am, which was a cavalry battle and he was not involved in their infantry. I was pretty impressed by the number of horses present and the speed that they were, well I don't know the terms, but they were going at a pretty good clip. And I was impressed because it seemed realistic and they weren't cutting corners for the sake of safety, which I loved. To me it was very exciting. We got there a little bit late, so I did not see the whole battle, but there was at one point a significant cavalry charge, and to have all of the horses running in one line up or down the hill with fellows with their pistols in the air was pretty exhilarating actually. I don't know what the tourists thought of it, but I was pretty impressed. They had definitely been drilling. Different reenactments are run differently based on how much individual agency the reenactors have. But this one was more precisely orchestrated because it was the 150<sup>th</sup> than some had been in the past, and that was certainly true of Pickett's Charge, which I can talk about later. That was Sunday, we missed it, but I know what went on.

29) What did you do between battles?

A: We browsed the sutlers again. We honestly spent most of our time in camp between battles. We sat there and chatted with the reenactors from other reenactors. There was some form of open tent, a canopy essentially, where they could gather underneath because it was 90 some degrees. This was the primary reason we went back to camp because it was too hot to keep walking around. But they did have a living history area that was geared towards the tourists. I did not go myself, but I know it existed.

30) When you were in camp, were you socializing with people you already knew, or did you meet new people?

A: In my specific case, a lot of these folks were new to me because there had been a lot of turnover in the regiment over the past five years. Most of the events they do are in western New York so people like S are gung ho about the events up there, but I haven't done it for five years, so it was meeting new people for me, with the exception for officers, who were the same. And for D, everyone was new. There was a little chatter going on between regiments, but mostly people stuck to who they knew. There were two ladies going around the camp, boot blacks. They were polishing the gentlemen's boots, and they were fascinating. To me, they seemed as if they belonged more to a renaissance fair because they were character actors even in the camp. And they were very bedraggled looking. I think one of the ladies had blackened out some of her teeth, but they did an excellent job blacking the officers' boots, which were very shiny. They knew what they were doing, so it was not totally phony, but that was curious. I had not seen that before. The gentlemen spent a lot of time cleaning their muskets after every battle. There was one horse. They kept their cavalry off in the woods to keep the horses from overheating. We were all terribly jealous because it was ten degrees cooler where they were. But there was one horse that could not calm down the entire weekend and you could hear him constantly wining and stamping and he got loose at one point and was running through the camp through the woods and he was really very wild. So that was a little bit surprising. I presume he was involved in the cavalry battle, or maybe he was a little rambunctious and they left him out, but I thought the horses would be a little calmer.

31) Was it relaxing?

A: Yes. I would say so. Over the course of the day you would see more and more people bring out modern stuff. Fans. The tent next to us had some sort of battery powered fan that they hung in the middle of their tent. If we had been in the union camp it would have been much more difficult to get away with that, so we were really lucky.

32) Did confederate and union reenactors interact with each other?

A: Not much, not until Saturday night at least. I think there were some people who had friends over in the union camp and they may have gone over and chatted with them, but I did not know anyone over there, so I did not spend any time there.

A: So something that happened on Saturday. About two hours before they were scheduled to fight, the gentlemen lined up to fight and began to march out. They all got dressed and assembled and made sure that everything was in order with muskets and various things. I personally did not think they needed that much time, but I do not know the chain of command, and they basically had a schedule to follow. D was in that one. After they assembled by regiment, I suppose, I don't have a very good memory for the order, but it seemed organized and at some point someone instructed them to march down the hill, so they became a much larger body of men as they went along. We were at the top of the hill and were basically the last encampment of confederate infantry. As they marched down, they created a huge long line and they marched off into the woods and basically waited in the woods by the barn. I do not know how long they waited there before they took their positions.

33) You describe this visually as a very long line, but was this an audible experience? Could you hear them too? Were they making noise?

A: Oh dear, I know some of the units had fifers and drummers but I cannot remember if they were playing. They were present. And I do not know, because I was not able to access that area, if the drummers were playing as they took their positions in line for the battle. Someone else in the 34<sup>th</sup> could tell you that. For a lot of the ladies there wasn't much else to do but watch the men get ready. We were there taking pictures and so forth. Had we been actual camp followers I do not think we would have been distracted at all. You heard the officers giving orders and so forth and I am pretty sure that at some point when they marched out that they... did they shoot the muskets? I cannot remember. It was not that long ago. They may have done a practice shot.

A: I actually ended up going back to the hotel at that point because there was a ball Saturday evening and I did not want to change in the port-o-potty, which would have been the only place to do so. There are no other women in the 34<sup>th</sup>. I'm kind of a hanger-on. They don't usually have women around camp. That actually is unlike many of the other regiments who had several women caring for the camp and making meals and doing I don't know what else. They did not seem to do much else except for the boot black ladies. But the fellows in the 34<sup>th</sup> make their own meals, so I was superfluous at that point. I enjoy cooking over a wood fire but it gave me enough freedom to go change into my ball gown. So I went back to the hotel. I wanted to catch the end of the battle, but they had re-routed traffic, so I missed it. I could hear it going on.

34) You could hear it? How far away could you hear it? What did you hear?

A: Well mostly the musket fire. I don't know how far I was away. I should have been maybe two or three minutes away by car. I was about to turn onto the main road that turns onto the battlefield areas but then they had to send me all the way around and by the time I was able to get back in, the battle was over. But I was there in plenty of time for the dance. I waited in the camp for the men to trickle back again. They were very tired. Not very boisterous at all.

35) Does it matter if they win or lose the battle? Does that change the mood of the camp?

A: In terms of spirit? I don't think so. They were mostly already thinking toward Pickett's Charge the next day. And I don't know what part of the battle they had been representing that afternoon. I should know that. But it would be on the schedule. Of course the wheat field changed hands the previous day so much that I don't think it mattered.

A: A significant topic of conversation that day was about how Pickett's Charge was going to work. So we talked about that a lot in camp. And there were descriptions of how it was done in the past vs. how it was going to be accomplished. They tried to make it more, not numeric but more in terms of the percentage of soldiers and reenactors that would be present. So they scaled it down. There were many fewer soldiers than were actually there, but they had a representative number go over the wall. And they hand selected one hundred men among all of the regiments, the confederate regiments, and they said that they would be the group that gets to go over the wall. So they took them from the regiments and created a totally new regiment. They started drilling with them on Sunday. They were beautiful. They really picked, first of all, they were accurate in terms of age and physical appearance. They were young and trim and had a fair number of years of reenacting behind them. So these guys had started pretty young, I imagine, in their teens anyway. So a brigade of a hundred 20-somethings, and they moved as if they had been practicing together for years. They were really good. And then they decreed that you would go over the wall if you were born in December or something. So they made it completely random, who would go in what order. And you would fall down again in the month of your birth. So if you were born in January, then you were one of the few who would make it X far, but then you would die within a certain space of time, and then you would follow June, April, and so on. Apparently in the past, there has been a mad rush to the wall and no one wants to die, so they wanted to ensure that didn't happen and that people could actually see the consequences of Pickett's Charge that only a few guys in the end made it over at all, and some died within reach of the wall. I'm not actually 100% sure that that plan went forward because there was a lot of debate about the right way to distribute. And the fellow from our regiment, there was one from ours who was picked. And he was born in November, so he was going to get almost to the wall. But the last thing I heard before we left on Sunday was that it had been decided that he would go over the wall after all. I could ask, but I didn't think to. I think generally the plan remained in place but there was some fighting over who would go over the wall.

A: That's the other thing they did. They had officers meetings. It seems to be after every battle.

36) Does that mean that anyone dressed as an officer could attend these meetings, or were these the event organizers?

A: One of the commanding officers from each unit. I mean, they represent an officer on the battlefield, but in actual fact they are a leader of the regiment. And these seemed to be

to plan the upcoming battle and to talk about what had gone wrong in the previous one. So for instance, on Friday afternoon, the one that D didn't shoot a musket but was on the field for, they had one very near fatality. A guy collapsed on the battlefield. And they had a portable ambulance thing...

37) How do they know if it is real or part of the performance?

A: That's the thing. My impression was that they had a few guys that would hang in the back of the regiment who go along to ask if the men who had fallen down are ok. And I think there may have even been official people who were part of the organizational team that took on a role like that. So they were fortunately able to treat the guy. I think they had to administer CPR, so it was bad, but it was 93 degrees. But that was the worst thing that happened as far as I know. So for that officers meeting, people came back looking rather grim from that one. But they were prepared to deal with the worst.

A: After the Saturday battle, after everyone got back, the men took a long time to clean out their muskets. And this is where I could have been useful, because you see, they still had to cook their own dinners and eat in camp, and it was already 7:00 and they had not eaten. So at 8:00 I finally threw up my hands and said "D, I'm going to the ball" because he had not finished cleaning his musket yet. And it was his first time, and you have to be very conscientious about it. So drop the ram rod until it goes ping, and all of that. So he finally made it out by 9:00. And he was going to bring the camera because I did not have any pockets in my ball gown. The sacrifices you make for accuracy.

38) Ok. Tell me everything about the ball.

A: This was interesting because 5 years ago, they had two different bands, and they separated the confederate and union forces into two different tents in two different areas. They have activities tents where they have speakers and so forth during the day for the tourists during the day, and those became the ball tents at night. And this time on the schedule, it indicated that there would be two different dances. But when we actually got there, there was only the one.

39) Was it a bigger tent?

A: No. It was just a more crowded tent. My feeling was that a lot of people bailed who would not otherwise have bailed because the congestion. And in fact, the last time I was there, my point of pride was that I danced with Jeb Stewart. So at the 145<sup>th</sup> Jeb Stewart asked me to dance and I was very intimidated because it was just a gentleman with whiskers and a hat and he came up to me and asked me if I would like to dance, and I said "yes please" and he led me to the dance floor and then said "I'm general Stewart." And all I could I could say was "ooh." So I don't even think I told him my name because I was just worried that I was going to do something wrong. And I saw him this time hanging out in the far corner of the tent looking as if he were deciding whether to get involved in the dance or not. I kind of edged myself over hoping that he would recognize me from 5 years ago, but he left. Also Lee was there last time and he was not there this

time. I know this because General Stewart introduced me last time to General Lee five years ago. So union and confederate in the same tent. Everyone was together amicably as far as I could tell. But the band was from South Carolina. And that became important at the end of the evening.

40) What kind of band was it?

A: Fiddle, banjo I think. Strings. I actually took some video that I can send to you. What I am going to describe now you will hear on the video. At the end of the night, it is apparently a tradition for this particular band... they start playing pro-confederate songs. So I guess they are more accustomed to just playing for southern or pro-confederate crowds. Um, I get that impression because the young fellows in the 34<sup>th</sup> told me that they usually create a 34<sup>th</sup> North Carolina mosh pit at the front of the crowd. They didn't actually do it. But evidently whenever this particular band plays, they have a habit of crowding to the front and jumping up and down in a very modern rock band sort of style. These are the rambunctious young men of the 34<sup>th</sup>. I think this was the same band that played the confederate dance last time. I can't swear to it, but I could double check. And people know, at least the confederates knew all the words to the songs that they played. It started with, I think it was Southern Soldier, which made me a little, I mean, it was a truly amazing experience. We were standing in the front right up next to the band and surveying the rest of the tent. The crowd went on for quite a ways. And all the confederates were singing along quite loudly. There was impromptu polkaing, people were just grabbing other people and dancing in a circle.

41) Were there singers/vocalists with the string band? Did someone lead the song?

A: They sang and played at the same time. I don't think there was someone specifically designated as the vocalist. A lot of the fellows in union uniforms just sort of stood there, they did not necessarily participate at this time, although they did not seem to begrudge the confederates opportunity to celebrate either. I didn't see any fist fights breaking out.

42) That's really interesting considering it was a northern event and, as you said, even many of the confederate reenactors were northerners. Can you explain this northern attitude towards confederates?

A: Actually, one of the commanders of the 134<sup>th</sup> made a remark in camp that it seems to be an idiom: northern by birth, southern by choice. Um, not that they are Lost Causers. I did not get that impression from any of them. More that they are more interested in portraying the southern perspective rather than the perspective that they grew up learning in school. And I can say as someone who grew up in Rochester that I new absolutely nothing about where the south was coming from.

43) Are the confederates more exotic?

A: I think so. Maybe. And it seems also more attractive to young men because... I mean, the Rebel Yell...



44) Are confederates rowdier?

A: It is. At least they have the reputation for being so.

45) Did they do the rebel yell?

A: Oh yes. Oh yes. It was pretty impressive actually.

46) So you have this band there, and they are singing confederate songs, and then what happened?

A: And it was a very transportive moment for me because to have everyone there, besides me, know all the words to this song, it really felt genuine. And they were very forcefully committed to it. They are not just singing it. They are singing it with physicality and gestures. They were pouring their souls into it. It was astonishing.

47) Was it real?

A: It felt real. There is a degree of acting that is going on at all times for a reenactor. But I felt as if they were singing it as it would have been sung in 1863. And one of the verses... I was really taken aback because it says "I will walk up to that firing line and kill that Yankee soldier." And the federals are standing there mingled in. I didn't know it was coming. So I suppose veteran reenactors would know, just having heard it.

48) Did the band balance it out by throwing in a Battle Hymn of the Republic?

A: Nope. No it was strictly southern music.

49) Can we say that the confederates lost the battle but won the dance?

A: They win the dance. Yes. They finish up with Dixie in the end. There were hats flying through the air. And I didn't see this, but D said to me that one of the federals that he saw observing on the sidelines was being very respectful and giving a little nod of acknowledgement and respect during Dixie. I hope to an extent that there is a mutual understanding between the reenactors that however enthusiastic we may be, that we are not going to actually go out on the battlefield and shoot each other.

50) Did it feel tense?

A: Not at all. It was purely celebratory and not threatening in any tangible way.

51) Were there tourists at the dance?

A: No. It was just for the reenactors.

52) Did you dance?

A: Yes, I did.

53) Did you dance with D?

A: Yes, I did.

54) Did you dance with other people too?

A: Yes. I danced with a lovely gentleman. I wish I knew more about him. I think I know who he was only because in a ridiculous coincidence I have a friend in Minnesota who was not present at Gettysburg, but who sent me fabric from which I made my ball gown, so I owe her a lot. But when I was talking to her afterwards and said that I had danced with this lovely gentleman, she thought she knew who he was. Well, I described him. He was an African American gentleman and he was very snappily dressed in civilian clothes. And he really knew what he was doing on the dance floor, which was great, because there were a lot of people who really had no idea what was going on. Between the general incompetence and the hoop skirts it was practically impossible to move in the tent. This, I don't know if it is pertinent or not, there is a significant difference between the Civil War period and the colonial period... the dancing that goes on at reenactments.

55) What types of dances were they doing?

A: Lots of "Virginia Reels"

56) With the quotation marks?

A: Yeah. Circle mixers, there were a lot of those. Very simplistic, if you know what you're doing. But part of the problem with something like the Virginia Reel is that it has an inconsistent number of couples. I mean with each set you could have five or six couples. So it takes each set a different amount of time to complete the dance. They are much more informal about being on the beat.

57) Civil War reenactors?

A: Yes. About finishing with the music. And to me, that is really jarring.

58) More informal than you are used to?

A: Yes. Um, so no one really seems to care if you actually get back to your spot. Often the music will end in the middle of the dance. And you just laugh and wander off.

59) Is there someone calling the dance? Does someone give instruction before the dance?

A: They give instructions before. And my impression was that they left you on your own after walking you through it briefly, which also contributed to the confusion. Unless you had a couple people in your set who knew what was going on, it was an absolute loss. So this fellow and I fortunately knew what we were doing, although it might have been more useful to have paired up with those who were lost. But he basically ended up directing our set through one of the Virginia Reels.

60) Was there a lot of couple dancing, or mostly the large line and circle dances?

A: Mostly line and circle dancing. They did end with a waltz before they launched into Southern Soldier.

61) Mostly fast or slow?

A: It was pretty brisk. They did throw in a few slower ones. But my overall impression was that it was brisk. We did one that was called the coquette, which is a name that shows up over a bunch of dances. There were very familiar tunes. For instance, they played Soldiers Joy but did not do Soldiers Joy. And I am pretty sure that they played some other dance tunes but I don't know.

62) Did they call out the dance tunes to announce what you would be dancing? Was there a predictable order?

A: I was unaware of that. You just sort of milled about until someone told you what type of formation you should make, a circle or concentric circle or a line.

63) I'm a little surprised there wasn't more couple dancing. Were you?

A: Yeah, right, historically there should have been more, but maybe this way involved everyone.

64) Was the band amplified?

A: Yes. They didn't go to that degree of historical accuracy.

65) Was it loud?

A: Yes. There was obviously a lot of chatter under the tent, people saying "where do we go?" "what do we do?" But you could still hear the band.

66) How long was the dance?

A: I believe it went from 8-11pm

67) What were the demographics? Was it a younger or older crowd? Were there an equal number of men and women?

A: There are always more women. But I didn't, however, see many instances of women dancing together. I mean, there was a significant number of men, but if women didn't find a partner then they just stood out instead of partnering with another woman. I imagine in a tent that size that it did happen, but it didn't seem as prevalent as what I find in colonial [dance reenactments]. I can't think of anything else off the top of my head.

68) Does the dance seem important to the people who participate in this reenactment?

A: I think many of the gentlemen can take it or leave it, but I think that is mainly because they have had a hard day of fighting and they have just gotten back to the tent and they are sweaty and dirty and there are no showers. I know D wasn't too thrilled at the prospect of having to dance with two days worth of sweat permeating his clothing. So he only danced with me.

69) Did union and confederate people dance together?

A: Yes, but I do not know to what degree that was intentional. Because most of the ladies, you couldn't tell. But when I danced with a federal, there was no recoiling in horror when I said I was with the 134<sup>th</sup> North Carolina. It seemed perfectly amicable.

70) At the end of the dance, did everyone go back to their tents and sleep, or was there an after party?

A: Well, there may have been, but I wasn't in camp. I wouldn't have been present. It seems that they were actually very good about going to sleep. They are basically waking with dawn, so they aren't going to get that much sleep at that point and they have a whole day ahead of them of fighting, and for many of them that is what they came for. So the celebrations are probably kept to a minimum, I think. Also because Sunday was such an important battle for most of them emotionally. Pickett's Charge is pretty major. And had it been another event, not Gettysburg, they might not have cared so much. But emotions do run high with something like Pickett's Charge.

71) Can you explain that? Why is this such an important event?

A: Well, all reenactors are well informed. And many are extremely knowledgeable about the period that they are representing. I do think that there is an element of popular culture that factors in, and Gettysburg looms so large in the popular mind, I do not think they are immune to that, although they do understand from many perspectives that Gettysburg was not as decisive as it is often presented. But that doesn't really damage the romantic symbolism of it. But also the very landscape of Gettysburg. Not that we were on the battlefield, but many of the battlefields that you can visit are quite literally a large field. And there are not the kinds of distinguishing features on a battlefield as expansive and geographically varied as Gettysburg. So I feel at least that you can be more precise about what was going on in what spot at what time. Devils Den, it is such a confined space and the furor of fighting there was so intense that I think standing in Devils Den or standing on Little Round Top probably conveys more than just standing in the middle of a field.

And I know there are some reenactors that get very precise about where everybody was and where certain people died. But the visual is so much more pronounced at Gettysburg. And I am sure there are other battlefields that are the same way. I just visited Vicksburg for the first time a couple years ago. Oh my gosh it is beautiful. To me, it was just as visually taking as Gettysburg. I think that sieges tend to get devalued because they drag out for so long. But the sort of 1, 2, 3 day climatic battles where many people die in a short span of time get more attention than something as drawn out as Vicksburg or Petersburg for that matter. People remember the Crater and think that was the decisive moment in Petersburg but that was not the case. But that's the moment when people exploded, so that is what gets remembered. So I think there is a lot of things like that that get people caught up in Gettysburg. But I highly recommend Vicksburg. There was nobody there, which I thought was tragic. Granted, it was January, but it was Mississippi so it was 60 degrees. But comparatively, I think the size of the Gettysburg was not quite the size of Gettysburg but was breathtaking and they have a lot of historic artifacts. What was the name of the ship? They have a very large ship on display that was a paddle wheeler. Gosh it was amazing. Very well organized. But the parking lot was tiny. And when you consider the size of the parking lot at Gettysburg, I was kind of, I guess appalled is not the correct word. And it also has the misfortune that the timing of Vicksburg was precisely the same time as Gettysburg. So, there is that too. And if you have to choose to go to one or the other, most people are going to choose Gettysburg.

72) It would make sense to me that northerners would feel so strongly about preserving Gettysburg, but it seems as if there is a large southern pilgrimage to this place, and I am trying to understand why these southern Americans are so invested in trauma and defeat instead of victories. And even northern people representing southern characters. Why would you want to place yourself in the role of the defeated?

A: I do think that the only way to explain that is the romanticism of it, and that it was an opportunity lost that did not have to be lost. I think my most favorite quote about Gettysburg is probably most peoples favorite quote, which is from Faulkner, "For every Southern boy fourteen years old, not once but whenever he wants it, there is the instant when it's still not yet two o'clock on that July afternoon in 1863" it carries on for a paragraph and it is a glorious passage, really, about the what if's of history, and the idea that at least in the imagination of a young man, who perhaps sees himself as a southern soldier. That the death could have been averted or victory could have been achieved if it had not been for those few tipping points in history when somebody just makes the wrong call.

73) So when you are there, you don't feel like they are celebrating demolishing the southern army? Is there more of a mutual understanding?

A: I think there is certainly a movement to make it about the people and about the individual soldier's experience. And again, I got to reference a fellow who was married from the grandstand, but after the battle was over, he made a point of saying something to the effect of let's give a round of applause to the reenactors who are sweating and in pain from representing this and their dedication to interpreting the lives of all of these men

who died 150 years ago. It was about commemorating the nobility of the individual soldier regardless of what side he was fighting for. I think that was what they were trying to make it about. Now what they audience took away from that I can't really say. But he didn't say now let's have three cheers for the federals. It was very even handed.

74) Was it what you expected?

A: I think so, but I have a tendency to live too much in my own head, and I have a tendency to expect other people to see history the same way that I do, and because that fit with the way I see history, it was what I expected. But I do not necessarily believe I am normal in that regard. I don't like to vilify and so I like to stay away from that whenever possible. Oh, just one more thing about Pickett's Charge, and this doesn't necessarily relate to the 134<sup>th</sup>, but D was very sorry that we had to miss it because his great great grandfather was in Pickett's Charge, and survived. At least for some of the reenactors there is that element of having your ancestor in that battle and wanting to specifically acknowledge what your ancestor had done.

75) Do most reenactors have a genealogical connection to the war?

A: I believe many of them would, but that would be speculation. I wouldn't expect many in the 134<sup>th</sup> to have ancestors in Pickett's Charge because they are all from western New York. But yeah, so.

76) Did you see slave reenactors or black troops at Gettysburg?

A: Yes. I don't know if there was a specific unit of black troops because I did not see a massive group at once, but, in fact the only black troops I saw in uniform were confederates. One of them was actually in the unit camped next to us, which was the 7<sup>th</sup> Virginia, I believe. But at the ball, in the evening, there was another one [black confederate reenactor and he threw his hat up at Dixie, and you will see him in the video I will send you. I found that fascinating, and I actually wanted to go to him and ask him, "Excuse me, can you explain why you chose to do this?" but then I thought, wow, that is really kind of obnoxious and obtrusive, so I did not do it. But I was very curious about him and the man in the text next to the 134<sup>th</sup> North Carolina. I'd love to know what their motivation was.

77) Are there any other stories you want to share or things you thought I would as but didn't?

A: I cannot think of any. I really was unprepared. But I am very happy to talk to you.

## APPENDIX B

### ADDENDUM TO AMY STALLINGS INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

7/25/2013

#### **Final thoughts expressed in an email**

I was giving some further consideration to your questions about why northerners would portray Confederates and why Gettysburg holds such a high place in reenactors' minds.

As far as the first question goes, I think that there's a sense that the Confederate army was made up of volunteers who wanted to be there and who had more character than Federals in standard-issue uniforms. Among Northern troops, it tends to be those units that had a particular character that attract the most notice in popular history--people remember the 54th Massachusetts, the Zouaves, and the Irish Brigade (and the 20th Maine only thanks to Michael Shaara). It's easier to feel empathy for people who seem to have a distinct identity rather than being a faceless sea of troops. In my admittedly uninformed opinion, Confederates just give the impression of having a more concrete identity than Federals; they're fighting to create a nation rather than fighting for the rather more vague purpose of preventing a nation from being created. Also, while, both sides instituted a draft, but the draft in the North gets more attention, and I expect reenactors in general feel more comfortable portraying someone who joined up than someone who was forced into the army. I'm not sure how many of them would want to interact with tourists as bounty jumpers or half-hearted draftees. Just a thought, though--I could be entirely wrong.

Secondly, with regard to Pickett's Charge in particular, I should mention the importance of having a physical marker of the spot where Confederates thought they might, but couldn't, overcome Meade's forces. It's particularly powerful to see a stone wall and a copse of trees still present on the battlefield precisely where they were 150 years ago, to hear those spots mentioned in the historical record. It makes the battle very personal. Though I talked about this in regard to Devil's Den & Little Round Top, it's no less true of Pickett's Charge. I've never taken D to the Museum of the Confederacy, but it's an arresting thought to me that if we do go there someday, I can point out Armistead's hat and sword to him and say, "150 years ago, on a field in Gettysburg, your great-great-grandfather Archibald Arrington Stallings looked up through the smoke and the whistling of musket fire and saw *that* hat perched on top of *that* sword, and pressed forwards after them toward a little stone wall." That, for me, is making history real.

~Amy

## APPENDIX C

### STONE MOUNTAIN FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

10/6/2012

#### Control Group Pre-Show Interview

1. Who are you?

Respondent #1: 30 years old, from the Midwest, in grad school working on PhD in history, studies 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century American history, female, identifies as African American

Respondent #2: 32 female, has a doctorate in music performance with minor in music history, identifies as Caucasian, "I grew up in west, so relatively removed from Civil War except for study in textbooks"

2. Have you been to a laser show before?

R1: No. I've played laser tag. I don't know if that's similar or different, but that's my laser experience.

R2: No? Well, the Denver planetarium does a laser rock show every year, and I went to that a couple times.

3. What is a laser show?

R1: I'm not really quite sure. In my mind, I see it as some sort of fireworks but without the fireworks. Its just like computer generated rays. That's what I'm thinking in my mind, like fireworks.

R2: I've never seen one outdoors, but based on that planetarium show that projected it on the wall, and this was a couple decades ago, so I'm not sure what they do now, but I think they project this sort of image with lights, but again I've never seen a laser show outdoors on a statue thing.

4. Have you been to Stone Mountain?

R1: No.

R2: Yes.



5. What do you know about the history of Stone Mountain?

R1: I know that that's where the rebirth of the KKK was, I know that they have a confederate monument thing and that's celebrated there. I think there's something like a quarry there? I think I heard something about that, but I don't know if that's why they call it *Stone* mountain, because of the rock, but I don't know what kind of rock is there.

R2: I think its quartz, or some sort of igneous rock or sandstone. But that's the extent of my geological knowledge. I also heard about the KKK. I've wandered around there through the plantation, like the plantation that they moved in there. That's really the extent of what I know about Stone Mountain. I have been to the museum, but I honestly didn't learn much.

6. What do you know about the laser show?

R1: I think it's a celebration of the confederacy with lights. But I just don't know if that's it, or what it's doing, or if there's more. I think I probably have more questions than answers to that question.

R2: I know what I've been told. I have some friends – one is from Colorado and one is from North Georgia, and they told me about it before I moved here – and how she explained it to me was that it was like a rewriting of history. On the other hand, I have friends from the area who have very fond memories of going, and neither of them made any connection of it to the confederacy except for that it was on that monument. The show itself, they didn't make that connection. They saw it as a celebration of the United States, and I remember one of them saying – Yeah, that was really awful and I'm glad it's over now, like what's over was that link. So I've discussed this with people, and I am actually having trouble coming to any conclusion so far.

R1: I think I've drawn some pretty clear conclusions about how I feel about that there is even this celebration. I don't know. Is this off putting? Can I talk about that? I don't want to be out of line. Um, I just find perplexing the celebration of this memory of the confederacy and the Old South, and I have trouble understand what's celebratory about that memory when that directly involves the suppression, oppression, and dehumanization of an entire group of people. That is so problematic to me. And the fact that people can have no connection, that they can see the confederacy, or see the confederate flag, and all this stuff and have no connection to that really disturbs me because it shows how we have normalized violence and how we dehumanize it. So it takes the emotion and the soul away to make it fun.

R2: I don't think they see it that way. My understanding is not that they're dehumanizing it or celebrating that it happened, but celebrating that somehow we're supposedly past it. But I still see how that's also problematic.

R1: You think they celebrate getting past what?

R2: Celebrate that the Civil War is over, and that, in theory, that its not celebrating the war itself, or what happened, but that it's done and over. But I could be wrong.

R1: Ok. So I'm just going to have to see. So like, Juneteenth is the national day that we say that will be emancipation day, or that will be the day from our community that we will just adopt when enslaved persons received knowledge of the Emancipation Proclamation. Well, at Juneteenth celebrations, I don't dress up as a slave and run around picking cotton and doing stuff like that. I don't celebrate the ending of this institution by behaving as if I were in the institution. So that's why I'm going to have to see this because I don't understand that part.

7. How do you predict the show will look or sound?

R1: So you brought up this really interesting thing when you said about the planetarium, and you saw it in this dome type thing. So that's what I'm wondering now. So how do you project something like that in the sky? How is that going to look?

R2: Its projected onto the statue, isn't it?

R1: I don't know

R2: Maybe its on the side of the mountain, but I think its projected onto something.

R1: Oh, Ok.

R2: I expect it to be loud. From talking to other people, I expect to see people crying and singing along.

8. What kind of audience do you predict will be there.

R1: So, yeah. I'm trying to figure out how to word my answer. I have a story for my answer. When I was telling people that I'm going to see this laser show about the confederacy, the response was – why? Why are you going to do that? Be careful. Just like, they developed this strong emotional shell in defense because it's going to be the celebration of white culture at the expense of black bodies. So I predict there will be people there celebrating that, and I predict there might even be people there dressed up. Because you know people like to get involved in this. Maybe there will be some reenactors there, with Civil War type uniforms on. You know what? I met these union soldiers, reenactors, and they sang. This was at the Association for the Study of African American Life and History, at our annual conference, last year, the sesquicentennial conference in Richmond, and that was a theme – that African Americans need to celebrate the Civil War because what it does by having this, eh, the Civil War, it makes it seem like its all about white Americans. So anyways, there were black soldiers and black women who are actively involved in it. And there were these soldiers, dressed up as Union Soldiers, and they were singing. I mean they weren't singing recent songs, and I don't know if they were just making music, or if these were like real songs, but it seemed

organic. It wasn't like, one, two, ready, sing. We were waiting in the lobby and they came down and introduced themselves, and asked what was going on, and one of them just started singing something and they all just did it. I don't remember what song it was. It wasn't like a spiritual or anything. It was just music.

R2: Um, I'm sort of cheating by talking to people. I know from talking to people that the economy of going to Stone Mountain makes it a group destination, especially for large families. I've been informed that the ethnicity of the audience is varied. Actually someone told me last night that the very first time she saw a group of women wearing Sari's was at the Stone Mountain Laser Show and that they were singing along to "Georgia" with everyone else. So I'm predicting it to be a varied group, and I'm curious.

### Post Show Group Interview

#### 1. Who Are You?

R1 – We gave like, age, race, education, where we're from...

Respondent #3 – 42, From Chicago Illinois, African American Woman, Music Education Major

Respondent #4 – 50 Year Old Black American, originally from Chicago, Registered Nurse, Live in Georgia

R2 – Yeah, we already did it in the car.

Respondent #5 – I am a 27 year old musician and public affairs specialist. I live in Northeast Georgia.

#### 2. Have You Been Here Before?

R3 – Never Been Here Before

R4 – Have been before.

R5 – Have never been to Stone Mountain before

#### 3. Is the setting what you predicted it would be?

R3 – No. I just knew the wall was going to look like that. Other than that, I've never been here.

R4 – No, but it is much better now than it was in the past.

R1 – No. Totally not at all what I thought it would be.

R5 – It was more diverse than I expected, both in terms of demographics, and in terms of racially and age, hands down.

4. What is the environment like?

R5 – It's more of a party environment than I expected. Its definitely a sort of place where you can see families and kids and who they hang out with. It's a little bit more of a parade setting.

R4 – It's family oriented.

R1 – It's like July 4<sup>th</sup>, like a fireworks show. Its an Americana something. There's something about it that's not what I thought it would be. There doesn't seem to be that celebration of white culture at the expense of black bodies, but it is weird with this confederacy thing etched in the mountain. But are we just not going to acknowledge that? I don't know. I'm confused. Are we just going to pretend like that's not there? Because that's what it seems like everyone is doing. Don't acknowledge that thing in the background. It seems friendly. Everyone is happy with the kids and funnel cakes and stuff.

R2 – There's definitely more sitting and watching than I expected. I thought there would be more people walking around. I did see some little kids dancing. And it was more interactive than I expected it to be. There was a lot of standing, and singing along. There was lots of, the audience was more involved than I expected them to be.

R3 – I feel like its an open, big park with a light show on the wall. I had an idea of what it would be like before I got here, but I never came to see it for myself. But now, its like big time family oriented.

5. What is the audience like?

R1 – There are a lot of yelling folks, I guarantee someone in here has been drinking. There were a lot of children and it seemed like it was a cool place for teenagers to go out on "date night." And a lot of older people too. It seems like this is a tradition that people do.

R3 – Yeah, it seems like this is the end of the summer thing to do before it gets cold because its getting chilly here. But the age range was from the very young to the very old who seem like they've been here before and this is some sort of tradition for them.

R4 – I agree with that. It seems like a traditional thing to do. What she said.

R5 – I think I mentioned it was like a parade environment – kind of akin to a football game environment - more than a group of people to see a theatrical performance. It seemed like things going on in the background were kind of peripheral. It was more like

we're going to be hanging out and throwing around a football, and running around and waving our light sabers.

R2 – It was almost like an athletic event.

R5 – I agree.

6. What are your general reactions to the show?

R5 – I think it's heinous that they did not include Otis Redding as one of the great musical geniuses of Georgia.

R2 – Laughs.

R5 - As a musician, I am almost kind of offended by that. I don't mean that REM or the B52s should be put on the back burner, but at the same time, Otis Redding is one of the formative soul influences of the southeast. But beyond that, it was an interesting mix of local patriotism. I'm known to be quite the southern apologetic. I think it's local in terms of Atlanta but the south, and it was interesting to see how they dovetailed on Alabama, and they touched on Tennessee and South Carolina a little bit. It was interesting. It's amazing to me the way that the mountain itself is used as a canvas. It was interesting to see how in a very classy way touched upon that and be able to tie in a unifying idea of what it means to be an American.

R3 – Jesus. I think the laser show itself was actually boring, but I did enjoy all the music and all the different genres. I wasn't really expecting that. I was expecting more of

R4 – It used to be really Dixieland. It used to be very much so.

R3 – Yeah, so I wasn't expecting such a variety of genres, but I understand that they have to market it to everybody to make sure that they make enough money, so I should have expected this.

R1 – I agree. I was not expecting there to be that much variety of different music types. Although I did notice that when they would play certain songs – like the music was very typecast. Right? So when they played the gospel, that was the Black moment. And the images of the people looked more African American in features. I mean the colors of the people were orange and stuff, but just the features, the characters looked like they had more African American hair and stuff. Yeah, that's it. Oh, one more thing was that it seemed like it was about the South, and that Georgia was a model for how all Southern states should be and aspire to. Georgia is presented as the image of what the south is, and represents the south and every southern person in embodiment, and that image is projected onto the entire south, which is projected to the U.S., so that was interesting because it still only shows one side of the Georgia south.

R2 – I find it really fascinating how it started out as Georgia, and then it became regional, and then it was all America with the token Eskimo in the upper corner. I don't know what I was expecting, but it wasn't what I was expecting. I did get the planetarium laser show portion in the middle of it with the psychedelic thing, which oddly immediately followed Lee riding off into the sunset. I was a little confused, but that's ok. The 3D stuff for kids was awesome.

R4 – I think it shows the south, period. Including the statues on the wall. Those are the generals that fought the war, doesn't matter if its north or south. That's what represented Georgia at the time, so that's what's on the mountain now.

7. What was the music like? Genres, artists, songs that stood out to you.

R5 – Yeah, no Otis Redding.

R4 – He is just stuck on that.

R1 – They had the Black Eyed Peas.

R3 – So pertaining to the music, we already talked some about that. They had the Georgia Mass Choir behind Whitney Houston, but I don't think she's from Georgia. She's from...

R1 – She's from Jersey.

R4 – Yes.

R3 – But they had the Georgia Mass Choir was behind her. I remember...

R1 – I couldn't understand why they were putting up the football teams of those universities. I mean I understand that they are part of the state.

R4 – They're part of Georgia

R1 – But I don't understand what that has to do with...

R4 – But they're catering to the people who are here.

R1 – But its like that's part of the representation of what is this state. Right? It's saying, what is Georgia? Its this very masculine, almost violent image. Because that's the image they show of the schools. So you say Georgia State, they show Georgia State football. You say Georgia Tech is a very good engineering school, but they show Georgia Tech football thing and the same with the University of Georgia. So there's almost this image of what they're trying to put forth and say about those schools, and their overall message. Even when they showed the Civil War thing, it was definitely an image of white masculinity. So it was really interesting, the overall subversive or undercover message of

the show. So that was interesting about the athletics. But the music. They also had “Georgia” by Ray Charles.

R3 – Yeah, and I wasn’t sure who the other one was singing. There was like two people, someone with Ray Charles.

R1 – That’s right. They did have someone else singing. And I don’t know who did it. But they also had the “Glory Halleluiah” song.

R4 – That was Elvis Presley.

R1 – Ok. That was really pretty.

R5 – One orchestral theme I really recognized what the Theme of the Common Man, and I’m sure there were others, and it really tied into that nationalistic sense of identity. To me the musical selections for the most part were pretty cursory in terms of, oh, this is about the south, this is about Georgia, this is about confederates.

R2 – It did seem that it was very much country oriented, but then when they got to the stuff about the Civil War, all of a sudden it was all about gospel and Dixie, and then as we expanded out, we got more classically influenced, and then larger in the pop genres.

R5 – That’s true, and I’m glad you reminded me about this because the selecting of Dixie, and all the recordings available, that they chose that recording, the one that actually segues into Glory, which was written by a Southern composer as well and co-opted by the Union... It’s almost like, if we have to do Dixie, then let’s pick the great unifier of the nation. He’s the only guy from northeast Mississippi who could shake his hips and still be loved by cops and rednecks and hippies and everyone.

R2 – And the only reason we mention Tennessee at all is because of Graceland.

R5 – Right. It’s like Elvis is the denominator, the great unifier of our nation.

R4 – At least they had a variety of music and that was good. But this is Georgia. This is the South. They care about white men and football. That is it. I’m sorry.

R1 – I was wondering though. They didn’t have, like JD and “Welcome to Atlanta,” you know? I feel like, that is so Georgia. You come into the city, and it’s like, welcome to Atlanta, so there was no underground hip-hop that Atlanta dirty south music is known for. That did kind of throw me through a loop. No Luda, none of that. Especially since dirty south, that’s Georgia, that’s what Atlanta is. The song “Welcome to Atlanta,” that was like 2001.

R2 – I noticed that too. Exactly.

7. When you watched the show, did you pay more attention to the music, the animation, the environment, etc?

R4 – They could have kept the cartoons.

R3 – Yeah.

R4 – The music is the thing that held your attention.

R2 – As a musician I was drawn more into the music.

R3 – I totally agree. I was looking at the wall, and thinking, this is so boring. But the music was kind of lively, so I listened to that. You know I would find myself thinking, is that a I chord going to a IV, to a V? I just started doing that harmonic progression. Other than that, what was on the wall was just boring to me. But I can understand that they were trying to market it to a variety of people with various ages. I wasn't impressed with the laser show, but I did enjoy the music.

R5 – The patriotic stuff just kind of washed over me. I don't even remember what songs were chosen for that. I don't know if that's a statement about my personal ideology or a statement about the past 11 years.

R1 – I liked the fireworks. I think I paid attention to both of it. I was trying to notice what music they would play with what images they show, to see how it fit together, and the mood they were trying to evoke.

R4 – And sometimes they didn't match at all.

R1 – Yeah.

R5 – Sometimes the ways the music and pictures were juxtaposed were not what I anticipated. Sometimes I was like, really? You're going to pick that image for that part of the song?

R4 – Sometimes the image on the wall did not match the music at all.

R1 – That confused me in some cases too. Overall, I thought it was nice. If I had kids, we would have to have a conversation about the confederacy and the Civil War part of it. But in terms of bringing my kids here, minus that part, that is something I would do. But I would have to have a conversation about all of this. But I think it's a safe thing for kids.

8. Did the laser show relate to the monument?

R4 – Portions of it did.

R2 – In places.



R5 – Maybe 1/8?

R4 – Just when they reviewed that section about the Civil War. That particular part when the generals rode down the monument onto the battlefield, that was reflective of the war and what was fought around here. Historically, many, many places around here were sites of battles. But they kept it short, and that was it.

R5 – There was the part when they outlined the figures and then they became individuals and then told a story about the confederate role in the Civil War, but beyond that, not really.

R2 – There were a few places when I couldn't help but notice the horsemen above the scene, but it was typically either white or very light in the background. You could see them in the shot, and it could very well... I just found myself a certain places snickering because it had absolutely nothing to do with what was going on.

R1 – Ok. Maybe I'm reading too much into this, but even when they were showing current and modern day stuff, those generals were still looming over, like they were the ones, like ghosts or guardians of authentic Georgia culture. And like none of this would have been without, like its all a reflection of them. There's something strange about why, I mean, they could have projected that whole laser thing to the side or somewhere else on the mountain, but they chose to project all of those images with those people. They put examples of the American flag with them in the background and you still see their faces. You've got Martin Luther King up there, and you know, you see him at the bottom at the lower right, and then you see the generals up at the top.

R3 & R4 – laughs.

R1 – It's weird because they seem like this presence. Maybe that's too much, but it's something I'm still trying to think through.

R3 – Well, not only did they do such a short period on the confederacy, I mean that was only a small percentage of the show. The show was also about a variety of songs and a variety of images that go with the songs, and just have a good time. That's the feeling I got from the show, that it's just about coming out and enjoy the grass, and enjoy this festivity on the wall.

9. Did you like the show?

R5 – I did. I did.

R3 – Um, they could have kept the laser part, for me personally.

R2 – I enjoyed it. I don't think I'll be coming back. It was good entertainment.

R4 – Take it or leave it.

R5 – I wonder what the correlation is between the monument being what it is, and having to have a laser show that is so popular in order to bring people into the park. I feel like the idea of doing a laser show on Mount Rushmore - and the original designer of this went on to do Mount Rushmore - I wonder how well received that would be. As funny as it would be to project a laser mustache on George Washington, I doubt it would be well received. I wonder in terms of what cultural questions that brings up.

R1 – I had a different opinion of what I thought it was going to be, and so, I'm glad that I came, because I did have a lot of different thoughts about what I thought it was going to be. I thought it was going to be... something else. I'm not exactly sure, but I didn't think it was going to be this. So I am glad that I came. And I definitely will probably be back because I need to bring some other people back to just explore this, as to what it means. But I would bring the kids here. Except we would have to have a conversation about the things up there. Yeah.

### Control Group Follow-up Interview

1. What is your reaction to the show?

R1 – When it started, I was like, what?! This is the Black Eyed Peas, and that is my song. Whenever I hear that song, I can't sit still. Whenever I hear that song, I want to get up and start fist pumping or something. So I was thinking, when is the confederacy coming? You know, I felt like the confederacy was going to come bust out of the screen somewhere, so I didn't know. That was my first reaction. I was confused. I was like, oh, what, ah! And then I said to myself, Be Open.

R2 – When it started, I couldn't help but snicker occasionally. I don't remember why. The very beginning of it, starting to establish itself as a regional thing after establishing itself to Georgia, and as it spread itself across the South, I don't know.

R1 – It's like it was setting up this model that Georgia is the model of the south, Georgia is perfect; everyone else sucks. People try but they can't.

R2 – It felt like a sly nod to Tennessee and Alabama.

2. What music genres did you hear?

R1 – Contemporary. Is that what the Black Eyed Peas is? Contemporary or Pop. Gospel, classical. I'll give you an example. This classical orchestra ensemble, just instrumental. It felt like it was full band ensemble sounds, mostly strings with woodwind and brass instruments. Then there was the Dixie, and there was patriotic music. The Star Spangled Banner. Now let me ask you, did they add a verse to the star spangled banner?

Me – Yes, the woman who sang it added additional verses to the anthem.

R1 – Ok. Is she authorized to do that? Ok. It was the same tune. Interesting. I liked the song, I mean it was fine, but I was just trying to figure out what was going on with the second verse. That threw me through a loop. I mean, I kept my hand over my heart the whole time. I'm real sensitive to that. Too many people in the military, too many loved ones in the military. I really felt that.

R2 – I wasn't expecting the military theme. I wasn't expecting the continual return to 9/11. I really didn't see that coming.

R1 – And I feel like that is so much a part of defining what it means to be a Georgian. So this is Georgia, and there were these shots at what Georgian identity is supposed to be, what American identity is. Right? And how we are going to remember that, and what we are going to associate with these things. So there is this extreme feeling of loss, of patriotism, of support, and of emotion when you start to bring up September 11.

R2 – I felt, and this is me as the eternal cynic, I felt like it was a contrived effort at hitting every heart string possible to make sure everyone in the audience had some sort of extreme emotional reaction to some part of the show. So if you're not singing with Devil Went Down to Georgia, or Dixie doesn't do it for you, then some part of the show is going to hit you and make you think, oh yeah, that's what it's supposed to mean. And I felt at the end as it was pulling into the heroes, and the servicemen, and the military, and it was going to try to find something to connect with you and make you cry.

Me – Do you think that's related to the monument at all? Because the monument is military-themed...

R2 – I did not make that connection at all.

R1 – I did because they were there. It's so weird to see those images and in the screen, it's like they're in the background. I'm still trying to process that. Its going to take me a while to articulate that. But there's something there that I'm not able to get right now, that all of this is being shown over them.

R2 – And there were places when they disappeared, so it was like,

R1 – It was like they could if they wanted to

R2 – So when they were really visible it was like they were meant to be visible. There were scenes during the early parts when you were trucking through a cityscape, and I don't remember the music, but the cityscape was kept low so you could see the monuments heads showing over it the whole time. When there was an image of the workers at 9/11 draping a flag over the side, you could see very clearly the statues behind the flag. And I remember that image because at that moment I looked at it and thought, well, now that's something my brain doesn't put together.

R1 – I saw them there the whole time. But even if I couldn't see them, I knew that they were there. That probably disturbs me even more.

R2 – Because we went into this with the knowledge of them being there, and what they're about... I don't know that the rest of the audience paid attention to that or be as aware as we are.

R1 – There is no historical connection. Was there a confederate flag? I did not see one. So I'm wondering, because you said it's been updated, if a lot of the thoughts I have and the information I have is something as to how it used to be. It is a pretty monument with the stone chiseling, and good detail. You could see the detail and the shading and the depth, and that was nice.

R2 – Going back to genres. There was a heavy contingent of country, which is kind of expected. In the time I've spent living in the south, it tends to be the music most closely associated with southern identity. This is interesting because of the people I know who grew up in the south, very few of them listened to country music. I was expecting that. There was the trot through Georgia musicians. B52s, Ray Charles, "Georgia," got to love it. There were the film scores at the end, the Mariah Carey and I'm not sure where she fits, but I'll go with it.

R1 – I did not understand that at all.

R2 – I was confused by that whole insert where it felt very individualistic, it's ok to be who you are, and almost being apologetic. All of a sudden the lyrics said the hero lies in you, and we're showing all these pictures of individuals, and heroes. But it almost came across as apologetic, and I don't know why.

R1 – There was a lot of, what's happening? That's what was going on for me.

R2 – Parts of it were like, look at what we can do with lasers. There was no story, the music was just there, and it was just, look at what we can do with lasers.

R1 – The psychedelic part, I thought that was just for the kids. Because that part, that was the part when I said to myself, ok I could bring my kids here. I could bring the girls to this because I know they would like that. But if you stared at it, you could get lost in it. Oh, and back to the music. I'm glad they started off with the Black Eyed Peas, and this is why. It confirms why I like that song. That song will put you in a good mood and open your mind and put down your inhibitions. And you'll be able to access that or go into that situation ready to learn something or try something new.

Me – So if they had started with the Elvis, "Dixie"?

R1 – I would have been shut down. But I use the Black Eyed Peas "I've Got A Feelin'" at the beginning of the semester each year. And I turn it up, and the students are like, is she serious? And I tell them to just go with it. And you'll get a couple a couple students who

are just “Tonight’s the night!” And they will get it and it sets such a good mood. I think that song was excellent to start off for someone like me. Had they done Elvis or Ray Charles or any other song, and I would have been like, ummmm the confederacy is about to come, and this is going to be oppressive.

3. Is it the music you expected?

R1- I said this on the other tape. I was surprised by the lack of dirty south hip hop.

R2- I was too. How they limited the Georgia artists. I was waiting for something else.

R1- If this is supposed to be the representation of Georgian identity, and the music of Georgia... I know some people would argue that hip hop is problematic. But there were many songs that could have been incorporated. I mean, they didn’t have Usher. These are big Grammy winning artists who put Atlanta on the map, and they’re not in that. Even the songs that mention Georgia or Atlanta. Just off the top of my head, Usher’s “Yeah” because he starts that song with “Peace up A-town.” It was, this is what we are going to tell you, and this is what you need to think about when you think about Georgia, and they weren’t in there. I’m going into my next point because I’m afraid I will forget it. There was so much masculine identity and masculine memory. And this is lasers and the music. I recall very few songs sung by women, but even with the imagery in the Civil War section, there were no women. Also, there were no Black people.

R2 – Even when there were Black singers, the visual characters were very characteristically white.

R1- Where I noticed they were Black was at the gospel part. But that masculinity part, it was a very ideal protective, violent, strong, muscular. And with those dudes looking down on the whole thing. I did not see any phallic symbols, and I looked because when I started seeing all this masculinity, I was like, they did have the Washington monument in there, and there was that machete thing, but I didn’t see any other things.

R2- And let me say that I don’t know if this is part of the mythology of the Civil War, but I was disturbed by when he broke his sword and that was symbolic of reuniting the country together.

R1- I don’t think I saw that part. Was that when they started outlining the whole U.S. I did not see that part with the sword breaking. You know what I was surprised about? There was not product placement in the show. There was no coke or chick-fila in the show. They could have easily done that.

4. Did the music tell a story?

R1- Yes... Black Eyed Peas to Georgia Stuff to Star - Spangled Banner. And all that stuff in between, I feel like is life. Like it’s this trajectory showing the individual to the group – that sort of relationship. That’s about as much as I can come up with now. I think there

are multiple stories. It told the story of emotions and feelings and things that are important, like with the gospel segment and the psychedelic segment and the film score. Those parts were like the intermissions within the story. Those parts were like, ok, calm down now, the last couple years have been really messed up, so chill out on the weekend and then start up again.

R2- In places leading up to Lee, that was a story. The instrumental portions didn't tell a story. But there was something else. There was that traditional psychedelic planetarium laser show segment which led up to the new 3D material.

R1 – Now I didn't understand that part. There were dinosaurs. I was like, there are pterodactyls in Georgia?

R2 – I lost all sense of story arc in that part.

R1 – At some parts I felt like the songs were chronological, or thematic, but at other times they weren't. But I did not understand the dinosaur part.

5. Did you pay more attention to the music or images?

R1 - I was trying to pay attention to the music. But then I was trying to understand the show. Yeah, that monument thing was really weird to me. So I would say maybe 50% music, 30% images, and 20% monument. And I noticed the environment. At the beginning when the schools were shown, people in the crowd cheered for Georgia Southern. So I just knew Georgia was going to turn up and I decided I would cheer for Georgia, too. People had some sort of connection and they knew the parts that were coming.

R2 – I tried really hard to go into it cold and not focus on anything specific. I am interested in the places where my focus changed involuntarily. All the way through Elvis and Dixie, my attention was on Elvis. That creeped me out. It was Elvis in his gospel state, but it was Dixie. So can you do a gospel Dixie? So that's the Elvis that I heard. But there were places where I lost the music because of the imagery. The only time I noticed the audience was when I saw kids doing interpretive dance.

R1 – What were they doing?

R2 – Oh, there was one point where a little girl dropped down into a split, and there was a slow motion arm thing.

R1 – It wasn't praise dancing, right?

R2 – Oh, no. It was cute.

R2 – Something that stood out to me were the portions of the show that were very religiously charged. And not being from the south, it catches me off guard when that's an expected part of your identity.

R1 – I almost think that if it wasn't in there, that there would be some serious issues. If there was no reference, and we are talking about what it means to be Georgian and what it means to go through things, and there was no conquering over evil reference, I don't think that would have gone over well. I see the religious aspect, but I also see it in terms of bad versus good, and good triumphing over evil.

R2 – I see that because there was a song where the imagery was totally devoted to a church.

R1 - That was one of my parents favorite church songs, "I Go To The Rock." I knew that song immediately when I heard that intro. "Where do I go?" I was like, oh! Now that "Devil Went Down To Georgia," I did not appreciate that selection.

R2 – I did find it entertaining that they put the devil on a Harley motorcycle. And the kid got the devil's Harley.

R1 – But the kid changed too. Before he was there, and then afterwards, it hardened him. But I don't do the devil. I don't do evil like that. I don't mess with spirits. But don't they say that one of those people's spirits lives in that mountain? I think they say that the spirit of Robert E. Lee or Davis lives in the mountain.

## APPENDIX D

### MARC CLINE INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

9/3/2012

#### 1. What is Dinosaur Kingdom?

M: Dinosaur Kingdom is sort of a different concept in dinosaur parks because it was designed to take place during the Civil War, and I've never seen a dinosaur park like this, at all. In fact, it was described by the [Tubman]? Museum as one of the most unique dinosaur parks in the world because of the nature of the activity going on there. I deliberately did it as a roadside attraction to create curiosity for people to, obviously, find out how this could all be intermingled into one attraction – Civil War and dinosaurs.

#### 2. Approximately how long has Dinosaur Kingdom existed?

M: What happened is that I built probably about four hundred dinosaurs, and I had several of them at my shop. In fact, I was working on some dinosaurs today, and this was the place, actually it was the place that originally inspired me to do dinosaurs. So it was like going home and working on old friends. These dinosaurs were there in the sixties, and they are all made out of fiberglass, so as I got older I learned how to work with fiberglass, and I started making dinosaurs and other creatures. So as I started building these dinosaurs, sorry I got a little side tracked. What did you ask? Oh yeah, so I was going to tell you that I had all these dinosaur molds and things and started to do these April Fools events. One of the April Fools events was taking this small town called Glasgow, and putting my dinosaurs all through it. We called it, "The Town That Time Forgot," and we kept them there for about two years. It became quite an attraction in its own right. People came to this small town that otherwise would not have gone there, and they spent a little money there. So I felt kind of bad because I had this idea to do dinosaur kingdom, and I think this was around 2005. Right, Sherry? That's right because "The Town That Time Forgot" was in 2003. So we kept them there for about two years, and then the Monster Museum was there, and we were looking for something to supplement the attraction because not everybody is going to want to do a monster museum. So we were looking for something that was a little broader, and more colorful to offer. So I thought I would yank these dinosaurs out of the town and create Dinosaur Kingdom.

#### 3. How would you describe the average Dinosaur Kingdom visitor?

M: It was designed for family units. You'll notice that there's a wide variety of dinosaurs. There are some from the Cretaceous Period, some from the Triassic Period, and they're all kind of mixed in there. Some didn't even exist. So paleontologists might go in there



and just have a field day – ah, this didn't happen, and this didn't happen, and this didn't happen – but you know, you're not going to have Civil War guys in there anyway. But it's mainly just to have everyone come in there and let their imaginations go wild, and have fun with something that is impossible. It's not to be taken for anything other than entertainment sake.

4. What music is heard at Dinosaur Kingdom?

M: It's a series. I can't remember who the conductor was, but it was a series called The Planets. And this is a particular piece called Mars. I've listened to all, he did all nine planets, well, there's Pluto, but he did all eight planets and plus there's Pluto. This was the one that really struck me as adventurous, and kind of being out in the woods, and Indiana Jones-ish. In fact, it's been used in other theme parks. We heard it at Busch Gardens at Escape from Pompeii, so it was playing there too.

5. How is the music arranged in the park? Where are the speakers located?

M: First, there are other ambient sounds around – growls and different things. But I wanted that music to be the background soundtrack for everything. So we put it in the very center so you can hear it from all points of the park. It's not really that big, it's just the way that it's laid out, because we had to take advantage of every foot of the area to give people their money's worth, and to create a feel of perceived value. In fact, when you first enter into Dinosaur Kingdom, you go into a cabin, and there's a little story in there telling you what happened with the Garrison Family, and how they discovered this valley of dinosaurs, and they're paleontologists. Actually, some of the earliest paleontologists appeared in the eighteen-sixties, who were finding bones and things. So this all sort of kind of worked out in the timing. So you go through the cabin, and then you start going through the cave, and the cave leads you down, down, so you get this feeling of going down into this mine or this cave until you've broken through into the other side. And you can hear the growls as you're going through. So it's not just something that you enter into, and you're there. You have to build up the ambiance, and I think that's important to help tell the story. But anyway, as you go in, you'll hear the music, and I think it's really fitting.

6. Why do the Dinosaurs eat Union soldiers instead of Confederates?

M: Well, because every story, it's like Star Wars. You've got to have the good verses the bad. It's biblical. You have to have the Devil and Jesus. So, we're living in the south. They have to be the bad guys. If I built Dinosaur Kingdom in the north, I'm sure I would reverse the color of the uniforms. In fact, there was a documentary done on Dinosaur Kingdom. It was called "The Battle of Saur Hill." It lasted about nine minutes. And the thing about this documentary is that some people took it upon themselves to film this thing and to make it seem like it really happened. And they say that it was because of this that Lee lost Gettysburg, and kind of explained all through it, and they have someone portraying *me*, and he's sitting there in front of a bunch of books, he was a professor, and he was "Mark Cline," and he didn't do a very good job, he wasn't a very good likeness of

me, but he was telling the story as if it really happened, and I laughed... what are you laughing at?... She was in the bathroom, heard me laughing and laughing, and it was just hilarious because they had these roadside markers, and they had these old black and white photographs, and “my great granddaddy, he” you know, talking “he fought back then, and this is little known, but” and they go on talking about how it happened. The Battle of Saur Hill. Fun stuff.

7. What does Dinosaur Kingdom say about you as an artist?

M: Well, see I get that all the time. In fact, I had to tell someone today. I was in a magic shop today, a toy store. And I said, well, people mistake me for an artist. But really what I am is an entertainer that knows how to do artwork. Because I became an entertainer, and out of desperation, I needed to make my own props because props were expensive when I was a kid. So I started making my own props. And somewhere along the way, someone tagged “he’s an artist” on to it. So I don’t really consider myself an artist. You can, well, I have my own way of being identified, but it doesn’t work for people. Well, you try to fit it in. I tell people that I did this Wall Street Journal interview about two weeks ago, and they asked the same thing. And I said, you know, I’d like to be remembered as a good guy who helped his neighbors. He was a good man who helped his neighbors. If I have to be remembered as anything, I don’t want to be remembered as a great artist or some genius, I don’t like any of that. I’m an entertainer who knows how to do artwork. I mentioned that. I’m an entertainer, and I happen to know how to do artwork.

## APPENDIX E

### ANGELA DA SILVA INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

3/14/2013

1) Why did you recreate a slave auction in downtown St. Louis? What was your intent?

A: Various organizations were planning all of this stuff, and none of them, none of them were talking about slavery. You would have thought that you were down in Mississippi and this was still the war of northern aggression, instead of truly, that Black people were at the heart of it. And so, I decided, and this is why it was done in January, right after the first of the year, to be the first event, to make everybody realize and to remember that this was about slavery. And that's really why I did it. At that point, I did not care what they did because now, slavery was on the table, and it would look pretty funny if they were not participating or at least acknowledging it. So that's really why, again, to put Black people back at the heart of it.

2) Did it have an impact?

A: Yes. Oh, yes. Well most of the exhibits that went up after that had a really big part, I had to remind people that Missouri was a slave state, and that is another reason why, too. In all of the exhibits that went up at museums that did anything about the Civil War, slavery became a good portion of what they were presenting. And then they started whining that there weren't enough black reenactors, and things like that. They had to work around it, and it served its purpose. It put slavery back on the table.

3) Why actually reenact instead of give a history talk, or create a museum exhibit?

A: Because that is the problem. Most people do not like history when it is taught one dimensionally. I am in the American Studies program at Lindenwood, and I have a masters degree with a minor in historic interpretation, and my whole goal has always been to bring history off the page. We have a tendency not to want our role models and our heroes not to have clay feet and I was bound and determined, I think everyone should know that Washington took teeth out his slaves jaws, had them removed with pliers, and stuck them in his own jaw sockets. Now that is bizarre to me, but I think people should know that. These were human beings who put their pants on one leg at a time. So you can read about slave auctions, until the cows come home, but until it is actually in front of you, and you see that misery and what happens, and the way that the slaves are treated, that becomes a reality. So for 45 minutes, that's what I wanted. I wanted people to be transported. For people who walk past those courthouse steps every single day, now when they go there, those steps have a different meaning.

4) There is a painting of a slave sale at the Court House at the Missouri History Museum, and supposedly a mock slave auction was performed on the steps of this courthouse in 1861. Did this established history of mock auctions influence your decision to recreate a slave auction at this location in 2011?

A: Absolutely not. The supposedly 1861 slave sale that was broke up, they have never found, the National Parks Service, has never found anything in writing that this actually happened. And it was a memory from Galusha Anderson who had been a minister here in St. Louis during that time period and he wrote it in his memoire, you know, something like forty or sixty years later. So it's never been written or proven that this happened. So me, personally, I am siding with the National Parks Service.

A: Now, why that site? Number one, because that is Holy ground in that, as a partner in this, it was the United States Government, that is, this is a National Parks Service Historic Landmark. The Dread Scott Case, the first trial, was inside that building. A lot of the Freedom Suits that are online were filed in that building. So we know that on the eastern side of the steps, although this was done on the western side, on the eastern side is where they did hold probate sales. There is a precedent for this. This is historical and the National Parks Service would not participate in something that is not absolutely true. We went through their records, and the slaves that were for sale that day, we actually pulled from probate records, the people that were sold on those steps. So that is why we put it exactly in the location where it happened. It was more of a historic interpretation than it was a historic recreation. So, and there is a big difference. It was not a production, but was based on actual research. We wanted it to be, and this was the National Parks Service's criteria for them to agree to do this in the first place, was that it had to be authentic, as authentic as we could possibly get it. And that is the difference between this, and don't even get me started about the 1904 World's Fair and the racial matters that happened there. The only time Booker T Washington had anything to say about white people was his experience here at the 1904 World's Fair... The painting depicts a slave sale on the courthouse steps, but it wasn't even in Missouri. And they just tied it to this. The painter said it was a courthouse in Ohio or something like that, it wasn't even in Missouri. But that is on the National Parks Service site. But to get back to the original question of why that site, is to get back to the role that slavery played and the slavery saga in St. Louis. There were slaves sold there and they were part of an estate. We had, here in St. Louis, we had independent slave markets. It wasn't like some small towns where all the slaves were sold at the courthouse. Only the slaves in probate were sold at the courthouse and they were sold along with the furniture and the horses and the real estate. Lynch was one of the biggest slave dealers was one of the biggest slave dealers, so there were 4 independent slave dealers here.

5) Was the reenactment scripted or improvised? Was it rehearsed?

A: You know, that process, and it is so bizarre because about two weeks after this was done, I was requested to come to Emory University because they were having a slavery in the University symposium that I did not even know about until this hit the news, and there were like 7 different universities that they asked during that lunch, and in front of

400 people, they asked me to stand on the floor and explain how this worked. Why this worked? I don't know why. Actually I do. I've always been known here in St. Louis, going back to the 70s, as an egg head. I have always been passionate about the history and open about sharing it, and gained a reputation. So I think if people knew this was going to happen, they were there because it would be done right. There were no protesters except for one lone protester who was actually mentally unbalanced, but only one guy who the National Parks Service had step across the street off their property. But that was it, just one man who stood there and screamed at the crowd for a little bit, and then he went away. So I think that number one, because of my reputation that I've been here 30 years plugging our history and making sure people understand what our history is and the contributions we made to the development of this city - that is number one.

A: Number two, I am also a Civil War reenactor. I do both slave and free persons of color, and the reenacting community, this is another reason why this worked. About 150-200 reenactors from seven states showed up in costume and in character. They were invited. The call went out. They wanted to be at this historic event. In fact, if you look at the video, you will see about four slaves were sold by one dealer and they were loaded in a wagon and you see the wagon in the video... that wagon, those people came all the way from eastern Kentucky so we could have a wagon. They brought the wagon and the mules. They came from Kentucky! The chains. The chains were made by a living history blacksmith over in central Illinois. I found a picture in a library in a museum in Mississippi. I took the picture to the blacksmith and brought the iron and they were made for that event based on pictures. We were going for purely authentic. There were no two ways about this. That's what I wanted. So the chains – you could hear – you had to be there – because we walked a block away. We walked a block from the site of Lynch's slave tent. Now the city blocked off the streets for a good three blocks around the site because we did not know what kind of crowd was going to show up. So we walked in. There were slave drivers with the whip. We walked from where Lynch's market was, right down the middle of the street. You could hear the chains. You want to talk about sounds. We could hear the chains hitting that asphalt. Hitting the pavement. Because of the leg shackles, as they were hitting the ground, and we were all in them, including myself.

A: The black actors. We met and we prayed. When you say scripted, it really wasn't. But we had to have meetings about what people were going to do and where people were going to stand, and what props we were going to need. It was January and we did not know what the weather was going to be. With the public out there, we did not want this to go over half an hour. None of it. So we started directly on time, and I had to come up with a creative way to end the sale so that it did not go on. So I created a situation what could have happened, which there is precedence for, and that was that we were almost through with the sale when someone comes charging out of the courthouse waiving a piece of paper that says that they have an injunction from a distant relative to stop the sale. Ok. And so, this was something that could have happened, and the auctioneer said, "I'm sorry ladies and gentlemen, we have to stop the sale, we have a court order here. But for those of you who have already purchased, your sale is clean, your bill of sale is clean, and be sure to see the registrar, but we cannot sell anymore." And so it is perfect.

6) Can you describe how the day of the reenactment proceeded? What kinds of sights and sounds do you remember?

A: We were singing kind of low, and I cannot remember what it was. It was, the singing was more to fortify ourselves. First of all, let me say what that took. I have a company of black reenactors and we have been together for about six years. We do travel to Civil War events and we work with the Blue Grey alliance because they are the big national organization. And at first, we were very afraid. We were afraid because we were literally colorizing their events as slaves and they did not know how people were going to take that, because historically Civil War reenactors are a bunch of over middle aged white guys with money to burn and this is a hobby to them. So they go through their little events and pretend to shoot at each other, and not a Black person in sight. Ok? So what do you guys shoot each other for? So I go them and say, look, this needs to look a little more real. And they at first surprised, and then to the point when we were being requested to show up at events with them paying for it. It added so much more authenticity to have Black people in camp, around the fires, pretending to mend shirts or shine boots or take care of the horses. Again, we were colorizing their events. So when we put out the call here, these guys showed up. St. Louis was an occupied city during the Civil War. So you have all of these blue uniforms and horses and it messed with your head. All of a sudden, you had these contemporary buildings and you had these people in hoop skirts. And there is a family of reenactors, and I cannot remember their names, but it was about 17 of them who do things as suttlers and they brought their pet chickens and dogs and these animals were running between peoples feet. And when you look at the Getty images, I can probably find some, there were some that were not printed anywhere because the deal is that I'm not paying for the pictures you shoot but I want the pictures you shoot and they gave me about 50 of them that are amazing. And the National Parks Service shot about 3 CDs worth of film. They had a camera on top of the building to shoot down, and they had them at all different angles. There must be 30 miles of film that they shot on 3 CDs. Of course it is raw footage, but it had sounds on it.

A: So there were the crowds talking among themselves, as this started, and you could see that their bodies, as they heard us come down the street, they all turned their bodies that way. So then, the slave dealers are shouting "Get in line! Hurry up!" and were being really rough with us. One of them was cracking his whip on the sidewalk pavement and you could hear that each time that hit, you jumped a little. And then we got to the courthouse steps for sale.

A: Now we used a real tobacco auctioneer. There are two styles, and I didn't know until I went shopping for an auctioneer, there are two different styles, and I'm serious, I did hold auditions. There is the tobacco style, which is the fast talking, that you're used to hearing when you think of an auctioneer, and then there is the English style, which is a lot slower and a lot more sedate. And now there are very few tobacco style auctioneers left out there, but we had one, and he came quite a distance too because he came from southeast Missouri about a 2 hour drive for him. But, let me say this about him. There were people, everyone involved, the black actors, you know, we did not know how the public, and how black St. Louis was going to take this. We were surprised when Getty Images showed up.

We were surprised when professors flew in here on their own expenses from Harvard because they wanted to see this, I don't even know how it got out. I wanted to make sure that slavery was put back on the table and this was a wakeup call, and I'm saying that I'm not going to let you get by with this. And that's why. It cost me a lot to have those chains made. I paid gas money and a hotel night for those people to come up from Kentucky, and they wouldn't have missed it for the world. And the reenactment community, everybody knew that nobody was going to do this again.

A: Now one of the things, you would have had to have Robert in the sale. But he, I mean this white guy had to do a lot of soul searching in order to get through the sale, to be able to stand there and to sell a human being. He cried afterwards. It unnerved him beyond belief. Just beyond belief. He could not, I mean, it was an experience, and he had talked to his mother beforehand, who is a retired history teacher. And the whole family had to think about this. And this man is in his 40s and he had to figure out whether or not he was going to do this. And just like the black actors, they had, we had to prey over it. And he said Angie, never again. Everybody had to search their hearts for why would they do this? Why was it important? And everybody agreed that the truth needs to be out there. So that is pretty much what did it.

A: Now the crowd. Whenever Robert would sell somebody, I don't know if this is in the video. There was a husband and wife who were separated. And they were sold separately. They were together until they got to the block and then they were sold separately. They sold him first. She went ballistic. Now we talk about how this was unscripted in that I can't tell you what to say, because I'm one of those directors who wants you to play it how you feel like. And they had really worked themselves up the night before, and were really looking in each other's eyes and found real fear. And what she said was that she had to think of how she would feel if someone came and told her that he had been killed in an accident. So she had to put herself in that frame of mind that when he is torn from her and on that auction block, it took two of these white deputies to hold her. I mean she went ballistic. You had to see this. And so, when they pulled her up, she was still trying to get to him, and they were holding her as they were selling him, and she just threw herself down those court steps. Now I'm standing there, with about three more slaves in front of me to be sold, and I was in shock. I, I am the one who planned this, and I was in shock. She threw herself down those steps, and was rolling down the steps, and the public made one massive gasp. And the deputies came running after her, and her hands were still tied in chains. That shocked everyone. And when you see the pictures from Getty Images, all of the people, the tears running down people's face.

A: I think it was the pictures and the stories that came out afterwards, because it was something that the National Parks Service wanted to do. They wanted people to come inside the court house afterwards, and to process. They, the National Parks Service says, it was the most people that had ever been inside that building at one time. Probably since the Civil War. 6 or 7 hundred people tried to cram in that building and they were on all levels of the rotunda. Some of the pictures from Getty Images were amazing. People wanted to talk about it afterward. Talk about what they had seen. Something that came out about it, something that one of the professors from Harvard had told me was really

interesting. He said that when Victoria and her husband were separated, this little white kid had to have been about 10 and he was standing there at the front with his mother. And he was upset. He kept saying, "Mom, they're married, do something! They're selling him!" And he kept wanting his mother to intercede. But you want to talk about sounds, these are the stories we get afterwards from people that were profound. And he kept saying "But mom, they're married." It was like the most incredible thing to him that they would separate these people, and he was in tears. His mother kept trying to calm him down, but she never told him that this was just acting, she never said that. What she said was that this happened during slavery, that's what she told him. "This happened." And so he was upset. Now the postscript to this is that once we went inside the courthouse and we came forward to take a bow and actually talk and people were taking pictures of us, this little boy saw Victoria and her husband back together and was overjoyed. He ran over and hugged both of them. He kept saying, "mom, they're back together!" It was incredible.

A: You know, when you hear those sounds – when you hear the audible gasp or people talking in the audience, or Oh! One of the scripted parts was that we had to have people in costume and character to bid, and to buy. So people in the reenactor community stepped up and I said ok. There are two little girls who are sisters, who are orphans, and we are going to separate them. And so, there was several white women, and everyone created their own personas. She was an abolitionist from the north and her husband was a banker but they both had abolitionist leanings, but she kept shouting "don't separate the girls!" And so we kept trying to separate them, and she wouldn't let us, and so she said "I'll buy them both!" He kept trying to sell them individually and then she yelled our some ridiculous amount of money "I'll buy both for \$1,000, I'll take them both." And she marched them inside to freedom. So we had to have plenty of people out there to buy. The president of the Blue-Grey Alliance bought me, and I knew this was going to happen, and he came up to me and made me open my mouth so he could see my teeth, and wanted me to hop around a little bit. He said "you got some age on you." There was a point in the script when the auctioneer said "we have young girls one aged 9 and one aged 10" and then, because you would want to know what you're buying, there would be a paragraph on each slave, five or six lines. I was Lyla, and I had been used to cooking and knew my way around the kitchen, so they figured I was about 50 but I had another 20 years left on me, and so, people could, like in real slave sales, step forward and ask me questions. So he asked me "have you ever taken care of children" and all of these things and then he would step back for someone to ask something else, and then the bidding started. And it's right when they get to selling me that the person runs out of the courthouse to stop the sale. Its so funny because one of the commanders of the eastern division of the Union Civil War reenactors, we were going into the courthouse, and I think someone wrote that in a newspaper article, the reporter must have been real close, because he heard him say to me as we were going in the courthouse, "that was scary." And it turned up in a couple of newspaper articles. Whatever reporter must have been awful close, because he whispered that to me and I laughed and said "I know."

7) Would you ever organize another slave auction reenactment?



A: No. Emotionally, it took a lot out of me. I think that if people had a chance to prepare, I might have run into some serious resistance. But I don't know. I tried it once, and it worked, and it was enough for me.

But I know never to do that again. Never. None of us would ever do it again. They knew when I talked them into it that it was a one time stunt, but I had no idea that it would go viral. It was talked about on CNN. I don't know. But I was standing there down in Atlanta, and they were looking at me, going "what did this work?" Because you know, in the 80s, Colonial Williamsburg tried that, and they had their lunch handed to them. Yeah! I think it was the way that it was staged, and two, I think it was because it was staged by a black woman. Now that, I have to say, it was not done by a commercial interest like Colonial Williamsburg. It was done by a black woman. And I think that point came up on CNN. I think that was the difference and when everyone interviewed me, I made this extremely clear. That this story, and these slaves that were sold, they have never had a voice.

A: They have never been able to tell their story. And that is what the resistance, I mean there was some resistance there, like Victoria throwing herself down the steps, and not answering them, never look them in the eye, never looked at them, just looked at the ground. And so, we talked about what would be acceptable forms of resistance. These things, and the two little girls were pathetic. They were sisters in real life, and they were clinging to each other, and crying because I do not think they fully understood. The terror in their eyes told that they did not fully understand what was going on. And I think that would have been the same for children during that time period. Unless you had witnessed a sale, you did not know what was going to happen to you. So they were clinging to each other and we really had to pry these girls apart. And then you had these abolitionist women who said, "I'm going to take them both!" and she was yelling. But it was interesting and he had to give up. You had to see it. You just had to see it.

A: I think that number one, again, in analyzing this, because for 6 months I was getting phone calls about this from all over the world about it. I think it was my reputation, and number two, it was the federal government. That is the bottom line. The National Parks Service is the federal government. They were very solidly behind this. We strived for being as authentic as possible. There was no flourishes in here. No fluff. Nothing that would not have possibly happened that day. We had real slaves names pulled from the records, we had real auctioneer who was absolutely awesome. That wagon, when he rode off with his purchases and his papers in hand, that was real.

A: That's very real. And there was something about a blind guy who was there. Yes. He was blind. And whoever he was with led him to the wagon before it left. They were waiting for the owner to come out and the slaves were screaming and trying to get out. And they led him over to them, and he kept trying to get to them and reached out to touch them. And one of the women in the wagon said that he was crying too. But I do not know if touching them validated that form them, but he tried to calm them down. He was saying "It's going to be alright." And this guy was blind. I mean, these are things that I will never forget. And how it touched various people was, I don't know, amazing.

8) Will you perform in future slave reenactments?

A: My next new endeavor happens on May 18. Yes. We have in St. Louis the only documented Underground Railroad site anywhere located in a former slave state. And it's called Mary Meechum Freedom Crossing. On May 21, 1855, 9 slaves met abolitionists on the river to take them into Illinois and then onto Chicago and eventually into Canada. And the escape was only partially successful. But we have been creating the escape for the last 11 years. So I have an extensive past in doing public history. So this year for the 11<sup>th</sup> year, corresponding with the Emancipation Proclamation, this year we are creating a camp of induction. Because we are sending out a call for men to come and go through exactly what black men would have gone through in '63 after they could join. You know, black male slaves ran away as soon as they could join, and even heard a whiff of the Union army being in the region. But beforehand, there was no clear cut directive with what to do with the contraband. And the Contraband decision was past in '62 that said Ok, keep them. And the Contraband Act said that anything that could be used against the rebel army should be confiscated by the federal government. So then, when those black male slaves were digging trenches and tending horses, it was not until '63 that they were in uniform, and could join and be issued a gun. And so, this camp of induction is only a mile and a half from where the real barracks was, in 1861. This was the induction center for both black and white men, but after '63 it becomes primarily black, and it is only a mile and a half from where this event will take place. Because the original place is one of the city parks. And so, by January '64, there were 24,000 men on this site, both black and white. This is where they drilled as soon as they signed in, and took an oath of loyalty. They had to take a physical and be assigned to units and begin shooting and all the stuff about how to become a soldier. So men are going to go through about 3-4 hours of that here at the Camp of Induction, and then at the end, we are going to have a pass and review on this. We have a Frederick Douglass and an Abraham Lincoln. And we are having a hard time with this, but Lincoln University here in Jefferson City, Missouri was the only HBCU here in the state. But what's interesting about Lincoln University is that the two major black units the 62<sup>nd</sup> and 65<sup>th</sup> that were organized during the Civil War. These men gave their mustering out pay to their commander and asked him to buy land for a normal school. They understood that the newly freed, that education, they needed to read and write. And so the commanding officer did just that, and this is the founding of Lincoln University. So we are trying to recreate their unit flag and there is a big production where Lincoln will hand it to the president of that university at the end of the day. So it is a whole lot of stuff going on. The moment you enter the grounds, you have to go through a picket, to enter into the camp, and there are going to be Union army officers there. And the reenactors are going to camp overnight, so they will be setting up a camp and it is an opportunity for the public to see what would have gone on in a Union military camp right here in St. Louis. This is for the public. We want the public to see. We are having a barn dance that night that will be complete with Civil War dances and a caller, and we will have everything that would have happened during 1863.

A: Now these black soldiers could not advance to corporal until they could read and write and be able to take the test. So the ladies Union Aid society was at the barracks and they were having school. They were teaching these men to read and write. There was a contraband camp where the women and children followed the men, and we believe the

site is where that camp would have been because it was on the Mississippi River, and this is a totally undeveloped site, and we have to cut the weeds down every year, but this is the site of the Mary Meechem Crossing. This is Holy Ground on a bunch of different levels. The Ladies Union Aid will hand out food boxes as they did to the starving women and children of the contraband camps. So there are a lot of things that are going on that day.

A: So I am always doing things like this. To give this to them. To let people have the opportunity to fully experience their history. I am a black woman who has always had the passion, who has always had the concern for showing people their history and talking to them about it. And as far as the white community was concerned, I had the support of these white reenactors that show up in full regalia. This is amazing. I love it. I love my own events. I would rather be an observer so I could get caught in it, so I could observe what was going on from their perspective. But I was teaching a graduate level course in interpretative history, and those students had to attend and they had to interview at least three people from the public, and three reenactors about the event. And they analyzed the event. So some of the stories, or how I found out about what was going on was through their work and because these people had interviewed them.

9) What sparked your interest in this history?

A: I am a 7<sup>th</sup> generation Missourian. We came here in 1823 as slaves. On my dad's side, they were slaves. My grandmother's grandmother was a slave about 20 miles from where I am sitting now. And then my father's father's father was his white master. But a very interesting story there is that he was German, and he lived in a house fronting the road. But in the back, he built a house where Daisy lived behind him and had 14 kids with him, and they never married. The kids had total run of the place. And everybody knew those were his kids, but they never married.

A: I was 10 when my mother died, and my grandmother was in her 70s then, and she moved in to help my dad with 4 kids, and I adored my grandmother. And I loved her stories. But as one of only 2 females on this farm, when I wasn't at school, I was with her. And I could get her to talk about relatives, or she would launch into some memory. And as a kid, oh my God, I loved her stories, I loved these people, and I tell my students, and this is a shame, I would wake my grandmother up, because we slept in the same bed, and my head would be spinning with a story she had told me and I would say, "didn't you say uncle so and so did whatever?" And she would come to and wake up and answer the question and then go back to sleep. But I was fascinated. And when I got to be an adult, she died at 99, then my dad and his brothers and sisters would ask me what mama would say. And my dad admitted that when they were growing up, they didn't care about her stories. But I could not get enough of them, to the point that I would wake this woman up. Some of the things she told me served me well because after I went after history professionally, I had a working knowledge of how these things worked. Or where to look. Things she said, for example, that her uncle would live on the Missouri River during the month of January cutting ice, and this is how they would make money during the winter, selling the ice to hotels or rich white people with ice houses, and they lived on the river.

Now I've never seen the river freeze over like that. But I was at a museum in my 20s and happened to look on a wall, and there they had an ice saw, and I was amazed because she explained how that worked, and they actually had one. And it was just amazing. And it all came flooding back to what she said. In my house right now, when my her grandmother got married, he came down to the induction center and signed up here, and while he was based here he bumped into her and then they kept correspondence because he could definitely read and write during the war. After the war, he came back here, and her father let them marry in his front parlor, and he gave them a love seat and a table that is in my house right now. I don't even like it, it's not my style of furniture, but not in my lifetime will it ever leave the family, so here it sits.

A: I was just telling my class last night that in a lot of black families, they don't talk about slavery. In fact there is a great book called *My People Don't Want Me To Talk About It*. There was such a shame that was attached to slavery. It carried with it the taint of inferiority. Black skin was considered inferior and that was one of the justifications that allowed white owners to sleep at night. And that justification, that black skin was inferior, made you less than human, to get over it, the second generation passing, you couldn't discuss it. And it was different with my grandmother. Long before *Roots* came out, I knew we were slaves, and the stories that her grandmother told her. And by the time I got to high school, I realized that my grandmother was the last living link to an era of American history that was never, hopefully, to be lived again. The stories she told me were heard first hand, not out of a book. She heard them from her grandmother's lap. From her kitchen. And it wasn't lost on me then.

A: A story that I tell on my black history tour – When I was in 6<sup>th</sup> grade, Frank Coquette did a cover of the song Frankie and Johnnie and it was a big hit for him. And I was going through the house singing the song, and my grandmother recognized the melody immediately, and she grabbed me by one of my braids, I remember it exactly, and she asked me, “what are you singing?” and I said “ouch Grandma, it's a song.” And she made me stand there and sing every verse of it. And when I was done, she burst out laughing, and she was hysterical. I couldn't understand why. She said, “That is not what happened.” And I did not understand. When she was a child, Frankie and Johnny was a true story, and it happened here in the 1890s. My Grandmother was born in 1901. People were still talking about it. And she knew people who knew them, and she told me, now this is probably one of the few cases where I heard the story and then set out to prove it. Based on what she said. It took 7 years, but I was able to get lots of information about it, about a song from 1966 that led me on a 7 year odyssey, based on what she said. She told me what the true story was, and it was right! Absolutely fascinating.

A: It's funny. My son is always teasing me. He'll say, “Ask mom what George Washington ate for breakfast on Tuesday, and she can tell you. Ask her what she ate for breakfast this morning, and she's blank.” And he's right. My brother said something this weekend about Missouri and the Union army, and I let him get down to the bottom of it, and then he looked at me, and I said, “Nope.” And I had to lecture him for 20 minute about why he is wrong. So public history and educating people here about what happened here and the founding of St. Louis. We will be celebrating 250 years as a city, and if City

Hall and the people who are planning all of this wonderful stuff do not include the black presence here, they are going to hear from me and they know it. And if they don't I will go on the offensive and make sure it is in there from the beginning. Of the 27 original plots, 2 went to black families. So two of the founding families were black. And if this does not come out from the very beginning, you know, I'm going off. And I'll call everyone to task again. So don't make me go off. Be fair and tell the truth. Be inclusive and tell the truth. And I've already warned some people about this. And it's not like I'm on my high horse, but you have to tell the truth. And that's where I'm at.

## APPENDIX F

### FLIER FROM THE ST. LOUIS SLAVE AUCTION

The promotional flier, which was later circulated to spectators at the auction, introduced each mock auction character as follows:

Lynch and Stearns Announce: Estate Sale of Valuable Slaves; The estate of the departed Pelagie Cherbennou will be offering the following named and valuable slaves by Court ordered sale on the west front steps of the courthouse; Saturday, January 15, 2011 at 10:00am; Old Court House, 11 North Fourth Street

1. Doshy, a mulatress, aged 55 years, can cook, housework in general, is a faithful and excellent nurse for sick persons, in every respect a first rate character
2. French Mary, her daughter aged 35, superior hair dresser, good seamstress and ladies maid, intelligent and of good character
3. Lila, a Negro, aged 56 years, excellent cook experienced in working commercial concerns, is an excellent at dining room service and teaching other slaves
4. Shilley, aged 32 years competent servant, first rate washer and ironer, does up lace, good cook and housekeeper for a bachelor
5. Fanny and Clarine, aged 8 and 10 orphans, accustomed to field work, but could be trained for housework, trainable
6. Pleasant, age 41, soap and candle maker, good parlor maid and solid character
7. Dandridge, aged 41, powerful built, excellent painter and roustabout, needs a firm hand and kept busy
8. Shagg, aged 35, rough and mill work carpenter, first rate hustler understands management of horses, few equals in honesty and sobriety
9. Various other high skilled slaves, including a blacksmith apprentice

All above slaves are acclimated and excellent subjects and had been with their last mistress many years and therefore will be severally warranted against all vices and maladies as prescribed by Missouri law. Terms: One half cash and other half in bank secured notes at six months with a special mortgage on the Slaves until final payment. The acts of the sale will be passed by the Probate court notary public at the expense of the buyer. St Louis, December 14, 1861.

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<sup>1</sup> Chad Garrison, "Bidders Get Chance to Split Up Family" January 6, 2011. Scanned image of flyer. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/46435540/SaleFlyer-1> (accessed March 25, 2014).

## APPENDIX G

### CATALOG OF SELECTED SOUND RECORDINGS

- 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina String Band. *Hard Road: Favorite Camp Songs of the Civil War*. Palmetto Productions. CD, 2001.
- . *In High Cotton: Favorite Camp Songs of the Civil War*. Palmetto Productions. CD, 2002.
- . *Dulcem Melodies: Favorite Campfire Songs of the Civil War Era*. Palmetto Productions. CD, 2006.
- . *Lightning in a Jar: An Evening of Live Civil War Music*. Palmetto Productions. CD, 2008.
- 33<sup>rd</sup> Illinois Volunteer Regiment Band. *Hardtack & Coffee*. Disc Makers. CD, 1997
- . *A Tribute to our Leader*, Disc Makers. CD, 2001.
- . *Rally 'Round the Flag!* Disc Makers. CD, 2007.
- 52<sup>nd</sup> Regimental String Band. *Voices of Gettysburg: Songs of the Civil War*. Session Music. CD, 1998.
- 5<sup>th</sup> Michigan Regiment Band. *Sounds of the Civil War*. CD, 1999.
- . *Hymns of the Civil War*. CD, 2003.
- . *Marches, Quicksteps and Songs of the Civil War*. CD, 2010.
- American Brass Quintet Brass Band. *Cheer, Boys, Cheer! Music of the 26<sup>th</sup> N.C. Regimental Band CSA*. New World Records. CD, 2006.
- Americus Brass Band. *Music of the Civil War*. Summit Records DCD 126. CD, 1991.
- Anderson, Marian. *Marian Anderson*. Nimbus Records. CD, 1996.
- Bales, Richard. *The Union: a cantata on music of the North during the years 1861-65*. Columbia DL244. LP, 1958.

- . *The Confederacy: based on music of the South during the years 1861-65*. Columbia Records LS1004. LP, 1964.
- Blue & Gray: Songs of the Civil War*. U.S. Army Field Band, U.S. Air Force Band, U.S. Marine Band, U.S. Navy Band, Sea Chanter Chorus, Singing Sergeants. Altissimo 75442255742. CD. 2002.
- Canadian Brass. *The Village Band: A Nostalgic Collection by the Canadian Brass*. RCA RCD1-4436. CD, 1981.
- Carolina Fifes & Drums. *Go to the Devil & Shake Yourself: Fife & Drum Music of The Civil War & 19<sup>th</sup> Century America*. Interlocutor Press. CD, 2010.
- Carruth, John and Frederick Fennell, dir. *Civil War Favorites: The Best of the 8<sup>th</sup> Regiment Band. Georgia 8<sup>th</sup> Regimental Band*. Allgood Productions. CD, 1990.
- Chestnut Brass Company. *Foster for Brass*. Naxos 8.559124. CD, 2004.
- Classical Brass. *Honor To Our Soldiers: Music of the Civil War*. BMG 120504. CD, 1991.
- Cumberlands. *Civil War Tribute Collection*. Rural Rhythm RHY-1027. CD, 2005.
- Cumberland Three. *Songs of the Civil War*. Rhino R270739. CD, 1960, 1991.
- D.C. Hall's New Concert & Quadrille Band. *Union and Liberty! Music Heard on The Northern Homefront during the American Civil War*. Dorian DOR-90197. CD, 1994.
- Dodworth Saxhorn Band. *Grafulla's Favorites*. New World Records 80556-2. CD, 1999.
- Edelman, Randy. *Gettysburg: Original Soundtrack from the Motion Picture*. Milan 35654-2. CD, 1993.
- , and John Frizzell. *Gods and Generals: Original Motion Picture Soundtrack*. Sony SK87891. CD, 2003.
- Erbsen, Wayne. *Battlefield Ballads of the Civil War*. Native Ground Music NG-CD-010. CD, 2002.
- Every Tone A Testimony*. Various Artists. Smithsonian Folkways SFW47003. CD, 2001.
- Federal City Brass Band. *Hurrah for the Union! Music of Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War*. JV Music. CD, 2010.



- Fennell, Frederick, dir. 1990. *The Civil War: Its Music and Its Sounds*. Eastman Wind Ensemble. Mercury 432 591-2. CD, 1960, 1990.
- . *The American Brass Band Journal*. Empire Brass. Columbia M 34192. CD, 1976, 2005.
- Ford, Tennessee Ernie. *Tennessee Ernie Ford Sings Songs of the Civil War*. Capitol Records. CD. 1961, 2004.
- Gibson, Jim. *Was My Brother In The Battle? Songs of the Civil War*. HCM 1860. CD, 2001.
- Glass, Philip. *The Civil Wars: A tree is best measured when it is down*. Nonesuch Records. CD, 1999.
- Glazer, Tom. *A Treasury of Civil War Songs*. Smithsonian Folkways SFW40187. CD, 2011.
- Hermes, Nye. *Ballads of the Civil War 1831-1865*. Smithsonian Folkways FW05004. LP, 1954.
- . *Ballads of the Civil War, 1861-1865*. Smithsonian Folkways FA2188. LP, 1960.
- Horner, James. *Glory: Original Motion Picture Soundtrack*. Virgin 91329-1, 1989.
- Horton, Bobby. *Homespun Songs of the C.S.A.* Bobby Horton. CD, 1997.
- Kincaid, David. *The Irish Volunteer: Songs of the Irish Union Soldier, 1861-1865*. Rykodisc RCD10395. CD, 1998.
- Mason, Molly and Jay Ungar. *Civil War Classics: Live at Gettysburg College*. CDBY. CD, 1997.
- Mathews, Dave. *A Nation's Broken Soul: Songs of the American Civil War*. Camelot Records 38107. CD, 1994.
- . *Shades of Blue & Gray*. Camelot Records 12 354. CD, 1994.
- McIntosh County Shouters. *Slave Shout Songs from the Coast of Georgia*. Smithsonian Folkways FW04344. LP, 1984.
- Milner, Dan, David Coffin and Jeff Davis. *Civil War Naval Songs*. Smithsonian Folkways SFW40189. CD, 2011.
- Robeson, Paul. *The Best of Paul Robeson*. Delta Music Group, 2008.

- Steiner, Max. *They Died With Their Boots On*. Moscow Symphony Orchestra. Naxos 8.225079. CD, 1999.
- Swenson, Warren. *Battle Pieces: A Song Cycle by Warren Swenson to the Civil War Poetry of Herman Melville*. Albany Records. CD, 2003.
- Various Artists. *Songs of the Civil War*. Smithsonian Folkways FW05717. LP, 1960.
- Various Artists, *The Civil War: Original Soundtrack Recording: Traditional American Songs and Instrumental Music Featured in the Film by Ken Burns*. Various Artists. Nonesuch 979256-2. CD, 1990.
- Various Artists, *The Rebel Yell Lives*. Various Artists. The Museum of the Confederacy. CD, 2008.
- Wildcat Regiment Band. 1996. *Brass Band Music of the American Civil War*. Wildcat Music 105. CD.
- Wildhorn, Frank. *The Civil War: The Nashville Sessions*. Various Artists. Atlantic 83090-2, CD, 1998.
- Williams, Robin, and Linda Williams. *Stonewall Country Songs from the Musical*. St. Paul, MN: Red House Records.
- Work, Henry Clay. *Who Shall Rule This American Nation: Songs of the Civil War Era*. Camerata Chorus of Washington. Nonesuch Records H-71317. LP, 1975.

APPENDIX H  
CATALOG OF SELECTED FILMS

1915. *Birth of a Nation*. Directed by D.W. Griffith.
1939. *Gone With The Wind*. Directed by Victor Fleming. Warner Brothers.
1951. *The Red Badge of Courage*. Directed by John Huston. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.
1955. *They Died With Their Boots On*. Directed by Raoul Walsh. Warner Brothers.
1957. *Raintree County*. Directed by Edward Dmytryk. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.
1962. *How The West Was Won*. Directed by John Ford. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.
1965. *Shenandoah*. Directed by Andrew McLaglen. Universal Studios.
1982. *North and South*. Directed by Richard Heffron. Warner Brothers.
1989. *Glory*. Directed by Edward Zwick. TriStar Pictures.
1990. *The Civil War*. Directed by Ken Burns. Florentine Films.
1993. *Gettysburg*. Directed by Ronald Maxwell. Turner Pictures.
1993. *Sommersby*. Directed by Jon Amiel. Regency Enterprises.
1996. *Andersonville*. Directed by John Frankenheimer. Turner Pictures.
1999. *Ride with the Devil*. Directed by Ang Lee. Universal Pictures.
2003. *Cold Mountain*. Directed by Anthony Minghella. Miramax.
2003. *Gods and Generals*. Directed by Ronald Maxwell. Warner Brothers.
2004. *C.S.A: The Confederate States of America*. Directed by Kevin Willmott. IFC Films.
2012. *Lincoln*. Directed by Stephen Spielberg. Walt Disney Studios.
2013. *Twelve Years A Slave*. Directed by Steve McQueen. Fox Searchlight.

## APPENDIX I

### CATALOG OF SELECTED COMPOSITIONS

- Adams, Leslie, and Daniel Mayers. *Blake: An Opera in Four Acts*. Madison: OH, 2000.
- Arlen, Harold, et al. *Bloomer Girl*. New York, NY: Decca Broadway, 2001.
- Geld, Gary, Peter Udell, James Lee Barrett, and Philip Rose. *Shenandoah: A Musical*. New York: French, 1975.
- Brown, Jason Robert, Alfred Uhry, and Harold Prince. *Parade*. Milwaukee, WI: H. Leonard Corp, 1999.
- Capers, Valerie. *Sojourner*. Valerie Capers, 1981.
- Crumb, George. *The winds of destiny: songs of strife, love, mystery and exultation: a cycle of American Civil War songs, folk songs, and spirituals for singer, percussion quartet and amplified piano: American songbook IV*. New York: C.F. Peters, 2004.
- Curtis-Smith, C., Herman Melville, and Walt Whitman. *A Civil War Song Cycle*. 1987. Digital score. <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/25243280.html> (accessed October 30, 2011).
- Glass, Philip, and Christopher Hampton. *Appomattox*. New York: Dunvagen Music Publishers, 2007.
- O'Flaherty Michael, and Jack Kyrieleison. *Reunion A Musical Epic in Miniature*. New York: Reunion Group, 1999.
- Moore, Dorothy Rudd. *Frederick Douglas: An Opera in Three Acts*. Dorothy Rudd Moore, 1985.
- Romberg, Sigmund, Dorothy Donnelly, and Clyde Fitch. *My Maryland: A Musical Romance*. New York: Harms, 1927.
- Watkins, Mary, and Lance Belville. *Queen Clara: Fields of Glory, Rivers of Blood*. Opera. Mary Watkins, 2005.
- Wildhorn, Frank. *The Civil War*. New York, N.Y.: Atlantic Theatre, 1998.

APPENDIX J

IMAGES FROM THE ST. LOUIS SLAVE AUCTION

The following images are screenshots that I captured from the video footage of the reenactment that was filmed by the National Parks Service in St. Louis, Missouri.

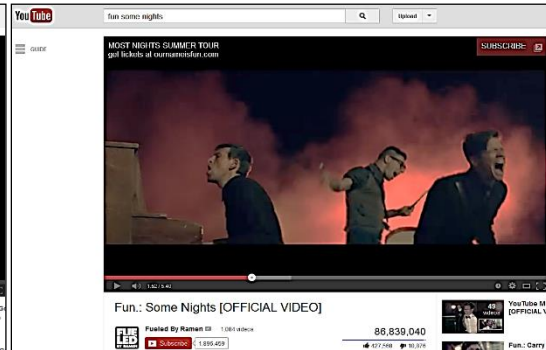


## APPENDIX K

### MUSIC VIDEO SCREENSHOTS



“Cross The Green Mountain”<sup>1</sup>



“Some Nights”<sup>2</sup>



“Bonnie Blue Flag”<sup>3</sup>



“Americus Quickstep”<sup>4</sup>



“US Civil War Music Video”<sup>5</sup>



“The Columbia Flying Artillery”<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> WarnerBrosOnline, “Gods and Generals: Bob Dylan “Cross The Green Mountain” <http://youtu.be/Iw8YjVrRNRU> (accessed March 25, 2014).

<sup>2</sup> Fueled By Ramen, “Fun:Some Nights [Official Video]” <http://youtu.be/qQkBeOisNMO> (accessed March 25, 2014).

<sup>3</sup> Bones McNally, “The Bonnie Blue Flag – with lyrics – popular Civil War song,” <http://youtu.be/UVeSKwM--1M> (accessed March 25, 2014).

<sup>4</sup> KamstarArtists, “Americus Quickstep by the Americus Brass Band,” <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OtOUBdQLLs0&list> (accessed March 25, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> Ryan C MacKenzie, “US Civil War Music Video,” <http://youtu.be/uXgzpUx42Ks> (accessed March 25, 2014).

<sup>6</sup> ColumbiaFlying, “The Columbia Flying Artillery,” [http://youtu.be/X\\_oSf6CGwAo](http://youtu.be/X_oSf6CGwAo) (accessed March 25, 2014).

APPENDIX L

IMAGES FROM THE STONE MOUNTAIN LASER SHOW



“I Go To The Rock”



“As She’s Walking Away”



“Who Wouldn’t Want to be Me?”



“Sweet Southern Comfort”



“Sweet Southern Comfort”



“We Like It Loud”



APPENDIX M

PHOTOGRAPHS OF DINOSAUR KINGDOM



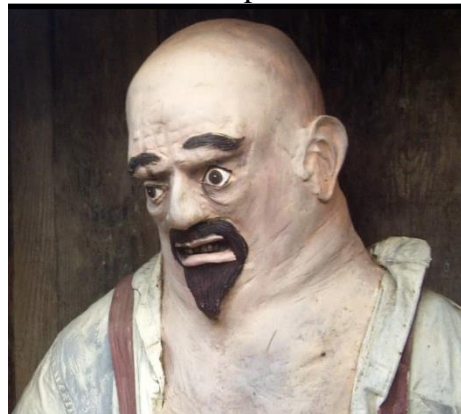
Dinosaur & Lincoln



Tourist with sculpture



Soldier & Dinosaur

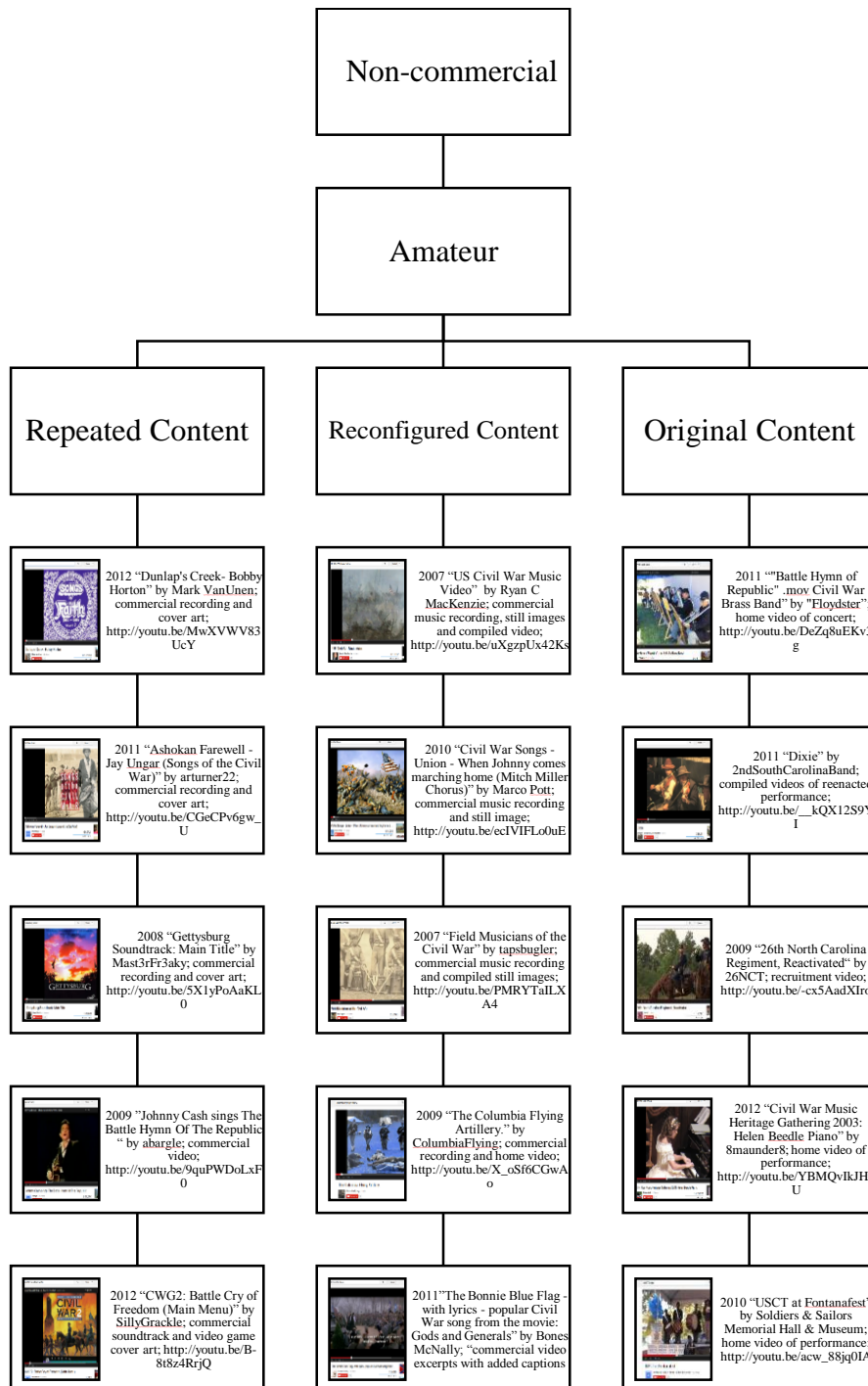


Speakers were hidden inside this sculpture



## APPENDIX N

### TAXONOMY OF SELECTED CIVIL WAR MUSIC VIDEOS



APPENDIX O

IMAGES FROM BATTLE REENACTMENTS

**Battle Scenes**



2012 Gettysburg Battle Reenactment. View from spectator's area



2012 Battle of Aiken Renactment. View from spectator's area

## Living History Scenes



2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina String Band perform for visitors at 2012 Gettysburg Reenactment



Pennsylvania brass band performs under event tent at 2012 Battle Reenactment



Staged revival tent exhibit at 2011 Battle of Aiken Reenactment

## Sutler Scenes



Exterior of sutler tent decorated with flags and commercial sign at 2012 Gettysburg Battle Reenactment



Exterior of sutler tent advertising an upcoming event "Friday Remembrance Day Ball" at 2012 Gettysburg Battle Reenactment



Interior of sutler tent that sold musical instruments at 2012 Gettysburg Battle Reenactment



Interior of sutler tent that sold musical instruments at 2012 Battle of Shiloh Reenactment



## Commercial Scenes



Food trucks at the 2011 Battle of Aiken Reenactment



Commercial Area at the 2011 Battle of Aiken Reenactment