

PERFORMING PLACE:
RACE AND GENDER IN CONTEMPORARY SOUTHERN U.S. COMMEMORATION

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ABSTRACT

“Performing Place: Race and Gender in Contemporary Southern U.S. Commemoration” examines three commemorative events held in the southern U.S. for the ways in which participants enact desired racialized and gendered identities at each annual commemoration. Three cultural groups and their commemorative events form the case studies that comprise this dissertation and include: the white women’s heritage group, the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the “Confederate Memorial Day;” the Native American tribe, the Cherokee and “Frontier Day;” and the African American coastal community of the Gullah-Geechee and the “Sea Islands Festival.” Drawing on participant observation, interviews, published plays, and journals, this comparative study remaps the relationship between the ways in which peoples of “the south” have been staged in American popular culture and how they stage themselves through contemporary commemoration. Each event is imbued with ideas of memory, identity, and heritage for event participants. Memory, identity, and heritage are tied to notions of landscape and place and are therefore examined respectively in chapters two, three, and four for the ways in which they are central to the place-based identity construction participants engage in during each commemorative event. The chapters in this dissertation are each structured to include a history of the cultural group, a history of both the physical site of the event (the land) and the symbolic location of the event (the place), and finally an analysis of the public event itself. This comparative study contributes to the fields of theatre and performance studies, southern studies, African American studies, Native American studies, cultural geography, and American studies.

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Chapter One

Performing Place: Race and Gender in Contemporary Southern U.S. Commemoration

“Tell about the South. What’s it like there. What do they do there.
Why do they live there. Why do they live at all.”
-William Faulkner, *Absalom, Absalom!*

This dissertation explores place-based notions of identity and how these are expressed through commemorative public performances in the contemporary, southern United States. Through this comparative study I remap the relationship between race and space by examining the dialectic of land and identity that emerges from the pages and stages of southern drama and performance.¹ Three distinct public performances and their respective locations comprise this study: the Confederate “Memorial Day,” the Cherokee “Frontier Day” Festival, and the Gullah-Geechee “Sea Islands Festival.” These events are examined as case studies of shared community performance that are born from racial, national and gendered conceptions of identity. The public performances are further embedded within notions of memory, identity, and heritage that are tied to ideas of land and landscape. I, therefore, examine landscape as the nexus of memory, identity, and heritage that is central in the construction of self in the American south. I argue that the intersections of race and space in the public performances and plays of the south provide a greater understanding of the ongoing creation and recreation of southern identities and histories through performance. The primary focus of this study is performance with written drama serving as a secondary, referential body of evidence. This work is therefore intentionally positioned at the intersection of the written word (the play) and the embodied practice (the performance) in order to reveal the similarities and discrepancies between the ways in which the

peoples of “the south” have been staged through the American canon and how they stage themselves through public performance.

Context

Representations of “southern” identity—traditionally defined as belonging to those peoples who live in the southern United States or “the American south”—have figured prominently throughout U.S. popular culture. The image of “the southerner” is in many ways haunted by decades of dramatic representation through film, television, drama, and song that have secured a permanent and sometimes perplexing place for southern identities in U.S. popular culture.² A brief sampling of oft-cited examples from American popular culture features “southern” cuisine, characters, songs, and literature and includes: the controversial 1915 film, “Birth of a Nation;” the 1936 novel and 1939 film, “Gone With the Wind;” the late nineteenth-century Uncle Remus Tales “collected ” by Georgia author Joel Chandler Harris; Paula Deen’s restaurants, cuisine and contemporary television show; the 1972 film “Deliverance” and its unsettling portrayal of rural Appalachia; Cash Money Records and the late twentieth and early twenty-first century explosion of the “Dirty South” hip-hop aesthetic; and the 1962-1971 television show “The Beverly Hillbillies.”³ These examples reveal the near-limitless range of south(s) within the south, giving rise to cultural understandings of the region as comprised of often dialogic and dialectic versions of “the south” including: the “deep south,” the “urban south,” the “rural south,” the “Civil Rights south,” the “segregated south,” the “slavery south,” the “old south,” the “new south,” the “Appalachian south,” the “coastal south,” the “bible belt south,” and the silicone, industrial south or, “the sun belt south.” Each of these descriptions of the region carry with them larger cultural and political connotations including the south as being

a region that is racist and backwards, exotic and elite, and the two most frequently articulated connotations—a “white” and “black” region. However, this long description of the variety of ways through which the south has been represented and imagined in U.S. popular culture reveals that while race has been a fundamental “story” of the American south including slavery and Jim Crow segregation, an understanding of southern identities as being solely bound to the black/white racial binary is false.⁴

Any idea of the south as a static, geographic region comprised of only Caucasian and African American cultural influence is immediately dispelled when we consider the following: the long history of indigenous tribes across the Native American cultural landscape of the southeast; the continued movement of immigration from countries such as Jamaica and Trinidad that complicate a narrow definition of “black” as “always” being those whose ancestors were slaves in the U.S.; and the contemporary migration of thousands from Latin America including Mexico, and southeast Asian countries including Vietnam and Laos. All of these cultural histories of the south point to the transnational, global economy of which the southern U.S. has perhaps always been involved.⁵ The race categories of “white” and “black” are not homogenous but are forever complicated by class, region, nation, and gender. This distinction has been argued by race and performance studies, whiteness studies, and cultural studies scholars.⁶ Stuart Hall reminds us in his essay, “What is this ‘black’ in black popular culture?” that there is no single, “innocent black subject.”⁷ E. Patrick Johnson similarly articulates that there is no single expression of blackness but that blackness and black identity have long been contested, multitudinous sites of heterogeneous expression.⁸

The idea that a race, identity, region, or people cannot be summed up by tidy and tired categories must be applied to the continued need to examine the southern United States and its

variety of identities and cultural expressions. Malcolm X's famous statement that, "If you are below the Canadian border, you are in the south," is a reminder that just as racial categories cannot be the only ways in which "the south" is imagined in the U.S., nor can strict geographical boundaries.⁹ Performance and drama serve as sites especially suited to cultural analysis as they remain in Marvin Carlson's oft-cited words, "repositories of cultural memory."¹⁰ Any study of the south must examine the drama and performances of the region that have represented, and in some cases, misrepresented the people who call the south home. Therefore, this study positions performance as the primary object of analysis that is central to our understanding of the south. This inquiry specifically takes up those community events including festivals and commemorations where identities are performed on the public stage.

Research Design

The three case studies that comprise this project include the large and still active white heritage society of the United Daughters of the Confederacy which consists of female descendants of Confederate soldiers who fought in the U.S. Civil War. The second case study is the Native American tribe of the Cherokee who lived in the southeast before being forced to abandon their homes and migrate to reservation lands (primarily in Oklahoma) in the late nineteenth century. The third and final case study is the Gullah-Geechee peoples whose ancestors from the western coast of Africa were brought in bondage to work as slaves along the plantation coasts of South Carolina and Georgia.¹¹

I further focus my study on particular, significant locations for each group. While Confederate women, the Cherokee, and the Gullah-Geechee form the cultural groups of each case study, Historic Oakland Cemetery, New Echota State Park, and St. Simons Island are the

physical locations of the public performances that complete the case studies of this comparative project. Historic Oakland Cemetery is located in Atlanta, and was established in 1850 on what was once farmland near the downtown area of Georgia's capital city. Oakland Cemetery houses the graves of nearly 7,000 Confederate soldiers buried in a massive wing dedicated to the Confederate dead. Each spring the United Daughters of the Confederacy celebrate "Confederate Memorial Day" on April 26th across the south and Atlanta chapters of the UDC perform costumed processions and grave decoration rituals in Oakland Cemetery. New Echota State Park, located in northwest Georgia, was once the capital of the Cherokee Nation and site of the 1836 signing of the Treaty of New Echota which signaled the beginning of the forcible removal of thousands of Cherokee from the southeast known as the "Trail of Tears." Today, New Echota operates as a state park with reconstructed buildings, a visitor's center, gift shop and museum. New Echota holds annually the "Frontier Day" festival to commemorate the Cherokee. Whereas Confederate Memorial Day and Frontier Day are performances that commemorate the past; the Sea Islands Festival held on St. Simons Island off the coast of Georgia celebrates the cultural performances that continue to thrive today within the Gullah-Geechee community.

While this study does not purport to be an exhaustive ethnographic analysis of each community I examine, I borrow from Clifford Geertz's call for: "a continuous dialectical tacking between the most local of local detail and the most global of global structure in such a way as to bring them into simultaneous view."¹² Following Geertz, I oscillate between detailed observations, or "thick description," of the physical performance sites and careful analyses of the ways in which the public performances reveal ongoing collisions of race and space at Oakland Cemetery, New Echota, and St. Simons Island. I attend each public performance as a participant observer and employ observation tactics gained from Michel de Certeau's essay, "Walking in the

City” in the “Spatial Practices” section of his work, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.¹³ I further document each performance site through photographs I take during the performances. The secondary bodies of work I consult for this study are plays that correspond to each group. Whether written by actual members of the communities or not I select plays that represent the Cherokee, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the Gullah-Geechee through direct citation or allusion.

In order to analyze the selected plays, I employ Saidiya Hartman’s concept of “reading against the grain” that she outlines in *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* to read the corresponding plays for the subtextual codes of race and gender connected to each cultural group.¹⁴ My spatial analyses of each site of commemoration is informed by the work of feminist cultural geographers such as Doreen Massey who examine public spaces for the ways in which they reflect socially constructed notions of gender and race.¹⁵ Henri Lefebvre’s writing on the production of public space influences my analyses of southern spaces being tied to the material labor and agency of marginalized populations in the south.¹⁶ I read the cemetery, the state park, and the island for the layers of history with which the landscape of each site is imprinted. After tracing the history of each site, I analyze the performances for the ways in which they are impacted by the site. How does the space of the cemetery, for example, inform the public performance of Confederate pride on Confederate Memorial Day? Why do festival visitors choose New Echota, the former capital of the Cherokee Nation and starting point of the Trail of Tears, to return to annually to dress and costume themselves as “native?” What are the larger implications of the Gullah-Geechee Sea Islands Festival performances occurring on an island that has experienced a radical, contemporary loss of African American history and island residents?

The final theoretical apparatus I employ in my analysis is the work of cultural geographer Yi-Fu Tuan and his foundational work, *Space and Place: the Perspective of Experience*. Tuan's work allows me to theorize each site as being invested with imagined meanings such as home, identity and memory.¹⁷ Finally, the overarching focus of both my on-site observation and textual analysis is the way in which landscape exemplifies the intersections of race and space in the American south. Despite the fact that at first glance the Cherokee, Confederacy, and Gullah-Geechee seem to be groups with little to no commonalities, this project reveals each community event as a labor against loss which use festivals, celebrations, or commemoration to make sure the group and their history is not forgotten.

Definition of Terms

I begin my analysis of the relationship between performance and landscape with definitions of the following key terms: landscape, public performance, drama, place, and south. By "landscape" I mean both the physical expanse of land that constitutes the setting of either a play or a performance, such as the Jennings Plantation of Rita Dove's play, *The Darker Face of the Earth*, and the figurative space evoked in plays or performances including the larger landscape of the antebellum south to which the Jennings Plantation belongs.¹⁸ While its discursive application by cultural geographers, historians, and literary and performance scholars can be dizzying, "landscape," like "space," are useful terms for my discussion of the history and contemporary function of each case study location. I also use "place" to refer to specific locations within a larger cultural topography and as a way to discuss the social position or "place" a group holds within the southern U.S which may be determined by race, gender, class, or land claims.¹⁹

“Landscape” also serves this study as a starting point for an analysis of the ways in which the land shapes racial bodies by connecting supposedly “natural” notions of race to physical labor. Specifically, “landscape” is given further applicability when it is used to understand how human labor and agency have been historically linked to the land in the south. For example, Sea Island rice plantations cultivated the skills of slaves intentionally brought from rice-growing areas of Africa including Senegambia and Sierra Leone.²⁰ The labor of these early West African slaves transformed the landscape of coastal Georgia, and today, the Gullah-Geechee descendants of these slaves continue to link their histories to the same Sea Islands their ancestors were forced to work. In this manner, I use “landscape” to understand how racialized and gendered bodies have been instrumental in shaping the economic and historical landscape of the south. I am also interested in the ways in which certain bodies (such as southeastern Native tribes including the Cherokee) are “placed” in particular landscapes with the assumption that certain individuals “belong to the land” or were “the first” to inhabit particular landscapes. Conversely, the opposite of this assumption is also a concern of this project—how particular racialized bodies become “dis-placed” and removed from landscapes that were once the home of their ancestors (such as contemporary Gullah-Geechee descendants who live off the islands of their forebears). As both a term and a methodological lens, “landscape” gives me a material means by which to study the immaterial concepts of memory, identity, and heritage that may be attached to the land.

Our assumption that land is permanent and unchanging can be subverted by our understanding that “the land” is often passed down, generation to generation in the south. From the transference of property ownership and multiple claims to home by individuals, the land becomes a palimpsest that we can examine for the innumerable layers of changing, charged meaning that it bears. For instance, the land of Oakland Cemetery that is examined in Chapter

Two was once a necessary site of quick burial for hundreds of dead Confederate soldiers and has been transformed over time. Today, the cemetery is a site of Confederate pilgrimage and performance following decades of Lost Cause dedication ranging from the first Ladies Memorial Associations of Atlanta to contemporary chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. It is possible to read the monuments, visitor's center, cemetery signage, flags and headstones as collectively creating a contemporary landscape of persistent Confederate memory, just as it is possible to read the changing representation and subsequent perception of the Confederate woman in southern drama including the differences and enduring similarities between the character of "Gertrude" in Bronson Howard's 1897, *Shenandoah*, and "Cecilia" in Doris Baizley's 2002, *Shiloh Rules*. But also, landscape is further linked to drama and performance because it fails the visitor or audience member by remaining marked with the ephemerality of what it cannot capture—the absence of those who once lived on the land, the constant movement toward disappearance underlying historical reenactment, and the impossibility of creating a "true" representation of a people through monuments, museums, or headstones.²¹

Similar to landscape, "performance" can stand for a range of human behaviors that involve a performer and an audience. Performance includes staged theatrical productions and also those events located outside "the theatre" including historical reenactments, educational presentations for tourists, and staged processions such as a parade. By "public performance" I refer to events located in non-traditional theatre spaces such as festivals and commemorations that while they may require an entrance fee, are open to anyone who would like to attend. "Public" is not an innocent term and it is precisely the connotation of equitable access and representation that I problematize through my analysis of each commemorative event. Memory, identity, and heritage are the key ideas for Chapters Two, Three, and Four; performance is

critical to my analysis of each case study given that performance both preserves and reinvents cultural history. Just as the land evolves and is changed by particular social contexts and historical moments, performances are used as central ways by which a community maintains and reinvents its traditions and history in the contemporary moment. I view performance as a powerful nexus through which memory, identity, and heritage are kept alive in the American south today.

By “drama” I refer to the published plays written by authors who may have been born in or outside of the southern U.S. that are set nevertheless in “the south.” By examining plays as written archives of societal views and imagined characters that may or may not resemble “real” figures from southern history, I create an overview of the ways in which southern peoples have been staged in U.S. popular culture. In addition to plays, I also include excerpts from journals, films, and newspapers to create an inter-textual understanding of the various ways by which the figure of, for example, Scarlett O’Hara has been positioned in American popular culture. Scarlett, as the enduring and ultimate “southern belle,” is the creation of novelist Margaret Mitchell’s southern imagination and was portrayed on film by the British actress, Vivien Leigh. Scarlett is not “real,” but her power in southern myth and memory is undeniable and I include dramatic figures such as Scarlett to examine how various identities have been portrayed in written and staged forms of the south.

“The south” is a contested term as discussed in the introductory pages that began this chapter. While sharp geographic borders such as the Mason-Dixon Line can no longer serve as strict delineations of “the south,” I employ this term to refer to the region of the United States comprised of the southeastern states such as South and North Carolina, Alabama, Virginia, Louisiana, Tennessee and Georgia. While Texas, Arkansas, and Kentucky have certainly been

included in regional studies of the south, I locate my analysis in the lower southeastern region of the U.S. in those states that comprise what is known vernacularly as the “deep south.” In particular the public performances that comprise this study are located in the state of Georgia. While these sites are grounded in one southern state, each reveals larger issues including the lingering effects of slavery, the history of racial exclusion, and the contemporary reincorporation of diverse histories that are indicative of the larger south beyond Georgia’s borders. In many ways, Georgia is an appropriate location for the focus of the case studies that make up this project. Located in the center of the deep south, Georgia has been home to many cultural figures who have shaped the representation and reception of the south in American popular culture and politics including: Martin Luther King, Jr., Margaret Mitchell, Jimmy Carter, Joel Chandler Harris, Alice Walker, Ray Charles, Carson McCullers, and Jeff Foxworthy.

Perhaps even greater than the cultural contributions of the poets and politicians of Georgia, is the positioning of Georgia as the center of the south in American culture. After his second book, *The Philadelphia Negro*, was published in 1899, W.E.B. DuBois moved to Atlanta in 1900 to work in the history and economics departments of Atlanta University.²² He remained in segregated Atlanta for ten years and during his stay in Georgia he wrote the famous essays that would become *The Souls of Black Folk*. DuBois’ seventh essay, “Of the Black Belt,” demonstrates the pivotal role DuBois saw the state playing in the lives of African Americans in the U.S. DuBois tells the history of Georgia by creating a spatial-racial map of the state, moving the reader through Atlanta, to Darien, to Albany, to the post-plantation economics of south Georgia, in order to reveal the “Black Belt” of the south. DuBois writes of the legacy of slavery in the state and gestures toward the future power of Georgia with a strong black population with the following:

Not only is Georgia thus the geographical focus of our Negro population, but in many other respects, both now and yesterday, the Negro problems have seemed to be centered in this State. No other State in the Union can count a million Negroes among its citizens,—a population as large as the slave population of the whole Union in 1800; no other State fought so long and strenuously to gather this host of Africans.²³

While this project is focused on the southern U.S., I acknowledge the importance of South America and the diasporic relationship between the southern states of the U.S. and Africa in the pages that follow. Many of the cultural practices of the American south including contemporary Confederate commemorations persist beyond the U.S. such as the Sons of Confederate Veterans chapters located in Brazil. This study takes up the essentialized or traditional definition of “the South” as being a region synonymous with white cultural and racial dominance that was perpetrated through practices ranging from blackface minstrelsy to the violent enforcement of racial segregation in antebellum, Reconstruction and contemporary eras. I am specifically interested in those heterogeneous sites of tension where plays and performances disrupt homogenous definitions of the south, such as contemporary African American heritage festivals along the coast that challenge the nostalgic, white-washed notion of the plantation “Old South.” “The South” is purposefully not capitalized in this study in order to problematize the hierarchical race, class and gender dominance that is evoked through the phrase “the Old South” and to call further attention to the possibility that there are multiple “souths” embedded in “the south.”

Literature Review

An enormous amount of scholarship has been devoted to the study of the southern United States. This project focuses on the relationship between landscape and performance in order to move away from the historical foregrounding of the black/white racial binary in southern cultural studies (including southern theatre histories) and the preoccupation with character in analyses of southern drama. To survey the appropriate literature necessary for this study in the following pages, I focus on three pertinent aspects that define this scholarship: southern literature and drama, southern history, and southern identity. Following a brief overview of the literature on the southern U.S., I also survey selected theatre and performance studies texts that pertain to my use of “landscape” as a guiding research focus for this study. Finally, I conclude the literature review with an overview of the major, contemporary texts written on the three case study groups of my dissertation: the Cherokee in the southeastern U.S., the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the coastal Gullah-Geechee community. To aid in navigating the following literature review, indented subheadings correspond to each of the aforementioned reading categories.

Southern Literature and Drama

What counts as “southern” drama mirrors the larger ongoing and unanswered question as to what constitutes southern literature in general. The construction of the southern region in literature is taken up in Richard Gray’s *Writing the South: Ideas of an American Region* (1986). The 2003 collection, *After O’Connor: Stories from Contemporary Georgia* demonstrates the expanding definition of who is a “southern writer” and what stories are considered southern.²⁴ In contemporary southern studies, authors who were born in the southern U.S., spent significant amounts of time in the region, and/or choose to locate their plays, poetry, short stories or novels

in the south, are considered southern writers. Judith Ortiz Cofer is included in the *After O'Connor* collection and serves as an example of the expanding definition of southern literature and authors. Born in Puerto Rico, Ortiz Cofer moved to New Jersey as a young girl and then to Augusta, Georgia where she attended high school. She eventually graduated from college in Florida and went on to teach writing at the University of Georgia.

While the southern literary ranks are expanding to include writers such as Ortiz Cofer, the southern dramatic canon has long been dominated by white, male playwrights, chief among them Tennessee Williams whose work continues to be examined by numerous writers. The work of John Gronbeck-Tedesco and Philip C. Kolin demonstrates a continued interest in the Williams canon by theatre scholars.²⁵ Kolin's monographs reflect a career-long study of Williams and include: *The Tennessee Williams Encyclopedia* (2004) and *Undiscovered Country: The Later Plays of Tennessee Williams* (2002). Other playwrights who loom large in the southern dramatic canon include: Alfred Uhry whose *Driving Miss Daisy* (1987) became a famous film starring Morgan Freeman and Jessica Tandy in 1989; Ketti Frings who adapted Tom Wolfe's famous novel *Look Homeward Angel* for the stage in 1958; Horton Foote whose plays are generally located in Texas but include a connection to the surrounding south as exemplified by *The Young Man From Atlanta* (1993); Robert Harling whose *Steel Magnolias* (1988) was turned into popular film in 1989; and Jack Kirkland who in 1934 adapted Erskine Caldwell's original novel, *Tobacco Road*, into an immensely popular play that ran on Broadway for over three thousand performances.

Among female playwrights who have achieved both popular and critical success as well as scholarly attention as southern writers, Lillian Hellman, Carson McCullers, Marsha Norman, and Beth Henley's oeuvres are central. Helman's *Another Part of the Forest* (1946) and *The*

Little Foxes (1939) focus on corrupt southern families with secrets that eventually destroy them. McCullers adapted her famous novel, *The Member of the Wedding* into a play that premiered in 1950 with Harold Clurman's direction and Ethel Waters starring as Berenice. Considered a comedy, Beth Henley's popular *Crimes of the Heart* (1981) similarly presents a family of southern sisters with secrets to confess. Born in Kentucky and an alum of Agnes Scott College in Atlanta, Georgia, Marsha Norman was famously, and perhaps controversially, awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Drama for her 1983 play *'night, Mother*.²⁶ Jessie Jones, Nicholas Hope, and Jamie Wooten's plays, *Southern Hospitality* (2009), *The Dixie Swim Club* (2008), and *Christmas Belles* (2007) are examples of the continued popularity of plays centering on the white belle character in contemporary U.S. drama. While white playwrights such as Preston Jones and his 1973 play, *The Last Meeting of the Nights of the White Magnolia* have both perpetuated and shattered the "moonlight and magnolia" image of the south onstage, African American playwrights have long been important voices in shaping the dramatic south even as their names were historically left out of the southern theatrical canon.

Black playwrights whose work has received renewed contemporary attention by scholars include: William Wells Brown's *The Escape, or, A Leap for Freedom* (1858); Zora Neale Hurston's *Color Struck* (1925); Georgia Douglas Johnson's *Plumes* (1927); and Langston Hughes's *Mulatto, A Tragedy of the Deep South* (1935). Collections such as James V. Hatch and Ted Shine's *Black Theatre U.S.A., Plays by African Americans: The Recent Period 1935-Today* (1996) and Robert L. McDonald and Linda Rohrer Paige's *Southern Women Playwrights: New Essays in Literary History and Criticism* (2002) include the work of African American and Latino playwrights such as Texas author, Amparo Garcia, whose plays have slowly begun to be included in well-known contemporary histories of southern drama such as Charles Watson's *The*

History of Southern Drama (1997). The prolific works of both white and non-white playwrights over the past twenty-five years collectively subvert the dominance of Tennessee Williams as the premiere playwright of the south.²⁷ These include: Sandra Deer's *So Long on Lonely Street* (1986); Rita Dove's *The Darker Face of the Earth* (1994); Dael Orlandersmith's *Yellowman* (2002); Thomas Gibbon's *Bee-Luther-Hatchee* (2002); Rebecca Gilman's *Spinning Into Butter* (2002); and Robert O'Hara's *Insurrection* (2004). *Spinning Into Butter* is a prime example of the challenges in defining the elastic category of "the southern play." Even with the play's northeastern setting of Vermont, two factors illicit the southern categorization of Gilman's drama. The theme of racism and continued black/white racial conflict in a "progressive" or "post-Civil Rights," contemporary moment and the playwright being from Alabama mark the play as "southern." Further, Dove, Orlandersmith and O'Hara challenge the authorial voice of the south by telling southern histories that disrupt the assumption that "south" or "southern" is synonymous with the white subject position. While anthologies reflect an expanded view of what constitutes southern drama by including the voices of female, African American, and Latino playwrights, a persistent absence of Native American and Asian-American authors exists in southern theatre studies. Scholarly attention toward Native and Asian-American plays and performance in the southern U.S. is vital to a complete understanding of the dramatic landscape of the south.

Theatre studies on the south contain a large focus on colonial theatre histories including the theatrical output of Charleston which is examined in the second volume of the 1994 Theatre Symposium journal, "Theatre in the Antebellum South," published by the Southeastern Theatre Conference. This collection includes the work of theatre historians Rosemarie Bank and Bruce McConachie. Other works by theatre scholars include examinations of the productions and plays

of southern colonial playwrights such as Odai Johnson's exploration of colonial Williamsburg theatre in *Absence and Memory in Colonial American Theatre* (2006) and Charles Watson's *Antebellum Charleston Dramatists* (1976) and *The History of Southern Drama* (1997). Scholars interested in blackface minstrelsy, performance and representation during and after slavery's end such as Saidiya Hartman, Daphne Brooks, and Harry Elam locate much of their work in the south.²⁸ A focus on the rich inter and intra-cultural performance practices have led theatre scholars such as Joseph Roach to take up one of the most well-examined port cities of the south, New Orleans.²⁹

Southern History

While theatre and performance scholars have selectively studied the south, the region has long been a popular topic in U.S. cultural studies. For example, C. Vann Woodward's famous *The Burden of Southern History* (1960) is one of the first thorough studies on how the regional identity of the south has been directly shaped by its unique history including defeat in the Civil War. The Civil War and its impact on the identity of the south continues to be a topic of interest for historians including Gaines M. Foster's *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (1988), David W. Blight's *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (2001), and *The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader: The 'Great Truth' About the 'Lost Cause'* (2010) edited by James W. Loewen and Edward Sebesta. Institutionalized slavery's impact on the racial politics of the south is revealed through examinations of southern political histories such as the collection, *Jumpin' Jim Crow: Southern Politics from Civil War to Civil Rights* (2000) edited by Jane Dailey, Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, and Bryant Simon.

The history of the creation of “the south” in American tourism has been examined by Karen Cox in her 2011 book, *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture* and in *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History, and Culture in the Modern South* (2008) by Richard Starnes. Numerous books have been written on the economic transformation that the southern U.S. has experienced including plantation, agrarian, industrial, and post-industrial periods. Contemporary studies on how neoliberalism, global economies and transnational trade have impacted the south include James L. Peacock’s *Grounded Globalism: How the U.S. South Embraces the World* (2007). Along with an enduring focus on the Civil War and Reconstruction and the racial and economic changes these periods brought to the region, scholarly attention continues to center on the rich literary tradition of the south. Studies that retrace the well-trod terrain of southern literary greats such as Alice Walker and William Faulkner in new and illuminating ways include Melanie R. Benson’s *Disturbing Calculations: The Economics of Identity in Postcolonial Southern Literature, 1912-2002* (2008).

Southern Identity

The history of the south, the region’s economics, the legacy of the Civil War, and southern literature overlap in scholarship on southern identity. Studies that complicate the image of “Dixie” in southern culture include Tara McPherson’s *Reconstructing Dixie: Race, Gender, and Nostalgia in the Imagined South* (2003) and Paul Shackel’s *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-Bellum Landscape* (2003). Studies that examine identity in the south attest to the impossibility of defining one, unified southern identity and include: James C. Cobb’s *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (2005), W. Fitzhugh Brundage’s edited collection, *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity* (2000), and Rebecca Bridges Watts’s *Contemporary Southern Identity, Community Through Controversy*

(2008). Capturing the tension present in a region where competing memories often lead to conflicting identities, historian and African American studies scholar David Blight articulates what many studies on the south examine in his epilogue titled, “Southerners Don’t Lie; They Just Remember Big.” Blight writes: “Often, though, the struggle to control memory emerges from public rituals, acts of commemoration, political conflict, and commercial practice.”³⁰ Performance scholar E. Patrick Johnson’s work on the south is indicative of the expanding definition of southern identity as evidenced by his 2008 oral history, *Sweet Tea: Black Gay Men of the South* that challenges a dominant impression of the south as being solely heteronormative. The sexual, racial, and cultural diversity that E. Patrick Johnson’s work demonstrates is revealed through examinations of public performances located in the south. Studies on public performance in the southern United States revolve primarily around festivals and other community celebrations including: Celeste Ray’s 2003 ethnographic collection on community festivals from Texas to Florida, *Southern Heritage on Display: Public Ritual and Ethnic Diversity within Southern Regionalism*, and Rodger Lyle Brown’s *Ghost Dancing on the Cracker Circuit, The Culture of Festivals in the American South* (1997).

Performance and Landscape

My research is certainly not the first to bring performance and place into dialogue; however, I join an ongoing conversation in theatre and performance studies on the connections between performance and landscape, archeology, place, space, land, and location. I join research attuned to the spatial turn in theatre studies including Elinor Fuchs and Una Chaudhuri’s collection *Land/Scape/Theater* (2002), Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks’s *Theatre/Archaeology* (2001), and Harvey Young’s recent work on landscape painting and African American histories in his essay, “Writing with Paint” included in the collection *Theater*

Historiography: Critical Interventions (2010), edited by Scott Magelssen and Henry Bial. Of course research into the relationship between space and performance is in no way confined solely to the work of the last ten years, but has been shaped by the enormous impact that semiotics has had on the work of theatre and performance scholars. Works that exemplify this impact include: Marvin Carlson's 1989 *Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture* and Joseph Roach's spatial readings of New Orleans and London in *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (1996). As a project grounded in localized community performances, this project is indebted to the insights of other site-specific theatre studies including: Scott Magelssen's *Living History Museums: Undoing History Through Performance* (2007), Charlotte M. Canning's *The Most American Thing in America: Circuit Chautauqua as Performance* (2005), Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (1998), and Peter Dickinson's *World Stages, Local Audiences: Essays on Performance, Place, and Politics* (2010).

Cherokee and Native Studies Scholarship

While to my knowledge, scholars have yet to position the Cherokee, Confederacy and the Gullah-Geechee in the same study, historians and cultural studies scholars continue to study each group individually. The existing literature on the Cherokee in the southeast and specifically New Echota as the nineteenth-century capital of the Cherokee Nation falls generally into one of the following categories: collections of historical documents such as Jack and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick's *New Echota Letters* (1968) which includes letters written by Cherokee missionary Samuel Worcester and Cherokee businessman and leader Elias Boudinot; and studies focused on the historical and political importance of the first Native printing press and newspaper in the U.S., the *Cherokee Phoenix*, that Hugh Awtrey chronicles in *New Echota, Birthplace of the*

American Indian Press (1941) and that Frank Brannon has more recently studied in *Cherokee Phoenix, Advent of a Newspaper: the Print Shop of the Cherokee Nation, 1828-1834* (2005).

Another category of scholarship on the Cherokee in the southeast are works that examine New Echota's historical function as the site of the 1835 signing of the Treaty of New Echota and the beginning location of the forced removal of Native Americans from the southeast which historians Theda Perdue and Michael Green chronicle in *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears* (2007). Finally, the remaining bulk of studies on the Cherokee in the southeastern U.S. examine the cultural history and political contact of the Cherokee in the southeast from early encounters with the Spanish to the forced removal by Georgia and federal troops such as Vicki Rozema's edited collection, *Footsteps of the Cherokees: A Guide to the Eastern Homelands of the Cherokee Nation* (2007) or Robert Conley's *The Cherokee Nation: A History* (2008).

Theatre and performance scholars have taken up the issue of Native representation by Native Americans and non-Natives. Bruce McConachie's examinations of the early American play, *Metamora*, Rosemarie Bank's work on "Indianizing" in nineteenth-century popular culture, and Jorge Huerta's analysis of images of indigenous Americans in Chicano drama are examples of the contemporary research being produced by theatre historians interested in unveiling the performance practices and implications involved in staging the Native other.³¹ Scholars who interrogate the image of "the Indian" created through popular culture include sociologists, anthropologists, American studies and Native studies scholars. Texts that demonstrate important work on performance conducted by scholars who cross traditional disciplinary boundaries in their research include: the collection *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture* (1996) edited by S. Elizabeth Bird; Philip Deloria's extensive analysis of non-Native performances of "the Indian" in *Playing Indian* (1998); Eva Marie

Garrouette's examination of the persistent power struggles over racial authenticity and its impact on contemporary Native identity in *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America* (2003); and Laura Mielke's *Moving Encounters: Sympathy and the Indian Question in Antebellum Literature* (2008).

Over the past decade a rise in scholarship on the intersections of race within African American and Native histories has occurred and includes the work of bell hooks on "Black Indians" in *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (1992) and Harvey Young's recent article, "Remembering Genocide within Our Borders: The Trail of Tears & U.S. Museum Culture" (2011).³² For Cherokee studies this scholarship has revealed the existence of interconnected and traditionally ignored histories between black slaves living in the southeastern U.S. and their Cherokee masters and later fellow citizens. Joining this inter-racial research is Fay Yarbrough's *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century* (2008) and Clarissa Confer's *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War* (2007). However, even with these new interdisciplinary and inter-racial studies of Cherokee history, the Trail of Tears continues to dominate scholarship on the Cherokee. Historian Andrew Denson has argued: "No other Indian event, except perhaps the Battle of the Little Big Horn, has received so much attention in America's culture of memory."³³ What this prevailing focus on the Trail of Tears means is that by ignoring the continued role of New Echota as a critical site of performance for contemporary Cherokee identity today and positioning the site's sole political and social importance as ending by the close of the nineteenth century, southern studies remains an incomplete body of knowledge.

The Gullah-Geechee

The Gullah-Geechee drew outside scholars' attentions first through linguistic studies. The Gullah-Geechee are a community in which unprecedented levels of African retention led to a creolized tongue spoken only in the African American enclaves along the southeastern U.S. coast. "Gullah" generally refers to African American communities located off the coasts of North and South Carolina, while "Geechee" delineates the coastal communities of Georgia and northern Florida. Collectively the string of South Carolinian and Georgian islands are termed, the "Sea Islands" with the Gullah and Geechee sometimes called, "Sea Islanders." Lorenzo Dow Turner pioneered linguistic study by interviewing and recording speakers of the Gullah language throughout Georgia and South Carolina's low country in the 1930's. Turner's extensive field work culminated in *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (1949). One of the first to dispel the erroneous belief that Sea Islanders spoke a backwards form of bastardized English out of a lack of intelligence and education, Turner's foundational work remains crucial to the research of contemporary historians, linguists and African studies scholars. Michael Montgomery's edited collection *The Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture* (1994) illustrates this ongoing scholarly debt to Turner. In addition to Turner's work in the early nineteenth century, first-person accounts of life in Gullah-Geechee communities of the coastal south were documented in the W.P.A.-sponsored Georgia Writers' Project's 1940 collection, *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*.

Oral and corporeal cultural forms such as language, song, and dance became vital methods by which the Gullah-Geechee preserved and passed on a distinctly African culture in the southern colonies of Georgia and South Carolina. In addition to scholars such as Lorenzo Dow Turner, individuals including Lydia Parrish have documented the Gullah-Geechee songs

through decades of personal fieldwork. Slave songs have long been a crucial source for historians and anthropologists interested in African retention in U.S. culture. Parrish, wife of the artist Maxfield Parrish, spent nearly thirty years gathering and transcribing the songs of the African Americans who lived on the barrier islands. Many of the individuals whom Parrish interviewed were former slaves or close descendants of coastal slaves; Parrish recognized the importance of the black St. Simons residents and the ring-shout dance and song form that they preserved. Parrish owned a home on St. Simons Island and constructed a nearby building she called “the cabin” to which she would invite local island singers to come and perform.³⁴ Parrish believed passionately in the continuation of the performance culture and songs of the Sea Islanders and her collection, *Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands* (1942), is an important source in Gullah-Geechee studies.

Language has been perhaps the most dominant lens through which the Gullah-Geechee have been studied by contemporary scholars with cultural practices and retained African customs forming a close second in the number of studies on the Gullah-Geechee. This scholarship includes examinations of the food, folk medicine, and song traditions of the Gullah-Geechee such as Wilbur Cross’s *Gullah Culture in America* (2008), and collections of folklore and oral traditions including Susan Millar Williams’s *Gullah Folktales from the Georgia Coast* (2000) which is a re-edition of the 1888 collection *Negro Myths of the Georgia Coast* compiled by Charles Colcock Jones, Jr. Even though Gullah-Geechee peoples live and work today, contemporary studies on Sea Islanders continue to focus on the historical formation of these communities when West African slaves were brought in bondage to coastal plantations along the Atlantic through the post-Reconstruction era in the early twentieth century such as the recent

collection *African-American Life in the Georgia Low Country: The Atlantic World and the Gullah-Geechee* (2010) edited by Philip D. Morgan.

Generally Gullah-Geechee scholarship that centers on the contemporary moment focuses on the possible loss of culture and disappearance of these uniquely African communities in the U.S. William Pollitzer captures this concern in *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage* (2005) in which he titles his introductory chapter, “A People in Crisis.”³⁵ Gullah-Geechee scholarship is populated by the work of scholars from anthropology, African and African American studies, U.S. history, linguistics, and literature, however, theatre and performance scholars have largely ignored this community and its performance traditions.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy

Theatre and performance scholars have begun to examine the performance events of heritage societies as exemplified by Leigh Clemons’ work on the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. Clemons studies the female heritage group and their control over the presentation of history at the site of the Alamo in *Branding Texas: Performing Culture in the Lone Star State* (2008). Even with Clemons’ important writing on the “performance of the Texan,” work on heritage groups committed to the Confederacy has been conducted almost solely by southern historians or chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.³⁶ Scholarship on the UDC by non-UDC members includes Karen Cox’s *Dixie’s Daughters: the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (2003), Caroline Janney’s *Burying the Dead But Not the Past: Ladies’ Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (2008), and Joan Marie Johnson’s historical examination of both black and white women’s social clubs in South Carolina in *Southern Ladies, New Women: Race, Region, and Clubwomen in South Carolina, 1890-1930* (2004). The image of the southern belle has been a more popular focus in southern

studies scholarship than specific white women's heritage groups in works such as Anne Firor Scott's *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (1970).

One possible reason for the lack of theatre and performance scholarship on the UDC is that the plays of Tennessee Williams and other popular southern playwrights have dominated the ways in which the south has been studied by theatre historians as discussed earlier. Another plausible reason is that the embedded racial ideology evoked through the beliefs and practices of the UDC makes for uncomfortable inquiry and political conflict for the scholar who chooses to study the Confederacy today. Sociologist Kathleen Blee whose work focuses on women in the Ku Klux Klan has noted in her essay, "Evidence, Empathy and Ethics: Lessons from Oral Histories of the Klan," and theatre historian John Fletcher in his essay, "Sympathy for the Devil: Nonprogressive Activism and the Limits of Critical Generosity," argue that it is difficult yet possible for scholars to conduct rigorous studies on groups whose political and ideological aims they oppose.³⁷ It is important to note that the aims of this study are neither to celebrate the politics of the UDC nor to perpetuate a presentist bias through the study of contemporary practices held at New Echota, Oakland Cemetery, or St. Simon's Island. The particular histories of the Cherokee, Confederacy and Gullah-Geechee have in fact never been lost but are alive today through active, present performances of a diverse southern past.

Significance of Study

By creating an intertextual, comparative study, this project contributes to a number of fields. This study speaks clearly to the fields of performance and theatre studies but also to larger interdisciplinary concerns across the humanities and social sciences including community performance, collective memory and identity, and cultural studies. My research serves the

specific disciplines of theatre studies, southern studies and gender and race studies by bringing a new perspective on those located outside the dominant white male identity position that has traditionally been the focus of cultural studies on the American south. The southern U.S. has never been a mono- racially comprised area but includes a variety of racial and cultural positionalities that must be included in any examination of “the south.” By including a variety of voices in this study, I bring new knowledge to the ways in which “black” and “white” have been constructed in the south and how racialized identities are experienced today in the contemporary south. I intentionally center my study on landscape over “region” to counter the regional representation and work of regional studies on the south which has historically been limited to a black/white racial focus. This project does not discount the important work of scholars on regionality such as Clemons’ monograph, *Branding Texas: Performing Culture in the Lone Star State* (2008) discussed earlier, which have collectively created a more nuanced understanding of the south.³⁸ However, this current project is built upon an awareness of the ways in which southern theatre studies has been dominated by a too-narrow cultural and racial paradigm.

Moving away from research on white male playwrights such as Tennessee Williams, my project represents a new direction for southern theatre studies. While theatre historians such as Charles Watson and Philip Kolin focus on white and selective black figures of southern theatre history; my work challenges the black/white racial binary in southern scholarship by considering the impact that under-studied playwrights and performances have on the racial dynamic of the American south. This project is informed by the ideas of race studies scholars including Claire Jean-Kim and her notion of the “field of racial positions.”³⁹ I do not examine race and gender in the southern U.S. as being constructed from a purely hierarchical, top-down system of value and power, but instead as evolving constructions that are imbricated in connected relationships to a

wide variety of identity positions. “Black” and “white” are, therefore, racialized constructs not created in discreet isolation but in inter-connected webs of signification and social agency. By including voices of women and underrepresented racial identities including the Cherokee in the southern U.S., my work expands our understanding of the south and what and who is considered “southern” today.

Outline

This study begins with the Old South memory preserved by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and ends with the Gullah-Geechee peoples whose Sea Islands Festival disrupts any neat category of a monolithic black south verses a dominant white south. The seemingly out-of-order progression of chapters demonstrates that synchronic events such as contemporary festivals are often located in a larger web of overlapping, diachronic histories of the multiple south(s) that have long been present in the south. To study the role of the south in American popular culture, I examine texts including plays and journals as written maps that enable me to read the sites of community identity examined in Chapters Two, Three, and Four. Chapter Two, “The Landscape of Memory,” focuses on the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Confederate Memorial Day commemoration held at Historic Oakland Cemetery in Atlanta. Plays by Bronson Howard and Doris Baizley are also analyzed in this chapter for the ways in which they represent the Confederate woman. The contemporary “Confederate woman” emerges in this chapter as a figure who has been imagined on the stage as a stalwart defender of the Confederacy, more loyal and fiercely dedicated than her male counterparts. Historically, Confederate women including the earliest Ladies Memorial Associations were vital in the preservation of Confederate memory across the southern United States. I examine the ways in which Confederate Memorial Day

affords UDC members the opportunity to return to the oldest cemetery in Atlanta, in the heart of the deep south, to perform their individual and shared loyalty to the Confederacy. By dutifully returning to the cemetery to perform as good Daughters, the gendered and racialized ideal of the “Confederate lady” who vows to “never forget” is reconstructed and reinscribed in the twenty-first century south. Chapter Three, “The Landscape of Identity,” centers on the Cherokee and the Frontier Day festival held at New Echota Historic Site near the small northwestern city of Calhoun. I examine the interpersonal negotiations of race, recognition, and what I term, remembering, that occur at Frontier Day as Native and non-Native southerners return to the former Cherokee capital to learn about, dress as, and live for a day as Cherokee individuals. By “remembering” I refer to two main actions of festival visitors: the physical return of Cherokee to New Echota which fills the site with Native peoples who may not typically live in Calhoun, and the shared oral histories of Cherokee ancestors told by visitors who may or may not live today as members of the Cherokee Nation. Through the return of Native peoples to New Echota the site is re-populated, or re-membered, with the Cherokee once more, and through shared stories of Cherokee forebears the state of Georgia is re-constituted, or re-membered, with the histories of Cherokee persons who lived in the state. Individual performances of Native identity at Frontier Day are often racially charged in that they are constructed from assumptions about the dress, look, manner, and history of Native peoples in the southern U.S. Frontier Day becomes a site where festival attendees who may or may not have “proof” of their Cherokee ancestry, can assert their contemporary identities as what I term, “Native southerners.” The plays of Diane Glancy and the scholarship of Carolyn Dunn are included in Chapter Three and examined for their diverse representations of Cherokee identities. Chapter Four, “The Landscape of Heritage” studies the African American and Gullah-Geechee community’s presence on St. Simons Island

and the performance practices preserved through the Sea Islands Festival. Fanny Kemble's *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838-1839* is employed in this chapter as a beneficial primary source that documents the nineteenth-century plantation past of St. Simons Island. Kemble's flawed but useful text is specifically employed in chapter four for the ways in which it can set the stage for how we can re-read and re-place the diverse racial history and peoples of St. Simons Island. I examine the Sea Islands Festival as a critical community event that brings African American and Gullah-Geechee descendants back to the increasingly white-washed, gentrified island of St. Simons, the same island that was once home to a thriving African American community. I study the performances including the ring-shout demonstrated at the Sea Islands Festival as dynamic moments that both preserve and re-vivify inherited African cultural practices in the contemporary south. Chapter Five, "Re-Placing the South," concludes this work by summarizing the insights to be gained from employing landscape and place as research lenses for understanding contemporary identity formation and performance in southern U.S. historical and contemporary efforts to "stage the south." Following Chapter Five, an Image Appendix is included that contains original on-site photographs by the author and site maps that correspond to each event discussed in Chapters Two, Three, and Four.

In the pages that follow, I look to events off the "mainstage" of southern studies that are not necessarily part of mainstream popular culture but are located in often removed and rural sites. By going to lesser-acknowledged locales, this project broadens knowledge of the "southern experience." Una Chaudhuri has written that, "[...] the contemporary theatre is, above all, a *remapping* of the possible terrain of subjectivity."⁴⁰ While Chaudhuri centers her analysis on geographies in play texts, I move my analysis in the subsequent chapters to the public stages

of the south—those locations outside traditional theatre sites such as the park and cemetery where race and gender continue to collide with space, and identity performance is most potent.

Chapter Two

The Landscape of Memory: Gender and Race at Oakland Cemetery

“I salute the Confederate Flag with affection, reverence, and undying remembrance.”⁴¹

-UDC official salute to the first flag of the Confederacy

Four women stand with their hands clasped in the bright sunlight of an April afternoon in Atlanta. Two of the women have their heads bowed, eyes cast to the ground beneath their feet. The other two stare straight ahead as if waiting for something inevitable and solemnly anticipated to meet them. All four have the same posture and similar clothing: straight backs, feet together, hands in white gloves, legs sheathed in pantyhose beneath knee-length skirts, large hats topping their heads, and small golden bars pinned to their colorful suit jackets. It is two in the afternoon and the women look as if they are dressed for church, a spring wedding, or, given the impressive millinery, perhaps the Kentucky Derby. Behind the women is the massive, stacked-stone base of a monument that has been temporarily decorated with wreaths of magnolia leaves and red and white ribbons that bear the initials, “U.D.C.”⁴²

The women are members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, or UDC, and stand as if at attention for the April 23, 2011 observance of Confederate Memorial Day in Historic Oakland Cemetery in Atlanta, Georgia. With its roots in the earliest Decoration Days during which flowers and other remembrances were brought to the graves of the Civil War dead, Confederate Memorial Day is the oldest and most popular Confederate event still celebrated across the U.S and is the most important event of the UDC’s annual activities.⁴³ Blocked by the enormous Confederate obelisk monument that stands behind the women are the graves of almost seven thousand Confederate soldiers. Today, the faded headstones of the Confederate dead have been decorated with small, bright red and navy Confederate flags.⁴⁴ The space surrounding the

obelisk has also been transformed and includes: tables covered in white cloth, a wooden speaker's podium and microphone, a small but spirited trombone ensemble named the "Bona Fide Slides," and an audience section for program participants, "Daughters," and their guests which is delineated by neat rows of metal folding chairs placed in the shade provided by a large magnolia tree.⁴⁵

Introduction

The United Daughters of the Confederacy is a heritage organization that was founded first as the "National Association of the Daughters of the Confederacy" by Caroline Meriwether Goodlett of Tennessee and Anna Davenport Raines of Georgia in 1894. The following year the organization changed its name to the UDC at its second official meeting held in Atlanta. The newly-named UDC continued the work of the earliest Ladies' Memorial Aid Associations of the southern U.S. These associations raised money to bury Confederate dead, to care for the wounded, returning soldiers and their families, and campaigned state and local communities for monuments honoring the Confederacy. As historian Karen Cox has noted, the early work of "the Daughters" was carried out with a desire for not only memorialization but vindication for the Confederacy.⁴⁶ This meant that turn-of-the-century efforts of the UDC included Daughters distributing "impartial" textbooks in classrooms across the south to educate children on the "real causes" and true history of the "War Between the States," placing Confederate flags in white public school classrooms, and erecting Confederate monuments in prominent public spaces such as courthouse lawns.⁴⁷ Today, the UDC has members across the U.S. ranging far from "the deep south" to the north, west, and southwest of the Mason-Dixon Line including chapters in New York, Utah, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, and New Mexico. Collectively there are 34 states

and the District of Columbia that have active divisions and/or chapters of the UDC.⁴⁸

Membership in the UDC is by invitation only through local UDC chapters and is restricted to women only. To become a Daughter one must meet the following requirements: “Membership is open to women no less than 16 years of age who are blood descendants, lineal or collateral, of men and women who served *honorably* in the Army, Navy or Civil Service of the Confederate States of America, or gave Material Aid to the Cause.”⁴⁹ Lineal descendants include individuals who trace their Confederate heritage through a grandfather; while lateral descendants denote those whose membership is proven through an uncle. While only one ancestor is necessary to join the UDC, many contemporary members have multiple Confederate relatives who are visually denoted on UDC members’ bodies through the gold ancestor bars that are pinned over the heart and worn for UDC events.

The UDC’s mission is not bound to the geographic regions of single states or sub-regions in the southern U.S. such as “the southeast” or the “deep south,” but centers today on the same “historical, educational, benevolent, memorial, and patriotic” objectives of the earliest Daughters.⁵⁰ Contemporary UDC members carry these objectives into their work in the twenty-first century across the U.S. While UDC members may take pride in state chapters and the state origin of the highest officers in the organization such as the President General, belonging to the UDC allows Daughters to pledge fidelity to the nation of the Confederate States of America. This allegiance to the lost nation of the CSA and the ancestors who fought to defend it, frees UDC members of geographic constraints and allows them to participate in an organization that stretches across local, state, and national boundaries. UDC members are further united by their shared celebration of Confederate Memorial Day and dedication to their particular notion of “The South” that is greater than single state affiliations. The UDC’s fluid conception of their

South and the CSA nation to which they remain loyal, garners an analysis that takes into account representations of the Confederate female from a variety of locations within the larger landscape of enduring Confederate memory. To this end, analyses of three particular iterations of the Confederate female from American popular culture and drama comprise the first half of this chapter and include: Gertrude Ellingham of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia in Bronson Howard's 1888 play, *Shenandoah*; Scarlett O'Hara of Atlanta, Georgia in Margaret Mitchell's novel and later film, "Gone with the Wind;" Cecilia Delauney Pettison of Tennessee in Doris Baizley's 2000 play, *Shiloh Rules*.

I follow Joseph Roach's investigative application of Foucault's "critical genealogies" in order to create "genealogies of performance."⁵¹ Specifically, I trace a genealogy of the performance of the Confederate female through the three afore-listed characters in order to arrive at an analysis of the contemporary site of Confederate female performance that I witnessed at Confederate Memorial Day 2011. What Pierre Nora termed lieux de mémoire, or "places of memory," Roach designates as "vortices of behavior." Both Roach and Nora articulate a similar understanding that certain sites not only elicit particular behavior from individuals, but are "center[s] of cultural self-invention."⁵² From the particular locations of Virginia, Georgia, and Tennessee, a larger geography of Confederate memory (of which the Confederate female is keeper) can be mapped that is helpful in exploring why contemporary women still participate in Confederate Memorial Day and devote their time, resources, and personal allegiance as "daughters" of the Confederacy. Through examining Gertrude, Scarlett, and Cecilia's connection to the land and the locations of their female identities, a map of representation emerges that serves as the contextual lens through which I analyze the 2011 Confederate Memorial Day commemoration in Oakland Cemetery. As Roach notes, the square or theatre

may be “vortices of behavior,” but the burial ground, the graveyard, and the cemetery are particularly vital to the history of the UDC’s memorial activities and contemporary work.⁵³ Further, Atlanta can be seen as a symbolic center of the UDC given that it was the site of the organization’s official adoption of their present name and is home to some of the earliest and largest memorial work of the UDC including those completed at the historic Oakland Cemetery. Atlanta was also the site of Union General Sherman’s fiery 1864 destruction and was the dramatic ground from which the mythic and now immortal “Tara” was imagined in *Gone with the Wind*. As the oldest cemetery in the center of the south, it is fitting that Oakland is the stage for Confederate performance and the site of analysis for the latter half of this chapter.

The commemorative activities of the United Daughters of the Confederacy constitute what I argue are contemporary public performances in which female participants corporeally invoke an imagined ideal of the “Confederate lady.” This imagined ideal is not an innocuous production nor does it represent a universal and unchanging female Confederate, but is a gendered and racialized construction that is re-created in the very moment of its embodiment. Following Judith Butler, there is no essential Confederate woman but instead “she” is created in the contemporary commemoration I examine in this chapter.⁵⁴ To this end, the Confederate lady/daughter/woman of today is a “copy of a copy” that may be examined within a history of theatrical performances on the stage and public performances in the parks, main streets, and cemeteries across the southern U.S.⁵⁵ Whether conscious of this inheritance or not, the contemporary Daughter belongs within a long history of popular culture that has positioned the Confederate woman as the paramount defender and preserver of Confederate memory. Through commemoration, UDC members mark both their bodies and the public spaces of the cemetery or downtown square as belonging to a larger and persistent landscape of (Confederate) memory.

Through embodied performance complete with carefully selected garments or what in theatrical discourse would be termed “costumes,” and the transformation of the cemetery space through choreographed movement or “staging,” these women make material the immaterial—bringing to life the southern belle, the mourning widow, and the loyal Confederate daughter.

Context

Confederate loyalty today is not a private activity that is relegated solely to female heritage groups such as the UDC or their analogous male organization, the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), but remains an enduring part of contemporary politics in the U.S. At its height, the coalition of seceded southern states known as the Confederate States of America, or CSA, included eleven states. While the American Civil War officially ended in 1865, cultural critics have long pointed out the persistence of the southern Lost Cause and its attendant mythology, ideology and particular historical narratives.⁵⁶ Enduring post-war loyalty to the Confederacy has been propagated by heritage organizations, southern politicians, and popular culture since the war’s end. As observed recently in *The New York Times*, over a dozen new television shows in the fall of 2011 peddled the prevailing stereotype of the south as being synonymous with “Dixie.”⁵⁷ From Lifetime’s “Glamour Belles” to the History Channel’s “Swamp People,” these shows perpetuate a dangerously narrow view of contemporary southerners as the uneducated and culturally deficient whites we met years ago in “The Beverly Hillbillies” and “The Dukes of Hazzard.”⁵⁸ What popular culture continues to deny is the racial and cultural diversity of the contemporary southern U.S. including the large rise in Latino populations over recent decades. What is favored instead is an inadequate representation in which the south is not simply trapped in a narrow black/white racial binary but remains a whites-only world where “southern” always

equals “white.” It is the image of “Dixie” and the Confederacy’s iconography, racial superiority, and glorification of the “rebellious” refusal to change that haunts the ways the south has been imagined through song, film, literature, and drama.

Contemporary politics also bear the weight of the Confederacy. Much of the southern U.S. was in ruins with cities, plantations and farms, homes and lives destroyed in the aftermath of a war that left over 620,000 Union and Confederate soldiers dead; today, it is the debated “cause” of the war that remains controversial for southern politicians and the constituents they represent.⁵⁹ Specifically, the debate as to whether the war was fought by the south for “states’ rights” (and specifically, the right to secede) or for the preservation of slavery continues. In April of 2010, Virginia Governor Robert McDonnell proclaimed that April would be “Confederate History Month.” McDonnell’s decision came after requests by the Sons of Confederate Veterans, and was intended to “promote tourism in the state” on the eve of the sesquicentennial anniversary of the Civil War.⁶⁰ McDonnell’s seven-paragraph declaration made no reference to slavery which angered many including members of the Virginia NAACP and the Legislative Black Caucus. The backlash against McDonnell’s omission led him to issue an apology for not acknowledging that the institution of slavery was, in McDonnell’s words, a “painful part of our history.” McDonnell presented a revised declaration with a new paragraph stating: “it is important for all Virginians to understand that the institution of slavery led to this war.”⁶¹ McDonnell’s controversial declaration of “Confederate History Month” is indicative of the vigorous and undying ideology surrounding the Confederacy and its continued role in contemporary U.S. culture.

The landscape described in the image that opened this chapter and McDonnell’s volatile declaration are peculiar pastiches of the U.S. past and present that can be accessed by examining

the ways in which Confederate memory has been staged in the American theatre. As Harry Elam articulates in his conception of the “device of race,” race is inherently theatrical with “very real meanings” and the stage is, therefore, an especially useful source for understanding the racial politics of America’s history and present.⁶² Women, and specifically the “good” Confederate woman, have been fundamental to the preservation and perpetuation of Confederate memory in U.S. popular culture. The Confederate Daughter of today who may don a hoop-skirt, bonnet and distribute “rebel flags” is not new but an embodiment of a repeated iteration that has been imagined and reimagined through U.S. popular culture beginning with the earliest articulations of her on the American stage.

Long before film and television including “Birth of a Nation,” “Steel Magnolias,” “Designing Women,” and the more recent television series, “Bama Belles,” were born from the American racial and historical imagination, the Confederate woman appeared on the stage. In order to understand how UDC members today imagine and perform themselves as good Confederate Daughters, it is therefore important to trace the evolution of the Confederate woman in American theatre. Scholars such as Saidiya Hartman and Daphne Brooks have explored the ways in which the stage became the source of some of the earliest and most damaging racial stereotypes for blacks and whites of the American south.⁶³ Musical “entertainment” on the plantation, minstrel shows on the vaudeville circuit, and nineteenth-century American plays created durable representations of both the southern black male and the southern white female. Through an opening examination of the 1888 play, *Shenandoah*, I will place the contemporary commemorative activities of the UDC in dialogue with the theatrical lineage of the Confederate woman in order to understand how she has been staged before moving to an analysis of how the Confederate Daughter stages herself today.

Staging the Confederate Woman

The first objective of the UDC is: “To collect and preserve the material necessary for a truthful history of the War Between the States and to protect, preserve, and mark the places made historic by Confederate valor.”⁶⁴ However, the “truthful” nature of the public performances of the UDC are deeply questionable given that these commemorations are not created solely out of archival study or documented historical facts but are part of an endless mimetic loop in which participants embody their image of the Confederate woman. To this end, these contemporary embodiments exist in a symbiotic relationship with the plays of the American canon that collectively perpetuate an indelible image of the Confederate woman that continues to resonate in the American popular imagination. Plays as written archives give us characters that may be dialogic with “real” individuals while simultaneously creating a potentially contentious dialectic between representation and reality, mimesis and life.

With Bronson Howard’s 1888 play *Shenandoah*, U.S. audiences met one of the earliest articulations of a loyal daughter of the Confederacy through the character of Gertrude Ellingham. *Shenandoah* consists of four acts that span the beginning through the immediate aftermath of the Civil War. Act one opens in Charleston Harbor in 1861 and act four concludes the play in Washington, D.C. immediately following Lee’s surrender in 1865. The protagonists of Howard’s melodrama are two cross-allegiance couples from brother-sister partners; the Union sibling duo consists of Colonel Kerchival West and his sister, Madeline West who falls in love with the Confederate Colonel Robert Ellingham. Colonel Ellingham’s sister, Gertrude, falls uneasily in love with Colonel West, her Union “enemy” as she calls him throughout the play. Howard’s play ends happily with both couples surviving the war to reconcile their differences in wedded bliss. Although the 1965 film “Shenandoah” and later musical adaptation of the same

name that premiered on Broadway in 1975 also center on the same Shenandoah Valley and are set during the Civil War conflict, Howard's drama did not inspire the film or later musical. Instead, *Shenandoah*'s harmonious ending reflects other post-war reunion fantasies articulated in popular song, such as George M. Cohan's 1906 "Wedding of the Blue and the Gray," and novels of the late nineteenth century.⁶⁵

Over the course of the play Gertrude experiences the most change personally and politically and it is through her character development that Howard crafts a dramatic landscape that mirrors the dreams and ultimate loss of the Confederacy. The play opens in Charleston Harbor with two friends and former classmates at West Point waiting in anticipation of the bombardment of Fort Sumter. The landscape Howard evokes in the initial scene consists of two opposing images; the first is the Union Fort Sumter that Union Colonel Kerchival West describes with the following: "There lies the old fort—solemn and grim as ever, and the flag-staff stands above it, like a warning finger."⁶⁶ Confederate Colonel Robert Ellingham paints a contrasting image of Charleston's lights twinkling across the harbor's waters from the grand mansions where excited Charlestonians have gathered with anticipatory gaiety. Mirroring this image of confidence and belief in victory is Gertrude Ellingham who enters the play with the accompanying stage directions: "Enter Gertrude, from the apartment, in a riding habit, with a whip."⁶⁷ Gertrude's sororal counterpart, Madeline West, is not given any physical description by Howard. The titillating image of Gertrude clutching a whip in full riding costume became a popular marketing still for promotional posters following the play's premiere in Boston on November 19, 1888.⁶⁸

Gertrude's costume echoes her connection to the land, a connection she maintains through her love for her large black horse named Jack. Gertrude rides Jack through the woods

and fields surrounding her family home in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia which is the setting for the second and third acts of Howard's drama. Shenandoah remains Gertrude's domain that she freely moves within until Jack is captured and ridden by Union officers. As the serene Shenandoah Valley is rocked by the cannon cracks of war described repeatedly in the stage directions as "booming reverberations among the hills and in the valley," Gertrude remains a loyal Confederate daughter including her temporary breaking of the rules of her gender by sneaking away on horseback in the night to deliver a secret military message to her Confederate compatriots.⁶⁹ Nonetheless, Gertrude is taken prisoner by her "enemy" and future husband, the Union Colonel West, and brought back to her family's house.

Gertrude's home in the valley becomes a final stage upon which the Confederacy's final defeat is dramatized. The third act concludes with streams of Confederate deserters pouring across the front lawn of the Ellingham homestead. Seeing the deserters Gertrude makes a final plea as a dutiful rebel and daughter of the Confederacy. Howard writes: "The stream of fugitives passing across the stage swells in volume. Gertrude runs through them and up to the elevation, turning, [she speaks]: 'Men! Are you soldiers? Turn back! There is a leader for you! Turn back! Fight for your flag—and mine!—the flag my father died for! Turn back!'"⁷⁰ But Gertrude's efforts are in vain and Howard concludes the act with a vivid picture of the landscape of war:

The stream of fugitives continues, now over the elevation also. Rough and torn uniforms, bandaged arms and legs; some limping and supported by muskets after them, others without muskets, others using them as crutches. There is a variety of uniforms, both cavalry and infantry; flags are dragged on the ground, the rattle of

near musketry and roar of cannon continue; two or three wounded fugitives drop down beside the hedge.⁷¹

Howard's final description of Gertrude's Shenandoah Valley evokes the playwright's image of the defeated landscape of the Confederacy, a landscape that began with the glittering lights of Charleston Harbor and ends with Gertrude's brother, Robert, describing their southern home in Act four: "As soon as possible after our surrender at Appomattox, I made my way to the Shenandoah Valley. Our home there is utterly deserted. There is no human being about the old homestead; it is like a haunted house—empty, and dark, and solitary."⁷² Howard imagines a deserted Confederate land, one abandoned following defeat; however, it is the female protagonist, Gertrude, who will not leave this figurative landscape. The audience learns through the Union General Buckthorn that Gertrude has vanished as he tells her brother, Robert: "As darkness came on, and they were returning to the house, Gertrude suddenly seized the bridle of a stray horse, sprang upon its back and rode away to the South, into the woods at the foot of Three Top Mountain. The other two girls watched for her in vain. She did not return, and we have heard nothing from her since."⁷³ In the final moments of the play, Gertrude returns to the stage having found and married her former enemy, Union Colonel West. While Gertrude's marriage to West concretizes the reunionist fantasy of north/south reconciliation popular in the late nineteenth century, Gertrude's enduring loyalty to the Confederacy never wanes in Howard's drama and marks her as one of the earliest iterations of the loyal Confederate daughter.

More well-known to U.S. audiences than Gertrude Ellingham, is the famous southern character of Scarlett O'Hara. Scarlett O'Hara must be included as a critical branch in any genealogy of the Confederate female in American popular culture given that she is the most enduring representation of the southern belle, a dedicated defender of her southern home and

way of life at Tara, and a staple of southern tourism and memorabilia. In short, Scarlett still demands our attention over seventy-five years after she debuted in the pages of Margaret Mitchell's novel. The enduring popular and critical appeal of Mitchell's female protagonist stems from the initial and sustained success of the novel and later film, "Gone With the Wind." Set in antebellum Georgia, Mitchell's novel was first published in 1936, awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1937, and brought to the screen in 1939. The plot of the novel and film center on Scarlett O'Hara's life which begins before the Civil War and ends during postwar Reconstruction in Georgia. *Gone With the Wind* is one of the most popular southern cultural exports of the twentieth century and has been translated into forty languages and sold hundreds of millions of copies.⁷⁴ Mitchell's story has also inspired multiple memorabilia museums across the author's home state such as: the "Scarlett on the Square" Gone With the Wind Museum in Marietta, the "Road to Tara Museum" in Jonesboro, and the "Scarlett's Secret" Gone With the Wind Collectibles and Memorabilia house outside Helen. The enormous popularity of *Gone With the Wind* contributes to Atlanta tourism and is evidenced by the tourist traffic to both the Margaret Mitchell House in downtown and Mitchell's well-decorated grave in Oakland Cemetery.⁷⁵ Mitchell designated that Tara, the O'Hara's plantation home, and the Wilkes' plantation, Twelve Oaks, were located just outside Atlanta in Clayton County and while the precise location of the mythic Tara is not known, the city of Jonesboro claims the fame of being the home of Tara. The Convention and Visitor's Bureau proclaims Clayton County to be "the heart of the true South [...] where heritage comes alive!"⁷⁶ "Gone With the Wind" remains a staple of Georgia tourism for both southerners and non-southerners who crave the fantasy of Tara and the Old South.

The motion picture of “Gone With the Wind” was awarded eight Academy Awards in 1939 including Best Actress for Vivien Leigh as Scarlett and Best Supporting Actress for Hattie McDaniel as Mammy. While McDaniel was later criticized for taking the role of the loyal house slave, Mammy, her performance in the film garnered the first Academy Award given to a black actor and inspired the appreciation of Mitchell herself.⁷⁷ However beloved the role of Mammy was for audiences of “Gone With the Wind,” Atlanta in 1939 was a segregated city and the opening of the motion picture captured the institutionalized discrimination of the city. The discriminatory practices of Atlanta were, according to Civil Rights leader and later mayor of Atlanta, Andrew Young, “an embarrassment to [Margaret Mitchell].”⁷⁸ The governor of Georgia declared a three-day state holiday in anticipation of the film’s premiere at Loew’s Grand Theatre for which Georgians were asked to wear “period costumes from the Old South.”⁷⁹ But Atlanta’s celebration of “Gone With the Wind” was a whites-only affair. Every African American actor involved in the movie was excluded from the grand Atlanta opening which meant McDaniel and Butterfly McQueen, who played Prissy in the film, were not allowed to attend the premiere alongside their outraged costars Clark Gable and Vivien Leigh.

The segregated premiere of “Gone With the Wind” and the simultaneous popularity of the slave character Mammy are indicative of the complex race and gender politics fundamental to the history of Atlanta and also the film’s story. Place and the intersections of race and gender are vitally important in “Gone With the Wind” and foundational to the transformation of the character of Scarlett. Margaret Mitchell was born in Atlanta, died in Atlanta, and is buried in Oakland Cemetery. Not surprisingly, Atlanta and the land just outside the city served as inspiration for Mitchell’s story. “Gone With the Wind” is a romance, story of survival, and a love story—not so much between Scarlett and her Rhett Butler (or Ashley Wilkes)—but between

Scarlett and the Old South.⁸⁰ The majority of the just under four hour film is set in Georgia with the major settings of the film including: the O'Hara's plantation home, Tara; the nearby Wilkes family's plantation, Twelve Oaks; the city of Atlanta; and New Orleans which is featured briefly during Rhett and Scarlett's honeymoon. Tara stands in for the Old South and is the central driving force which propels Scarlett's actions and sustains her after the war. As they watch Atlanta burn, Rhett tells Scarlett: "Take a good look my dear—It's a historic moment you can tell your grandchildren how you watched the Old South disappear one night."⁸¹ Scarlett's love of Tara, defense of her home, and cleverness to do whatever it takes—including marrying the newly-rich Frank Kennedy whom she does not love—to save Tara are fundamental to Scarlett's character development over the course of the film.

Tara remains the site of Scarlett's invention of self throughout the film. To this end, a place-based understanding of identity construction is useful in tracing Scarlett's character development. Scarlett does not begin the novel or film as a modest southern belle, but it is through her evolving relationship to Tara that she matures as a good "southern lady." The gender ideal of the "southern lady" has been articulated by Anne Firor Scott as being a woman who is a "submissive wife whose reason for being was to love, honor, obey, and occasionally amuse her husband" and simultaneously "endowed with the capacity to 'create a magic spell' over any man in her vicinity."⁸² The southern lady is similar to the southern belle in that she is modest and beautiful, charming and coy, and always white and upper-class. When audiences and readers first meet Scarlett O'Hara she is far from being a demure southern lady and is instead vivacious, flirtatious, stubborn, and rebellious. She defies the gender norms of the time such as sneaking downstairs to pursue Ashley Wilkes while she is expected to be resting upstairs with her sisters as the men discuss the impending war downstairs at Twelve Oaks. Scarlett's

interest in her own desires and headstrong attitude that characterizes her as a young woman is typified in an early scene with her father, Gerald O'Hara. As father and daughter walk the grounds of Tara, the following dialogue ensues:

Mr. O'Hara: "What difference does it make who you marry, so long as he's a southerner and thinks like you? And when I'm gone, I'll leave Tara to you."

Scarlett: "I don't want Tara. Plantations don't mean anything when—"

Mr. O'Hara: "Do you mean to tell me, Katie Scarlett O'Hara, that Tara, that land doesn't mean anything to you? Why land is the only thing in the world worth working for, worth fighting for, worth dying for, because it's the only thing that lasts."⁸³

Scarlett dismisses her familial plantation for the flirtations and attention of Ashley Wilkes, but her father's lines foreshadow a future that will bring Scarlett back to Tara and back to a love for her southern home. When Scarlett and Mr. O'Hara finish speaking, they gaze at their white-columned plantation house in the distance as the camera pulls back to reveal them in silhouette against a glorious evening sky. For Scarlett's father, his daughter's appreciation for and dedication to her southern home is indicative of her loyalty to the race and gender codes of the Old South which demand that Scarlett maintain a way of life that was disrupted during the Civil War.

In addition to her father, Scarlett's two great loves in the film also understand her abiding love for Tara. After Ashley Wilkes returns from the war, Scarlett tells him that there is nothing for her to live for without his love. Ashley scoops a handful of Georgia red dirt and pours it into Scarlett's hand saying, "Yes, there is something you love better than me. Tara." Scarlett clutches the dirt in her fist and replies, "Yes, I still have this."⁸⁴ In fact, Scarlett always

maintains her connection to Tara throughout the film. She flees Atlanta as Sherman burns the city and returns to a home that is desolate and burned. She raises the tax money “that the Yankees want” to keep Tara, puts her sisters to work picking the cotton in Tara’s fields, later visits the home with Rhett and dreams of restoring it to its former glory, and in the final scene of the film, she breaks down weeping after Rhett leaves her and then proclaims suddenly, “Tara! Oh, I’ll go home. Then I’ll think of some way to get him back. Yes, after all tomorrow is another day.”⁸⁵ It is Tara that sustains Scarlett and remains the one constant in her life to which she can always return. Tara does not continue as an abstract idea of home, but a familial site that Scarlett actively fights to protect and return to throughout the story. While Rhett Butler leads Scarlett, Melanie, and their slave, Prissy, out of a burning Atlanta back across the scarred land to Tara, he stops and leaves Scarlett to continue down the final road to Tara alone. Rhett leaves her to join the war and tells her, “There’s a soldier of the South that loves you, Scarlett.”⁸⁶ She is frightened but determined to return to Tara and says to her horse, “Come on you, we’re going home,” and trudges forward across a burned landscape swarming with buzzards and dotted with dead soldiers and abandoned livestock.

Once home, Scarlett actively embraces her new role as defender and provider. Her transformation from the young, flirtatious woman of the opening scene at the last barbeque at Twelve Oaks to the mature survivor comes to fruition during her time at Tara in the final months of the war. When the Union soldier comes to loot Tara and advances on Scarlett to grab her, she shoots him dead. By killing the “Yankee invader,” Scarlett steps across the gendered lines of action and inaction that keep men as defenders and women as needing their protection and becomes in that moment a “female soldier who defends the South [...]”⁸⁷ This image of the southern lady pushed to violent action when the war comes to her door echoes the “vivandiere”

figure of earlier Confederate drama. Charles S. Watson has written on the preponderance and popularity of the female soldier or “vivandiere” figure in Confederate drama of the late 1800’s who remains willing to fight for the Confederacy with as much passion and bravery as her male counterparts.⁸⁸ These women are often young, beautiful and willing to fight to protect their southern homes. Unlike the long-suffering and trusting Melanie Wilkes who functions as Scarlett’s female foil in the film, Scarlett does not demonstrate a keen commitment to the Confederacy. In fact, she expresses a disinterest that borders on apathy and ennui as evidenced by her attitude during the charity ball for the Confederate hospital in Atlanta. However disinterested Scarlett may be with the Confederate States of America, when she learns from her family’s slaves, Pork and Mammy, that Union soldiers have looted Tara she gasps in horror, “Yankees in Tara!”⁸⁹ Her passionate defense of her home and way of life at Tara is cemented when she shoots and kills the Union soldier. This action also signals the start of the final phase of Scarlett’s development from the private sphere of the coquettish belle to the public sphere of savvy businesswoman who beats the “carpetbaggers” at “their own game” in the timber business.⁹⁰

The blurred boundaries of Scarlett’s public and private roles match the mutability of the gender ideologies of the southern belle and southern lady that have changed since the Civil War. Both the belle and the “good southern lady” are paradoxically weak and resourceful, soft and strong, passive and active agents in the preservation of the Old South. Scarlett’s staunch loyalty and defense of the site of her identity, Tara, anticipates the twenty-first century mythology of the Old South and the preoccupation with the past by which white southern women are perceived to be consumed in American popular culture and drama. In “Gone With the Wind,” Rhett insightfully tells Scarlett: “The cause of living in the past is dying right in front of us.”⁹¹

Although Scarlett herself can be seen in the film as always working toward a new future as articulated in her final line, “tomorrow is another day,” she and “Gone With the Wind” have become static southern staples of American popular culture. Similar to Scarlett’s defense of Tara, the preservation of Confederate memory is tied to specific locations that become sacred to contemporary Confederate characters such as Cecilia Delauney Pettison.

In the 2000 play, *Shiloh Rules*, Gertrude and Scarlett’s contemporary Confederate counterpart is introduced to the American stage through the character of Cecilia. *Shiloh Rules* premiered at the Alabama Shakespeare Festival in 2002 and has been staged in regional and university productions across the U.S. including performances in Massachusetts, Louisiana, North Carolina, New York, and Kansas. California playwright Doris Baizley was inspired to write *Shiloh Rules* after reading Tony Horowitz’s well-known book, *Confederates in the Attic*.⁹² Baizley wrote the play about a fictional reenactment at the Shiloh Battleground and National Park in Tennessee in which two Union and two Confederate female reenactors bent on total authenticity face off in the hopes of winning “best reenactor of the year” while a female African American park ranger named Ranger Wilson attempts to maintain order in what becomes a charged site as personal politics colliding with the ongoing racial and class realities of the contemporary south.

Baizley’s play does not center on the male-dominated reenactor culture that Horowitz explores, but focuses the dramatic tension around the problematic lead Confederate character of Cecilia. Cecilia is a contemporary southern woman who through her resolute refusal to move forward from the defeat of the Confederacy, is able to remain in an imagined past where she lives as Mrs. Cecilia Delauney Pettison, a grieving Confederate widow to a fictional husband killed at the Battle of Shiloh. Cecilia is so steeped in the past that her present life is a mystery to

the other characters. No one knows where Cecilia lives, is employed, or how she arrives at the annual reenactments across the south that she diligently attends. The Widow Beckwith attempts to explain the mysteries surrounding Cecilia in Act One to Ranger Wilson:

“You think we’re weird, Cecilia Pettison is a true mystery. Nobody knows who she is. First reports had her as an executive secretary in Atlanta. But the Texas Rifles in Dallas swear she’s a sales clerk for Neiman Marcus.”⁹³ The characters speculate that Cecilia is from Richmond, Virginia, that she is homeless, and that she is called a ghost. Cecilia is placeless, dislocated from the Union characters, and represents a type of trans-south that is fluid and not tied to any locatable southern origin. In this sense, Cecilia mirrors the contemporary UDC’s affiliation to a larger geography of Confederate memory that is not bound to a single state or region. Cecilia, like the UDC member of today, can remain loyal to a larger mythic south tied to the Confederacy; however, Cecilia and UDC members still return to particular sites of loss to perform both shared group ideologies and their own constructed identities as Confederate women.

Much like her dramatic predecessors’ attachment to the Shenandoah Valley (Gertrude) and Tara (Scarlett), Cecilia similarly treats Shiloh as sacred land that she must honor as a loyal defender of the Confederacy even in the face of Ranger Wilson’s radically different vision of the site. Wilson states in the final pages of Act one: “Come out here on patrol some night and find yourself face to face with a monument to Nathan Bedford Forrest, hero at Shiloh and founder of the KKK. Collect the mementos they leave in his honor—pick up all those little flags—read the graffiti. I’d like to know what you have to heal that.”⁹⁴ Wilson’s lines remind audience members that to separate the persistent contemporary dedication to the Confederacy from the reality of slavery in the south, is an impossible and negligent feat.

While Gertrude in Howard's play, *Shenandoah*, lives in the light of confidence and victory during the war, Cecilia lives in the shadow of loss in the contemporary south. The contemporary south in which Cecilia exists is one far beyond the reconciliatory reunion of north and south demonstrated in *Shenandoah*. Whereas Scarlett rejects a pleasant acceptance of change and Reconstruction and instead embodies a steely tenacity to not only survive but resurrect the glory of the Old South, Cecilia feels an overwhelming sense of total loss. The post-defeat atmosphere of the contemporary south of *Shiloh Rules* is captured in the climax of the play when Cecilia tells her Union counterpart: "You don't know how to lose. You will never know what it's like to lose over and over again. Your home, your friends, every fine ideas you ever had about yourself. Every time I come out here I lose. And every time I come back, I will find more to lose, until ..." ⁹⁵ Described in Baizley's opening stage directions as, "A pale, thin woman in frayed lace cap and worn silk dress," Baizley's Confederate woman is a far cry from Howard's riding habit-clad, whip-wielding Gertrude. ⁹⁶ Both women, though, demonstrate the same belief that the land is an important conduit to memory that they alone must defend and maintain. In the final moment of *Shiloh Rules*, Cecilia cements the Confederate woman's bond with the landscape of her lost nation. Baizley writes:

Clearing. Sunset. Low sunlight through trees. Cecilia enters, stops, looks at the stone marker on the ground around it. She studies it. [Cecilia]: Unknown. Unknown. Unknown. She paces off small areas, stops and names each one. [Cecilia]: William. Richard. Anthony. Michael. Michael Joseph. She stops. [Cecilia]: None of you died without a name. Someone named you once. I name you again. [Cecilia]: Nathaniel...Jonathon...Robert...James...She pulls out her refugee bundle close beside her, sits, and settles into a deep reverie. ⁹⁷

The play ends with Cecilia returning to this “reverie” of her imagined past after renaming the Shiloh battleground through her personal mourning ritual.

The stage is the repository of cultural memory as Marvin Carlson has articulated, but it is also the site of cultural construction that informs who we think we are and who we think we are not.⁹⁸ Gertrude, Scarlett, and Cecilia are not “real,” tangible, or material women but following Carlson, they are central to our understanding of how the Confederate woman has been imagined on stage and how she is constructed today through commemoration. Whether or not a contemporary UDC member’s female ancestors were as dedicated to preserving Confederate memory as she is today, does not matter. What matters is that the present-day “daughter” willingly inherits a landscape of Confederate memory of which she is defender and preserver. To borrow from Simone de Beauvoir, one is not born a daughter of the Confederacy, she becomes one. Land, memory, and performance are each intertwined palimpsests of the past that are imprinted with innumerable layers of gendered and racially charged duties such as saving lands, preserving and performing memory through commemoration, and remaining loyal to the lost nation of the Confederacy. One current member of the UDC told me when I asked her why she personally wanted to join the organization: “I’m proud of all my family members who have fought for our country, and the Confederate States of America was our country at that time. I’m sure if our ancestors had lived in the North they would have fought for the North as that would have been their country.”⁹⁹ Here contemporary geographic regions and nations are collapsed through the logic of familial duty and genealogical pride. To feel pride for one’s ancestors may be a common phenomenon today that fits what Pierre Nora terms “duty-memory,” or the imperative that individuals must know their family histories and must remember them in order to find and create their own identity.¹⁰⁰ However, the commemorative activities of the UDC do not

live in the past and are not carried out in private isolation, but remain dependent upon public performances grounded in specific sites. Moreover, for UDC members to be able to express their loyalties to their nation they must have sites of commemoration or landscapes of memory to which they return.¹⁰¹ The cemetery is, not surprisingly, an especially fitting site for commemoration and to the oldest cemetery in the heart of the deep south is where this analysis now turns.

Atlanta

Atlanta, Georgia is one site where the material (through monuments) and symbolic (through commemorations) efforts of contemporary Confederate women continue to be visibly inscribed on the public landscape. To understand the Confederate Memorial Day commemoration at Oakland Cemetery, we must first locate Atlanta within the landscape of southern memory. W.E.B. DuBois lived in segregated Atlanta from 1900 to 1910, and during this time he completed the seminal essays that would become *The Souls of Black Folk*. DuBois' fifth essay, "Of the Wings of Atalanta," begins with the following description of the capital city: "South of the North, yet north of the South, lies the City of a Hundred Hills, peering out from the shadows of the past into the promise of the future."¹⁰² DuBois recognized the importance of Atlanta as a center of black/white relations in the U.S. and as a nexus where the slavery past converged with a tumultuous present. To secure a more equitable future, DuBois called for "Atalanta" to shun "commercial selfishness," and to take up instead, an earnest commitment to higher education for her black and white citizens.¹⁰³ In addition to Fisk and Howard universities, DuBois praised Atlanta University (which would later be consolidated and take its present name, Clark Atlanta University) as crucial, historically black institutions dedicated to educating

twentieth-century African American men and women. DuBois saw Georgia, and Atlanta at its heart, as necessary to forming the future of post-Civil War black/white peace in the U.S.

In the 1940's, Margaret Mitchell wrote about her prescient belief in the future of Atlanta as an important black center in letters to Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, then President of Morehouse College. Mitchell became one of Morehouse's most generous anonymous donors and wrote to Mays: "The time will come when Atlanta will be the largest Negro city in the South."¹⁰⁴ In the twenty-first century Atlanta has remained a city with a large African American population with a history of black leadership in city governance. Today, the racial demographics of Georgia's capital match DuBois and Mitchell's view of the city as a black metropolis. According to U.S. census records for the year 2010, the three largest racial demographic categories reported for Atlanta's population included: 54% for "Black persons," 38.4% for "White persons," and 5.2% for "Persons of Hispanic or Latino origin."¹⁰⁵ Atlanta is thus symbolic as a major black center in U.S. history and as a crucial city during the country's Civil War.

Throughout the Civil War, several southern cities were pivotal to the military strategies by the northern and southern armies. Charleston, South Carolina, was home to Fort Sumter, upon which the first shots of the war were fired. Today, Fort Sumter is the site of continued Civil War reenactments including the sesquicentennial commemoration on April 12, 2011 which drew around 1,200 people to the Charleston Harbor area to watch a reenactment of the bombing of Fort Sumter.¹⁰⁶ Richmond, Virginia, was the capital of the Confederacy from 1861 until its fall in early 1865, location of the executive home of the Confederacy's president, Jefferson Davis, and the site of volatile bread riots in the waning years of the war.¹⁰⁷ The Museum of the Confederacy is located today in Davis' former residence and is well-trafficked by reenactors, Civil War aficionados, and especially genealogically-minded descendants of Confederate

soldiers. Atlanta was one of the last major southern cities to be taken by the Union and was seized in the fall of 1864.

General William Tecumseh Sherman completed the Union, “Atlanta Campaign,” by destroying Georgia’s capital which crippled the movement of supplies by rail and severely weakened the Confederate army. Sherman’s devastation of Georgia was strategic and brutally thorough and ended only after he led Union troops on a destructive “march to the sea” toward Georgia’s coast.¹⁰⁸ Sherman summarized his approach to Georgia and Atlanta with the following: “Until we can repopulate Georgia, it is useless for us to occupy it; but the utter destruction of its roads, houses, and people, will cripple their military resources. By attempting to hold the roads, we will lose a thousand men each month, and will gain no result. I can make this march, and make Georgia howl!”¹⁰⁹ After Sherman drove Confederate General John Hood from Atlanta, he declared an evacuation of citizens, and then burned the city to insure the destruction of any materials that might be valuable to the Confederate army.

The burning of Atlanta and its mythologized image as the “Phoenix City” has been imagined in popular culture since the Civil War’s end and has contributed to the tourist appeal of the city.¹¹⁰ Both the city’s resiliency and diversity continue to be central hallmarks of contemporary tourist marketing in Atlanta. The burned city figured prominently in the 1939 film adaptation of Georgia author Margaret Mitchell’s famous novel, *Gone With the Wind*. As Karen Cox has pointed out, twentieth century marketing literature promoted Atlanta, as both a progressive center of the New South and as a destination where tourists could experience a nostalgic image of the Old South. Whereas “Atlanta’s business leaders [...] focus[ed] less on Civil War heritage and more on an attitude of sectional reconciliation through northern investment,” the allure of the Old South continued to draw tourists.¹¹¹ While there is not an

actual “Tara,” tourists hungry to see the Civil War-inspired sights of *Gone With the Wind* have steadily poured into Atlanta since the novel was published in 1936. Like most major U.S. cities, Atlanta marketing literature promotes the zoo (Zoo Atlanta); educational and arts attractions (the Atlanta Cyclorama, Fernbank Museum of Natural History, and the Woodruff Arts Center); the city’s sports teams (the MLB Braves, the NBA Hawks, and the NFL Falcons); cultural and civic centers (the King Center dedicated to the work of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Carter Center, named for Georgia Governor and U.S. President, Jimmy Carter); and internationally-known sites of tourist interest (the Olympic Village created for the 1996 summer Olympic Games and the Coca-Cola Museum).¹¹² What Atlanta means to tourists may be quite different than the city’s importance for particular groups in Georgia, including the UDC.

Some of the earliest work of UDC chapters in Atlanta included erecting Confederate monuments across the public landscape of the city. The UDC’s efforts to memorialize the Confederacy have forever shaped the landscape of Atlanta and Oakland Cemetery. The early monuments were a testament to the vow of post-war loyal Confederate women to never forget their honored ancestors. Today, these monuments afford UDC chapters tangible locations to return to in order to conduct commemorative events. The pledges spoken by UDC members, awards given for military service, and grave decorations are central to the activities of the UDC; however, these activities do not possess the same sense of permanence that the large monuments evoke.

The nineteenth century monuments erected by determined women of Atlanta Ladies Memorial Associations and the UDC represent the desire to carve a space permanently for the Confederacy within the collective memory of a racially diverse and changing city, state, and region. These women wanted the honor of their Confederate leaders to never be forgotten, even

if this entailed physically carving this memory in stone. The principal and perhaps most enduringly controversial addition the UDC has made to the public landscape of Atlanta is Stone Mountain which is located approximately ten miles northeast from downtown Atlanta.¹¹³ Stone Mountain is the largest exposed granite mass in the world and bears an enormous carving of the Confederate leaders Robert E. Lee, Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson, and Jefferson Davis.¹¹⁴ The over thirty year work to complete Stone Mountain began when the president of the Atlanta chapter of the UDC, Caroline Helen Jemison Plane, contacted the sculptor Gutzon Borglum to survey the granite area and discuss the UDC’s plans for creating a lasting memorial to the Confederacy.¹¹⁵

The same granite that was so precious to the UDC’s efforts in creating Stone Mountain went into the creation of the Confederate obelisk that stands in the center of Oakland Cemetery. The obelisk is sixty-five feet high, was carved out of granite quarried from Stone Mountain, and was dedicated by the Atlanta Ladies Memorial Association in 1874.¹¹⁶ The other dominant visual reminder of the centrality of Confederate memorialization to Oakland’s visual landscape is the large “Lion of Atlanta” statue.¹¹⁷ The Lion was carved in 1894 from the largest block of marble quarried in Georgia at the time of its creation and was modeled after the resting lion depicted in the “Lion of Lucerne” monument in Lucerne, Switzerland.¹¹⁸ Behind the Lion are the graves of the unknown Confederate soldiers and for those nameless soldiers, the wounded Lion rests atop a Confederate battle flag and guards the graves from a marble base inscribed with the words, “Unknown Confederate Dead.” If the Civil War fact that Confederate General Hood stood atop Oakland’s hill and looked out at Atlanta as Union General Sherman forced Hood’s troops to abandon the city are forgotten by a contemporary visitor to Oakland, the Lion of

Atlanta and the Confederate obelisk are striking visual reminders of Confederate history and the enduring Confederate memory that has forever marked the landscape of Oakland.

Oakland Cemetery

Historic Oakland Cemetery is located less than one mile east of downtown Atlanta. The cemetery encompasses forty-nine city-owned acres that stretch along Memorial Drive, a main thorough-fare which bisects the capital city from east to west. Oakland is owned and operated by the City of Atlanta's Department of Parks, Recreation and Cultural Affairs, and remains an active cemetery with approximately one burial per month.¹¹⁹ The cemetery mission reflects the importance of Oakland to the historical landscape of Atlanta: "The Historic Oakland Foundation partners with the City of Atlanta to preserve, restore, enhance, and share Oakland Cemetery with the public as an important cultural resource and an island of tranquility in the heart of the city."¹²⁰ Following the estimated three million dollar devastation to the cemetery caused by a rare tornado that ripped through Atlanta in March, 2008, the Executive Director of the Historic Oakland Foundation, David S. Moore, was quoted by the *New York Times*, stating: "Every great city has great institutions of higher education, great art institutes, important green space—and a great cemetery. This is Atlanta's great cemetery."¹²¹

Moore's statement is not simply civic boasting but an accurate assessment of Oakland's saliency given the impressive roster of "notable residents" who are buried in the "great cemetery," which includes: the first African American mayor of Atlanta, Maynard Jackson; the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *Gone With the Wind*, Margaret Mitchell; former slave, pastor and founder of Morris Brown College, Bishop Wesley John Gaines; and the famous U.S. professional golfer, Bobby Jones.¹²² In addition to the oft-visited graves of Atlanta's most

famous citizens, Oakland Cemetery contains approximately 40,000 grave markers. Due to erosion, the disintegration of original wooden markers that were not replaced, and family mausoleums that contain multiple individual remains, the cemetery's records indicate that more than 70,000 individuals have been buried at Oakland since its founding in 1850.¹²³

Atlanta in 1850 was a growing city of approximately 2,500 and the need for a public cemetery led the city council to purchase six acres as a public burial ground located just outside the initial center of the city.¹²⁴ Originally called, the "City Cemetery" or the "Atlanta Cemetery," Oakland acquired its permanent name in 1872 from the abundance of oak trees that lined the cemetery grounds and became the city's first park.¹²⁵ Oakland Cemetery is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and exemplifies the Victorian ideals of a garden cemetery through the park-like rows of Oak trees, manicured shrubbery, wrought-iron gates and towering obelisks marking family vaults, and extensive use of large statuary. Unlike later modern cemeteries that are distinguished by characteristics such as low, flat headstone plaques arranged in the ground in long, straight rows, Oakland Cemetery was created during the "rural garden" cemetery movement of the nineteenth century.¹²⁶ To this end, Oakland's various benches, shade trees, striking vistas of downtown Atlanta, and visitor's center, continue the original Victorian-age desire to create a place for the dead and the living, or as the Historic Oakland Cemetery Foundation's vision statement captures, "A revered cemetery and vibrant park to honor Atlanta's past and celebrate its future."¹²⁷

While Oakland Cemetery maintains a full calendar of public initiatives ranging from the "African-American Voices" cell phone tour program to the summer music festival, "Tunes from the Tombs," its layout and history reflect both the racial diversity and segregation of Georgia and the larger south.¹²⁸ After the initial burials of notable early Atlanta pioneers including Martha

Lumpkin Compton who inspired the city name, “Marthasville,” before “Atlanta” was chosen in 1845, the next second wave of burials within Oakland Cemetery came during the Civil War.¹²⁹

During the war, the City of Atlanta and government of the Confederate States of America designated large areas of land for the burial of approximately 6,900 Confederate dead, including 3,000 unknown soldiers. The Confederate wing of the cemetery was the final expansion of Oakland, and by 1867, Oakland had reached its current size.¹³⁰ The Confederate soldiers buried at Oakland during the war included those who had died at area hospitals within Georgia; those interred after the war concluded in 1865 including Confederate soldiers who had been quickly buried at nearby battlefields.

Along with the Confederate memorial grounds, Oakland’s burial sections reflect the de jure and de facto racial, class and religious segregation in the south during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and include: the area designated for the indigent of Atlanta who were buried collectively in Potter’s Field; the African American grounds which include the remains of 860 Georgia slaves and the graves of African Americans who were instrumental in founding the prestigious, historically-black institutions of both Morris Brown College and Spellman College; and the Jewish burial sections which were originally purchased by the Hebrew Benevolent Society of Atlanta and contains the graves of prominent Jewish Atlantans, Morris and Emanuel Rich who founded Rich’s department store and Joseph Jacobs whose drugstore was the site of the first serving of Coca-Cola.

Today the area surrounding Oakland Cemetery mirrors the diversity of Oakland’s deceased residents and the economic changes Atlanta has undergone from Reconstruction to the present. Oakland cemetery is located in the Cabbagetown area of east Atlanta. Cabbagetown is a historic community that was built originally as a mill town for the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill

that began operations in 1881. The mill was built following the ruin of the Atlanta Rolling Mill which was destroyed in the Battle of Atlanta when Union General Sherman occupied the city. Post-Reconstruction Atlanta in the twentieth century saw the mill close and the community of Cabbagetown decline as industries left the area. Cabbagetown like many parts of Atlanta experienced new growth and intense gentrification in the 1990's which included the construction of loft apartments in the old mill building.¹³¹ Today, along the Memorial Drive border of Oakland is a row of busy shops, restaurants and bars including "Tin Lizzy's Taqueria & Cantina," "Only You Tattoo Parlor," and the popular and aptly-named, "Six Feet Under Pub & Fish House," which has an upper balcony for diners who can gaze at the Atlanta skyline and, from their vantage point, peer into the peaceful cemetery by looking over the red brick and mortar wall that edges Oakland.

Standing in the center of Oakland can be a disorienting temporal experience that captures the transformation of the city that surrounds the seemingly permanent space of the cemetery. As a visitor stands looking at a headstone inscribed, "My beloved husband, Thomas A. Holebrook," the black windows and stacked geometric design of the sixty-story Sun Trust Bank building intrudes immediately behind Holebrook's grave as if it were part of the memorial landscape itself.¹³² What might be termed the, "sky-scraper headstone" effect, typifies the seemingly out-of-place placeness of Oakland Cemetery—a cemetery in the middle of a city that grew up around its history. Put more simply, the cemetery does not match the surrounding urban landscape of Atlanta, and for some, neither does the racial politics and performative aspects of pro-Confederate groups such as the UDC who are drawn to Oakland as a central site in their commemorative campaigns to never forget the Confederacy. The fact that Atlanta expanded and changed around its oldest cemetery is not unlike other urban U.S. cemeteries such as Washington

Cemetery in Brooklyn, but what sets Oakland apart is the centrality of Confederate commemoration and memory that Oakland elicits.¹³³

For Atlantans, the activities in the cemetery carried out by Confederate-flag-bearing southerners might seem like a curious relic of the Old South on one hand, or a dangerous, reinscription of racist ideology under the banner of “heritage” on the other hand. “Six Feet Under” has a bustling weekend brunch crowd and one UDC member I spoke with following the 2011 Confederate Memorial Day mentioned that for a past event she and her fellow UDC members had come to the brick wall that lines the Confederate burial grounds and runs parallel to Memorial Drive. She stated that they “were all dressed up” with their hats, ribbons, and ancestor bars on and that there were many people on the balcony eating at “Six Feet Under” overlooking the cemetery who were watching the women. She stated that, “it was a little embarrassing actually.”¹³⁴ From the woman’s statement it is not immediately clear if her embarrassment stemmed from a new awareness of the attention-grabbing nature of the way she and her fellow members were dressed or lined up in the cemetery, or if her embarrassment was a visceral reaction to suddenly being watched. As she and her fellow “daughters” watched over the graves of the Confederate dead, they were being observed by a crowd of curious watchers. This moment of awareness grounded in the public/private space of Oakland which elicited embarrassment for the UDC member is indicative of the complex racial, gender and national politics at play during the UDC’s most honored event, the Confederate Memorial Day.

Confederate Memorial Day

Amy Heyse has written on the “rhetorical authority” of early nineteenth century UDC leaders and sees the UDC as succeeding in casting themselves as authorities of memory in the nineteenth century. Heyse defines “public memories” as:

rhetorically constructed recollections of a shared past that serve the present and future needs of individuals and communities. Communities especially craft public memories in order to define and perpetuate their social identity; that is, to provide collectives with a sense of who they are, what they have in common with each other, and how they differ from those who do not share the same memories.¹³⁵

Confederate Memorial Day has long afforded pro-Confederate groups an annual event to embody the collective memories they hold of their “shared past.” Confederate Memorial Day has its origins in the atmosphere of commemoration following the Civil War that led to a profusion of northern and southern memorial actions such as marking the graves of dead soldiers. “Decoration Days” occurred in the north and the south in April and May and were organized mostly by women.¹³⁶ Ladies’ Memorial Associations across the south began the first Confederate Memorial Day observances following the war’s end which were held generally around April 26th (the day Confederate General Johnston surrendered to Union General Sherman). Following Reconstruction, the tone of Confederate Memorial Day shifted from mourning and bereavement for the losses and defeat of the Confederacy, to a celebration of the Lost Cause and its “values.”¹³⁷

This celebratory tone was evident during the 2011 Confederate Memorial Day observance at Oakland Cemetery. The first Confederate Memorial Day was held at Oakland on

April 26, 1866. Since then, the event has been an annual occurrence with the cemetery providing chairs and a funeral tent to shade the refreshments enjoyed following the ceremony. Oakland's involvement was also evident by the noted presence of the sexton of Oakland, and the chairman of the board of trustees, and executive director of the Historic Oakland Foundation. While Oakland Cemetery continues to support the annual Confederate commemoration, the cemetery does not formally publicize the event.¹³⁸ Confederate Memorial Day is not included in the marketing literature that promotes the activities and public events of Oakland, nor does the cemetery include photographs of the commemoration on its website. Despite Oakland's seemingly downplayed connection to the pro-Confederate event, there were over eighty chairs set up for the audience section for the 2011 Confederate Memorial Day. Most of the "audience" in attendance were UDC members and their spouses which was visually evident due to their gloves, hats, and especially the ancestor bars they wore pinned over their hearts. The chairs were full and approximately thirty more were in attendance at the commemoration who were either standing, playing in the trombone ensemble, or leading the event. It is not the relatively small size of the 2011 Confederate Memorial Day but the highly gendered and racialized performativity of the event that is significant. The Alfred Holt Colquitt chapter of the UDC that conducts the Oakland commemoration is not alone but joined by hundreds of other chapters who across the U.S. return to the cemeteries, squares, and churches that become visible, public performances of Confederate loyalty every April. Confederate Memorial Day, therefore, encapsulates the historic and contemporary mission of the UDC: to preserve, perpetuate, and forever instill Confederate loyalty in future generations.

One way the UDC perpetuates a sense of loyalty to the Confederacy is through the awarding of "Crosses of Military Service" and "Meritorious Service Medals" to Confederate

descendants who have fought in the many wars of the U.S. At the 2011 Confederate Memorial Day in Oakland, one Korean War and two World War II veterans were honored. The men were welcomed to the front of the audience during the “Ceremony of Bestowal” by the former president of the Georgia Division of the UDC and the current president of the Alfred Holt Colquitt chapter. The former division president instructed the audience that the assembly were asked to stand during the bestowal and to refrain from taking any photographs or applauding during or following the ceremony. Each man’s name and military record was read aloud along with his Confederate ancestor’s name and military service to the Confederate army. The women somberly bestowed medals around the necks of the honored men and in so doing epitomized the ideal of “the Daughter” as serving her male ancestors and maintaining her status as keeper of Confederate memory. Through the bestowal of military service awards as an act of patriotism, race is ignored and the gendered duty of being a “good” Daughter is displayed publically. By honoring “her veterans,” contemporary UDC members can collapse all U.S. military campaigns into one honorable and patriotic heritage. However, this heritage is publically linked to the Confederacy as an assumed source of white honor and heroism. The move to align all military service with a shared Confederate history accomplishes two symbolic tasks: links the Confederacy to all heroic, militaristic, and national service, through the naming of each veteran’s Confederate ancestor as somehow the genealogical wellspring of all heroic men; and perplexingly unmoors the Confederacy of its historical context, which included protecting and promoting slavery and white racial supremacy, in order to bring the Confederacy into 2011 without the discomfort of ever having to talk about racism.

Commemorations are not simply sites where particular identities and beliefs show up, but these events are crucial sites for creating identity and solidifying community.¹³⁹ In this context,

Confederate pride does not merely appear at Oakland Cemetery, but those individuals who believe, enact, and live these ideas come to the cemetery and re-mark the public space as belonging to a landscape of Confederate heritage. With her return to the oldest cemetery in Atlanta, the contemporary UDC woman returns to the landscape of memory in order to construct her own identity.¹⁴⁰ By pinning the names of her ancestors to her clothing over her heart, each Daughter marks her body as belonging to a larger, many-bodied landscape of her family and nation's past. The ancestor bars are a corporeal inscription of memory that allow members to publically wear the names of those from whom they have come. In this way, the cemetery becomes a crucial site of remembrance and recreation of identity that allows UDC members to know who they are today through knowing who their collective Confederate dead once were.

Gender and race are not only imbricated but collapsed during Confederate Memorial Day. Specifically, gender and its attendant duty to be a “good Daughter,” or more accurately, to be a good, southern white woman, trumps the issue of race through the mission of memory. The duty to remember the Confederate dead because they served “their country” erases the problematic issue of the plantation economy—which was built by enslaved bodies—that undergirded the Confederate States of America. The memory-mission of the UDC is captured in bronze on a plaque along the interior edge of the Confederate wing of Oakland Cemetery that reads: “Lest We Forget.”¹⁴¹ The plaque was dedicated on Confederate Memorial Day in 1950.

Conclusion

The performance of white pride, privilege, and white racial identity that presumably characterized that Memorial Day in 1950 was evident in the connotations lingering just beneath the surface of the speeches and songs shared at the 2011 Confederate Memorial Day. After

pledging allegiance to the U.S. flag, the flag of Georgia, and the first flag of the Confederacy, all in attendance at the 2011 Confederate Memorial Day were asked to sing “Dixie.” Following “Dixie,” were greetings and the introduction of the speaker who gave her “Message” that day on “southern character.” George Lipsitz observes the early nineteenth-century conflation of whiteness with patriotism, writing: “[...] patriotism has often been constructed in the United States as a matter of a gendered and racialized obligations to paternal protection of the white family.”¹⁴² The message delivered on “southern character” urged the audience to teach the southern character to future generations and to recognize that this character is only taught from a “[...] lifetime of reading and re-reading the stories and histories” and from understanding that, “The war, it has shaped our entire southern experience.”¹⁴³ The contemporary focus on “southern character” and the duty to teach future generations echoes the earliest work of the UDC in public education.¹⁴⁴ Education afforded then and affords UDC members today the ability to pass on their values and beliefs in a seemingly harmless manner by assuming an intentionally apolitical mission of remembering the Confederate dead. The organization’s intentional rhetorical choice to call themselves United “daughters” and not United wives, mothers, or simply, women, further signals their participation in a paternalistic gender and racial ideology that was cemented in the antebellum south.

The executive director of the Historic Oakland Foundation spoke briefly before the speech on southern character delivered by the former president general of the UDC and stated: “Ceremonies help us remember where we came from.”¹⁴⁵ While there was never a single mentioning of race during the 2011 Confederate Memorial Day commemoration and each speaker was adroit at never using the words, “white” or “black” (or any other racialized term); it is clear that the “our,” “us,” and “we” invoked repeatedly during the event marks an exclusive

and racialized group. Paul Ricoeur writes: “[...] what I will call the duty of memory consists essentially in a duty not to forget. In this way, a good share of the search for the past is placed under the sign of the task not to forget.”¹⁴⁶ The mantle to never forget further masks race beneath the duties of gender and encodes the past in a polite and palatable politics of “heritage” and “honor.” The UDC’s annual return to the cemetery to commemorate Confederate Memorial Day is part of a collective landscape of memory; however, this landscape is a members-only space that brings the Lost Cause of the Old South to a “post-race” New South.

*The Landscape of Identity:
Native Histories and New Echota*

In the December 3, 1889 issue of the *Atlanta Weekly Constitution*, Belle K. Abbott wrote:

“Perhaps the best forgotten historic spot in Georgia is New Echota. [...] We rode to the spot where the town was [...] there was nothing to be seen but a most beautiful and blessed field of ripening corn, which covered many acres. Throughout this level sea of golden grain an occasional green walnut tree dotted the scene. These were indices, it seemed to me, that pointed to where human habitations once stood, and where human voices filled the air, instead of sighing, rustling corn.”¹⁴⁷

The landscape Abbott described was the site of the capital of the Cherokee Nation from 1825 to 1838 and the location of the signing of the Treaty of New Echota, which signaled the beginning of the forced expulsion of thousands of Cherokee from the southeastern United States. Today the site has been reconstructed and operates as the New Echota Historic Site, a Georgia state park located just over an hour outside of Atlanta in northwestern Gordon County. One of the first planned communities in Georgia, the Cherokee capital contained a courthouse, famous printing press, and the homes of Cherokee leaders, including the first editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper, Elias Boudinot. After the signing of the Treaty of New Echota, the capital was dismantled, with the land plowed and turned into fields following the great march west of southeastern Native American tribes on what would become known as the “Trail of Tears.” Nonetheless, as Abbott’s series of contributions to the *Atlanta Weekly Constitution* indicate, New Echota and the Cherokee who once lived there lingered in the state’s public memory for decades after Georgia’s Native neighbors were forced from their homes.

Introduction

In a state with a relatively small Native American population, the persistent belief in and performance of Cherokee identity continues. New Echota is the central site of Cherokee removal where both the disappearance of the Cherokee and the enduring desire for an authentic Native presence is demonstrated through racially charged identity performance.¹⁴⁸ I focus in these pages on the micro-interactional level of identity construction achieved through acts of individual racial negotiation by certain visitors to New Echota's largest public event, the annual Frontier Day festival. While Frontier Day specifically brings only three to four hundred visitors to New Echota; it is not the numbers but the performances of Native histories and constructed Native identities that warrant examination of Frontier Day as a performance event.¹⁴⁹ Many historic sites in the U.S. are constructed with the memory-mission of declaring that an oppressed racial or ethnic community "was here," but the performative power of New Echota lies in its ability to say the Cherokee "are here." During Frontier Day this move is achieved through the repopulation of the site by particular visitors who believe and enact publically the racialized certainty that they are living Cherokee descendants. For some, this conviction comes from the belief that they not only share a common history with the Cherokee but that their bodies carry the racial phenotypes historically ascribed to Native bodies which marks their identities as belonging to an exoticized form of whiteness: the "Native southerner." This hybrid identity is constituted by what I suggest are spoken and embodied performances of race and recognition, and the (re)-membering of alternate histories of the Cherokee in Georgia. By "(re)-membering" I refer to a process constituted on two levels: first, through the material, or physical, repopulation of New Echota by the presence of Cherokee artists, storytellers and performers, and through the immaterial, or imagined, repopulation of the site conveyed through the stories of individual

family histories told by festival visitors. Many of the individual performances of Native identity by particular visitors at Frontier Day are constructed from highly racialized assumptions of the physical appearance, behavior and cultural “value” of the Cherokee that can be linked to early representations of “the Indian” on nineteenth-century, U.S. stages. Today the performed remembrances of ancestor identities and genealogical pride expressed during Frontier Day by certain, impassioned visitors shift New Echota from a commemorative site to a performative stage upon which the desire for the absent Cherokee manifests. These performative acts have the power not to rewrite the history of the state and federally sanctioned genocide of the Cherokee, but to imagine alternate individual histories that collectively dispel the Romantic notion of a lost people and a “vanishing/ed” race.¹⁵⁰ Examining this micro-interactional level of racialized identity construction achieved at Frontier Day can add richly to our understanding of the dichotomous disappearance of and desire for Native identities in the U.S. south.

In its contemporary capacity as a state park, New Echota comprises a museum, reconstructed buildings, small gift shop, library, and a film screening theater. The main area of New Echota spans almost fifty acres and includes a one-mile nature trail that winds into the woods surrounding the reconstructed town center. The entire park consists of two hundred acres of protected land. A small staff of two full-time park employees along with volunteers run the museum, gift shop, and admissions desk; they also monitor the grounds and assist school field trip groups and tourist visitors who come to New Echota throughout the year.¹⁵¹ For public events including Frontier Day, New Echota is dependent on the help of a dedicated group of volunteers who assist the park superintendent in running the festival as the “Friends of New Echota.”¹⁵² Unlike well-funded, reconstructed historic sites such as Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, New Echota has no living history interpreters on staff due to budgetary constraints.

This fact contributes to the dramatic shift the park undergoes during Frontier Day as Cherokee and non-Cherokee storytellers and artisans are stationed throughout the park during the one day educational festival. The park is dedicated to preserving the history of the Cherokee capital and the state and national events that led to the 1838 involuntary relocation of thousands of Native Americans from the state of Georgia and the larger southeastern region. New Echota's material mission is the preservation and display of the artifacts recovered during the 1954 Georgia Historical Commission's archeological excavation of the former capital site. A dominant historical narrative is presented in the museum displays at New Echota can be summarized in the following manner: the Cherokee, a "civilized," "advanced" and rapidly assimilating people were eclipsed by the desire for gold and Cherokee land by Georgians, the desire of the U.S. federal government to ignore the sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation, and President Andrew Jackson's desire to end the "Indian problem." The recovered Cherokee artifacts are displayed in glass cases that line the walls of the museum beneath large signs with text tracing the history of Cherokee removal.¹⁵³

After paying the five dollar entrance fee to the park, visitors to New Echota are asked to watch a video, take a tour brochure and accompanying map, and read the informational signs located outside each building on the park's grounds. The central area of the park contains the one original on-site and eleven reconstructed buildings. Visitors who follow the walking path through the park upon exiting the museum encounter, in this order, the following: the Cherokee homestead; the four cornerstones marking the site of the Boudinot house; the reconstructed Cherokee council house and supreme courthouse; the print shop of the *Cherokee Phoenix*; Vann tavern; another small Cherokee farmstead; and finally the original two-story Worcester house on the far end of the park. Henri Lefebvre has written usefully on "representational spaces" that is

helpful in understanding reconstructed sites such as New Echota: “Representational spaces, on the other hand, need obey no rules of consistency or cohesiveness. Redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, they have their sources in history—in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belong to that people.”¹⁵⁴ Attempts at authenticity by park planners include the period-accurate building techniques used by the Georgia Historical Commission in reconstructing the courthouse, council house and printing office.¹⁵⁵ “Authenticity” also appears in the period-inspired, often home-made dress of the Frontier Day festival performers.

New Echota emerges from the landscape of Cherokee-centered tourist sites in the American South as a locus of simultaneity through which a fixed narrative of history is presented to visitors in the museum displays and informational video while alternate histories of survival are expressed by festival visitors. The museum objects, video, map, brochure, and park signs all echo the dominant historical narrative of the eradication of the Cherokee people in Georgia and the reincorporation of Cherokee histories into Georgia state history. If the Cherokee relics—fragments of a printing press type, broken pieces of china, nails and a smoking pipe—are displayed to give the viewer a personal sense of the former possessors of the objects, the exhibitions themselves are also “exhibits of those who make them,” as they indicate the revaluing of Cherokee histories within the state narrative of Georgia’s past.¹⁵⁶ New Echota is not unique among U.S. historic sites, given that the subtext bolstering its museum exhibits is the political goal of atonement and the persistent belief that the preservation of the site’s history will preserve the memory of a “lost” people.¹⁵⁷ However, the historical narrative presented by the museum and signs throughout the park is reconstituted during Frontier Day where desired racial identities and family histories are constructed which subvert a narrative of Native disappearance.

Historian Andrew Denson asserts that the Trail of Tears has received an immense amount of both scholarly and popular cultural attention, stating: “No other Indian event, except perhaps the Battle of the Little Big Horn, has received so much attention in America’s culture of memory.”¹⁵⁸ To employ Denson’s assertion, it could be argued that the attention given to the removal of Native peoples from the southeastern U.S. is born from an at times morbid fascination with the extreme hardship and trauma that characterized the Trail of Tears¹⁵⁹. How New Echota has functioned following the removal of the Cherokee has received far less critical attention than the numerous works that focus on the capital’s function during the initial act of removal. Studying New Echota today fits Denson’s call for “an opportunity to expand understandings of southern memory.”¹⁶⁰ Moreover, to examine the site as a location of identity performance contributes to a much needed knowledge of how contemporary Cherokee identities are experienced on a continuum of absence and presence, invisibility and visibility within the state of Georgia and the southeastern U.S. today.¹⁶¹

Context

A recent *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* article on New Echota typifies the enduring allure of Native history for Georgians. In the article fourteen-year-old Sarah Darden states: “It’s not just Cherokee history. It’s our history.”¹⁶² At the time the piece appeared, Darden was a member of an eighth-grade social studies class at Durham Middle School in Acworth, Georgia, a suburb of Atlanta. Darden and her peers were outraged to hear that Georgia state lawmakers were considering shutting down New Echota due to economic factors, which included constricted state budgets and low attendance at the park. The concerned eighth graders traveled to the state capital to petition Georgia representatives to reconsider closing New Echota. The class made its

plea by reading personal letters and acting out the “story of the Trail of Tears.”¹⁶³ In the end, Darden and her classmates were successful, as Governor Sonny Perdue signed a bill that provided enough money for New Echota to stay open, effectively saving the “famous Cherokee place” from being closed (again) by the Georgia state government. The eighth-grade students’ activism to save New Echota parallels the state-sponsored reconstruction and revaluing of the former capital. Darden’s statement that Cherokee history is not just Cherokee but is somehow “our” history, highlights the imbricated cultural and racial histories of the state and the risk of historical appropriation inherent in this most recent “saving” of New Echota.

Despite the performative possibilities for identity construction that New Echota’s Frontier Day Festival affords, it is crucial to examine the racial assumptions, moral agendas, and political and economic motivations behind the programming initiated at New Echota and other Native American sites across the southeast today. Feminist cultural geographers Lorraine Dowler, Josephine Carubia, and Bonj Szczygiel have argued: “[...] landscapes are actively produced, programmed, and scheduled. In other words they are not innocent; rather, they are the palette of a specific moral agenda.”¹⁶⁴ New Echota’s public events must appeal to visitor audiences while not perpetuating a sanitized representation of the systematic and genocidal removal of southeastern Native tribes which included not only the Cherokee but the Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Seminole Indians. Storyteller Stanley Smith summed up the complex moral and educational purposes of heritage sites like New Echota as being locations where “people will tell stories about what used to happen.”¹⁶⁵ Today there are several historical sites that serve the cause Smith articulates. One of the most well-known Cherokee sites and highly popular tourist destinations in the southeast is Cherokee, North Carolina.¹⁶⁶ Located in Swain County, the town of Cherokee belongs to the Qualla Boundary Land Trust, which is home to the headquarters of

the Eastern Band of the Cherokee. Cherokee, North Carolina is also the site of one of the longest running outdoor dramas in the U.S., *Unto These Hills*, which was originally written by Kermit Hunter and premiered in July, 1950. *Unto These Hills* begins in 1540 and ends in 1842. The play dramatizes the southeastern Cherokee and their struggle to survive in the nineteenth century. The play is set in The Great Smokie mountains, Washington, D.C., Alabama, and Georgia. Each year, the outdoor drama brings tourists to Cherokee.¹⁶⁷

While Cherokee, North Carolina is certainly larger than the state park of New Echota, drawing in more tourist dollars, media attention and annual visitors, it is distinctly different from the state park in its programming as a tourist-centered site. The marketing literature that promotes Cherokee, North Carolina, does not purport to teach the history or factual story of the Cherokee but rather to entertain visitors via the war-painted and self-tanned bodies of the non-Cherokee actors who annually costume themselves as Cherokee “friendship dancers” and “warrior dancers.”¹⁶⁸ Whereas the tanning practices of the performers of *Unto These Hills* could be argued as bordering on a type of contemporary red-face with the city of Cherokee functioning as a post-modern tourist paradise manufacturing both a synthetic and seemingly authentic Cherokee-ness, New Echota tempers its exhibits and grounds with a strong bent toward history and accuracy. The informational signs, recovered artifacts, museum exhibits, and visitor pamphlets bolster the image that New Echota tells the factual history of the Cherokee in the southeast, while Cherokee, North Carolina primarily uses its long-running outdoor drama to entertain tourist audiences.¹⁶⁹

Before moving to a discussion of the contemporary mission of New Echota and analysis of Frontier Day, it is necessary to trace briefly the creation and early history of the Cherokee capital. The history of New Echota can be understood as a process of construction, destruction

and reconstruction that begins with the founding of New Echota. In 1819 the Cherokee Council began holding annual meetings at “New Town” which was a small community started on the fertile lands located at the headwaters of the Oostanaula River in northwest Georgia. In 1825 the Council adopted a resolution which made the site the new capital and named it “New Echota” after the earlier Cherokee town, “Chota,” which was located in what is now Tennessee. By the 1830s a Council House, a printing office for the production of the *Cherokee Phoenix*—the first Native American newspaper printed in the U.S.—and Cherokee homestead sites, including small farms and cabins, were constructed on the lands of the new Cherokee capital.

Despite cohabitation, intermarriage with white Georgians and the success of such prominent Cherokee leaders as Elias Boudinot, who owned a large two-story house at New Echota, a series of successive laws began to limit severely the once recognized sovereignty and land rights of the Cherokee Nation. It is important to note that nineteenth-century Cherokee leaders fought publicly to preserve their right to remain on the lands they called home. The swift “progress” of Georgia history did not move without powerful protest from the Cherokee, which resulted in a series of U.S. Supreme Court cases, including the 1831 *Cherokee v. Georgia* and the 1832 *Worcester v. Georgia*. These cases were successful in maintaining the state and federal recognition of the rights of the Cherokee.¹⁷⁰ Nonetheless, after the discovery of gold in 1828 in Lumpkin County, Cherokee lands in north Georgia were surveyed and parceled out to Georgia citizens in the 1832 Georgia Land Lottery. President Andrew Jackson ignored the unlawful actions of the state of Georgia and refused to enforce the prior national Supreme Court ruling in favor of Cherokee sovereignty.¹⁷¹ Facing surmounting pressure by the state of Georgia and President Jackson’s refusal to intervene, Cherokee leaders including Boudinot signed the controversial Treaty of New Echota on December 29, 1835. The treaty relinquished all

Cherokee land claims west of the Mississippi River including all Cherokee lands in Georgia. Beginning in May, 1838, federal troops and state militia members began forcibly detaining all remaining Cherokee in Georgia. This first phase of Cherokee removal included the use of human stockades located at New Echota. By the end of 1838 the Cherokee were forced to begin the approximately eight hundred mile relocation to “Indian Territory” in what is now eastern Oklahoma. Today the Cherokee Nation, the largest of the three federally recognized branches of the Cherokee people, is located in Tahlequah.

Following the removal of the Cherokee, New Echota’s buildings were dismantled by Georgians or left to disintegrate. The single exception was the Worcester house which was owned by the Cherokee ally and white missionary, Samuel Worcester, and is the only remaining original building on the site. The fields of New Echota were plowed and planted by white farmers who acquired the land by auction in the 1832 Georgia Land Lottery. The New Echota site remained relatively ignored until 1931 when Gordon County citizens erected a twenty-five foot marble obelisk titled the “Cherokee Indian Memorial” at the approximate location of the former Cherokee town. Further efforts to rebuild the former capital were delayed by the economic effects of the Depression and World War II until the early 1950s.¹⁷² A midcentury interest in Native American culture, growth in tourist-centered heritage sites, and the ability to drive by car to day trip destinations culminated in the Calhoun Chamber of Commerce commencing a campaign to buy the land and re-build the former Cherokee capital.¹⁷³ After an archeological survey of the land, funding and direction of the reconstruction efforts came from the Georgia Historical Commission. The Worcester house was restored and the New Echota courthouse and printing office of the *Cherokee Phoenix* were rebuilt on the site. In 1962 the New Echota State Park opened to the public following an elaborate ceremony that included

Georgia Governor Ernest Vandiver and Cherokee leaders who traveled from Oklahoma to attend the dedication. The reconstruction of New Echota as an important civic project to memorialize and also atone for the systematic racial segregation, removal and murder of southeastern Cherokee peoples occurred concurrent with African Americans across the south were conducting boycotts and demonstrations to end the continued segregation and racial subjugation rampant across southern states. To this end, the dedication ceremony for the (new) New Echota is striking as a racially ironic public performance complete with reconciliatory gestures including the announcement of the unanimous repeal of anti-Indian laws that had been a part of Georgia legislation since the 1820s.¹⁷⁴

Following the 1962 reopening, New Echota grew in size for the next forty years. The site's expansion included the relocation from nearby Forsyth County of the Vann Tavern once owned by Cherokee plantation master James Vann.¹⁷⁵ A former Cherokee homestead comprising a log cabin and smaller buildings, including a corn crib, barn, and smokehouse, all moved to the state park from Tennessee. These structures demonstrate an attempt to reconstruct the reality of the former capital by bringing "authentic" Cherokee buildings to the site, but the supposed reality of Cherokee life at New Echota is structured by the layout of the park. Like many educational tourist sites such as Williamsburg, Virginia—or perhaps politically and geographically nearer to the focus of this chapter, Cherokee, North Carolina—the former capital was reconstructed in a way designed to shape visitor experience of the site. The preferred movement within the rebuilt town center is made clear to visitors by the walking paths lined with informational signs and the particular walking tour designated by the bright yellow line on the site map. With the contemporary reconstruction of New Echota came simple wooden fences that surround the center of the park. These fences and the layout of the park make the museum the

sole visitor entrance to the site. This museum space is key in that it is the initial framing space for visitor experience during Frontier Day. Specifically, the museum introduces the narrative of the disappearance of the Cherokee which primes visitors for a desired return of the Native that is achieved through the racially “authentic” individuals they will meet just beyond the museum doors.

Frontier Day

Second only to the annual Christmas Candlelight Tour, Frontier Day is the longest-running and most well-attended of New Echota’s public events. Throughout the year the park holds a variety of public events including in 2011, the “Guyegwoni: Cherokee Time of the Ripe Corn Moon” and the “Exploring Your Native American Ancestry” programs.¹⁷⁶ Frontier Day began officially in 1997 and is held every year from ten in the morning until four in the afternoon on one Saturday in October. October is significant in the scheduling of the event as it is the same month that Cherokee Council leaders met each fall on the site when New Echota was a thriving capital.¹⁷⁷ According to marketing materials the goal of Frontier Day is to bring back the “sights, smells, and sounds of frontier life” of the Cherokee.¹⁷⁸ This “frontier life” refers to the relatively short span during the nineteenth century when the Cherokee lived in Georgia prior to the increasing migration of white settlers to the west and southeast leading to state and federal actions to solve, or more accurately, to eradicate the “Indian problem” in settling America’s frontier(s).

Frontier Day has never been marketed or operated as a retail arts and crafts festival, and along with the limited on-site parking, the festival has remained fairly small with a dedicated core of participants who return annually.¹⁷⁹ Each year Cherokee and non-Cherokee artisans and

park interpreters are invited to participate by the park superintendent and the president of “Friends of New Echota.” While some grant monies have funded festival participants in the past, many artisans and performers have been involved with the state park for over twenty years and often volunteer their time with little to no compensation.¹⁸⁰ Even though festival participants “don’t have to be Native at all,” proof of tribal membership was an important factor in the original organization of Frontier Day.¹⁸¹ The primary group of Cherokee artisans and storytellers who return to participate in Frontier Day were initially invited by the park superintendent due to their knowledge of Cherokee history, their involvement in other historic Cherokee sites, and their status as documented Cherokee members. Specifically these individuals were members of one of the three federally recognized branches of the Cherokee: the Cherokee Nation, the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians, or the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians.¹⁸² The park superintendent further monitors festival activities today by requiring documentation of tribal membership for any vendors who want to sell crafts and other objects as authentically Cherokee. Racial and cultural identity and authenticity often, however, defy definition. The balance between creating a welcoming environment at Frontier Day while not having “people claiming something they’re not” is difficult to achieve.¹⁸³ The tracking of Cherokee tribal membership by park personnel remains focused on the vendor and artisan aspects of Frontier Day and does not encompass the individual assertions of “Cherokee blood” that occur repeatedly at the festival by particular visitors to the park.

New Echota’s park superintendent and volunteer organization work to maintain ties to both the Cherokee Nation and the closest and largest remaining Cherokee tribal community, the federally-recognized Eastern Band of the Cherokee in North Carolina. Each year New Echota park staff issue invitations to members of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee to attend Frontier

Day. As attested by the park superintendent, these invitations are often not successful and the attendance of Eastern Band members to Frontier Day and the other, smaller community events at New Echota is inconsistent for reasons left to speculation.¹⁸⁴

New Echota is a key cultural attraction for Calhoun. Cherokee and non-Cherokee visitors travel to Calhoun from the surrounding north Georgia region including Atlanta to attend Frontier Day. Roughly three miles from the state park stands the city hall of Calhoun. In front of the government building is a large white sign inscribed with the city seal that reads, “City of Calhoun, Land of the Cherokee” beneath the image of a Cherokee man standing with a stern frown and a spear in his hand.¹⁸⁵ This image attests to the troubling irony that the Cherokee in fact no longer live in large numbers anywhere in Georgia, much less in this mythic memory-space dubbed the “land of the Cherokee.”¹⁸⁶ According to the most recent national census data for the state only 0.3 percent of the estimated total state population of almost 10 million people, self-identified as an “American Indian/Alaska Native person.” Of Gordon County’s total population of 55,186, the slightly higher rate of 0.4 percent, or around 220 people identified as “American Indian/Alaska Native.”¹⁸⁷ This percentage corresponds to the report released by the American Indian Policy Center based on data from the 2000 national census, which estimates the total population of all American Indians in Georgia at 21,737.¹⁸⁸ Regardless of the relatively small Native community in Georgia, the Calhoun city slogan as well as the genealogically-g geared programming of New Echota attests to the indefatigable desire for Native identity in Georgia.

Race

Frontier Day participants fall generally into two groups. The first includes Cherokee storytellers, musicians and artisans who demonstrate historical arts and craftwork such as basket weaving, quilting and traditional bead work.¹⁸⁹ The second group consists of non-Cherokee park staff and volunteers who give educational talks at each of the reconstructed buildings and demonstrate nineteenth-century activities such as blacksmithing and archery throughout the day.¹⁹⁰ Prior to entering the park's grounds and meeting festival participants, Frontier Day visitors are asked by the park ranger on duty to watch a seventeen-minute informational video. This was created by the Georgia Department of Natural Resources in 1990 and it traces the events surrounding the removal of the Cherokee from the southeast. The film specifically focuses on the actions of President Andrew Jackson. As Scott Magelssen has written about the historical narratives presented to the public at U.S. living history museums, "The authoritative, institutional voice that constructs the space as one of authentic history manipulates the willing suspension of disbelief of the spectator and allows for only *certain* [emphasis in original] histories to be voiced."¹⁹¹ The particular narrative conveyed by the film at New Echota is problematic due to the fact that while Jackson played an undeniably central role in the brutal removal, starvation, and deaths of thousands of Native Americans at the close of the nineteenth century, the treatment of the Cherokee was not executed solely by Jackson. The push to castigate Jackson as the central, if not exclusive, antagonist presented in the film fails to acknowledge the actions committed against the Cherokee by Georgia citizens interested in acquiring Cherokee lands. This move to blame Jackson may stem from an erroneous desire to alleviate a collective sense of white guilt by placing the onus of such an epic historical trauma on the shoulders of one national figure. Evidence of the film's effectiveness in presenting Jackson

at the center of responsibility and blame was further demonstrated after I watched the video and passed back into the museum area outside the auditorium. One older, female park volunteer turned to me and emphatically shook her head side to side and said: “Andrew Jackson was just an Indian fighter.”¹⁹² The museum acknowledges Georgia’s role in the removal of the Cherokee and includes an exhibit that contains an original wooden barrel used by Georgia citizens to raffle off Cherokee lands. However, both the educational video and the park volunteer of New Echota position Jackson at the forefront of responsibility while ignoring the role played by the thousands of greedy Georgia lawmakers and citizens central to the often violent invasion and reallocation of Cherokee homelands. The video is the final visual representation visitors see of the removed Cherokee before entering the grounds. The film and the historical narrative it presents that praises the “advanced” and “sophisticated” Cherokee frames visitor perception of the contemporary Cherokee participants during Frontier Day.

While the video and museum shape visitor experiences at New Echota, it is during public events that the site becomes a space for ongoing negotiations of individual heritage and shared histories. The museum, on-site buildings, and educational video are all available for individual and small groups of visitors throughout the rest of the year at New Echota, but it is through community events, namely Frontier Day, that a Cherokee identity, however tenuous and even speculative, is performed at New Echota. Cherokee identity is claimed during Frontier Day through the personal family histories of festival participants and visitors, which parallel collectively a spectrum of racial identity. “White” and “full Cherokee” are the defining poles of this continuum, which allows festival participants to perform hybridized identities located between the two racialized positions. These performances are achieved through actions that can be categorized as oral and corporeal performatives. Oral performatives such as sharing oral

histories, genealogical research, and the sometimes emotionally painful stories of ancestors who were killed become “proof” of a contemporary, constructed Cherokee identity. Corporeal performatives include physical modifications intended to visually mark the body as “Cherokee.” A woman who demonstrated basket weaving at Frontier Day 2010 on the porch of the “common Cherokee farmstead” had her teenage daughter with her. The woman spoke to visitors about the baskets she made and perhaps more remarkably about her daughter’s hair color. She told the small crowd gathered around her display table that her daughter had blue eyes and blond hair but she had recently dyed her hair black and that the girl was motivated to do so by her Cherokee ancestry. The teenage daughter with black hair looked up and nodded her head to the visitors. In a moment that shattered any nostalgic move to place the Cherokee only in the past, a park visitor then asked the woman about her beaded leather bag at her feet. She replied, “Oh, it’s a traditional bag but it’s got my cell phone in it!”¹⁹³ The crowd laughed loudly and moved inside the log cabin for a tour of the former Cherokee home conducted by members of a local Girl Scout Troop.

It is not surprising that as a Cherokee historic site the programming and literature generated by New Echota focuses almost solely on the Cherokee over other Native American tribes; however, no other racial histories are commemorated or enacted at Frontier Day. In fact, Cherokee plantation owners in Georgia owned slaves including Chief James Vann whose home still stands nearby to the New Echota state park.¹⁹⁴ Many slaves moved from the south with their Cherokee masters on the Trail of Tears to the west and were later named “Freedmen” after 1866. The multi-racial identity and possible tensions between being both “Black” and “Indian” are dramatized by Dael Orlandersmith in her 2001 play, *My Red Hand, My Black Hand*, which centers on a young female protagonist who attempts to reconcile the differing cultural and racial

positions of her African American mother and Native American father.¹⁹⁵ The onstage struggle that “Daughter” experiences in Orlandersmith’s play happens today as multi-racial individuals with both African American and Native American ancestry work for tribal membership entrance and recognition.¹⁹⁶ Despite the continued contestations by Freedmen descendants for recognition by the Cherokee Nation and the instances of intermarriage which led to “mixed blood” or “Black Indians,” the racial performatives at play during Frontier Day remain in a dichotomous relationship between “white” and “Cherokee.”¹⁹⁷

For certain visitors and festival artisans, Frontier Day becomes an opportunity to enact desired racial identities. The young woman’s choice to dye her hair black, not blue or purple, is a conscious performative meant to signal her Cherokee ancestry. In the moment of her mother’s declaration, the young woman’s hair and body serve as a racial canvas for her own and visitor ascriptions of the presumed phenotypes she must possess from “being Cherokee.” With black hair signaling “Cherokee,” she trades her blond hair to fit more clearly with the persistent and often stereotypical image of how an “Indian” should look. However, the corporeal performatives of the young woman are no more at risk for borrowing on racialized assumptions than the oral performatives at play in imagined family histories that collectively create a kind of exoticized whiteness—a quasi-Native, white southern identity that is both “not-white” and “not not-white.”¹⁹⁸

The prevalence of contemporary claims to Native ancestry across the U.S. has been well documented by scholars, including Eva Marie Garrouette and her work on “ethnic-switchers.”¹⁹⁹ In Garrouette’s articulation, ethnic-switchers may include those who were unaware of their Native ancestry or have self-identified as “Indian;” in either case, the term negatively connotes those “who have not continuously sustained that identification, but have instead *jumped between*

[emphasis in original] racial identities [...]”²⁰⁰ U.S. census records since 1970 confirm a steady increase in individuals self-identifying as “Indian,” which means that southerners whose ancestors were “mixed blood” and assimilated and passed into mainstream white society are now reclaiming their ancestors’ original mixed heritage. In the southeast, the contemporary descendants’ pride rests precisely on their forebears’ non-white status. While there are smaller and fully-recognized bands of Native American tribes—including the long-established Eastern Band of the Cherokee in North Carolina—some “bands” and “clans” are created by individuals who desire federal recognition for an unsubstantiated Native identity they claim, but cannot necessarily prove. As William Quinn notes in his oft-cited piece on what he terms “the Southeast Syndrome,” material issues arise when southerners petition individually as much smaller, and often self-chosen, Native “bands” or “clans” for resources and aid for which they do not qualify. These individuals remain unrecognized because they fail to meet the requirements for Title 25 of the Code of Federal Regulations, created to evaluate federal recognition of Native American tribes.²⁰¹ This occurrence is often characterized in Georgia by seemingly non-Cherokee southerners “assert[ing] they have a grandmother or a great-grandmother who was some kind of Cherokee, often a ‘princess.’”²⁰² Determining the validity of the multiple claims to Cherokee identity across the south exceeds the scope of this chapter. Salient for this discussion is how particular ancestors, whose recognition is integral to the contemporary identities performed at Frontier Day, become sources of pride in the present.

Recognition

While the Cherokee no longer live in large numbers in Georgia, there remains an often rigid insistence on the part of park visitors to descendant claims to “Cherokee blood” from New

Echota park visitors. Storyteller and self-titled “Grand Imagineer” Stanley Smith formerly worked at New Echota for eight years and spoke at Frontier Day 2009.²⁰³ Smith described his work as a teller of both Cherokee and non-Cherokee stories in the following way: “I volunteer my time to make sure their history is repeated, I am a storyteller. It is what I do. ... [B]irds fly, fish swim. It is just what I do.”²⁰⁴ Smith spoke of a volatile encounter he had while working full-time at New Echota. He had been approached years earlier by a white female visitor to the park who confronted him and told him that, “he shouldn’t work there because [he] wasn’t Cherokee.” Smith, who is white, had a conversation with the woman about why she felt he had no right to work at the historic Cherokee site. During their discussion the woman told Smith that she herself was of Cherokee descent and when Smith asked her, “just how much Cherokee she was,” she “proudly declared one-eighteenth.”²⁰⁵ The park visitor’s insistence on her fractionally improbable Cherokee lineage in an overwhelmingly white county in Georgia and her subsequent outrage that Smith as a white man worked at the Cherokee site emphasizes the subtext of racial identification and desired recognition at work during Frontier Day. The woman’s insinuation that Frontier Day staff should be Cherokee can also be interpreted as following an old trope of the white desire to see authentic Native others, or, in other words, to get to see “real” Indians at “real” Indian places.²⁰⁶ Smith spoke of a similar encounter he had while working for the state park in which another white woman stated simply and vigorously, “I hate white people,” as she walked through the park.²⁰⁷ Though it is impossible to know exactly what triggered this response, it is possible to read the outburst as part of a larger indictment of the history of racial subjugation propagated by the “white people” of Georgia that includes the institutionalized enslavement of Africans and the later removal of Native Americans from their southern homelands. This indictment of “white people”—born from interpersonal interaction during

Frontier Day—directly counters the primary blame assigned to one white man (Andrew Jackson) that is the focus of the museum video that New Echota visitors watch.

Despite a commitment to educating the public and preserving the history of the Cherokee in Georgia, New Echota is also expected to create and sustain revenue as a state park.²⁰⁸ During Frontier Day I observed an awareness of tourist desires through the performance practices of two festival presenters. Cherokee storyteller George Murray participated in Frontier Day 2009.²⁰⁹ Murray stood in the Council House performing his dramatic interpretations of ancient Cherokee folktales, posing for photos with visitors, and allowing Girl Scout Troop members and other small children to touch his beaded and leather fringed traditional clothing. Murray described himself as being from Oklahoma and as “Cherokee, Choctaw, and a little bit Irish.” Murray grew up hearing the same stories he now shared from his grandfather who lived on the “Cherokee borderland in North Carolina.”²¹⁰ Murray and other Cherokee performers are essential to the state park’s public events as they corporeally stand in for the absent Cherokee bodies that once populated New Echota by animating the “sights, smells, and sounds of frontier life” with such phenomena as their costuming and presence on the park’s grounds.²¹¹ Another Cherokee artist at Frontier Day 2009 wore traditional dress and sold intricate beadwork that he and his wife had created. He was stationed at a table along one of the former “main streets” of New Echota, which today is no more than a long wooded path just off the old town center (comprising the Council House and Printing Office).²¹² He was a member of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee and had driven from North Carolina to sell his work to park visitors. Among his artwork were beaded brooches and hair barrettes featuring a variety of Cherokee designs as well as major Georgia sports logos including a large University of Georgia Bulldog mascot and the Georgia Tech University Yellow Jacket. The mixture of traditional images with contemporary

college mascots is indicative of the historical tension at play during Frontier Day where a specific historical narrative of the “Cherokee frontier” past is performed within a highly commercial, present moment.

The Cherokee artisans and storytellers at Frontier Day retain the oral and visual culture of their Cherokee ancestors and adapt to contemporary demands. This process of adaptation resists categorization as evidence of the total assimilation of Native identities into “white culture;” neither, of course, can these artistic practices be labeled any nexus of clearly exotic markers of an “authentic” Indian culture that is rooted solely in the past.²¹³ An insistence on maintaining assumptions of Native identities being tied only to the past, risks reinscribing racial codes and assumptions in the present, the sort of idea expressed by an older man who casually turned to me outside the gift shop and remarked, “I didn’t know they were so educated.”²¹⁴

Gerald Vizenor’s work on “survivance” may be used as a bridge between the complex assimilatory actions of the nineteenth-century Cherokee at New Echota to escape eradication and cultural erasure and the actions of contemporary Cherokee at Frontier Day to balance the past with the present.²¹⁵ In addition to Native Studies scholars, Native playwrights such as Diane Glancy challenge the nostalgic move to locate Native American identities solely in the past. The U.S. stage, like New Echota, may reinscribe narrow histories of Native identities that are contingent on notions of authenticity and fail to acknowledge vital processes of Native American adaptation. Glancy complicates contemporary Native identities on the stage in her 1996 play, *The Woman Who Was a Red Deer Dressed for the Deer Dance*. The characters of the “Grandmother” and “Girl” epitomize the adaptation and preservation of cultural customs that Native Americans have long maintained. Glancy’s characters succinctly capture the historical tension present at sites like New Echota:

GIRL: Speak without your stories. Just once. What are you without your deer dress? What are you without your story of Ahw'uste?

GRANDMOTHER: We're carriers of our stories and histories. We're nothing without them.

GIRL: We carry ourselves. Who are you besides your stories?

GRANDMOTHER: I don't know—no one ever asked.²¹⁶

As Glancy's dialogue demonstrates, the agency of contemporary Cherokee includes a dynamic understanding of how the past and the present simultaneously define identity.

One volunteer from the Trail of Tears Association echoed concerns voiced in Glancy's play as she described how ancestor stories directly shape present constructions of self during Frontier Day 2010. She worked for an organization that re-traces the Trail of Tears by placing historical markers along the southeastern sections of the route from Georgia to Oklahoma. Her work to mark the land mirrored her desire to mark her body and identity as belonging to a Cherokee past. She wore a bonnet over her white hair, a long cotton skirt, and a long-sleeved buttoned blouse and shawl. She told me, "I have Cherokee ancestry. I can't directly prove it, but I do." I asked her how she knew this, and she recounted a story of her great grand-mother who had given birth to a baby that was "half Cherokee." When the Cherokee were being removed from north Georgia, she "hid the baby in a cotton basket" and raised it as a white child. The details were unclear, as the woman could not remember whether the baby was male or female, but she was resolute in the power of her family's history to construct her sense of identity, stating: "I know I am because of the stories that were passed over and over."²¹⁷ Here the importance of oral history and a place-based recognition of identity are indicative of the

performative means Frontier Day provides participants to create and know “who they are” through public identity performance.²¹⁸

(Re)-membering

As I have previously discussed, there may be many southerners who believe their family’s “high cheekbones” or hair color are evidence of Cherokee ancestry. What brings some visitors to Frontier Day is the chance to perform a desired Cherokee identity without the possibility of the critique or questioning that would likely occur if Frontier Day occurred in an area with a larger Cherokee population such as Tahlequah, Oklahoma. By returning to the fundamental site of Cherokee removal, visitors travel from disparate locations across the south to the “land of the Cherokee” where recognition engenders (re)-membering. Through the physical return of performer and audience bodies and the sharing of oral histories of Cherokee ancestors, New Echota is temporarily repopulated.²¹⁹ This (re)-membering creates a temporary, corporeal shifting of tense: the Cherokee “were here” becomes the Cherokee “are here.” The process of (re)-membering was no more evident than when I met a fervent Frontier Day participant in 2010 named Amy. She wore a long homemade dress with a leather fringed pouch around her neck and stood behind a table of beaded jewelry and carved, wooden artwork for sale. Along with Amy were her two similarly-costumed female friends and one male friend, who wore blue jeans, a hands-free cell phone attachment in his ear and a baseball cap with the phrase “Native Pride” emblazoned over the bill.²²⁰ Amy and I talked about why she and her friends had come to Frontier Day 2010. They had traveled from Kentucky and were part of a group who were lobbying for recognition by the Cherokee Nation but were not recognized currently. Amy explained this issue as having occurred “just because our ancestors ran and hid and weren’t

rounded up like these poor ones who were here.” Amy traced her own Cherokee lineage back to her “fifth great-grandfather,” who she believed had been a chief who had hidden in the woods of the Appalachian Mountains to escape Georgia troops. As Amy and her two female friends recounted stories of how their ancestors had “mixed with white people to survive,” their eyes filled with tears. Amy took my hand at that moment and said, “I can’t talk about it too much ‘cause I get so upset.” She then asked me where I was from and, “Do you have any Cherokee in you?” She was undeterred when I answered, “No, none that I know of.” She continued, “Because you have rings around your eyes. Let me see your hands.” Her friend chuckled and said with a smile, “Oh, she’s been checking hands today!” Amy held my hands out and gently traced the skin of each of my fingertips with her long acrylic fingernail. “Yes, you’ve got them,” she concluded, and told me that the tiny white circles she saw on the skin of my fingerprints coupled with the faint golden rings encircling my pupils were proof enough that I must “have a drop of Cherokee blood.”²²¹ She gave me a long hug and asked if I would like an application to join their group.

In that moment my body became a surrogate site of racial (re)-membering for Amy as she searched the topography of my face and hands for what she believed were racial markers of a shared ancestry between us—a hidden heritage I unknowingly carried that marked my body as being, like hers, a “Cherokee remnant.”²²² The space of New Echota, but more importantly, the body in the space—Amy’s, her great-grandfather’s, and mine—were pivotal to our interaction. Amy’s place-based construction of self follows what Paul Ricoeur articulates as, “what primordially legitimizes the disengagement of space and time from their objectified forms is the tie linking corporeal memory to the memory of places.”²²³ For Amy whether her great-grandfather or any of her ancestors had ever been present at New Echota was not as important as

the power of the site to inform her present purpose. In Amy's opinion I was eligible to join her group's quest for recognition of their genealogical pasts so as to validate their performances of a contemporary Cherokee identity. It is important to note that a binary understanding of race in this context as being Cherokee versus non-Cherokee is false as it hinges on assumptions of "pure" racial categories based on blood ratios and racialized tropes of what an "authentic" Native American must look like. Amy's table was set up at Frontier Day 2010 closest to the museum door and she and her friends were therefore the first festival participants that visitors met on the walking path through the park. Amy's placement is significant as her desire for recognition by the Cherokee Nation destabilizes any expectations of pure Native versus non-Native racial identities that may have lingered in visitors' minds after watching the educational video and exiting the museum.

Conclusion

While phenotypical markers of identity were central to my conversation with Amy, her travel to New Echota with a contribution jar and applications in order to enlist new group members reveals the continued draw of the former capital as a site for performances of "mixed-blood" or "pan-Indian tribal identities."²²⁴ The sustained importance of New Echota as a site of loss and reincorporation is demonstrated through Frontier Day when visitors endow the space with their own intricate identity politics. To this end, New Echota is both a reconstructed site of Native removal and a site for the reconstruction of contemporary Native identities. New Echota's contemporary public events call attention to the continued importance of the Cherokee in the histories of not only the west but the southeastern U.S. These events and the people who

return annually to New Echota dispel the notion that the Cherokee ever fully vanished from the south.

Whether a contemporary visitor's ancestors were present at New Echota is inconsequential; what is important is how New Echota functions as a site for Native identity performance in the southeast. Issues of authenticity continue at New Echota from the earlier discussion of the period building techniques used in reconstructing the former capital to the home-made costumes worn by participants. But authenticity is not a concrete measure and, as a term that connotes the purity, factuality, and proof of an object, it is problematic when used to describe individuals and their chosen sites of identity performance. To this end, the centrality of New Echota in the contemporary cultural politics of the Cherokee Nation is not what is at stake for individuals such as Amy. For Amy and others, New Echota may be linked to what Carolyn Dunn has termed "adopted landscapes." These landscapes are not the ancient "ancestral landscapes" central to tribal identity and history, but are nonetheless integral sites in the identity formation of Native Americans today. Dunn writes specifically about the function of landscape in American Indian literature, but her argument is useful in understanding the meaning-making process used by participants at New Echota. Especially for contemporary Native Americans who may be displaced from the areas their ancestors once lived and ruled, "adopted landscapes" are important in their personal negotiations of "being Native" in the U.S. today. Dunn argues:

We must recognize the importance of ancestral landscape as well as the adopted landscape in American Indian performativity. We must look to the tribal aesthetic of the ancestral and adopted landscape to recognize what performing Indian, performing tribal, performing indigenous is all about.²²⁵

For some, New Echota is not simply a Georgia State Historic Site or a destination for school field trips and tourist visits, but a powerful place of performance and exploration of contemporary Native identity in the American South.

Sites like New Echota can be especially important for southerners who do not have “proof” of their tribal membership but live their lives with the conviction that they are an American Indian. Beginning with the first blood ratio laws used in Virginia to determine who was and was not “Indian” in the eighteenth century, determining “proof” of Native identity in the U.S. is still an unresolved issue. For Amy, this contemporary reality involves her conception of her identity as being a Cherokee “remnant.” As is the case with many individuals today, like Amy, tribal documentation and proof of one’s racial identity is not simply fought between the U.S. (as in white) government and Native (or non-white) individuals. Instead, contemporary tribal politics have led to an increase in disenrollment from tribes in the U.S.²²⁶ In California, this trend stems from the attempt to consolidate control over casino profits by removing members, for example, of the Chukchansi Indians who now suddenly find themselves “tribeless.”²²⁷ While she is lobbying for entrance and not facing disenrollment from an already established membership, Amy’s sense of exclusion may be, nonetheless, intensified by the fact that she is denied recognition of her Native identity not by a U.S. government agency but by the tribe to which she believes her ancestors belonged. In this sense, New Echota—a site not controlled by tribal authority—becomes a site where Amy and others feel free to perform their chosen identity as “Native southerners.”

The “indices” that Belle K. Abbott noted in 1889 and the individual negotiations of racial and cultural identity at Frontier Day highlight the collisions of race and space that continue at New Echota. In this sense, it is possible to argue that New Echota is a performance by the state,

a reconciliatory stage upon which white-washed histories of the “sophisticated Cherokee culture” are performed through this reconstructed, state-funded and operated commemorative space.²²⁸ However, to discount New Echota wholly as a site dangerously teetering on the edge of appropriation and essentialism that perpetuates incorrect Indian mythologies is to ignore the performative function New Echota maintains in Georgia’s racial topography. Specifically, the history of Cherokee removal that New Echota preserves challenges an understanding of racial subjugation in Georgia and the larger southeastern U.S. as being solely confined to a black/white racial binary. The public events at New Echota that draw visitors who construct contemporary Native identities destabilizes the myth that Native Americans were fully eradicated from the southeast and exist now only in an imagined past. Frontier Day dispels the notion that the Cherokee disappeared from Georgia by highlighting how very present their absence is.²²⁹ Through spoken and embodied performances of race and recognition, the history of the Cherokee in Georgia is (re)-membered. These individual acts transform New Echota from a commemorative to a performative space where alternate histories are voiced that challenge incomplete historical narratives that position the Cherokee as absent in both Georgia’s past and present.²³⁰

On a sign located at the end of the walking path at New Echota State Historic Site are the words of Cherokee leader, Elias Boudinot. Boudinot’s words were written on November 25, 1836, a little under one year from the signing of the Treaty of New Echota:

The time will come when the few remnants of our once happy and improving Nation will be viewed by posterity with curious and gazing interest as relics of a once brave and noble race [...] perhaps, only here

and there a solitary being, walking, ‘as a ghost over the ashes of his fathers,’ to remind a stranger that such a race once existed.

Boudinot’s words are prophetic as they anticipate the future generations of southerners who feel that they are Cherokee “remnants” and return to New Echota to perform their sense of identity in the twenty-first century. The lost Cherokee ancestors of contemporary southerners such as Amy and her own, perhaps impossible to prove identity, drive her desire to construct and enact an embodied, racialized authenticity. In a southern state haunted by the history of institutionalized slavery and racial terror including lynchings and Jim Crow segregation, perhaps the adoption of Native American identity is a more acceptable embodiment of non-white identity positions and histories within Georgia. After Frontier Day 2009, one volunteer captured the performative power of New Echota stating: “I see this as a way to keep learning [...] and as a way to continue to say statements that need to be said in our culture: The Cherokee are still alive and well. New Echota is not a simple story.”²³¹ For the “Native southerner” who returns annually to Frontier Day, New Echota remains the location of a contradictory truth: the disappearance of the Cherokee spurs the contemporary desire for a racially “authentic” Native presence, while the absence of the Cherokee enforces the impossibility of this desire.

Chapter Four

The Landscape of Heritage: Community Preservation and Performance on St. Simons Island

“A great hole. In the middle of nowhere. The hole is an exact replica of The Great Hole of History.” -Act One, “Lincoln Act,” from *The America Play* by Suzan-Lori Parks

It is December of 2010 and I am standing in the visitor’s center of St. Simons Island off the coast of Georgia. Inside the A.J. Jones Heritage Center, I meet a staff member and our conversation begins:

Could you tell me where the old Hampton Plantation is?

“Oh, yes there was quite a fuss over that years ago because they were building that subdivision; well it’s really much nicer than a *subdivision*, but a...uh...”

A planned community?

“Yes, when they were building the planned development on old Hampton Plantation, they hadn’t set aside the ruins. And people were very upset that the ruins hadn’t been set aside. So, really today the ruins are just sitting there in front yards, literally in people’s front yards.”

Oh, wow. And how do I get there from here?

“If you just keep driving, keep going all the way to the northern point of the island, you’ll see them. Just keep going straight, straight through the roundabouts and look on your right, you can’t miss them.”²³²

I trust her local knowledge of the island’s layout and drive to the northern tip of the island. Just as she said, I see the ruins hunched over like unwanted house guests in the front yards of half a

million-dollar condominiums. These are the “Hampton River Villas at Plantation Point” on St. Simons Island, built on the former site of one of the largest antebellum coastal plantations of the deep south.²³³ A hunter green metal fence surrounds the tabby structures and tiny broken signs that read, “Please do not walk in or on the ruins!”²³⁴ The exclamation mark that concludes the warning signs reminds me of the discomfort expressed by the woman at the visitor’s center who provided me with the directions—a discomfort that there is something distasteful, uncouth, or just plain tacky about these decaying walls, empty doorways, and now roof-less homes of a plantation past sitting in wealthy home owners’ front yards.²³⁵ As I photograph the site, walking past the gated entrance that blocks public access to the Plantation Point community and along the narrow stone path to the ruins, I feel a sense of awe at this spatial assault of the past on the present. Here the past of St. Simons Island breaks through the soil, refusing to bow its head to the sandy death of unrelenting, memory-less development.²³⁶ This development has transformed not only the physical topography of St. Simons over the past fifty years, but the cultural landscape as well.²³⁷ Concurrent with multi-million dollar “developments” of the island has been a contemporary movement off the island of members of the African American, Gullah-Geechee community.

Introduction

St. Simons Island is a site of economic, cultural, and racial flux that can be examined as a microcosm of the larger south. Each year the island is also a site of cultural preservation through performances carried out by members of the Gullah-Geechee community at the annual “Sea Islands Festival.” The public performances shared at the festival preserve and pass on under-acknowledged local histories of the Gullah-Geechee and African American communities of the

island, as well as, the cultural customs and performance traditions that are unique to the Gullah and Geechee peoples of the southern U.S. barrier islands. This chapter examines the Sea Islands Festival for the ways in which the festival's performances are instrumental in the contemporary preservation and transmission of the Gullah-Geechee culture. As a cultural community, the Gullah-Geechee maintain the highest retention rate of African language and cultural customs of any African American group in the U.S. The Gullah-Geechee still live in relative isolation on the islands and within coastal communities in South Carolina and Georgia and have preserved a creolized language that is spoken only in the African American enclaves along the southeastern U.S. coast. These communities are comprised of descendants of individuals taken from the rice-producing, western coast of Africa (that today stretches from Sierra Leone to Angola) who were brought to work as slaves along the plantation coasts of South Carolina and Georgia. "Gullah" generally refers to those communities off the North and South Carolina coasts and to the shared language spoken by the Gullah-Geechee, while "Geechee" is a term for the coastal communities of Georgia and northern Florida. The stretch of barrier islands along South Carolina and Georgia are often called the "Sea Islands" and the term, "Sea Islanders," is, therefore, used as a synonymous term for "Gullah-Geechee."

The present chapter is structured in the following manner: an opening analysis of the historical context of the Gullah-Geechee on St. Simons Island; a survey of the island's history including its immediate post-Civil War use; an overview of the black/white racial and economic realities of coastal Georgia; an analysis of the plantation history of St. Simons including Hampton Plantation; and finally, an examination of the annual "Sea Islands Festival" held on the island. In the pages that follow, I spend time exploring the racial and class realities of both St. Simons and the larger barrier island area. This exploration is provided for the reader as a way to

situate the final analysis of my participant observations of the 2011 Sea Islands Festival within the history and present politics of St. Simons Island and the contemporary Gullah-Geechee peoples. The Sea Islands Festival, formerly titled the “Gullah-Geechee Festival” and the, “Original Georgia Sea Islands Festival,” is the oldest heritage festival in the coastal region of Georgia and South Carolina. As Cynthia Gordan-Smith told me, “it is the grandmother of the other festivals.”²³⁸ Of the regional Gullah-Geechee historical and arts and crafts festivals, the Sea Islands Festival was the first of its kind and has been held on St. Simons Island annually for over 30 years since 1977. The St. Simons African-American Heritage Coalition sponsors the festival and describes the purpose of the event as: “Celebrating the rich Gullah-Geechee traditions of our ancestors passed down from slavery days on the Barrier Islands of Georgia.”²³⁹

Unlike the monuments and headstones that physically inscribe Oakland Cemetery with Confederate memory, or the reconstructed buildings and museum of New Echota—preservation of Gullah-Geechee history and culture depends on performance such as the public sharing of songs, dances, stories, and oral histories. While Confederate Memorial Day and Frontier Day commemorate the past, the Sea Islands Festival held every June on St. Simons Island, commemorates the history and celebrates the present cultural performances of the Gullah-Geechee. The festival is an important community event that preserves Gullah-Geechee culture through performance. I, therefore, pay particular attention to the performative means—including dance, song, and story—by which oral and corporeal histories of the Gullah-Geechee are shared during the festival. In addition to performative transmission such as the ring-shout, I also consider the material transmission of Gullah-Geechee culture including the sharing of food, objects, arts and crafts at the festival. The Sea Islands Festival is also an event that epitomizes the simultaneous reality of the loss of black histories on the island and the resilient preservation

of Gullah-Geechee traditions through performance. The annual return of Gullah-Geechee community members and black and white festival visitors who may be local residents or tourists, symbolizes the transmission and continuance of cultural customs that depend on shared performance to survive in the twenty-first century.

Historical Contexts

The southeastern barrier islands, popularly called the “Sea Islands” or the “Golden Isles,” include more than one hundred islands off the coasts of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida that stretch from North Island (S.C.) to Anastasia Island (Fla.).²⁴⁰ Today, the natural landscape of the islands has remained varied with all or parts of Blackbeard, Jekyll, Sapelo, and Cumberland islands protected as either national wildlife refuges or maintained as research areas by state educational institutions such as the University of Georgia Marine Institute. Long before these institutions protected parts of the barrier islands, St. Simons Island was inhabited by early Native Americans.²⁴¹ While indigenous tribes in southeastern Georgia were incorrectly called “Creek” as a blanket term for Native peoples by early English traders, the first humans to live on the Georgia island were the Timucua Indians and the Guale who established a permanent village on what would be later named, St. Simons Island.²⁴² Spanish explorers were the first Europeans to colonize the barrier islands, but abandoned their missions and military garrisons after the English established colonies in North America and English-Spanish colonial tensions and military encounters increased in the sixteenth century.

“Georgia,” named in honor of King George II, was founded as a colony by James Oglethorpe in 1732.²⁴³ Although Oglethorpe was initially opposed to the use of slaves in the new colony, slavery was officially legalized in 1750 in Georgia. Following the end of the American Revolution, white residents of St. Simons Island embraced agriculture as a way to

survive economically. The trans-Atlantic slave trade of the seventeenth century brought enslaved Africans to the Georgia barrier islands to work the established plantations across the coastal south. During the nineteenth century, the small Georgia island of St. Simons had a growing population of enslaved Africans who worked the cotton and occasional rice and indigo-producing plantations. At its height of antebellum growth, St. Simons had fourteen plantations across the approximately twelve mile island. While rice was the dominant cash crop of nearby coastal plantations that were nourished by the humid climate and soil enriched by the Altamaha River, St. Simons Island was known for its cultivation and exportation of cotton. St. Simons was the first location of the production of a lucrative strand of cotton, named “sea island cotton,” which resulted in the expansion of island plantations and increased importation of slaves from West Africa.

Even though plantations along Georgia and South Carolina’s coasts were thriving by the mid-eighteenth century, many white masters and mistresses fled increasingly from the heat and malaria-spreading mosquitos to live on higher ground away from the swampy conditions of their coastal plantations. Unlike their white masters, the high rate of sickle cell trait among African slaves contributed to their increased rate of immunity to malaria.²⁴⁴ The movement of white owners away from the plantation coasts directly impacted the creolization of the Gullah-Geechee culture. Left under the control of overseers, slaves experienced more independence to develop their own communities which led to the solidification of the Gullah-Geechee culture. Karen B. Bell has insightfully noted that, “Randomization was not a function of the Middle Passage.”²⁴⁵ While ships imported enslaved individuals from across the coast of Africa, some ships brought human cargo from single ports. This meant that those Africans taken from what is today Sierra Leone and Ghana had a high rate of cultural similarity. The capture, auction, and purchase of

enslaved Africans was not an unsystematic process by which southern plantation masters bought any available human being at auction; on the contrary, slave owners had preferences and desires of their own for certain slave “types” to work their land and homes.²⁴⁶ Before being brought to auction at one of the largest slave ports in the U.S., Charleston, South Carolina, certain areas in Africa were targeted because of the crops that flourished there—namely rice. Due to their perceived skill in cultivating rice, the Mende from Sierra Leone in West Africa were among the earliest slaves captured along with the Ibo, or Igbo, who were brought to work on Georgia’s coastal plantations.²⁴⁷ Once enslaved, Africans on the barrier islands of the American south remained relatively isolated from the white mainland. The physical and cultural isolation and the absence of plantation masters led to a reduced rate of assimilation with whites, and the creolization of West African culture amongst the slaves led to the formation of close Gullah-Geechee communities.

Following Emancipation, many former slaves worked to buy portions of the land that their masters had once owned. Post-slavery land ownership along the barrier islands further perpetuated the tight-knit Gullah-Geechee communities of the coastal south. However, in the twentieth-century Great Migration to northern cities such as Chicago, many black families moved from the southern states that their earliest ancestors had worked as slaves and sharecroppers. The concentration of the Gullah-Geechee along the barrier islands has been further challenged by factors including island development, attendant rising property values, the loss of land, a diminishing fishing-based economy, and the need to find work on the mainland. The possibility of losing the Gullah language and the Gullah-Geechee culture along the coast was famously documented first by Lorenzo Dow Turner. Turner pioneered linguistic studies of the Gullah-Geechee by interviewing and recording Gullah speakers who lived in the low country

region of South Carolina in the 1930's. Turner's exhaustive field work is the foundation of his seminal text, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (1949).²⁴⁸ Turner was one of the first scholars to disprove the myth that the Gullah-Geechee spoke a backwards form of English due to a lack of education and intelligence.²⁴⁹ Turner proved that Gullah was a distinct, hybridized language that could be traced back to languages spoken in West Africa and was not a form cobbled together by white masters who needed to communicate with slaves who could not speak English.²⁵⁰

Act One, the Nineteenth Century: Slavery and St. Simons Island

St. Simons Island can be likened to a southern stage upon which hundreds of years of changing colonization, racial rule, and land-use have left their marks on the island's topography. Just as the stage floor bares the grooves, scratches, and residue of past performances, the land of St. Simons bares the traces of its disappearing past. The ruins of Hampton Plantation that opened this chapter offer an opportunity to examine the plantation past of St. Simons that must be acknowledged in any analysis of contemporary public performances held on the island. The Hampton Plantation ruins could disappear as a crumbling blind-spot in our vision of U.S. slave histories were it not for the documentation of St. Simons Island by one of the leading figures of nineteenth-century Euro-American theatre history, Ms. Francis Anne Kemble. Fanny Kemble was a member of the famous, extended Kemble theatre family which included her actor father, Charles Kemble; her uncle, John Philip Kemble; and her aunt, Sarah Siddons. Fanny Kemble had her stage debut in 1829 in the role of Juliet at the Covent Garden in London. She went on to enjoy a successful stage career in Britain and in the U.S. when she completed a theatrical tour of America with her father in 1832.²⁵¹ In her off-stage life, Kemble wrote and published a series of letters titled, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838-1839*, that detail her experiences living on St. Simons Island. Reading Kemble's journal "against the grain" can

create what Saidiya Hartman calls “a different account of the past, while realizing the limits imposed by employing these sources, [and] the impossibility of fully recovering the experience of the enslaved [...]”²⁵² I extend Hartman’s methodological approach to similarly read the visual landscape of the ruins on St. Simons Island while critically reading Kemble’s account of slave life at Hampton Plantation.

Kemble’s *Journal* specifically chronicles her shock over the realities of plantation life of the planter family she married into when she wed Peirce Mease Butler of Philadelphia in 1834. During the nineteenth century, Pierce Butler’s family owned the cotton-producing Hampton Plantation on St. Simons Island and the rice and occasional sugar-cane producing “Butler Island.” Butler Island’s name was later changed and is known today as, “Little St. Simons Island,” and is located next to the larger, St. Simons Island. The Butler family’s long presence on St. Simons as Georgia planters began in the late 1700’s when Pierce’s grandfather, Major Butler, purchased large tracts of fertile land near the Altamaha River off the coast of Georgia.²⁵³ In 1836, after Kemble’s departure from the stage and two years into her marriage, Pierce Butler assumed co-ownership of his family’s two coastal plantations.²⁵⁴ Major Butler had been one of the first Georgia planters to cultivate the lucrative strand of the aptly-named “sea-island cotton.” The money Butler made from his cash crop’s success on the trans-Atlantic cotton market enabled him to own nearly 700 slaves at the height of his island plantation’s cotton cultivation.²⁵⁵

Fanny Kemble had never visited Georgia until 1838 when she traveled to the coast with her husband, two daughters, Sally and Fan, and the family’s nursemaid, Margery O’Brien. The English actress and her family stayed on Butler Island and St. Simons Island from December of 1838 through April of 1839. When she arrived on the islands, Kemble had stepped onto a new stage in the coastal south that would leave her forever changed and during her coastal stay, she

began writing down her impressions of the southern landscape, slaves she met and interacted with, and her evolving anti-slavery sentiments. Kemble's thoughts were communicated through letters and the journal she kept that is comprised of one half devoted to her time on Butler Island and the second half to her residence on St. Simons. The journal is part epistolary documentation, personal diary, and textual staging of the island and its "characters." Both Kemble's theatrical consciousness as a performer and her Romantic tendencies—rooted in her early love of Byron and Shelley—come through in her vivid prose. Kemble alternately uses both the image of Caliban and Othello from Shakespeare's canon to describe the lack of human dignity and pitiable conditions afforded to St. Simons slaves.

However outraged Kemble appears in her journal at the "spectacle[s] of filthy disorder" and human degradation she witnessed firsthand on St. Simons Island, it would take almost twenty-five years for her to decide to publish the account of her four-month coastal residence.²⁵⁶ Writing to her life-long friend, Harriet St. Leger before the May 1863 English publication of her journal, Kemble expressed the responsibility she felt as an eye-witness, stating:

I have sometimes been haunted with the idea that it was an imperative duty, knowing what I know, and having seen what I have seen, to do all that lies in my power to show the dangers and evils of this frightful institution.²⁵⁷

Through her new role as anti-slavery advocate, it is not surprising that Kemble rejected the part of Georgia plantation mistress. Her marriage to Pierce Butler officially ended in 1849.

Kemble's growing abolitionist spirit drove her to seek publication for her account which was printed in the U.S. by Harper and Brothers in July of 1863 and had a second edition published in 1864. As an eye-witness account, Kemble's journal, like Frederick Olmsted's classic 1853 travel account, *The Cotton Kingdom*, satiates the nineteenth-century and contemporary hunger to know

what life was “really like” on southern plantations.²⁵⁸ This desire was evident in popular culture in the late 1800’s through such enormously successful plays as Dion Boucicault’s 1859 play, *The Octoroon*, and Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel and later play, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. In her journal Kemble takes the reader “backstage,” as it were, to domestic scenes that typify the lynchpins of violence, sex, and punishment central to master/slave control such as the auction block, whipping post and rape of female slaves. These moments of slave life that are equally horrifying and titillating for the audience were central to the popularity of *The Octoroon* and demonstrate what Saidiya Hartman calls “scenes of subjection.”²⁵⁹ From her role as wealthy, white woman and protagonist, Kemble freely moves through various settings on St. Simons Island and takes the reader into scenes to which they would not have had access.

While it is difficult to track the original reception or popularity of Kemble’s account due to the lack of circulation statistics from either the U.S. or English publishing houses that released the journal; the impact of Kemble’s fiery condemnation of slavery and absentee plantation ownership is curiously imprinted today on the islands she visited. The Georgia State historical marker on Little St. Simons Island still reads,

During a visit here with her husband in 1839 to 1840, Pierce Butler’s wife, the brilliant English actress, Fannie Kemble, wrote her ‘Journal of a Residence On A Georgia Plantation,’ which is said to have influenced England against the Confederacy.

The marker incorrectly states the years of Kemble’s visit, but ascribes to her an enormous power of influence to sway her entire native country of Britain against the Confederacy during the U.S. Civil War. The state marker attests to the performative possibilities long ascribed to Kemble’s dramatic prose. Whether Kemble’s journal turned England against the south is uncertain,

however, the “truth” of Kemble’s account of her life on St. Simons Island has been questioned since the journal’s publication. Margaret Davis Cate’s essay, titled, “Mistakes in Fanny Kemble’s Journal,” which was published in the 1960 issue of *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, demonstrates that Kemble’s journal was viewed in the U.S. both as a compassionate renunciation of slavery and as an outsider’s incorrect disavowal of a system she did not understand. Cate argues that Kemble embellished events she had witnessed and even changed dates of certain passages to create her “overdrawn picture of life on the Butler plantations.”²⁶⁰ At least for Cate, the dramatic license Kemble used to stage certain events in her journal marks her account as a work of fiction and not reality. Even if Kemble changed dates and did not accurately report certain details in her journal, her account is a rare perspective on slave life and plantation control on St. Simons Island. Just as plays are not factual records of “real life” but representations born from particular contexts as discussed in chapter two concerning representations of “Confederate women,” Kemble’s journal is an important, if perplexing, text of the antebellum, coastal south.

Even with its repeated denunciation of human bondage, Kemble’s journal is not an innocent document. The prose bears the echoes of a racial hierarchy firmly held in the nineteenth century; a hierarchy that positioned Kemble—as a white woman—at its apex. This “starring role” in antebellum America afforded Kemble a downward view of the “poor creatures” around her on the island plantations.²⁶¹ From a contemporary standpoint the inherent racism that runs throughout Kemble’s journal is appalling such as the horror she expresses over what she terms the “slave slobber” of the English language and her dismay over the perversion of her young daughter’s pronunciation after being in contact with black slaves.²⁶² It is possible to categorize Kemble’s journal in the same vein as Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.²⁶³ Kemble’s journal can be viewed as another well-intentioned yet racist white woman’s impression

of southern blacks; however, the journal remains over one hundred and seventy-three years later a document that records the histories of Georgia slaves by treating them as individuals with family units and pasts as people and not solely as chattel property. Kemble recorded often rare information about the slaves she met and conversed with on the island in much greater volume and personal detail than what can be found in the brutally sparse slave sale ledgers of the Butler plantations. Whereas her letters do not give the reader the voices of her personal slave, Jack, the house slave and nursemaid's assistant, Psyche, the rice mill engineer, Ned, or the innumerable, unnamed, female slaves who would nightly come to beg Kemble for more cloth or food for their families; they do provide an impression that whispers from the sandy remains of the people who once lived in the slave cabins that now sit in ruins in "people's front yards."²⁶⁴ Examining Kemble's journal against the ruins on St. Simons Island forces the million-dollar homes of Plantation Point to recede as the former slave cabins are foregrounded in our vision through the uncomfortable awareness that no space is ever fully absent but always bears the silent reminders of its brutal history often in plain sight in the blind spots of our contemporary vision.

Kemble engaged in a similar quest to understand the strange southern land she visited to that of contemporary visitors who stop to notice the plantation ruins on St. Simons Island. Her journal is filled with passages where she recounts the "silvery" blossoms of wild plum trees, the "rolling, rushing, foaming waves" of the marsh tide, and the lush, evergreen vegetation she so prized.²⁶⁵ Kemble performs for the reader her attitudes toward slavery while the landscape of St. Simons performs accordingly as a supporting character in her detailed, dramatic descriptions of life on the island. Kemble did not merely admire the coastal landscape from the distanced, confines of the big house on Hampton Plantation, but instead moved freely and frequently through the "wildly picturesque" island. It is important to note the repeated solo excursions on

horseback, boat, and most often on foot that Kemble completed while living on St. Simons Island. Her free movement and ability to enter any dwelling including slave quarters to instruct island slaves on cleanliness or to amble through the woods to admire the coastal flora and fauna highlights in subtextual contrast the lack of physical agency and corporeal subjugation of black bodies on St. Simons Island. In other words, Kemble, as white woman, could perform the roles of caring outside and refined lady on the “stage” of the plantation. Kemble’s relationship with the landscape of the plantation is further evidenced by her conscious re-staging of the land that included her personally paying slaves to dig up and move trees, transplant flowers, and cut walking paths into the thick woods of the island.²⁶⁶

As Kemble worked to create a more pleasant physical space out of the island environs, she was forced to confront the long history of white and black interaction that was revealed through the slaves she met. Kemble documented one encounter she had on St. Simons Island with the following:

I observed, among the numerous groups that we passed or met, a much larger proportion of mulattoes than at the rice island [Butler Island] [...] While we were on this subject, a horrid-looking filthy woman met us with a little child in her arms, a very light mulatto, whose extraordinary resemblance to driver Bran (one of the officials who had been duly presented to me on my arrival, and who was himself a mulatto) struck me directly. I pointed it out to Mr. [Butler], who merely answered: “Very likely his child.”²⁶⁷

The imbricated experiences of slaves with their white masters is thrust before Kemble’s vision which, in turn, reminds the reader that white and black lives were not lived in isolation within a sealed plantation space on the island.

Act Two, the War's End and the Twentieth Century: Race & Space and The Landscape of Black/White Contact and Collision on Georgia's Coast

St. Simons Island is approximately twelve miles long and three miles wide and has a population of 12,743 which is comprised of 94.8 percent “white persons” and 2.8 percent “black persons” according to the 2010 U.S. Census.²⁶⁸ This demographic statistic contrasts sharply with the racial realities of the early history of Georgia when in 1790, 53% of the population of Glynn County were black persons.²⁶⁹ Emancipation, a changing economic structure based on a plantation system that was replaced with sharecropping, and the steady process of gentrification caused by intense island development have caused this change in the contemporary black/white racial realities of St. Simons' residents.²⁷⁰

A discussion of the history of black and white land claims to St. Simons Island would be incomplete without briefly examining the significant actions of General William T. Sherman concerning the coastal lands of Georgia during the Civil War. Union General Sherman completed the “Atlanta Campaign” of 1864 after burning Atlanta, destroying rail lines across the state, and completing his “March to the Sea.” In the wake of Sherman's destructive march, thousands of ex-slaves were displaced and many marched behind Sherman's troops across southern Georgia. W.E.B. DuBois articulates the historic image of Sherman, his troops, and the thousands of dislocated ex-slaves who followed behind:

Three characteristic things one might have seen in Sherman's raid through Georgia, which threw the new situation in shadowy relief: the Conqueror, the Conquered, and the Negro. Some see all significance in the grim front of the destroyer, and some in the bitter sufferers of the Lost Cause. But to me neither soldier nor fugitive speaks with so deep a meaning as that dark human cloud

that clung like remorse on the rear of those swift columns, swelling at times to half their size, almost engulfing and choking them.²⁷¹

In Savannah—the city Sherman intentionally “saved”—the General met with black leaders, specifically African American ministers who were either newly freed by Union troops who traversed the state or had recently freed themselves by buying their way out of bondage from their white Georgian masters. Sherman was conservative on racial matters and opposed black enlistment in the military. But no matter his personal views of the inferior status of blacks, he faced a practical issue that he addressed by first meeting with black leaders on January 12, 1865 to discuss how to handle the thousands of homeless ex-slaves and how best to define their unknown status in an emancipated and turbulent new south.²⁷² Black Baptist minister Garrison Frazier who had purchased his and his wife’s freedom served as the spokesperson during Sherman’s Savannah meeting. When asked how freedpeople could take care of themselves, Frazier answered: “The way we can best take care of ourselves is to have land... we want to be placed on land until we are able to buy it and make it our own.”²⁷³ Land was the answer and it was placing the thousands of displaced freed slaves that was the proposed solution.

On January 16, 1865 Sherman allocated lands for the newly freed former slaves of Georgia in his Special Field Order 15 which set aside land thirty miles in from the sea from Charleston down to the tip of northern Florida exclusively for ex-slaves to reside and work the rich coastal lands.²⁷⁴ Despite the efforts of twenty thousand black families who took advantage of this opportunity to resettle and work along the allocated coast, their new life and land claims were short-lived.²⁷⁵ For these black families, 1865 began with a chance at new land and a new life, but ended with evictions from the coastal area they occupied. By the close of 1865, President Johnson ordered the Freedman’s Bureau to return all abandoned and captured southern

lands that had been redistributed at the war's end. Johnson specifically ordered the expulsion of all black residents from the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina who had moved there under Sherman's Field Order 15.²⁷⁶ Within one year, the lands of Georgia's islands and coasts had moved from white plantation control, to Union occupation, to freed slave inhabitation and use, and finally back to the control of the deposed white planter class. What followed in the years of Reconstruction was a subdividing of plantation lands into small plots that were exhaustively worked by sharecroppers who could not afford to buy the land themselves. The restructuring of Georgia's agricultural system from plantation control to sharecropping rule would leave deep scars of poverty, de facto racial segregation, soil depletion, and a declining southern economy for decades following the war's end.

Moving from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, the remaining farms in southern Georgia were devastated by cotton crop failures from the destruction caused by the boll weevil. The difficult transition and attendant poverty that accompanied the move from an agrarian to a more industrialized economy in south Georgia was famously depicted in Erskine Caldwell's novel, *Tobacco Road*. The novel was adapted for the stage by Jack Kirkland, and upon its New York opening in 1933, *Tobacco Road* ran for an unprecedented three thousand performances. The enormously popular play centers on the uneducated, poor, violent family of the Lesters who live on their decaying tobacco farm in south Georgia, approximately thirty miles from the city of Augusta. In the opening stage description, the family farm is described as being on the same land that was once a profitable tobacco farm but has been divided into small, "intensively and stupidly cultivated" cotton plantations.²⁷⁷ The Lesters are described in terms as ruined and empty as their land with the following: "The squalid shack of Jeeter Lester, where live his wife, his mother, and two children, last of a multiple brood and last of many generations of deep

Georgia crackers.”²⁷⁸ “Crackers” is a term intentionally chosen for the Lesters to categorize them as not simply “poor white trash” but belonging to the class of southern whites whose only status does not stem from a formerly wealthy plantation or family name, but from their job as overseers who “cracked the whip” on slave populations. With the loss of the plantation hierarchy, the Lesters are now simply, poor “Georgia crackers.” The “cracked and bleeding house” of the Lesters and the road outside are the setting of the devastating play that portrays the economic collapse of rural, southern Georgia.²⁷⁹ The play also captures the human cost of a shattered planter economy in which poor southern whites are now as economically depressed and uneducated as poor southern blacks—leaving the Lesters with their land and their white racial identity as the remaining strongholds to which they violently cling.

While *Tobacco Road* is a fictional story, the class realities it presents are not too far removed from the economic realities of early twentieth-century southern and coastal Georgia. It is worth noting both the racial and economic statistics of the nearby city of Brunswick, St. Simons, and the larger state of Georgia for the contrasting race and class realities to which they point. In 1924 the Brunswick-St. Simons Highway (today known as the Torras Causeway) was constructed. The causeway linked St. Simons to the mainland and created a main transit conduit for summer tourists who came by car to stay in the hotels, resorts, and condominiums that flourished in the mid-century on the island. Brunswick is the closest inland city to St. Simons and is located approximately ten miles from the island. Brunswick’s demographic statistics demonstrate the disproportionate black/white race ratios on St. Simons when compared to the diversity of the surrounding coastal region. Brunswick’s population totaled 15,383 in 2010 with 59.2%, “black persons” and 31.4%, “white persons;” St. Simons Island’s population of 12,743 with 2.8% “black persons” and 94.8% “white persons” contrasts sharply with Brunswick. Glynn

County encompasses St. Simons Island and the mainland city of Brunswick.²⁸⁰ The coastal county, like much of extreme south Georgia, has experienced over a century of declining economic growth. The region moved first from a deteriorating absentee-owner plantation economy that was dismantled following the Civil War and Emancipation. During Reconstruction and the years following, a debilitating sharecropping system of agricultural management trapped poor black and white farmers in a pattern of poverty and declining land values.

With a loss of regional agriculture and industry, it is not surprising that Brunswick City's economic statistics are relatively bleak in comparison with the rest of the state of Georgia. The following information from the 2010 U.S. Census for Brunswick, St. Simons, and the larger state reveal the contemporary effects of years of economic decline in the coastal Georgia region: the homeownership rate for Brunswick was 41.7%, 67.2% for the state, and 82.0% for St. Simons; the median value of owner-occupied housing in Brunswick was \$88,500, \$161,400 in the state, and \$399,500 for St. Simons; the median household income from 2006-2010 for Brunswick was \$26,620, \$49,347 for the state, and \$77,694 for St. Simons; and the percentage of persons living below the poverty line was 34.9% in Brunswick, 15.7% in the state, and 3.7% on St. Simons.²⁸¹

In some ways the economic statistics of Brunswick and St. Simons reveal the obvious, such as the property values for multi-million dollar beachfront homes on St. Simons Island are higher than those of homes on the mainland in Brunswick. However, these numbers also reveal the more elusive connection between race and wealth, and ownership and access to the island that extend from a long history of white rule and black cultural survival into the twenty-first century. This reality was made evident when I asked artisans at the 2011 Sea Islands Festival if they lived on the island and was repeatedly told no. One of the artisans, Reginald Jones, was

hand-knotting a fishing net employed in the same method of coastal fishing that the Gullah-Geechee have used since their ancestors were captives on Georgia's barrier islands. Jones told me he was from the more isolated nearby community of Sapelo Island but had spent some time on St. Simons. Patty Reynolds sold homemade fruit jams and jellies, corn relish, red pepper jelly, and hot chow-chow relish and told me that she and her friend, who both sat sewing an elaborate quilt, had driven in from the south Georgia city of Hazlehurst. Another man who sold Afro-centric art, masks, carved wooden sculptures, and shea butter at a table in the center of the festival had come from Atlanta to attend. Cynthia Gordan-Smith lived in the nearby city of Brunswick but had worked for three decades with children of the Sapelo and Harris Neck coastal communities. The recurring pattern was that members of nearby African American communities of south Georgia including Brunswick and Darien and members of the Gullah-Geechee from Sapelo and smaller nearby communities all came back to St. Simons Island annually. However, when I asked one woman, "Are you from here?," her reply captured the repeated answer at the festival. She said with a smile, "Oh, from right around here."²⁸² While members of close-by communities came back to St. Simons Island annually, very few of them actually lived on the island.

For some Sea Island Festival performers, returning to St. Simons is to revisit a constantly changing landscape that was once their home. The white-washed and increasingly wealthy island has a Starbucks, high-end antique furnishing and clothing boutiques, and multiple resorts. The "Tabby House" is one example of the class changes present on the island.²⁸³ The Tabby House is a former slave cabin of the Retreat Plantation on the island and was acquired in 1949 by the Sea Island Company. Today, the cabin is a boutique shop that sells "accessories and gifts."²⁸⁴ But the St. Simons that some performers remember was once the site of festivals by

black ancestors who gathered to bless the crops of a new season and to dance, sing, and share food together. In the 1930's oral history, *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*, Catherine Wing of St. Simons Island remembered the community celebrations at harvest time that included performing the ring-shout that were once held on the island. The Georgia Writers' Project documented her words with phonetic spelling in the following way:

We use tuh hab big times duh fus hahves, an duh fus ting wut growed we take tuh duh chuch so as ebrybody could hab a piece ub it. We pray obuh it an shout. Wen we hab a dance, we use tuh shout in a ring. We aint hab wut yuh call a propuh dance tuhday.²⁸⁵

What is lost and replaced on St. Simons Island confronts the Sea Island Festival performer who now lives off the island but remembers a radically different home than today's St. Simons.

Act Three, the Twenty-First Century and Present Contexts: Race, Real Estate, and Restoration on St. Simons Island

Contemporary development and contested conservation projects reflect the overlapping histories that St. Simons contains today. In early 2011, the St. Simons Land Trust announced that the six hundred acres of land of the former Cannon's Point Plantation that borders the former Hampton Plantation would become a nature preserve.²⁸⁶ The project preserves the hundreds of undeveloped acres on the island that are home to "the largest contiguous and unprotected maritime forest on St. Simons Island."²⁸⁷ The St. Simons Land Trust was established in 2000 and has preserved one hundred and sixty-eight acres of land on the island.²⁸⁸ While the Land Trust works to save wetlands, wildlife habitats, and the forests of the island, the St. Simons African-American Heritage Coalition, also established in 2000, works to preserve the remaining

buildings left on the island that are important to African American history on the island. In sharp contrast to the successful conservation of the former Cannon's Point Plantation, the efforts of the St. Simons African-American Heritage Coalition to save the Harrington School have been difficult.²⁸⁹ The Harrington schoolhouse building can be reached by car in approximately eight minutes from the ruins of the former Hampton Plantation. While at one time there were three schools dedicated to the education of black students on the island, the Harrington School is the last standing African American school on the island and was founded by former slaves in the 1920s. Despite local efforts to stop the 2010 scheduled demolition by Glynn County and the Harrington School's placement on the Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation's 2011 list of "10 Places in peril," the Harrington School has not been renovated or preserved.²⁹⁰ Tarps and plywood have been added to temporarily "stabilize" the building from further water damage while the St. Simons African-American Heritage Coalition continues to raise the remaining \$244,000 of the \$250,000 needed to renovate the site as an educational venue for the history and heritage of the Gullah-Geechee on the island.²⁹¹

Ronald Upshaw, president of the African-American Coalition captures the larger political issues at stake in preservation work on the island, stating, "It's almost like black people went from slaves to 'disappeared' on St. Simons. If you can obliterate history like that, then in ten years without the school, it will be completely gone."²⁹² For Upshaw, losing the Harrington School would be losing a tangible link to an under-acknowledged African American past on St. Simons Island.²⁹³ The school is also a generational bridge not only between the twenty-first and twentieth centuries but back to the nineteenth century when the same individuals who established the school once worked as slaves on the island. The Harrington School was evaluated in 2010 by the Coastal Regional Commission of Georgia. Colin Chambers, a preservation architect,

captured the importance of the schoolhouse to preserving the vanishing Gullah-Geechee cultural history on the island, stating: “Tell me what other venue St. Simons has where the African-American story is told? I don’t know of any other place as significant as the Harrington school. This is the last and best place.”²⁹⁴ While shopping centers, new restaurants, and condominiums may increase property values and drive summer tourism to the island, the “development” of St. Simons does not always include saving the historical sites such as the Harrington School that are already present and important to year-round, island residents.

Enduring issues of public and private access and the possible loss of African American history on St. Simons Island were further evidenced when I asked the staff member of the A.J. Jones Heritage Center questions concerning the former slave hospital on the island and the grave of Neptune Small. Small was a slave and later servant of the King family who lived and died on Retreat Plantation. After Emancipation, Small stayed on to work for the King family. For his life-long devotion to the King family’s sons who fought in the Civil War, Small was given a plot of land that was later sold to the city of St. Simons and today is “Neptune Park.” Neptune Park houses the St. Simons Lighthouse and the A.J. Jones Heritage Center.²⁹⁵ Small’s local fame is further inscribed in the streets across the island that bear his name. Diane Cassandra Palmer Haywood is Neptune Small’s fourth-generation granddaughter. Her family’s history is tied to St. Simons and to the neighboring island of Sea Island.²⁹⁶ In her own words, Haywood captures the ways in which the islands are central to her family’s history and to her future:

All our family is buried there in the cemetery on the Sea Island Golf Course [formerly Retreat Plantation]. It’s behind where they have the golf carts. The Sea Island Company keeps it up. That’s where Neptune Small is buried. We still have plenty of lots there. I plan to be buried there. I hope so. My mother’s there.

My grandmother's there. Uncle Jasper Barnes is there. My aunt Creola Belton is there. She was one of the first black nurses at the Brunswick Hospital. She also taught school in Glynn County. Neptune helped plant some of those trees that make up the avenue of oaks going to the Sea Island Golf Club.²⁹⁷

For Haywood, her personal family history and black history of the Sea Islands are tied to the same lands that have radically changed in the last century. I asked the woman in the visitor's center some final questions about the slave histories buried on St. Simons Island and our conversation included the following:

Where are the ruins of the old slave hospital? Is Neptune Small buried on the island?

Where is his grave?

“Um, yes. Those are located on Sea Island.”

Oh, great, ok, so if I turn right and take the bridge off the island—

“Well, you have to have a pass. To get on Sea Island, you have to have a pass to get through. There's a gate and the only way on to the island is if you have a pass.”

Sea Island was the site of the 2004 G8 World Summit, is the location of some of the most lavish island homes off the Georgia coast, and is a highly restricted site. This wealthy, overwhelmingly white and private island happens also to be the site of local African American history that is not only under-acknowledged but inaccessible without “a pass.” What is saved and what is left to dissolve into the sand are questions that haunt every space; however, unlike the gated Sea Island, St. Simons Island is a site where we can view a landscape persistently bearing its history if we possess the access and the vision to see what is hiding in plain sight. Development that plows over local histories, destroys natural ecosystems, and erodes a community's material, physical

connections to particular locations is not a problem located only in the coastal south or larger southern U.S. What is especially troubling about island development is that the histories of slavery and African American segregation along the coast may be lost alongside a possibly irrevocable pattern of gentrification as non-wealthy, non-white residents are driven off the islands that were home to their ancestors.²⁹⁸

Although the Georgia barrier islands possess seemingly untouched aspects such as the large forested areas of Sapelo or the wild horses that live on Cumberland Island; many of the islands have been transformed by human impact in the past two centuries. St. Simons, Sea, and Tybee islands have been heavily developed through major recreational and residential projects that began, in part, with the nineteenth-century popularity of the Georgia islands as resort retreats for the wealthiest in the U.S. The Jekyll Island Club Hotel attracted visitors to the Georgia coast and included amongst its elite members, names such as Rockefeller, Pulitzer, Vanderbilt, and Morgan. The intense development and tourist popularity of the islands has threatened the local land ownership and culture of the Gullah-Geechee communities who call the islands home. On St. Simons Island, the remaining African American land and home owners have not sold their property to developers even in the wake of decades of development. Neptune Small's fourth generation granddaughter, Diane Cassandra Palmer Haywood still has a piece of family property on St. Simons which is located today directly across from the fashionable Longview Shopping Center on the island. Haywood articulates the pressure to sell and the determination to hold on to her family's property on an island that has changed drastically, stating:

Every now and then, people ask us to sell our land. But they get the same answer. Lots of people are selling off their property. We're going to stay right here where we've been all the time. Stay right here. It's home.²⁹⁹

Contemporary African American and Gullah-Geechee struggles to stay on the lands that many inherited from their ancestors represents a twenty-first century chapter in the long drama of colonization and economic change that has brought individuals to the islands for hundreds of years.

Preservation and Performance

From Sherman's Field Order 15 to contemporary resort developments, the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina have remained a contested area from the Civil War to the present. As early as the 1930's with Lorenzo Dow Turner's work documenting the Gullah language, a growing concern by scholars, heritage organizations, and historians that the Gullah-Geechee culture is vanishing has been commonly expressed. In 2006 the Gullah-Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor Commission was established by Congress; upon establishing the Commission, President Bush signed a bill that would provide nearly ten million in grant monies to support the preservation of the Gullah-Geechee culture and aid the local island communities over the next ten years.³⁰⁰ The Commission and the 2006 bill represent a national recognition of the unique qualities of the Gullah-Geechee region given that, among the forty-nine other national heritage areas, no other area is focused on a distinctly African American community.³⁰¹ The bill and the newly-established Commission were victories for area community activists and scholars who have long argued that without protection and federal support, the land-based culture of the Gullah-Geechee would continue to disappear from the Sea Islands.³⁰²

The Commission was formed as a result of almost six years of work by South Carolina Congressman, James Clyburn. Clyburn, who is the first black congressman from the state since Reconstruction, was tasked to lead the Commission in articulating plans to document, support, and preserve the local histories, folklore, arts, crafts, and music of the Gullah-Geechee coastal

communities.³⁰³ By 2010 the Commission had identified nearly one thousand sites important to the Sea Island culture of the Gullah-Geechee. The Commission also determined that the Gullah-Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor would: recognize the contributions made by the Gullah-Geechee to American culture and history; assist federal, local, and state organizations in interpreting the story of the communities; and help identify and preserve historical sites and artifacts to be used to educate the public.³⁰⁴ Many of the cultural customs such as the basket-weaving from sweet grass in the low-country of South Carolina that Gullah women create exemplify the drastic changes that the Gullah-Geechee have faced in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Originally used for utilitarian food purposes, the sweet grass baskets are now mostly created and purchased, often by tourists in cities such as Charleston, as commemorative crafts of the Gullah. The slowly disappearing form of basket-weaving was exhibited at the Sea Islands Festival as featured demonstration. The material itself, the sweet grass that grows on the South Carolina coast, is rapidly disappearing from the heavy island development of the Sea Islands which has destroyed the local ecology of the island lands. The formation of the Gullah-Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor and its Commission symbolizes the important understanding that the lands of the Gullah-Geechee are imperative to the survival of their food, craft, and artistic customs.

Central to the new cultural corridor and national heritage area is the preservation of the oral culture of the Gullah-Geechee which includes the language, songs, and stories shared within the specific area of the southeastern coastlands. Performance, as a vital means by which culture is expressed, shared, and preserved through repetition, is fundamental to the future survival of the Gullah-Geechee. With no possessions but their bodies, memories, and minds, West African slaves brought songs, language, dance, and stories to the coast of Georgia. African retention

rates amongst the Gullah-Geechee have been central in the work of scholars focused on the African diaspora including Joseph E. Holloway's important text, *Africanisms in American Culture*.³⁰⁵ Cultural studies scholars including, and perhaps most famously, the work of Paul Gilroy, have examined the shared performance traditions that have bridged African, American, and European cultures since the first slave ships traversed the Atlantic. Pondering the Atlantic as a "single, complex unit of analysis" for uni-directional paths of inter-cultural influence, Gilroy writes:

The history of the black Atlantic since then, continually crisscrossed by the movements of black people—not only as commodities but engaged in various struggles towards emancipation, autonomy, and citizenship—provides a means to reexamine the problems of nationality, location, identity, and historical memory.³⁰⁶

Similarly, the histories of the Gullah-Geechee peoples of the Sea Islands counters the myth that slaves lost all cultural connections to their African homelands in the Middle Passage—an argument taken up by African diaspora scholars and early African American studies scholars such as Melville Herskovits. Histories of the Gullah-Geechee on St. Simons Island provide a way to expand understandings of blackness in America and to problematize any assumption that the notion of "black southerners," just like "white southerners," is never a homogenous category.

Theatre and performance studies scholars have examined performance in the U.S. for its ability to preserve, perpetuate, and re-imagine African cultural traditions. Possibilities to re-articulate cultural customs brought from Angola, Sierra Leone, and Ghana such as the ring-shout in which an ensemble of singers perform in a counter-clockwise circular fashion arise through contemporary performance. Performance can, therefore, engender a continued vitality through

improvisation of cultural performance traditions. Joseph Roach uses his idea of “displaced transmission” for the processes of adaptation and reinvention of performance practices. Roach defines this process as being constituted by “the adaption of historic practices to changing conditions, in which popular behaviors are resituated to new locales.”³⁰⁷ As the sweet grass that grows along the Sea Islands disappears or families cannot pay the rising property taxes on desirable coastal land, the oral and corporeal performance practices of the Gullah-Geechee are carried on. It is through public performance that these traditions are fostered and maintained.

The festival circuit along the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina are critical in the continued performance of Gullah-Geechee culture and include annual commemorative events that bring artisans and performers of the Gullah-Geechee community together with local residents and tourist visitors to the islands. Each November the Penn Center hosts the “Heritage Days Celebration” on St. Helena’s Island off the coast of South Carolina. The Gullah-Geechee community of Hog Hammock located on Sapelo Island off the Georgia coast hosts their “Cultural Day” in October. And St. Simons Island hosts the oldest Gullah-Geechee festival event, the annual “Original Georgia Sea Islands Festival,” which was started in 1977.³⁰⁸ These festivals are important to area vendors who come to sell food, jewelry, and crafts at each seasonal event and provide important supplemental income for festival vendors and artisans. The Sea Islands Festival is one of the last remaining and largest venues on St. Simons Island where Gullah-Geechee history is articulated and performances shared publically. Especially given the isolation of rural island communities such as Harris Neck or Hog’s Hammock, groups such as the Geechee-Gullah Ring Shouters, the Georgia Sea Island Singers, and the McIntosh County Shouters depend upon community events such as the Sea Islands Festival on St. Simons for their continued performance and artistic livelihood. As the oldest, or “the grandmother of the

other festivals” as Cynthia Gordan-Smith pointed out to me, the Sea Islands Festival has been an important performance venue and a summer staple of the Gullah-Geechee festivals for over three decades.³⁰⁹ The McIntosh County Shouters premiered at the festival and went on to receive a National Heritage Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Arts and a 2010 Georgia Governor’s Award in the Humanities.³¹⁰ While groups preserve the ring-shout tradition in African Baptist Churches throughout the coastal region, performance events such as the Sea Islands Festival, affords Gullah-Geechee artisans and performers the necessary exposure and opportunity to educate a larger, public audience on their cultural heritage as well as earn supplemental income as featured exhibitors or as vendors.

The Sea Islands Festival brings together local and tourist audiences to witness the performances of histories and oral traditions of the Gullah-Geechee. In the sharing of arts and crafts and telling of stories and song, the Gullah-Geechee culture is passed on. The repetition and public sharing of these histories through the festival performances is the performative. In other words, by repeating oral histories of the local region and performing dance and song forms such as the ring-shout, the culture of the Gullah-Geechee is re-created in the moment of the performance. In a sense, the repetition that occurs through festival performances also re-places the Gullah-Geechee community in the contemporary social, spatial politics of St. Simons Island. The festival has been held historically at Neptune Park on St. Simons.³¹¹ However, in 2011 Neptune Park was undergoing delicate and extensive renovations to increase public parking while preserving the old live oak trees that grow throughout the park.³¹² The Sea Islands Festival was held instead at another historic location on the island, the Gascoigne Bluff Park. Gascoigne Park is located on the southern end of St. Simons Island on land that was once the Hamilton Plantation. Gascoigne Park is the site of the earliest shipping dock on the island from which the

majority of the highly prized “sea island cotton” that was cultivated by slaves on the island’s fourteen plantations was shipped. The park was filled with massive, moss-covered live oak trees that provided shade for the festival tables and booths that were set up in a large oval pattern.³¹³ In addition to the booths selling jewelry, art, quilts, and fresh produce; there were tables set up by area churches including the St. Simons First African Baptist church with baked goods for sale, tables set up by Gullah-Geechee artisans and demonstrations such as a table where sweet-grass baskets were displayed and woven, and by local vendors including “Doo Dad’s Express” which sold local seafood such as shrimp and fried fish and soft-drinks and French-fries.³¹⁴ At one end of the large oval of tables, booths, and vendors was a small stage and seating area with folding chairs.³¹⁵ The stage was set up nearest to the marsh waters which could be seen just behind the performers’ heads. Speakers had been positioned on either side of the stage which carried the sounds of both popular music and live gospel singers, the Geechee-Gullah Ring Shouters, and the master of ceremony’s voice who welcomed performers to the stage and reminded the crowds throughout the day when performances would be commencing.

The Sea Islands Festival

The full, grey, and oddly sweet smell of smoke was the first impression that overwhelmed me as I entered Gascoigne Park. The smoke was so thick that my eyes itched and the sky was hazy as if a rich fog had rolled in on a sunny day in June.³¹⁶ I had asked what the smoke was coming from at my hotel in nearby Brunswick back on the mainland and had been told that a massive swamp fire had broken out in the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge on the Georgia-Florida state border. The smoke was wafting to the northeast across the coast of Georgia from the swamp which had been burning for weeks. On St. Simons Island, I had assumed that perhaps being closer to the ocean, the wind from the water would help dissipate the

smoke. I had been wrong and the smoke seemed actually thicker on the island than on the mainland. However, the smoke had not deterred visitors and presenters at the 2011 Sea Islands Festival and, in a moment of sensory juxtaposition as if designed to draw attention away from the thick smoke, the sounds of Barry White's soft, booming voice singing "Can't Get Enough of Your Love, Babe" could be heard on the speakers upon entering the park.

The first person I met was Reginald Jones. Jones had a table set up with his handmade sign that read, "Geechee Hands of Sapelo Island Arts and Crafts."³¹⁷ Behind the table Jones sat and hand-tied tiny knots into a massive fishing net.³¹⁸ He was "born and raised" on Sapelo Island but had "lived on St. Simons for a while."³¹⁹ Jones fished and made nets using the same method that his ancestors had brought to the coast of Georgia. His nets were highly prized, sold for hundreds of dollars, and it would take him "days and days" to finish the one he was working on during the festival for a person who had commissioned him to weave one for them.³²⁰ Jones's sign advertised "quilts and nets" but today he had displayed fishing implements and his nets only. While there were multiple tables set up for the 2011 Sea Islands Festival with arts and crafts displayed as well as jewelry for sale, there were only seven featured "festival demonstrators" for the event which included: individuals who presented traditional quilting, basket weaving, pottery, net making, crocheting, Geechee cultural demonstrations, and historical artifacts and literature at the "From Africa to Eternity Display."³²¹ Reginald Jones, a resident of Sapelo Island and someone skilled in traditional "net making," had come to St. Simons Island for the festival and his presence and the customs he preserved with his "Geechee hands" attested to both the reality of the small numbers of Gullah-Geechee who actually still live on St. Simons and the resilience of his culture to survive.

Patty Reynolds had driven to the Sea Islands Festival from Hazlehurst, Georgia which is located about two hours from St. Simons Island. Reynolds was also one of the featured demonstrators and sat with her friend sewing quilts behind a table covered with the jams, jellies, and pickled relishes they had brought with them to sell on the island. Reynolds had approached me smiling as I sat at one of the park's permanent picnic tables on the covered, concrete pavilion near the restrooms on the edge of the festival and asked, "Are you writing?" I told her why I was jotting down notes and she then talked with me about the "importance of community."³²² I learned that Patty Reynolds had "lived here for twenty years" on St. Simons Island, but she had then moved to Hazlehurst. I asked her if the island had changed much since she lived on St. Simons and she replied yes, and that there had been: "so much change on St. Simons. So much has been lost. Used to be a big African American community on the island, but it's almost all gone."³²³ Reynolds confirmed the tension between the past histories and present realities of race on the island and the contemporary disappearance of a once-thriving black community on St. Simons.

At a table next to Reynolds's was Cynthia Gordan-Smith who had a large set-up consisting of three tables grouped together to form a square for the display of her personal collection of historical photographs, artifacts, and literature concerning the barrier island region. Smith's table held a sign titling her exhibition of work, "Reminders of African Enslavement Collection, From Africa to Eternity." Tucked safely under the table in boxes were some of Smith's most precious items in her collection of Gullah-Geechee historical pieces. Smith leaned down and pulled from the boxes, Turner's *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, which was an "original, signed copy by Dr. Turner" and a piece of history that Smith was very proud.³²⁴ During our long conversation, Smith reminded me that if I wanted to learn more about the

region's history and Gullah-Geechee peoples, that I had to visit the Penn Center one day on St. Helena Island off the South Carolina coast. The Penn Center preserves and promotes the culture of the Gullah-Geechee peoples of the Sea Islands.³²⁵ Cynthia Gordan-Smith's advice echoes the conclusion I came to over the course of the festival, that if someone wants to learn about this particular culture, they must "go there" to the coastal communities of the south. The sea island culture is intrinsically place-based and as an outside observer I had to be physically present in the sites of Gullah-Geechee history on St. Simons to understand how the festival performances bring back the isolated island culture.

Smith had dedicated years to telling the history of the Gullah-Geechee community as well as the history of slavery in south and coastal Georgia. Amongst the photographs of Elmina Castle (used by the Dutch as a holding site for captured slaves in Ghana before exportation) and photographs of southern slaves picking cotton, the displayed books, and glass boxes filled with artifacts including ankle shackles, was a framed photograph of Smith's great-great-grandfather who had been a slave in Augusta, Georgia. Smith currently lived in the nearby city of Brunswick and was passionate about the history of the islands, the Gullah-Geechee community, and about her individual family history. We talked for almost two hours and I learned that Smith had been a school teacher and social worker and had lived along the coast for decades. I learned about Smith's two children who had grown up in coastal Georgia and their accomplishments that she kept neatly catalogued in albums with photographs and newspaper clippings for each child.

I also learned about Cynthia Gordan-Smith's commitment to help promote and preserve the culture of the Gullah-Geechee through her own community education efforts. Smith was on the 2011 Sea Islands Festival organizing committee and was a member of the board of directors for the St. Simons African-American Heritage Coalition. For thirty years, Smith had taught and

worked with children from the nearby Gullah-Geechee communities of Sapelo and Harris Neck who were brought in by boat each day to meet with her. Along with her work as a school teacher, Smith steadily built her educational and historical literature and artifacts that formed her “From Africa to Eternity” display. While I talked to Smith two different young boys approached her display table. She turned to the first one and said, “Hi sweetie. Let me know if you have any questions—we have some shackles here that were used on children.”³²⁶ To the second boy who approached the table, Smith engaged more personally with the young boy: “We have some child shackles that were used on children. How are your grades in school?” The boy quietly replied, “Good.” Smith followed up with: “No one has to shackle you down to make you do good in your classes?”³²⁷ In this moment, Smith’s love of teaching and her commitment to confronting an often uncomfortable history of slavery in the south were evident. Smith’s large table which included slave shackles positioned inside glass display boxes and photographs of southern slaves toiling in cotton fields was a reminder that the purpose of the Sea Islands Festival is both celebratory and commemorative as the painful pasts of slavery and loss of local black histories continued to appear.

In addition to scholars such as Turner and community collectives such as the Penn Center, individual white residents of the Sea Islands have also helped preserve the Gullah-Geechee culture. Lydia Parrish owned a home on St. Simons Island and constructed a nearby building that she called “the cabin.” Parrish spent over twenty-five years gathering and recording slave songs from the Gullah-Geechee culture and during this time she invited local island singers to perform at the cabin. Parrish’s work on the island, her performance venue of “the cabin,” and the number of local individuals she interviewed during her nearly thirty-year work attest to the reality that Gullah-Geechee culture once thrived on St. Simons Island. Across

from Reginald Jones' "Geechee Hands" net making display was the "Friends of Harrington" table. A white woman named Susan Gerard stood behind a table covered with pamphlets about the decaying Harrington School. She had displayed a framed artist's rendering of what the school once looked like during its prime as well as proposed architectural plans to stabilize the building for its preservation. Similar to Lydia Parrish in her desire to preserve black histories on the island, Susan was president of the Friends of Harrington organization whose goal was to raise the funds to preserve the schoolhouse and to "restor[e] our island's African-American heritage."³²⁸ Susan lived on St. Simons in a "historic house in the village" and had worked for the Georgia Department of Natural Resources. Through her job with the DNR, she had helped to reopen the restored Hofwyl-Broadfield Plantation located between Brunswick and Darien on the mainland. Susan told me that she learned from the experience and that, "We opened it and we told the white story and bam, we were done with it and we opened it."³²⁹ Susan said she realized much more effort had to be made "to include the African American story."³³⁰ Susan wanted to help local efforts on the island to restore African American historical sites on St. Simons. She was asked to join the board of the St. Simons Historic Preservation Committee which was reviewing the condition of the abandoned Harrington School. Susan realized that "while the building was not, in my opinion, beyond repair, the relationship between the board and the African American community was beyond repair."³³¹ Susan told me she knew that there had to be "more of a bridge between the black and white communities" on the island. Susan summed up her current organization that she was devoted to leading in the following manner: "So the Friends of Harrington was created so that concerned black and white citizens could get involved to save this piece of African American history."³³² Susan, like Lydia Parrish and her contemporary, Cynthia Gordan-Smith, was committed to telling the "African American story" of

the Sea Islands and on an island that has almost erased that story through relentless development, she and her fellow exhibitors were reminders that the histories of the Gullah-Geechee and African American communities are present if island residents and visitors have the vision to see them.

While the festival attracted both black and white visitors to Gascoigne Park, Gerard was unique in that she was one of the only exhibitors at the festival who could be phenotypically described as non-black. It may be assumed from Gerard's ability to live year-round on the island in a "historic house" in the fashionable village area of St. Simons Island, that she belongs to a different class status than the African American and Gullah-Geechee artisans who come to the festival from rural areas along the coast of Georgia. As a white woman concerned about black affairs on St. Simons, Gerard can be likened, perhaps, to an island predecessor of hers, Fanny Kemble. Due to the legacy of slavery, institutionalized racism, and segregation in the southern U.S., Kemble and Gerard's white racial status could keep them as outsiders to the African American community on the island. However, Gerard, unlike Kemble, is not a visitor but a resident of St. Simons and calls the island her home. Her position as an island resident and the discoveries she made personally about the racial politics involved in historical preservation of the Hofwyl-Broadfield Plantation, have pushed Gerard to become committed to saving the last remaining African American schoolhouse on the island. She has not remained comfortably unconcerned and detached from the issues involved in the near-constant development of the island, but is instead passionate about doing something to stop the erasure of local histories that the disintegration and loss of the Harrington School represents. The Harrington School is a part of the disappearing African American history of St. Simons Island; while this history is not one to which Gerard's own ancestors were a part, she acknowledges and works to save what she feels

is a vital part of the history of her home. Gerard's presence at the festival was a reminder of the larger landscape of heritage and diverse history that surrounds the Sea Islands Festival.

After speaking with Reginald, Patty, Cynthia, and Susan the day continued with a late afternoon performance by the Geechee-Gullah Ring Shouters. Throughout the early afternoon the stage had been filled by local church youth groups such as the St. Paul Praise Dance Team who performed step routines to recorded Christian music. Also performing that day were local gospel groups including the Gospel Jewels from Brunswick whose fiery performance of "I'm Going Home on That Midnight Train" did not need the support of microphones.³³³ The Geechee-Gullah Ring Shouters had been anticipated throughout the day with the M.C. repeatedly telling the audience that they were "coming soon" in between the local church group performers. Their performance was the longest of the day and served as a climax to a day filled with gospel singing and dance performances. The Geechee-Gullah Ring Shouters intentionally call themselves by "Geechee" first and "Gullah" second from their pride in being members of the Georgia Geechee which the lead performer told the audience after taking the stage. The ring shouters wore cotton dresses and overalls with straw hats on the heads of the men, and cotton cloth wrappings on the heads of the women performers.³³⁴ The Geechee-Gullah Ring Shouters sang spirituals and gospel classics such as "One More Bowl of Butter Beans," "One Day," and "No Green Grass in Georgia."

As the ring shouters sang, the female performers danced in a shuffling, circular pattern to the rhythm established by the male performers who clapped in unison.³³⁵ In the middle of the performance, the lead performer stepped out and gave brief interactive tutorials with the audience on the history and cultural customs of the Gullah-Geechee. The lead male performer became teacher for a moment and stepped down from the stage to the sandy area between the

stage's edge and the first folding chairs of the audience.³³⁶ In this liminal space before the audience he held up a thin branch with green leaves on it and asked us if we knew “what this is?”³³⁷ After a pause someone in the audience called out, “Sassafras!” And he went on to tell us how the Gullah-Geechee slaves created their own medicinal remedies from the sassafras trees and the local moss that hangs from the massive live oaks throughout coastal Georgia. These remedies were used to cure injuries and sickness from boiling the moss for a tea to bring down fevers or using the moss as gauze for wounds. The pharmacology of the Gullah-Geechee has been an important way that local knowledge within the community has been passed from the first slaves who adapted the local plant ecosystems of the Sea Islands out of necessity to contemporary generations. William Pollitzer has noted the centrality of sassafras in the slave pharmacology of the Sea Islands, writing:

No plant was so popular as sassafras, whose roots were used to make tea as a tonic. White adopted it for treating rheumatism and high blood pressure; blacks said that a tea from white sassafras roots would cure blindness. Early in American history it was exported to England for colic, venereal disease, and general pain.³³⁸

The prized sassafras tree is disappearing as the lead Geechee-Gullah performer told us. He used to find the tree frequently as a child along the coast but finds it rarely today as the wooded regions of the coast have been logged for decades and now cleared completely for planned communities and real estate development.

Race and language and specifically the ability to communicate as Gullah-Geechee under the watchful eyes of white overseers and masters have been documented by linguists, ethnomusicologists, and historians. The lead female Geechee-Gullah performer stepped forward

toward the audience and discussed the role of language and agency within her community. She told us that Gullah was not “broken English or pigeon French” but a language that allowed them to communicate together in public without outsiders knowing what they were saying.³³⁹ She spoke directly to the audience, stating: “Some folks say it’s Ebonics. But we can speak this in the grocery store line and have a whole conversation without anyone knowing what we’re saying.”³⁴⁰ The performer’s pride in the ability to converse in secret mirrors the community agency that the Gullah language provided early Georgia slaves with on coastal plantations. Pollitzer notes the use of intonation as a key way Gullah-Geechee communicate meaning:

No characteristic of Gullah speech appears so strange to the outsider as its intonation. [...] The difference in tone and inflection enabled slaves to use ambiguities of Gullah to conceal meanings from white masters but reveal them to their fellows. For example, the adjective *bad*, pronounced with a slow falling tone like *baaad* could be an expression of admiration for another slave who had successfully flouted Ole Maussa’s rules.³⁴¹

The lead female performer of the Geechee-Gullah Ring Shouters conducted a mock conversation as if on the telephone calling a friend in her community. Another female ensemble member of the ring shouters contributed responses and phrases in Gullah and the two women smiled as they shared a sample of their language with the festival audience.

Conclusion

While the dominant tone of the gospel-infused, 2011 Sea Islands Festival was celebratory as if the event was a cross between a revival, summer camp meeting at a southern church, and an arts and crafts festival; race and the effects of decades of development that have white-washed

the island were also palpable. During a moment of audience interaction before introducing one of the Geechee-Gullah Ring Shouters' songs, the lead female performer prefaced the piece by asking the audience of black and white festival attendees: "Who had the nicest house on the plantation?" The audience of both black and white festival attendees was silent and did not respond. To the silence, the female performer playfully pushed her audience further: "The massa! You know, it's ok, you can say it—the massa—it's ok... unless you're afraid who's sittin' next to you!"³⁴² She laughed loudly as the audience smiled and chuckled softly. In this moment the power of perceived racial difference and racial distance were displayed; this power was further heightened because these comments were expressed in the very same space where slaves were once forced to work the sandy soil beneath the festival audience's feet on the old Hamilton Plantation.³⁴³

In the final song that the Geechee-Gullah Ring Shouters performed, slavery was brought even closer to the audience's—perhaps safe and even comfortable—present distance in the twenty-first century. As the female shouters sang "One Day" on stage, three male performers crossed down to the area closest to the audience and one of them removed his straw hat, knelt on his knees, and bowed his head to the ground. One of the other two men held high a long rusty chain connected to a metal neck shackle over his head as if presenting it to the audience. He positioned it around the man's neck and torso, resting the heavy metal ring on his shoulders and clavicle, as the other male performer wrapped the end of the chain around his wrists behind his back. As the song continued, the shackled man struggled on his knees as if toiling under slavery's weight while twisting his shoulders and chest. When the song reached a fever pitch onstage as the women sang louder and louder, the shackled performer pulled off the chains hanging around his wrists. He slowly stood and pulled the neck shackle from his body and threw

it on the ground and lifted his arms and face to the sky on the final verse of the song. The performance yoked the present to the past by visually acting out slavery's brutality on a June afternoon in Gascoigne Park. In the moment of being chained and shackled the performer's body was corporeally linked to that of his African ancestors, ancestors who may have been enslaved in the same area where he sang, danced, and educated the audience on the Gullah-Geechee culture.

The endangered ecosystem of the Okefenokee Swamp which had been on fire for weeks and was losing more acreage daily to the consuming flames caused by a southern summer without rain had created the smoke that filled the 2011 Sea Islands Festival. By the end of the festival my eyes had turned red from the smoke and it was difficult not to think of the fire as a fitting, sensory backdrop to the Gullah-Geechee community event. In a way, the burning, endangered swamp mirrored the fragility of the vanishing black and Gullah-Geechee communities on St. Simons Island. The R.V.'s that festival demonstrators and vendors had traveled in would soon be packed and driven back to cities and neighborhoods off the island.³⁴⁴ The trash would be removed from the blue bins throughout the park, the stage would be taken down, and the bodies that had filled Gascoigne Park with passionate shouts of praise to God would go home.³⁴⁵ St. Simons Island, like the Okefenokee Swamp, is a site of simultaneous destruction and regeneration, loss and reinvention of local histories and communities. The destructive fire of the swamp can also be likened to Walter Benjamin's image of the angel watching the storm of history. Benjamin writes:

Where *we* see the appearance of a chain of events, *he* sees one single catastrophe, which unceasingly piles rubble on top of rubble and hurls it before his feet. He would like to pause for a moment so fair, to awaken the dead and to piece

together what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise, it has caught itself up in his wings and is so strong that the Angel can no longer close them. The storm drives him irresistibly into the future, to which his back is turned, while the rubble-heap before him grows sky-high. That which we call progress, is *this* storm.³⁴⁶

The “rubble” of the Hampton Plantation, the disintegrating Harrington School, and even the sandy dirt of Gascoigne Park are all pieces of the accumulating history of “progress” on St. Simons Island. The “landscape of heritage” on the island that titles this chapter is both a proud and culturally rich heritage of black and white pasts and a heritage of slavery, ignored histories, and the damaging effects of “development” which have impacted the loss of local histories and populations. What the Sea Islands Festival represents within the conflicting heritage and changing topography of St. Simons Island is an event that celebrates, preserves, and reinvents the past in the present by re-placing the Gullah-Geechee community on the island once more.³⁴⁷

Re-Placing the South

“Jesus, the South is fine, isn’t it. It’s better than the theatre, isn’t it. It’s better than Ben Hur, isn’t it. No wonder you have to come away now and then [...]”

-William Faulkner, *Absalom, Absalom!*

As one of the greatest critics and creators of the mythic Old South in American literature, William Faulkner’s words still speak today. “The south” as a place and a people continues to fascinate and sometimes shock U.S. and international audiences in popular culture and politics. As articulated in chapter one, this project has sought to remap contemporary understandings of identity performance in the southern United States. This is an ambitious goal and to begin this work, I examined three particular sites of commemoration—the cemetery, the state historic site, and the island park— and three corresponding performances of self in the south: the Confederate daughter, the Native southerner, and the Sea Islander. As stated at the outset, my goal in the preceding chapters has been to destabilize ideas of race, gender, nation, and class categories for individuals who live in the southern U.S. and to subvert the narrow notion of “the south” as one homogenous, unified region.

I have argued that each of the three case studies of this project are sites of individual and group subversion and reinvention that challenge what is remembered and what is lost in southern cultural memory. Specifically, these include: the United Daughter of the Confederacy member who performs her loyalty to the CSA nation and thus challenges any false belief that the U.S. has moved beyond the Civil War or is now in a “post-race” era; the southerner who chooses to dress, live, and believe as if they are Cherokee in spite of their lack of racial “proof” of their Native identity and in so doing disrupts the assumption that the Cherokee were eradicated from Georgia; and the Gullah-Geechee artisan whose very presence on the barrier islands attests to the

multiplicity of south(s) within the American south. Each of these southern identities is fundamentally formed from group membership and enacted at specific sites central to the culture's history. The individuals quoted in the preceding chapters demonstrate how their contemporary identities are consciously shaped by the larger culture and heritage they inherit and enact. The public performances examined in this project commemorate loss of life, culture, and history; however, each location is also a generative site of reinvention for the participants who return to perform their own place-based identities. In this manner, the south remains a site of group plurality and ongoing negotiations of self and cultural membership.

Place

Perhaps more so than any other region in the U.S. the American south has long defined itself in politics and popular culture through a relationship to place. From the secession of the Confederate States of America, the "I'll take my stand" refrain of the Southern Agrarians, to the civil rights reform of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—place has been integral to regional self-definition in the southern U.S. In everyday interactions across the U.S., questions of identity such as: "Who are you?," are perpetually paired with questions of place: "Where are you from?" In the American south this question might be deployed in a slightly different form: "Where are your people from?" In a contemporary global economy, the accelerated movement of products and people across geographic boundaries increases the displacement of culture. No longer does an individual in the U.S. have to be in a particular area to eat certain food, hear certain music, or watch certain performances. Similarly, exports of southern popular culture such as television star, Paula Deen (the quintessential "southern belle" of celebrity cooking) are constructed hybrids of myth and memory manufactured by the media. Deen, a native of Albany

Georgia, started her food empire by cooking take-out lunches as “The Bag Lady” to area Albany businesses. The success of her “Lady and Sons” restaurant in Savannah Georgia and first cookbook led to the Food Network launching her “Paula’s Home Cooking” television series in 2002. Since then, Deen has become synonymous with southern cuisine and has built a food empire on the assumption that while southern food may not be good for you, it tastes better and is simply more fun than other regional U.S. cuisine. Deen’s television franchise has broadcast the sensorial image of authentic, down home cooking to households across the U.S.; her cookbooks have further perpetuated the capitalist consumption of image through product. Not only can a consumer watch a fabulously gaudy south through Deen’s white-frosted, enormous hair, heavy make-up and massive diamond jewelry, and hear the southern Georgia drawl in the way she pronounces “oil”—they can eat the south too by embracing Deen’s decadent use of butter as somehow being an essential ingredient to “true” southern cooking.

Ineffable questions of quality and authenticity may arise for the food connoisseur who eschews the belief that cooking Deen’s recipe for biscuits and gravy in, for example, Cleveland Ohio, actually gives someone an authentic taste of the south. Correspondingly, biscuits and gravy served in the Lady and Sons restaurant in Savannah or in Longstreet Café in Gainesville Georgia can induce various questions about the link between authenticity and place. Whether one eats southern food in the south or not, the proliferation of technology, transportation, and product has revolutionized our contemporary relationship to place, and, simultaneously, place remains an enduring interest for both residents and tourists who travel “down south.” Precisely because certain aspects of southern culture can be exported and consumed regardless of one’s physical location, it is ever more important to focus on those public performances that are profoundly site specific.

As the previous chapters have indicated, I remain interested in the use of landscape and “place” for examining identity construction in the southern U.S. I specifically engage “place” as a methodological term on two levels: 1. place as the material, physical sites central to a culture’s memory and the location of contemporary identity performances and 2. place in the more abstract sense of the term, connoting a person’s “place in society” which may be dictated by race, gender, citizenship, and class status. Through my use of place as a methodological lens for examining identity performance, the more elusive ideas of agency and power are revealed. For example, in the southern U.S. those individuals who owned the land and those who were forced to work the land is a reality that continues to haunt the politics of preservation, property ownership, and residency throughout the southern United States.

Henri Lefebvre conveys the relationship between social practices and space with the following: “More generally speaking, what we call ideology only achieves consistency by intervening in social space and in its production, and by thus taking on body therein. Ideology per se might well be said to consist primarily in a discourse upon social space.”³⁴⁸ Not solely confined to the institution of slavery, the enduring concern over place in the southern U.S. stems also from centuries of struggles for control over the land. Some of these place-based conflicts include: colonization; the forced removal of indigenous peoples; slavery; sharecropping; racial segregation; community subdivisions and H.O.A. covenants; the construction of interstate highway systems and the use of eminent domain that has taken family farm lands and homes; and the slow but devastating effects of rapid development including gentrification. For individuals in the southern U.S. who live in a formerly agrarian region, land may be both a source of financial security and their sole remaining link to their family’s past.

Displacing and Re-Placing Identity

Due to an increasing sense of displacement that can include the loss of family land, being forced to move from a community neighborhood, or from heavy development and the destruction of natural ecosystems and rural lands, efforts to “re-place” identities are exhibited at commemorative events. By “re-placing” I refer to a process by which individuals return to specific sites to construct and embody their sense of identity through public performances. These performances rely on specific behaviors: dressing in particular ways (“costuming”); moving through the site in a controlled, choreographed manner (“staging”); and sharing stories, songs, dances, and group histories (“performance”). Taken together, these behaviors are performative in that they preserve local histories and performance traditions such as song and dance through repetition, and in so doing, re-locate or “re-place” a particular cultural group in the sites central to each group’s history. For the United Daughters of the Confederacy this includes returning to the cemetery where Confederate dead are buried and monuments commissioned by the earliest Ladies Memorial Associations guard CSA graves. For contemporary Cherokee in the southeast, this return to place includes going back to the key site of Cherokee civilization and removal in the south—New Echota. For the Gullah-Geechee, the process of “re-placing” identity involves returning to the increasingly mono-racial islands, such as St. Simons, upon which their ancestors once lived. The bodily presence of community members in the sites of history and memory examined in this project asserts the survival of the performed cultures. To re-place oneself in each cultural site, to stand on the ground of ancestors, and to “go home,” if you will, is to defy cultural erasure. Unlike a federally-sanctioned battlefield or war memorial that is marked by signage and protected by laws controlling the use of the land, the locations of loss examined in the prior chapters are tenuous and transformative

sites. These sites bear witness to the power of bodies in space. Each is transformed by and for group members who imbue the land with memory and meaning.

The specific commemorations and festivals examined in this project cannot occur in any other setting. A shopping mall, downtown street, or even classroom would be inappropriate due to the fact that the constructions of identity examined in chapters two, three, and four fundamentally depend upon the charge to remember and to return to the places of the past: the cemetery, the capital, and the island. Like Nora's "lieux de mémoire," each site engenders memory including headstones, state markers, and reconstructed buildings that challenge visitors to "never forget."³⁴⁹ The purpose of the cemetery directly stems from the loss of human life, the restored capital is the site of the attempted eradication of the Cherokee, and the barrier island that was once covered in plantations is now experiencing the loss of a formerly-thriving African American community. However, the return of the UDC, the Cherokee, and the Gullah-Geechee to these sites of displacement and loss are not solely moments of mourning but also opportunities for individuals to perform pride in their identity. A community member may be decades or even centuries removed from the last member of their family living on or near the commemorative site, but the individual transcends the limits of their genealogical past and single contemporary sense of self by aligning their identity to the larger group. The choice to enact group identity does not remain an isolated or solitary activity that one completes by reading the history of each group or dressing in a certain manner. It happens publically at the places central to cultural identity—by going back to the cemetery, the capital, and the island. The repopulation of these sites further subverts the assumption that the Confederacy, the Cherokee, or the Gullah-Geechee cultures are dead and lost or in the process of slowly dying in the contemporary south. Instead,

the performative power of commemoration rests in the individual return to each site—the “I” that returns is evidence that “we have never left” this land.

The South: Assumptions and Realities

As discussed at length in the opening chapter of this document, the southern U.S. is a region particularly troubled by issues of place and race which are connected to the proliferation of southern stereotypes in American popular culture. Further, the American South, like the American West, has been a region mythologized through popular culture—a process, often carried out by non-southerners, that has staged the south in the American imagination. Literature, drama, popular music, and advertising created a durable image of the south that was oversimplified and categorized the south as quaintly backwards at best and pitifully ignorant at worst. Karen Cox writes of the modern creation of the south: “Such representations of the region became part of the catalog of southern imagery that was employed in everything from advertising to movies. In popular culture, the South was used to represent the pastoral ideal and to recall a premodern America.”³⁵⁰ Through regional representations in American popular culture, a homogenization of the region and a generalization of the people and diverse identities of the southern U.S. have transpired.

The generalization of identity in the south usually splits down the familiar fault line of race into “black” and “white.” Thus, a foundational operating goal of this project has been to challenge the racial binary of black/white by exploring sites of identity that expand understandings of race in the southern U.S. today. The contemporary racial diversity and cultural history of the American south includes far more voices than solely “black” and “white;” my work to expand beyond black/white understandings of the south in this project gives voice to

those located outside the dominant racial binary and also cultivates new knowledge about what it means to be “black” and “white” in the contemporary American south. By employing what Claire Jean-Kim calls “the field of racial positions,” we can begin to understand that the Confederate woman, Cherokee southerner, and Sea Islander do not experience their racial identities in isolation or within a top-down, hierarchical structure of race, but that these identities are constructed in relationship to the many-bodied race realities of the contemporary south.³⁵¹

This document began with public performances of the white, Old South. While the United Daughters of the Confederacy was not officially formed until 1894, the claims to authentic ownership, belonging, and certain sites as being forever sacred in the southern psyche were examined in chapter two. By beginning this project with the UDC, the politics of group membership are displayed in clear detail that foregrounds the mechanisms by which an individual constructs their personal identity in sometimes direct opposition to other identities. Contemporary UDC members may never think of themselves as participating in a discriminatory, exclusionary, or racist endeavor, but their group membership asserts that they are “who they are” by whom “they are not.” For example, the Confederate daughter is made whiter by whom she is not: black, and made more loyal by what she is not: Yankee. It is not surprising then that *Scarlett O’Hara* remains one of the most popular belles of American literature and film. But unlike Vivien Leigh playing *Scarlett* on the screen, the contemporary UDC member at Confederate Memorial Day is not “acting” but is carrying out a responsibility. She is, unlike a costumed living history interpreter at a Civil War historic site, performing a duty that she has specifically inherited through her admittance into the UDC.

Another popular assumption about the culture of the southern U.S. is that southerners are concerned with or even, obsessed with the past. Matthew Pratt Guterl articulates his definition

of “south” in *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*: “To use the keyword “South” is to invoke, above all else, the importance of place and history.”³⁵² With the proliferation of monuments, Civil War sites, and ghost tours, the notion of the south as being a culture of loss and memory is not unsubstantiated. In many ways the refusal to change, adapt, and move on is what is central to the celebration of the rebellious “redneck,” “hillbilly,” and “southern belle” stereotypical identities that continue to hang on in popular culture. In literature, writers such as Faulkner have contributed to the Southern Gothic representation of the haunted southerner. Faulkner’s protagonist, Quentin Compson’s life is filled with those individuals who cannot forget and Faulkner begins the story of Compson’s life:

His childhood was full of them; his very body was an empty hall echoing with sonorous defeated names; he was not a being, an entity, he was a commonwealth. He was a barracks filled with stubborn back-looking ghosts still recovering, even forty-three years afterward, from the fever which had cured the disease [...]³⁵³

From Faulkner’s obsessive meditations on the past, both his and his southern characters’, it would be logical to categorize groups such as the UDC as being preoccupied with loss. However, what chapter two uncovers is that Confederate Memorial Day is not only a commemoration of lost lives but also a powerful site of kinship, familial connection, and sororal bonds between contemporary women. From this, the women of the UDC disrupt ideas of the paralysis of the past through their active choices to perform Confederate pride.

The simultaneity of absence and presence is demonstrated in chapter three with the examination of contemporary Native identities in the southeastern U.S. New Echota, as the site where hundreds of Cherokee were held brutally before their forced removal from Georgia, is

haunted by the absence of its original inhabitants. The reconstructed Supreme Courthouse, the transplanted cabin, and the printing office of the *Cherokee Phoenix* stand empty for much of the year at the New Echota State Historic Site. Just as the landscape of Oakland Cemetery reveals the enormity of human casualty through hundreds of fading headstones, the landscape of New Echota and the empty, reconstructed buildings attest to the absence of the Cherokee. The removed Cherokee do not return on Frontier Day, but contemporary southerners who feel that they are descendants of southeastern Native Americans do. Performances of contemporary identity cannot bring back to the public stage of the state park the removed Cherokee, but the Frontier Day event affords individuals an opportunity to redefine, articulate, and to embody their identity in relationship to the larger group they honor by their return to New Echota.

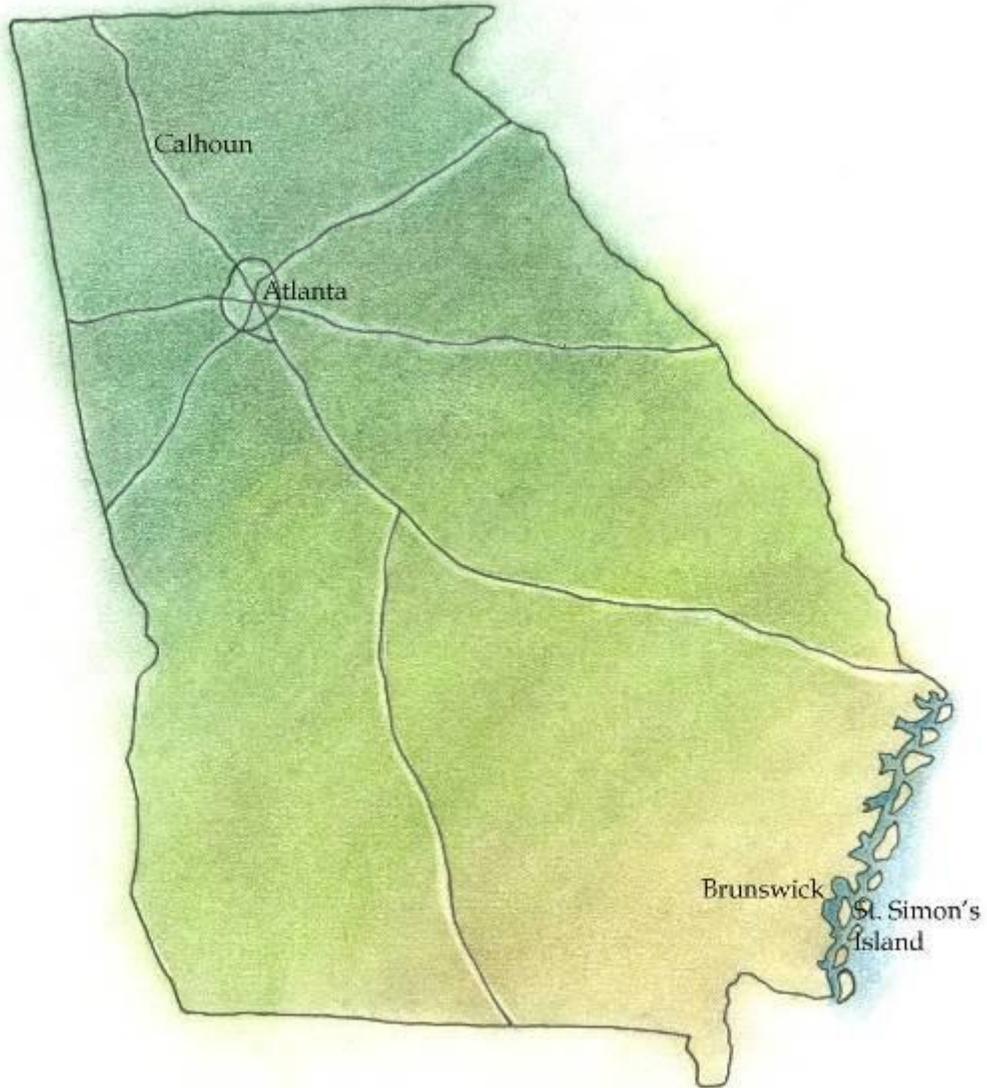
The final case study of the Gullah-Geechee on St. Simons Island contrasts with the opening case study of the UDC in chapter two. As examined in the opening pages of the second chapter, the ideology of the Confederacy is a flexible concept that is perpetuated each time a Confederate heritage group performs their Confederate pride. Therefore, “Confederate culture” is not bound to state, regional, or even national boundaries. In opposition to the spatial elasticity of ideology is the fixity of the cemetery; specifically, the concretization of Confederate memory at Oakland Cemetery. Unlike the southern cemetery, the Gascoigne Park on St. Simons Island was once tribal land of coastal Native Americans, later, the large Hamilton Plantation, and is now a public park. The continual change in ownership and control of the barrier islands, including St. Simons, is similar to the centuries of adaptation that the Gullah-Geechee coastal communities have experienced. This project reveals that the more marginalized a cultural group, the more crucial land and particular sites become to their continued cultural survival. Therefore, place-based and land-centered performances of culture and community identity are especially

vital for the increasingly displaced members of the Gullah-Geechee. The Sea Islands Festival serves, then, as a vital site for displaced members who no longer live on the islands to return to the places of their ancestors in order to assert proudly who they are by performing, and thereby preserving, the culture of their forebears.

W.E.B. DuBois writing on the Sea Islanders of the coastal south in his essay, “Sorrow Songs,” articulated the power of African songs that have been preserved in the oral culture of the Gullah-Geechee. The performance forms passed on from one generation to another, such as the ring-shout, are performance pieces and performatives themselves. Through repetition they preserve heritage, enact identity, and evoke a sense of group and personal survival. DuBois writes: “The child sang it to his children and they to their children’s children, and so two hundred years it has travelled down to us and we sing it to our children, knowing as little as our fathers what its words may mean, but knowing well the meaning of the music.”³⁵⁴ DuBois’ argument echoes what I learned at New Echota’s Frontier Day 2010 when speaking with a woman who did not know whether it was her great-grandmother or great-grandfather that was half Cherokee. The gender of the ancestor did not matter, but instead what was crucial was that she knew who she was “because of the stories that were passed over and over.”³⁵⁵ Often, it seems, the vague and unspecified nature of this kind of ancestral memory is a key element of its perpetuation, and is directly linked to the mechanics of meaning-making in performance. Real or imagined, purportedly factual or pointedly fictional, the idea of the place’s prior occupants holds a powerful fascination. Whether Scarlett O’Hara is “real” or not is inconsequential, what is important is that the contemporary woman, who dresses up in Scarlett’s green dress cleverly made from the curtains of the Tara plantation, believes her to be real and a continued source for fantasy and performative play. A common theme I documented across each case study was the

power of an individual's personal ancestry and regional past. This thread may be summarized as, the conviction that "I know who I am, because I know who they were and where they came from." The commemorative events of Confederate Memorial Day, Frontier Day, and the Sea Islands Festival each foster a process of contemporary identity formation founded on not only knowledge of but a performed embodiment of the past. I have examined these events as southern stages of self—they are not simply sites of remembrance but of reinvention.

IMAGE APPENDIX

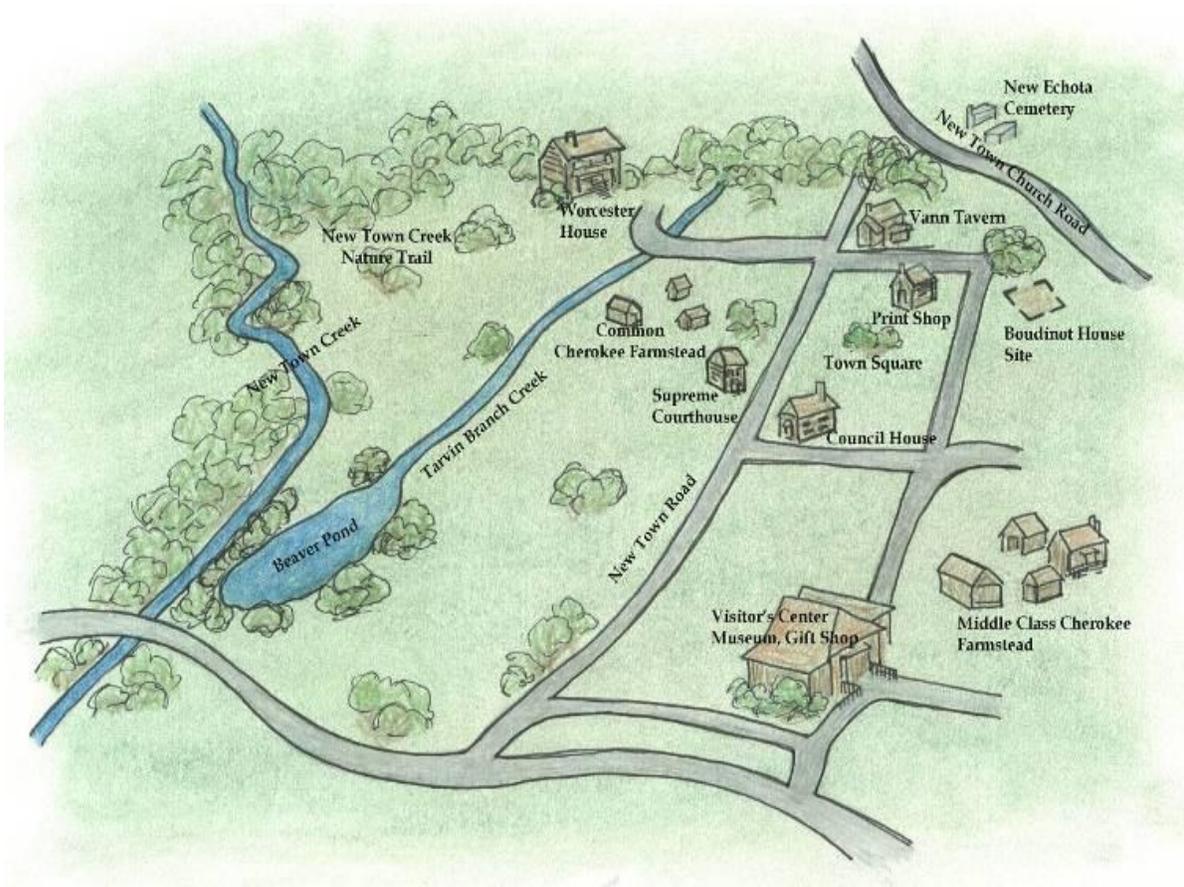


Map 1: State of Georgia with Site Locations

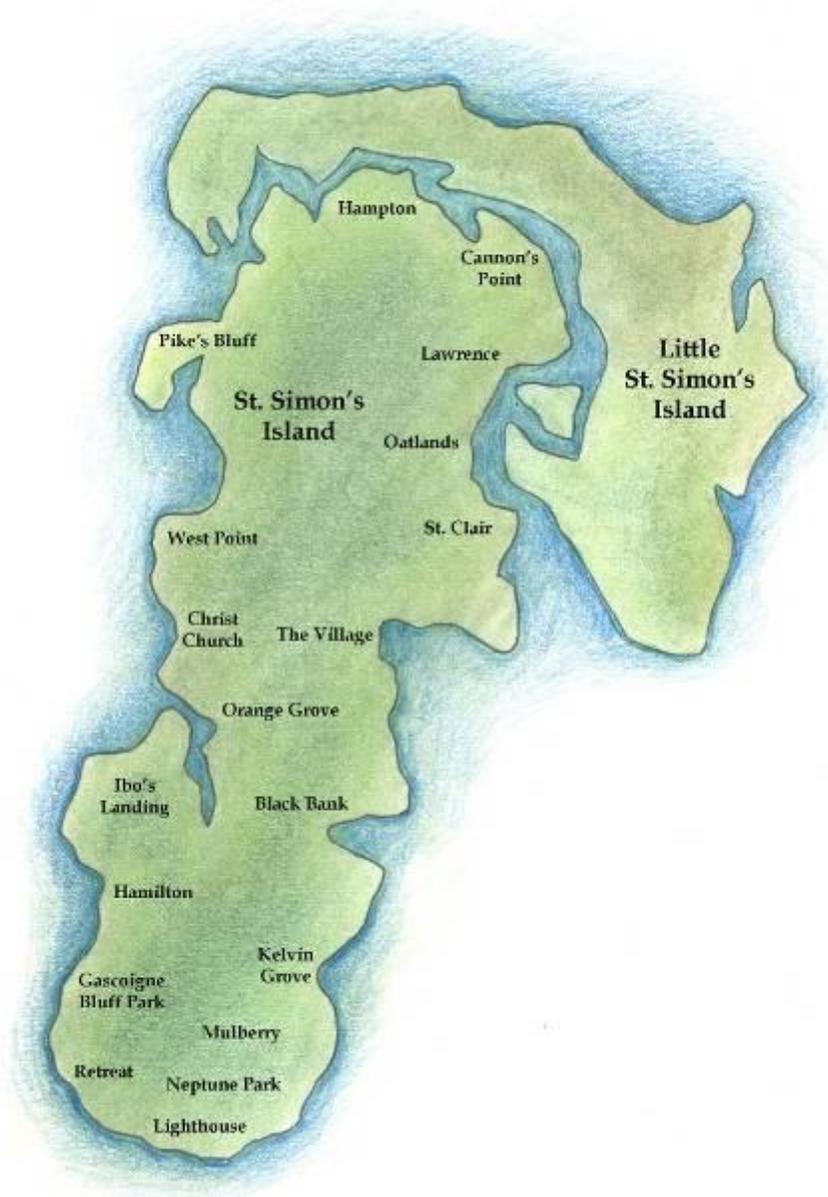
(All maps illustrated by Leah Owenby, 2012)



Map 2: Historic Oakland Cemetery, Atlanta



Map 3: New Echota Historic Site, Calhoun



Map 4: St. Simons Island with Original Plantations and Contemporary Locations



Image 2.1 (Chapter Two, Image One): Confederate Memorial Day



Image 2.2: Decorated Graves



Image 2.3: Confederate Grave



Image 2.4: “Audience” Area for Confederate Memorial Day



Image 2.5: “Lest We Forget...” Atlanta Ladies Memorial Association Plaque

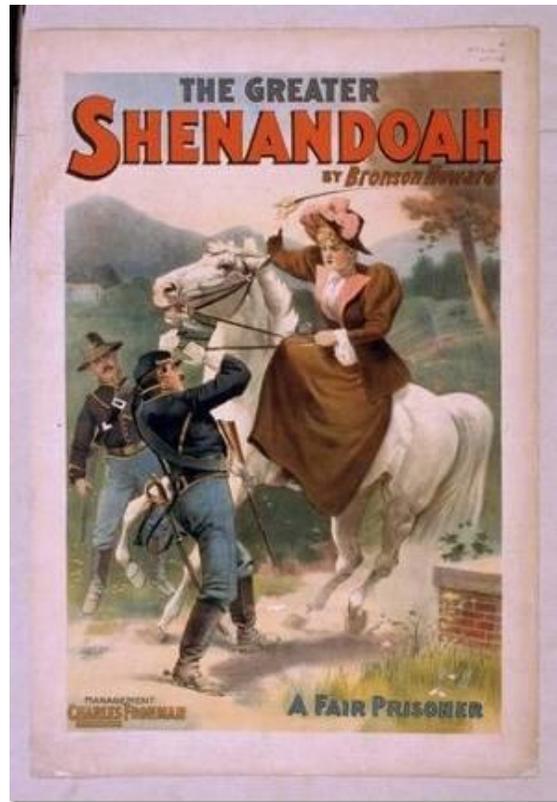


Image 2.6: Gertrude with Whip from *Shenandoah*



Image 2.7: Margaret Mitchell's Grave



Image 2.8: Stone Mountain



Image 2.9: Stone Mountain Detail



Image 2.10: Confederate Obelisk



Image 2.11: "The Lion of Atlanta" in Oakland Cemetery



Image 2.12: Maynard Jackson's Grave



Image 2.13: Holebrook's Grave and Sun Trust Building



Image 2.14: "Sky-Scraper Headstone" Effect with Downtown Skyline



Image 2.15: Daughters and Guests Following Ceremony



Image 2.16: Refreshments and Conversation amongst Daughters Following Ceremony



Image 2.17: “Lest We Forget” Plaque and Decorated Graves



Image 2.18: CSA Uniformed Participant

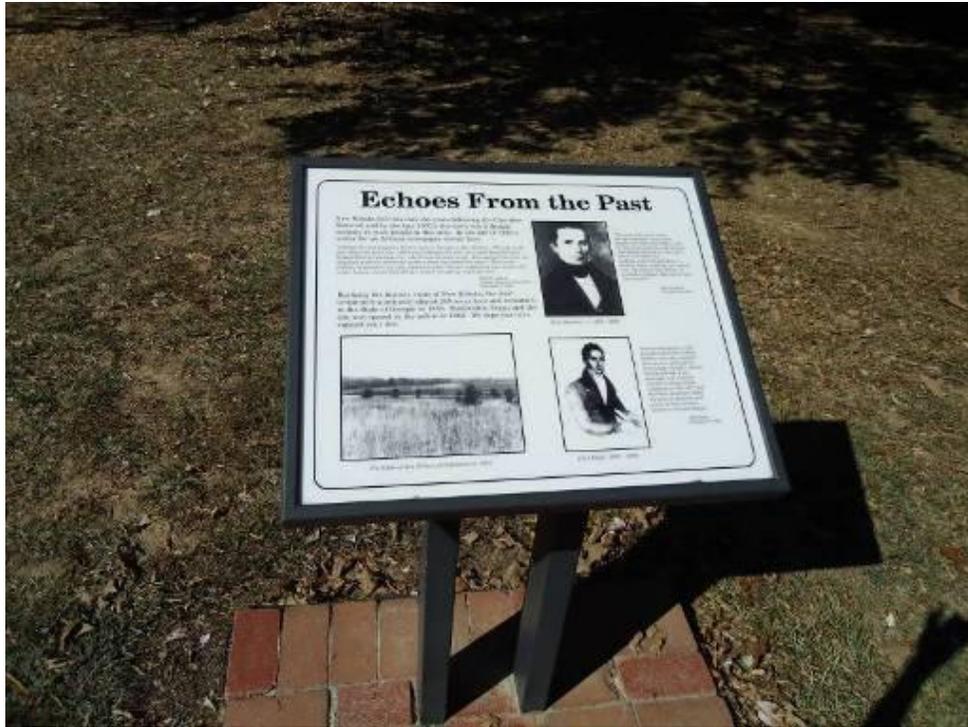


Image 3.1: "Echoes From the Past" Park Sign



Image 3.2: Recovered Cherokee Artifacts from New Echota



Image 3.3: Reconstructed Council House



Image 3.4: Supreme Courthouse



Image 3.5: Demonstration Outside *Cherokee Phoenix* Print Shop, Frontier Day 2009



Image 3.6: “Cherokee Indian Memorial”



Image 3.7: Vann Tavern



Image 3.8: Frontier Day 2010



Image 3.9: Calhoun, “Land of the Cherokee”



Image 3.10: "Echota Smokehouse"
Located Near City Hall



Image 3.11: Painter Inside Museum,
Frontier Day 2010



Image 3.12: Cherokee Storyteller at Frontier Day 2009

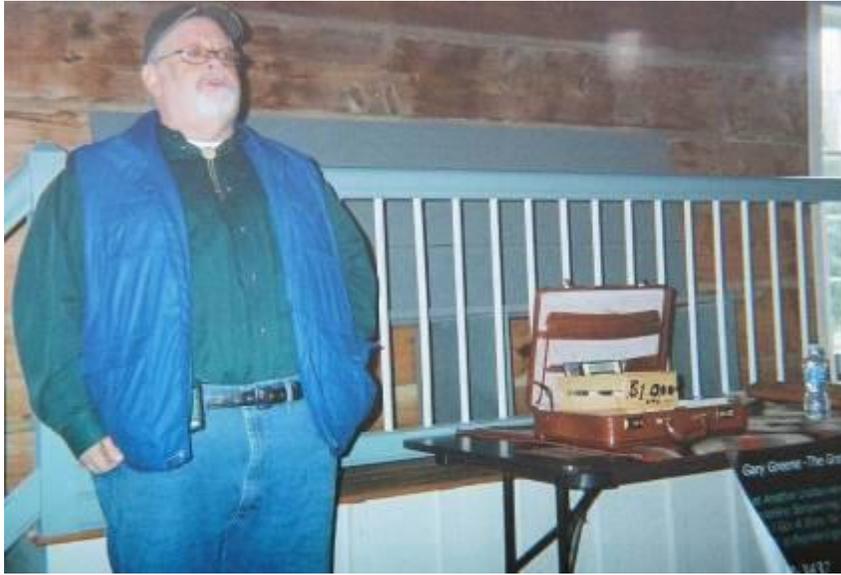


Image 3.13: Non-Cherokee Storyteller at Frontier Day 2009



Image 3.14: Demonstration in *Cherokee Phoenix* Print Shop at Frontier Day 2010



Image 3.15: Demonstration at Frontier Day 2010



Image 3.16: Blacksmithing Demonstration at Frontier Day 2009



Image 3.17: Chief Vann House



Image 3.18: Cherokee Storyteller, George Murray at Frontier Day 2009



Image 3.19: Cherokee Artisan at Frontier Day 2009



Image 3.20: Frontier Day 2010



Image 3.21: Amy and Her Friends at Frontier Day 2010



Image 3.22: "Town Square"



Image 3.23: Shape Note Singers Perform Inside Supreme Courthouse, Frontier Day 2010

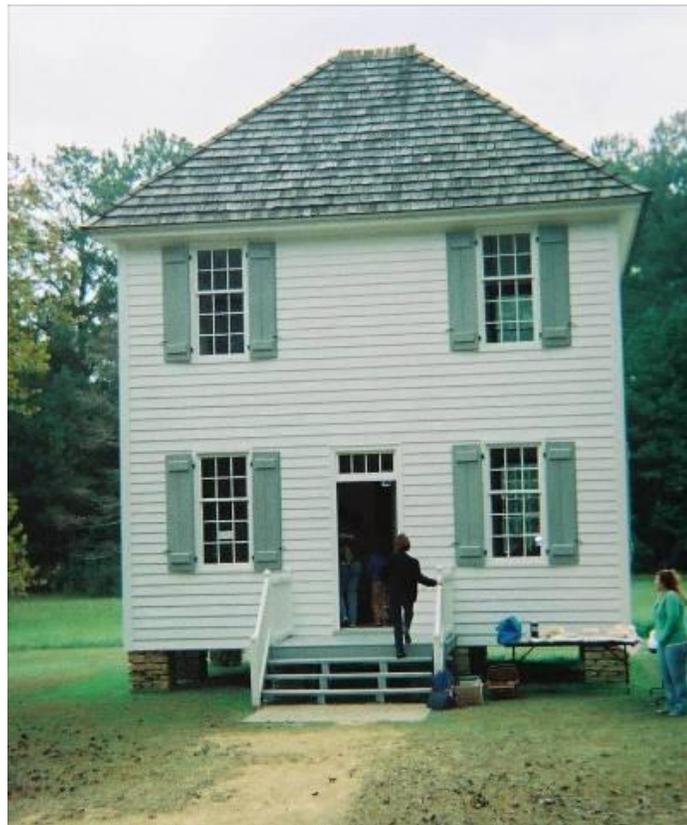


Image 3.24: Visitors Enter Supreme Courthouse, Frontier Day 2009



Image 4.1: Front Entrance of “Plantation Point” Community



Image 4.2: Ruins and Condominiums Just Beyond



Image 4.3: Sign Placed in Front of Hampton Ruins



Image 4.4: Slave Cabin Doorway



Image 4.5: Doorway and Condominium Beyond



Image 4.6: Hampton Plantation Ruin



Image 4.7: Slave Cabin Ruins and Plantation Point Condominiums



Image 4.8: The Tabby House



Image 4.9: State Marker on Road
Beside Tabby House



Image 4.10: The Tabby House's Sign



Image 4.11: The Harrington School Today



Image 4.12: Tarps and Plywood Used to Prevent Further Damage



Image 4.13: The Last Remaining African American Schoolhouse on St. Simons Island



Image 4.14: Development Sign Posted Across Road from Harrington School Site



Image 4.15: Sign Posted on Community Bulletin Board at St. Simons Visitors Center



Image 4.16: Sign Posted on Construction Fence Outside Neptune Park



Image 4.17: Neptune Park on June 18, 2011



Image 4.18: 2011 Sea Islands Festival



Image 4.19: Jewelry, Quilts, Art, and Canned Goods for Sale



Image 4.20: “Doo Dad’s Express,” a Popular Food Vendor at the 2011 Sea Islands Festival



Image 4.21: Tented Audience Section and Stage at Far End of Festival



Image 4.22: Haze of Smoke Fills Gascoigne Park Entrance



Image 4.23: "Geechee Hands" Table Sign



Image 4.24: Gullah-Geechee Artisan Hand-Knotting Fishing Net



Image 4.25: Basket-Weaving Demonstration



Image 4.26: Masks and Wooden Art for Sale



Image 4.27: View from Picnic Table Pavilion



Image 4.28: Area Gospel Group Performing



Image 4.29: Geechee-Gullah Ring Shouters (in purple) Watch Preceding Performance



Image 4.30: The Ring Shout



Image 4.31: Geechee-Gullah Ring Shouters Perform



Image 4.32: Performer/Audience Space



Image 4.33: Sassafras Tutorial



Image 4.34: Lead Female Ring Shouter Addresses Audience



Image 4.35: Gascoigne Park on the Former Hamilton Plantation



Image 4.36: Festival Vendor and Demonstrator R.V.'s



Image 4.37: An Area Performer Sings Gospel Songs at the 2011 Sea Islands Festival



Image 4.38: A New Generation at the 2011 Sea Islands Festival

NOTES

¹ A note on terminology is important here. I use the contested terms “race” and “gender” throughout this dissertation. My use of these terms joins those of contemporary constructivist race scholars such as Michael Omi, Howard Winant, and Ian F. Haney López and feminist scholar, Judith Butler, who articulate race and gender as being constructed categories that, while they may or may not be based on biological arguments, are culturally and not biologically determined. See: Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States, From the 1960s to the 1990s*, 2nd ed, New York: Routledge, 1994. Print. And: Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990. Print.

² I employ the term “haunted” intentionally here from Marvin Carlson’s notion of the “haunted character” from his book, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (2001) in which he discusses the reoccurrence throughout western theatre and drama of certain dramatic tropes and characters that through each repetition become haunted by the sedimentation of previous articulations of their character type.

³ For a longer analysis of the creation and marketing of southern popular culture by non-southern and southern purveyors, see Karen Cox’s *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. Print.

⁴ Eduardo Bonilla-Silva argues that “our stories make us.” I build here upon Bonilla-Silva’s idea of race as being a foundational “story” of U.S. culture and society and that to understand race we must understand the power of stories. The “story” of race in the south has undeniably made the south historically and continues to form the political and economic and social realities of countless individuals who live in the south. See: Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. *Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. 2nd ed. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006. Print.

⁵ When considering the work of both Saidiya Hartman and Joseph Roach who employ an understanding of what they respectively call, “the trans-Atlantic cultural matrix” and the “circum-Atlantic” along with an understanding of the diasporic movement of black bodies through the international economy trade of human slavery, it is possible to argue that the south has always been involved in global economics. See specifically: Hartman’s *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Print. And Roach’s *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. Print.

⁶ I am specifically thinking of the work of whiteness studies scholars including David Roediger and Eric Lott; race and performance studies scholars E. Patrick Johnson, Harry Elam, Daphne Brooks and Susan Gubar; and cultural studies theorist Stuart Hall in their respective writings on race and representation.

⁷ See: Hall, Stuart. "What is this 'black' in black popular culture?" *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. Eds. David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen. New York: Routledge, 1995. 468-478. Print.

⁸ See Johnson's introduction, "'Blackness' and Authenticity: What's Performance Got to Do with It?" from *Appropriating Blackness: Performance and the Politics of Authenticity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003. 1-16. Print.

⁹ The drive to map the area of the south within clear geographic borders includes the "Mason-Dixon Line" during the American Civil War. Given that the borders of culture are forever porous and never neatly contained by state, regional, or even national boundaries, "the south" has always existed beyond spacial definitions including the Mason-Dixon Line.

¹⁰ Carlson, Marvin. *The Haunted Stage: the Theatre as Memory Machine*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001. 2. Print.

¹¹ By "western coast" I am referring to the area that today stretches approximately from Sierra Leone to Angola.

¹² Geertz, Clifford. *Local Knowledge, Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books, 1983. 69. Print.

¹³ de Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Steven Rendell, Trans. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. Print.

¹⁴ Hartman, Saidiya. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Print. One example of how Hartman's method of "reading against the grain" for racialized, group allusions in southern plays can be applied is the character of the "Negro Conjure Man" in Tennessee Williams's *Orpheus Descending*. The character is not Cherokee but nonetheless captures the often mysterious, mystical qualities ascribed to Native others in southern drama.

¹⁵ See: Massey, Doreen. *Space, Place, and Gender*. St. Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 1994. Print.

¹⁶ See: Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1991. 1974. Print.

¹⁷ Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977. Print.

¹⁸ I use the term, "landscape," in my analysis of southern drama instead of "nature" due to the connotation of human contact and shaping of the land that "landscape" carries. Landscape, therefore, lies between the seemingly untouched "nature" on one hand, and the consciously delineated and staged "scenery." Dove, Rita. *The Darker Face of the Earth*. 3rd ed. Ashland, Oregon: Storyline Press, 1994. Print.

¹⁹ New Echota, for example, can be contextually positioned within a larger landscape of commemorative Native American sites in the southeast. However, as a particular site, or “place,” New Echota’s specific history and contemporary mission as a historical site and state park differs from other Native American sites such as the more tourist-centered Cherokee, North Carolina. For more on the distinctions between nature, place and landscape, see geographer D.W. Meinig’s thorough introduction in: Jackson, J.B. and D.W. Meinig. *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979. Print.

²⁰ See Chapter 7, “Trans Plants and Economy,” in William Pollitzer’s *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. Print.

²¹ For more on this see Chapter One, “The Dilemmas of Contemporary Living Museum Historiography in Theory and Practice” from Scott Magelssen’s *Living History Museums: Undoing History through Performance*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2007. Print.

²² Blight, David W. and Robert Gooding-Williams, eds. “Introduction: The Strange Meaning of Being Black: DuBois’s American Tragedy.” *The Souls of Black Folk*. W.E.B. DuBois. Boston: Bedford, 1997. 1903. 8-9. Print.

²³ DuBois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. 104.

²⁴ Ruppensburg, Hugh. *After O’Connor: Stories From Contemporary Georgia*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003. Print.

²⁵ See John Gronbeck-Tedesco’s “On *The Rose Tattoo*” in Robert F. Gross’ *Tennessee Williams: A Casebook*. New York: Routledge, 2002. Print.

²⁶ The two-woman play centers on a daughter’s planned suicide and her mother’s inability to stop her daughter from killing herself before the next day. After the play was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Drama, feminist critics including Jill Dolan contested the play’s canonization. See Dolan’s second chapter, “Feminism and the Canon: The Question of Universality” in *The Feminist Critic as Spectator*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988.

²⁷ See Charles Watson’s caption on 147 of *The History of Southern Drama*: “Southern drama reached its apex with Tennessee Williams.” Watson, Charles. *The History of Southern Drama*. Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1997. Print.

²⁸ See: Hartman, Saidiya. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Print. And: Brooks, Daphne. *Bodies in Dissent: Spectacular Performances of Race and Freedom, 1850-1910*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006. Print. And: Elam, Harry J. and David Krasner, eds. *African American Performance and Theater History: A Critical Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. Print.

²⁹ Roach, Joseph. *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. Print.

³⁰ Blight, David. "Southerners Don't Lie; They Just Remember Big." *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. 349. Print.

³¹ See: McConachie, Bruce. "Metamora's Revenge." *Native American Performance and Representation*. S.E. Wilmer, ed. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009. Print. And: Bank, Rosemarie. "The Savage Other: 'Indianizing' and Performance in Nineteenth-Century American Culture." *Interrogating America Through Theatre and Performance*. William W. Demastes & Iris Smith Fischer, eds. New York: Palgrave, 2007. Print. And: Huerta, Jorge. "Feathers, Flutes, and Drums: Images of the Indigenous Americans in Chicano Drama." *Native American Performance and Representation*. S.E. Wilmer, ed. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009. Print.

³² Young's essay is included as the twelfth chapter in: Rivera-Servera, Ramón and Harvey Young, eds. *Performance in the Borderlands*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Print.

³³ Denson, Andrew. "Remembering the Cherokee Removal in Civil Rights-Era Georgia." *Southern Cultures* Winter. (2008): 86-101. Print.

³⁴ Rosenbaum, Art. "Foreword." *Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands*. Lydia Parrish. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1942,1992. xiii. Print. This cabin was also visited by Lorenzo Dow Turner during his work in coastal Georgia. Turner made sound recordings of the performances held there on St. Simons Island.

³⁵ Pollitzer, William. *The Gullah People and their African Heritage*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. 3. Print.

³⁶ See: Clemons, Leigh. *Branding Texas: Performing Culture in the Lone Star State*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008. 56. Print. And see for example: Selph, Fannie Eoline. *The South in American Life and History*. Nashville: McQuiddy Print Company, 1928. Print. (The subtitle to this book is: "An Effort of the Nashville Chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Approved by the Tennessee Division, to Present the True Spirit and Achievements of the South's Civilization Through the Different Periods of Her History, That the South May be Understood and Justly Judged.")

³⁷ See: Blee, Kathleen. "Evidence, Empathy and Ethics: Lessons from Oral Histories of the Klan." *The Oral History Reader*. 2nd ed. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, eds. New York: Routledge, 2006: 322-332. Print. And see: Fletcher, John. "Sympathy for the Devil: Nonprogressive Activism and the Limits of Critical Generosity." *Theatre Historiography: Critical Interventions*. Henry Bial and Scott Magelssen, eds. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010. Print.

³⁸ Clemons, Leigh. *Branding Texas: Performing Culture in the Lone Star State*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008. Print.

³⁹ Kim, Claire Jean. "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans." *Politics & Society* 27.1 (March 1999): 105-138. Online.

⁴⁰ Italics belongs to Chaudhuri. See: Chaudhuri, Una. *Staging Place: The Geography of Modern Drama*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995. xv. Print.

Chapter Two

⁴¹ "Salute to the First Flag of the Confederacy." *Program*. Confederate Memorial Day Observance: Alfred Holt Colquitt Chapter No. 2018, United Daughters of the Confederacy. 23 April 2011. Print.

⁴² See photograph 2.1 in Image Appendix.

⁴³ Blight, David W. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Cambridge: University Press, 2001. 65. Print.

⁴⁴ See photographs 2.2 and 2.3 in Image Appendix.

⁴⁵ See photograph 2.4 in Image Appendix.

⁴⁶ Cox, Karen. *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003. 1. Print.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 2.

⁴⁸ "Divisions and Chapters." *The United Daughters of the Confederacy Headquarters*. United Daughters of the Confederacy. Web. <http://www.hqudc.org>. 1 December 2011.

⁴⁹ Emphasis belongs in original text. "Membership." About the UDC. *The United Daughters of the Confederacy Headquarters*. United Daughters of the Confederacy. Web. <http://www.hqudc.org>. 1 December 2011.

⁵⁰ "Objectives." About the UDC. *The United Daughters of the Confederacy Headquarters*. United Daughters of the Confederacy. Web. <http://www.hqudc.org>. 1 December 2011.

⁵¹ Roach, Joseph. *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Columbia University Press: 1996. 25. Print.

⁵² *Ibid*, 28.

⁵³ See photograph 2.5 in Image Appendix.

⁵⁴ See Butler: "There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results." Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble*. New York: Routledge, 2006, 1990. 34. Print.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 43.

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- ⁵⁶ See among others: Brundage, Fitzhugh W. *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. Print. McPherson, Tara. *Reconstructing Dixie: Race, Gender, and Nostalgia in the Imagined South*. Durham : Duke University Press, 2003. And: Shackel, Paul A. *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration and the Post-Bellum Landscape*. Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2003. Print.
- ⁵⁷ Cox, Karen. "The South Ain't Just Whistlin' Dixie." *New York Times* 17 September 2011, Sunday Review: SR 14. Online. For further analysis, see also: Cox, Karen. *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. Print.
- ⁵⁸ Other fall 2011 shows include: "American Hoggers" on AE, "Hillbilly Handfishin'" on Animal Planet, and "Rocket City Rednecks" on National Geographic. "Hart of Dixie" on CW is one of the few scripted, episodic series in the plethora of Dixie-focused "reality TV" shows.
- ⁵⁹ Donald, David Herbert, Jean Harvey Baker and Michael F. Holt. *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. New York: Norton & Company, 2001. 475. Print.
- ⁶⁰ Kumar, Anita and Rosalind S. Helderman. "McDonnell's Confederate History Month Proclamation Irks Civil Rights Leaders." *The Washington Post* 7 April 2010: AO1. Online.
- ⁶¹ McDonnell, Governor Robert F. "Confederate History Month." 2010 Proclamations. *Office of the Governor*. Web. <http://www.governor.virginia.gov/OurCommonwealth/Proclamations/2010/ConfederateHistoryMonth.cfm>. 24 September 2011.
- ⁶² Elam, Harry J. and David Krasner, eds. *African American Performance and Theater History, A Critical Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. 6. Print.
- ⁶³ Hartman, Saidiya. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Print. Brooks, Daphne A. *Bodies in Dissent: Spectacular Performances of Race and Freedom, 1850-1910*. Durham, Duke University Press, 2006. Print.
- ⁶⁴ "Objectives." About the UDC. *The United Daughters of the Confederacy Headquarters*. United Daughters of the Confederacy. Web. <http://www.hqudc.org>. 22 October 22, 2011.
- ⁶⁵ Cox, Karen. *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. 2. Print.
- ⁶⁶ Howard, Bronson. *Shenandoah. Representative American Plays, From 1767 to the Present Day*, 7th ed. Arthur Hobson Quinn. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953. 479. Print.
- ⁶⁷ *Shenandoah* in Hobson Quinn, 482. See image 2.6 in Image Appendix.
- ⁶⁸ See Image 2 in Chapter Appendix.
- ⁶⁹ *Shenandoah* in Hobson Quinn, 505.

⁷⁰ *Shenandoah* in Hobson Quinn, 504.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Shenandoah* in Hobson Quinn, 508.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Hag, Husna. "7 Reasons We Still Give a Damn about 'Gone With the Wind.'" *Christian Science Monitor*. Web. <http://www.csmonitor.com/Books/2011/0607/7-reasons-we-still-give-a-damn-about-Gone-With-the-Wind/Scarlett-O-Hara-is-irresistible>. 7 June 2011. "Rare Pieces of Gone With the Wind Manuscript Return to Atlanta." Press Release. *Atlanta History Center*, 31 March 2011. Web. http://www.atlantahistorycenter.com/pr_view.asp?id=52. 22 January 2012.

⁷⁵ See photograph 2.7 in Image Appendix.

⁷⁶ "Official Home of Gone With the Wind." Home. *Clayton County Convention & Visitor's Bureau*. Web. <http://www.visitscarlett.com>. 12 January 2012.

⁷⁷ Hackworth, C.B. "Dear Mammy." *Atlanta Magazine* December 2010, 50:8: 102-126. Online.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁸⁰ While Mitchell herself did not title the first draft of her novel that she sent to Macmillan Publishing, she requested the only draft be returned for her continued work on the manuscript. Macmillan returned the draft with the title, "Manuscript of the Old South." See: "Rare Pieces of Gone With the Wind Manuscript Return to Atlanta." Press Release. *Atlanta History Center*, 31 March 2011. Web. http://www.atlantahistorycenter.com/pr_view.asp?id=52. 22 January 2012.

⁸¹ *Gone With the Wind*. 70th Anniversary Ed. Dir. Victor Fleming. Perf. Vivien Leigh, Clark Gable, Hattie McDaniel, Leslie Howard, and Olivia de Havilland. 1939. Warner Brothers, 2009. DVD.

⁸² Scott, Anne Firor. *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970. 4. Print.

⁸³ *Gone With the Wind*. 70th Anniversary Ed. Dir. Victor Fleming. Perf. Vivien Leigh, Clark Gable, Hattie McDaniel, Leslie Howard, and Olivia de Havilland. 1939. Warner Brothers, 2009. DVD.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Farca, Paula Anca. "And, You, Miss, Are No Lady: Feminist and Postfeminist Scarlett O'Hara Rethinks the Southern Lady." *Southern Studies* 14:1 (Spring/Summer 2007): 73-90. Online.

⁸⁸ Watson, Charles S. "Confederate Drama: The Plays of John Hill Hewitt and James Dabney McCabe." *The Southern Literary Journal* 21:2 (Spring 1989): 100-112. Online.

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- ⁸⁹ *Gone With the Wind*. 70th Anniversary Ed. Dir. Victor Fleming. Perf. Vivien Leigh, Clark Gable, Hattie McDaniel, Leslie Howard, and Olivia de Havilland. 1939. Warner Brothers, 2009. DVD.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid.
- ⁹¹ Ibid.
- ⁹² Baizley, Doris. Unpublished Interview With Playwright by Mechele Leon. June 2010. Horowitz, Tony. *Confederates in the Attic*. New York: Vintage, 1999. Print.
- ⁹³ Baizley, Doris. *Shiloh Rules*. New York: Playscripts, Inc., 2002. 28. Print.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid.
- ⁹⁵ Baizley, *Shiloh Rules*, 61.
- ⁹⁶ Baizley, *Shiloh Rules*, 9.
- ⁹⁷ Baizley, *Shiloh Rules*, 71.
- ⁹⁸ Carlson, Marvin. *The Haunted Stage: the Theatre as Memory Machine*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001. 2. Print.
- ⁹⁹ Member. United Daughters of the Confederacy, General James Longstreet Chapter. Personal Correspondence. 11 October 2008.
- ¹⁰⁰ See: Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mèmoire." *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7-24. 15. Print.
- ¹⁰¹ Pierre Nora has named such sites, "lieux de mèmire," or "sites of memory," in his oft-noted essay, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mèmire" *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7-24. Print.
- ¹⁰² DuBois, W.E.B. "Of the Wings of Atalanta." *The Souls of Black Folk*. David W. Blight and Robert Gooding-Williams, eds. Boston: Bedford, 1997. 82. Print.
- ¹⁰³ DuBois, W.E.B. "Of the Wings of Atalanta," 88.
- ¹⁰⁴ From an unpublished letter quoted in: Hackworth, C.B. "Dear Mammy." *Atlanta Magazine* December 2010, 50:8: 102-126. Online.
- ¹⁰⁵ "Georgia Quick Facts." Atlanta. 2010 U.S. Census. U.S. Census Bureau. Web. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/13/1304000.html>. 22 January 2012.
- ¹⁰⁶ Smith, Bruce. "Fort Sumter: Somber 150th anniversary of Civil War." *Denver Post* 23 April 2011: Travel. Online.
- ¹⁰⁷ For more on Confederate women's reactions to the deprivation that marked the final years of the war including the bread riots of Richmond, see Drew Gilpin Faust's article: "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War." *The Journal of American History* 76.4 (March 1990): 1200-1228.
- ¹⁰⁸ Donald, David Herbert, Jean Harvey Baker, and Michael F. Holt. *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. New York: Norton, 2001. 389. Print.

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- ¹⁰⁹ Sherman, William Tecumseh. *Memoirs of General W.T. Sherman*. Charles Royster, ed. New York: Literary Classics of the U.S., 1990. 627. Print.
- ¹¹⁰ The city seal of Atlanta bears the image of the Phoenix with wings spread, rising from flames.
- ¹¹¹ Cox, Karen. *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. 150. Print.
- ¹¹² "Attractions." Residents. *City of Atlanta*, Web. <http://www.atlantaga.gov/visitors/attractions.aspx?section=Residents>. 25 November 2011.
- ¹¹³ See photographs 2.8 and 2.9 in Image Appendix.
- ¹¹⁴ Stewart, Bruce E. "Stone Mountain," Piedmont, Geography, Land and Resources." *The New Georgia Encyclopedia*. Web. <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-2145>. 27 November 2011.
- ¹¹⁵ Hale, Grace Elizabeth. "Granite Stopped Time: The Stone Mountain Memorial and the Representation of White Southern Identity." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 82.1 (Spring 1998): 22-44. 23. Online.
- ¹¹⁶ See image 2.10 in Chapter Appendix.
- ¹¹⁷ See photograph 2.11 in Image Appendix.
- ¹¹⁸ "Layout." About Oakland. Home. *Historic Oakland Foundation*. Web. <http://www.oaklandcemetery.com/layout.html>. 27 November 2011. See Map 2 of Oakland Cemerty in Image Appendix.
- ¹¹⁹ "FAQ's." Home. *Historic Oakland Foundation*. Web. <http://www.oaklandcemetery.com/faqs.html>. 10 November 2011. Brown, Robbie. "Atlanta Saves Battered Gem, a Home for the Dead That's Prized by the Living." *New York Times* 11 October 2008. Online.
- ¹²⁰ "Mission & Vision." About Oakland. *Historic Oakland Foundation*. Web. http://www.oaklandcemetery.com/mission_vision.html. 10 November 2011.
- ¹²¹ Brown, Robbie. "Atlanta Saves Battered Gem, a Home for the Dead That's Prized by the Living." *New York Times* 11 October 2008. Online. See also: Davis, Mark. "Heavenly Herald of Restoration." *Atlanta-Journal Constitution*. 11 October 2008. Online.
- ¹²² See photograph 2.12 in Image Appendix.
- ¹²³ "FAQ's." Home. *Historic Oakland Foundation*. Web. <http://www.oaklandcemetery.com/faqs.html>. 10 November 2011.
- ¹²⁴ Kaemmerlen, Cathy. *The Historic Oakland Cemetery of Atlanta: Speaking Stones*. Charleston: The History Press, 2007. 15. Print.
- ¹²⁵ Taliaferro, Tevi. *Historic Oakland Cemetery*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2001. 7. Print.
- ¹²⁶ The flat plaques of modern cemeteries created greater ease in grave upkeep, landscape maintenance including mowing, and the ability to bury more dead in tightly managed rows of graves. See: Kaemmerlen, Cathy. *The Historic Oakland Cemetery of Atlanta: Speaking Stones*. Charleston: The

History Press, 2007). 11. Print. And: "About Oakland." Home. *Historic Oakland Foundation*. Web. <http://www.oaklandcemetery.com/about.html>. 12 November 2011.

¹²⁷ "Mission & Vision." About Oakland. *Historic Oakland Foundation*. Web. http://www.oaklandcemetery.com/mission_vision.html. 12 November 2011.

¹²⁸ Grace, Libba. "Chairperson's Letter," *The Oakland Herald: Historic Oakland Cemetery's Newsletter* 26.2 (Fall 2011): 1, 7.

¹²⁹ Taliaferro, Tevi. *Historic Oakland Cemetery*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2001. 7. Print.

¹³⁰ "History." About Oakland. *Historic Oakland Foundation*. Web. <http://www.oaklandcemetery.com/history.html>. 12 November 2011.

¹³¹ "About Cabbagetown." *Cabbagetown Neighborhood Improvement Association*. Web. <http://www.cabbagetown.com>. 1 December 2011.

¹³² See photograph 2.13 and 2.14 in Image Appendix.

¹³³ Santora, Mark. "City Cemeteries Face Gridlock." *New York Times* 13 August 2010. Online.

¹³⁴ Participant Observation. "Confederate Memorial Day." Historic Oakland Cemetery. Atlanta, Georgia. 23 April 2011.

¹³⁵ Heyse, Amy. "Women's Rhetorical Authority and Collective Memory: The United Daughters of the Confederacy Remember the South." *Women & Language* 33.1 (Fall 2010): 31-53. 33. Online.

¹³⁶ Blight, David W. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Cambridge: University Press, 2001. 71. Print.

¹³⁷ Cox, Karen. *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003. 4. Print.

¹³⁸ Director of Special Events. Historic Oakland Cemetery. Phone Interview. 11 April 2011.

¹³⁹ See photograph 2.15 in Image Appendix.

¹⁴⁰ See photograph 2.16 in Image Appendix.

¹⁴¹ See photograph 2.17 in Image Appendix.

¹⁴² See photograph 2.18 in Image Appendix. Lipsitz, George. *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness, How White People Profit from Identity Politics*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998. 75. Print.

¹⁴³ Participant Observation. "Confederate Memorial Day." Historic Oakland Cemetery. Atlanta, Georgia. 23 April 2011.

¹⁴⁴ See: Heyse, Amy. "Women's Rhetorical Authority and Collective Memory: The United Daughters of the Confederacy Remember the South." *Women & Language* 33.1 (Fall 2010): 31-53. 42.

¹⁴⁵ Participant Observation. "Confederate Memorial Day." Historic Oakland Cemetery. Atlanta, Georgia. 23 April 2011.

¹⁴⁶ Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). 30. Print.

Chapter Three

¹⁴⁷ Abbott's quote along with quotes from Cherokee leaders Elias Boudinot and John Ridge are printed on a large visitors' sign that is placed outside the museum on the edge of the center fields of the park. The sign is evocatively titled, "Echoes From the Past." See photograph 3.1 in Image Appendix.

¹⁴⁸ A note on terminology is important here. I use the contested term "race" throughout this chapter. My use of this term joins those of contemporary constructivist race scholars such as Michael Omi, Howard Winant, and Ian F. Haney López, who articulate race as being a constructed category and that, while it may or may not be based on biological arguments, is culturally and not biologically determined. I use the terms "Indian," "American Indian," "Native American" and "Native peoples" with respect and with the knowledge that these are historically contingent terms and change as culture changes. See: Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States, From the 1960s to the 1990s*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 1994. Print. Haney López, Ian F. *White By Law: The Legal Construction of Race*. New York: New York University Press, 1996. Print. While Native tribes have been autonomous nation-states inconsistently acknowledged as such by the U.S. government starting before the colonization of North America, these groups have still been subjected to the same inferior racial status, discriminatory legislative history and segregation as other racial and ethnic groups throughout U.S. history. This chapter is not, however, attempting to collapse racial categories as synonymous by ignoring the sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation. Rather, my goal is to examine the ways in which notions of race impact the identity performances that occur through the public performances held at New Echota. By using "performance" to categorize the public event of the "Frontier Day" festival I join scholars such as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Scott Magelssen who employ performance studies methods to investigate heritage, living history and reenactment sites. While these events may include participants who do not view their actions as "performing" with the connotative baggage of deceit and a lack of reality that "performance," as in "acting," can (pejoratively) bring, these events can be studied as performances because they consist of performers, watchers, and a series of meaning-making processes such as scripts and structured audience movement throughout the site. See: Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1998. Print. And: Magelssen, Scott. *Living History Museums: Undoing History through Performance*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007. 90. Print.

¹⁴⁹ New Echota Park Superintendent. Phone Interview. 16 July 2011.

¹⁵⁰ Dunn, Carolyn. "Playing Indian." *Cultural Representation in Native America*. Andrew Jolivette, ed. New York: Altamira Press, 2006. 142. Print.

¹⁵¹ In 2009 all Georgia state parks experienced a thirty-nine percent decrease in state funding. This budget reduction eliminated key staff positions at New Echota, which prompted the Cherokee Nation to intervene with an offer of \$40,000 in funding to pay the salaries of the park staff and insure that New Echota would remain open throughout the week. However, this offer was not accepted; the positions were permanently cut by the state; and many of the former staff are now members of "Friends of New Echota" who continue to volunteer their time at New Echota with no compensation. See: Senn, Lydia. "Cherokee Nation Offers New Echota Funding." *Calhoun Times* 31 August 2009. Online.

¹⁵² "Friends of New Echota" President. Personal Correspondence. 21 July 2011. There are no permanent Cherokee artisans officially on the park's staff throughout the year, but during the public events including "Frontier Day," Cherokee storytellers and artists are invited to New Echota as part of "Frontier Day."

¹⁵³ See photograph 3.2 in Image Appendix.

¹⁵⁴ Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1991.1974. 41. Print.

¹⁵⁵ See photographs 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5 in Image Appendix.

¹⁵⁶ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1998. 2. Print.

¹⁵⁷ Denson, Andrew. "Remembering the Cherokee Removal in Civil Rights-Era Georgia." *Southern Cultures* 14.4 (Winter 2008): 86-101. Print.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁵⁹ It is important to note briefly how I will operationalize certain key terms in this work. "Indian" was originally a historical misnomer as it referred to the peoples of the West Indies and was erroneously attached to the Native people who lived in what is now known as "America." The term "American Indian" comes nearer to accuracy as it distinguishes "Indian" from the West Indian populations, however, "Native American" is used today as commonly as "American Indian" and as a term it contains a type of "here first" connotation. While "Native American" may be a step toward greater political correctness it, nonetheless, is not a neutral or benign term. However troubling "Native American" may be, it has become and remains a commonly used and accepted term by both Native and non-Native writers including David Treuer and Philip J. Deloria. For the purposes of this study, whenever possible I will call the group whose history I am discussing by the tribal name they employ in naming themselves: "Cherokee."

¹⁶⁰ Denson, Andrew. "Remembering the Cherokee Removal in Civil Rights-Era Georgia." *Southern Cultures* 14.4 (Winter 2008): 86. Print.

¹⁶¹ See Troy Johnson's points on the visibility/invisibility of Native Americans in U.S. culture from his forward to: *Cultural Representation in Native America*. Andrew Jolivette, ed. New York: Altamira Press, 2006. ix. Print. For a thorough examination of the complexities of contemporary Native identity, see sociologist Eva Marie Garrouette's *Real Indians: Identity and Survival in Native America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. Print.

¹⁶² Watton, Kelly. "Students Take Action to Save Historic Site." *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* 16 May 2005. Online.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Dowler, Lorraine, Josephine Carubia, and Bonj Szczygiel, eds. *Gender and Landscape: Renegotiating Morality and Space*. New York: Routledge, 2005. 7. Print.

¹⁶⁵ Participant Observation. "Frontier Day." New Echota State Historic Site. Calhoun, Georgia. 2009.

¹⁶⁶ See for example: "Cherokee, North Carolina voted 'Travel Attraction of the Year' by the Southeast Tourism Society for 2006." Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians in North Carolina. *Cherokee North Carolina*. Web. <http://www.cherokee-nc.com/index.php>. 16 October 2009.

¹⁶⁷ Hunter, Kermit. *Unto These Hills*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950.

¹⁶⁸ "Cast and Crew." *Unto These Hills*. *Cherokee North Carolina*. Web. <http://www.cherokee-nc.com/index.php?page=295>. 16 October 2009.

¹⁶⁹ Scott Magelssen's discussion of the perceived authority and higher degree of credibility that museum sites garner in his third chapter, "Performance as Historiography at Living History Museums," from: *Living History Museums: Undoing History through Performance*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007. Print.

¹⁷⁰ Denson, Andrew. *Demanding the Cherokee: Indian Autonomy and American Culture, 1830-1900*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. Print.

¹⁷¹ Philip J. Deloria captures the destructive yet non-committal stance the U.S. government took toward the Cherokee, writing: "Although Indian campaigns were marked by genocidal acts and the genocidal urgings of individuals, the United States never formalized a policy of physical genocide toward native people. It could not, for doing so would have made visible an absolutely destructive power over Indians that Americans wanted desperately to deny." *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. 186. Print.

¹⁷² See photograph 3.6 in Image Appendix. Denson, Andrew. "Remembering the Cherokee Removal in Civil Rights-Era Georgia." *Southern Cultures* 14.4 (Winter 2008): 86-101. Print.

¹⁷³ The city of Calhoun is the county seat of Gordon and is located approximately three miles from New Echota.

¹⁷⁴ Denson, Andrew. "Remembering the Cherokee Removal in Civil Rights-Era Georgia." *Southern Cultures* 14.4 (Winter 2008): 86-101. 90. Print.

¹⁷⁵ See photograph 3.7 in Image Appendix.

¹⁷⁶ During the 2009-2010 park season, New Echota held the following major, public events: "Frontier Day" in October, the "Christmas Candlelight Tour" in December, and the "Cherokee Native Plant and Heritage Seed Program" in May. See: "Cherokee Native Plant and Heritage Seed Program." State Parks and Historic Sites. New Echota Historic Site. *Georgia Department of Natural Resources*. Web. <http://www.georgiaparks.org>. 14 October 2009.

¹⁷⁷ New Echota Park Superintendent. Phone Interview. 9 October 2009.

¹⁷⁸ "Historic Sites." State Parks and Historic Sites. New Echota. *Georgia Department of Natural Resources*. Web. <http://www.gastateparks.org/net/go/parks.aspx?show=parks&tid=12620&all=12660&s=0.0.1.5>. 1 October 2009 and 18 July 2011.

¹⁷⁹ See photograph 3.8 in Image Appendix.

¹⁸⁰ "Friends of New Echota" President. Personal Correspondence. 21 July 2011.

¹⁸¹ New Echota Park Superintendent. Phone Interview. 16 July 2011.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ New Echota Park Superintendent. Phone Interview. 9 October 2009. I did ask during the interview if they knew why the Eastern Band members did not take up the invitation to attend "Frontier Day" but they did not know the answer to this question.

¹⁸⁵ See photograph 3.9 in Image Appendix.

¹⁸⁶ See photograph 3.10 in Image Appendix.

¹⁸⁷ "Georgia Quick Facts." 2010 U.S. Census. *U.S. Census Bureau*. Web. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/13000.html>. 15 December 2011. I am aware that census records are by no means a fault-proof method of gaining a nuanced understanding of the racial demographics of an area. This fact is evidenced through this numerical data corresponding to the state of Georgia in which the records fail to take into account the 0.9 percent of Gordon county residents who were "Persons Reporting Two or More Races" who may easily be individuals who self-identify as Cherokee. However, I employ these numbers as a way to demonstrate the reality of the low numbers of Cherokee that actually live in the area surrounding New Echota today.

¹⁸⁸ In comparison, the data includes 99,551 in North Carolina where the Eastern Band of the Cherokee are located and 273,230 in Oklahoma where members of the Cherokee Nation and the United Keetoowah Band of the Cherokee live. However, in using census-based data it is important to note that the 2000 national census was the first time in U.S. history that participants were given the choice of checking “multi-racial” which both acknowledges the falsehood of any notion of “pure” racial categories and also complicates research on ethnic and racial communities. See: “Introductory Data on American Indians.” American Indian Community Profile and Data Center. *American Indian Policy Center*. Web. <http://airpi.org/projects/american-indian-community-profile.pdf>. 23 May 2011.

¹⁸⁹ See photographs 3.11 and 3.12 in Image Appendix.

¹⁹⁰ See photographs 3.13-3.16 in Image Appendix.

¹⁹¹ Magelssen, Scott. *Living History Museums: Undoing History through Performance*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2007. 125. Print.

¹⁹² Participant Observation. “Frontier Day.” New Echota State Historic Site. Calhoun, Georgia. 17 October 2009. Recently, a similar sentiment was seen on Broadway with the production of *Bloody, Bloody Andrew Jackson* which premiered at the Public Theatre in March, 2010.

¹⁹³ Participant Observation. “Frontier Day.” New Echota State Historic Site. Calhoun, Georgia. 16 October 2010.

¹⁹⁴ See photograph 3.17 in Image Appendix.

¹⁹⁵ Orlandersmith, Dael. *Yellowman & My Red Hand, My Black Hand*. New York: Vintage Books, 2003. Print.

¹⁹⁶ See: Kellogg, Alex. “Cherokee Nation Faces Scrutiny for Expelling Blacks.” U.S. News. “Around the Nation.” *National Public Radio*. 19 September 2011. Online.

¹⁹⁷ Recent census records reveal relatively low numbers of “Black Persons” living in Gordon County. Those reporting as “Black” totaled 3.6 percent of the 55,186 population of the county in 2010; 85.2 percent of the county’s population reported as “White Persons.” This could partially explain the lack of historical representation given to African American histories at New Echota. “Gordon County Quick Facts,” State & County Quick Facts. 2010 U.S. Census. *U.S. Census Bureau*. Web. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/13/13129.html>. 1 September 2011.

¹⁹⁸ I am indebted to D. W. Winnicott’s foundational examination of the “transitional phenomena” and the “not-me” states of child development concerning play and attachment. =Winnicott, D.W. *Playing and Reality*. London: Tavistock Publications, 1971. Print.

¹⁹⁹ See specifically Garroutte's fourth chapter, "If You're Indian and You Know It (but Others Don't): Self-Identification," in: *Real Indians: Identity and Survival in Native America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. Print.

²⁰⁰ Garroutte, Eva Marie. *Real Indians: Identity and Survival in Native America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. 85. Print.

²⁰¹ Quinn Jr., William W. "The Southeast Syndrome: Notes on Indian Descendant Recruitment Organizations and Their Perceptions of Native American Culture." *American Indian Quarterly* 14.2 (Spring 1990): 147-154. Print.

²⁰² Martin, Joel W. "'My Grandmother Was a Cherokee Princess:' Representations of Indians in Southern History." *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*. S.Elizabeth Bird, ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996. 143. Print.

²⁰³ See photograph 3.13 in Image Appendix.

²⁰⁴ Brown, Stanley. Personal Correspondence. 3 December 2009. Note: All interviewed subjects and performer names for Frontier Day 2009 and 2010 have been changed for reasons of anonymity in this chapter.

²⁰⁵ Participant Observation. "Frontier Day." New Echota State Historic Site. Calhoun, Georgia. 17 October 2009.

²⁰⁶ For a thorough historical examination of the desire to see the Indian other in U.S. popular cultural practices, see: Deloria, Philip J. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. Print.

²⁰⁷ Participant Observation. "Frontier Day." New Echota State Historic Site. Calhoun, Georgia. 17 October 2009.

²⁰⁸ Watton, Kelly. "Students Take Action to Save Historic Site." *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* 16 May 2005. Online.

²⁰⁹ See Photograph 3.18 in Image Appendix.

²¹⁰ Participant Observation. "Frontier Day." New Echota State Historic Site. Calhoun, Georgia. 17 October 2009.

²¹¹ "Historic Sites." New Echota, State Parks and Historic Sites. *Georgia Department of Natural Resources*. Web. <http://www.gastateparks.org/net/go/parks.aspx?show=parks&tid=12620&all=12660&s=0.0.1.5>. 1 October 2009.

²¹² See photograph 3.19 in Image Appendix.

²¹³ Philip Deloria cautions: "the only culture allowed to define real Indian people was a traditional culture that came from the past rather than the present." *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. 91. Print.

²¹⁴ Participant Observation. "Frontier Day." New Echota State Historic Site. Calhoun, Georgia. 17 October 2009.

²¹⁵ Vizenor, Gerald Robert, ed. *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. Print.

²¹⁶ Glancy, Diane. *The Woman Who Was a Red Deer Dressed for the Deer Dance. Seventh Generation: An Anthology of Native American Plays*. Mimi Gisolfi D'Aponte, ed. New York: Theatre Communications Group, 1999. 269- 290. Print.

²¹⁷ "The constant danger of confusing remembering and imagining, resulting from memories becoming images in this way, affects the goal of faithfulness corresponding to the truth claim of memory." Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer, trans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. 7. Print. But, as Ricoeur, might agree, we cannot discount this woman's memories as false for the very fact that they are intricately bound up in her sense of identity and her everyday performances of self.

²¹⁸ Participant Observation. "Frontier Day." New Echota State Historic Site. Calhoun, Georgia. 16 October 2010.

²¹⁹ See photograph 3.20 in Image Appendix.

²²⁰ See photograph 3.21 in Image Appendix.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer, trans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. 43. Print.

²²⁴ Dunn, Carolyn. "Playing Indian." *Cultural Representation in Native America*. Andrew Jolivette, ed. New York: Altamira Press, 2006. 144. Print.

²²⁵ Ibid., 147.

²²⁶ For a recent reaction to this trend, see: Treuer, David. "How Do You Prove You're an Indian?" *New York Times* 20 December 2011: Opinion. Online.

²²⁷ See: Dao, James. "In California, Indian Tribes With Casino Money Cast off Members." *New York Times* 12 December 2011: U.S. Online.

²²⁸ Fleming, Sibley. "Around the South: Cherokees in Georgia, a Sophisticated Culture." *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* 14 July 1996. Online.

²²⁹ See photograph 3.22 in Image Appendix.

²³⁰ See photograph 3.23 in Image Appendix.

²³¹ Williams, Paula. Personal Correspondence. 3 December 2009. See image 3.24 in Image Appendix.

Chapter Four

²³² Italics used by author to denote original vocal emphasis used by speaker. Visitors Center Staff Member. A.J. Jones Heritage Center. St. Simons Island. 28 December 2010.

²³³ See photograph 4.1 and 4.2 in Image Appendix.

²³⁴ See photograph 4.3 in Image Appendix.

²³⁵ See photograph 4.4 and 4.5 in Image Appendix.

²³⁶ See photograph 4.6 in Image Appendix.

²³⁷ See photograph 4.7 in Image Appendix.

²³⁸ Note: All names of subjects present at the 2011 Sea Islands Festival have been changed for reasons of anonymity in this chapter. Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011.

²³⁹ "The Original Annual Georgia Sea Islands Festival." *The St. Simons African-American Heritage Coalition*. Web. <http://www.ssaahc.org/>. 10 February 2012.

²⁴⁰ The Georgia islands include: Blackbeard, Cumberland, Little Cumberland, Jekyll, Ossabaw, Sapelo, Sea, St. Catherine's, St. Simons, Little St. Simons, Tybee, Little Tybee, and Wassaw. The topography of the islands is diverse with areas of pastures, beaches, dunes, maritime forests, marsh lands, freshwater marshes and ponds. See: "An Ecological Survey of the Coastal Region of Georgia." Cumberland Island. History. *National Parks Service*. April 2005. Web. http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/science/3/chap3.htm. 2 February 2012.

²⁴¹ Archeological sites along the Georgia sea islands have revealed the traces of human habitation dating as early as 500 to 1300 BCE.

²⁴² Pulley, Angela. "Introduction to the Southeastern Indians." *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842. Digital Library of Georgia*. Web. <http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/>. 2 February 2012. Koon, Mary Downing. "St. Simons Island." *Barrier Islands, Coastal Plain & Barrier Islands. Geography, Land & Resources. The New Georgia Encyclopedia*. Web. <http://http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-2633>. 2 February 2012.

²⁴³ After founding Georgia, Oglethorpe went on to build Fort Frederica on St. Simons Island in 1736. Fort Frederica was intended as an island buffer to protect the city of Savannah in Georgia and South Carolina from the Spanish who controlled areas in nearby Florida. Today, the fort ruins are a national park and monument on St. Simons.

²⁴⁴ Pollitzer, William S. *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. 72. Print.

²⁴⁵ Bell, Karen B. "Race, Resistance, and Forced Transatlantic Communities: (Re)Envisioning the African Diaspora in Low County Georgia, 1750-1800." *Journal of African American History* 95.2 (Spring 2010): 157-182, 158. Online.

²⁴⁶ Coastal slave masters in Georgia communicated with slave brokers based on the needs of their plantations and their personal preferences. Certain skills, physical attributes, and even personality traits were associated with particular regions in Africa. See: Pollitzer, William S. *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. 41-42. Print.

²⁴⁷ Rosenbaum. Art. "Foreword." *Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands*. Lydia Parrish. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1942. 1992. xiv. Print.

²⁴⁸ Turner, Lorenzo Dow. *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1949. 2002. Print.

²⁴⁹ Turner traced the idioms, speech patterns, single words, and spelling used in the Gullah language back to similar or precisely the same form in languages spoken in West Africa. Twentieth and twenty-first century sociologists, linguists, and historians have continued Turner's pioneering work in the field of Gullah-Geechee Studies.

²⁵⁰ Pollitzer, William S. *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. 108. Print.

²⁵¹ David, Deirdre. *Fanny Kemble: A Performed Life*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007. 42. Print.

²⁵² Hartman, Saidiya. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 19. Print.

²⁵³ Scott, John A. "Editor's Introduction." *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838-1839*. Frances Anne Kemble. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984. 1863. xix. Print.

²⁵⁴ Butler's elder brother, John, also assumed partial ownership of the family plantations in 1836.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, xviii.

²⁵⁶ Kemble, Frances Anne. *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838-1839*. John A. Scott, ed. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984. 100. Print.

²⁵⁷ Quoted in Scott, John A. "Editor's Introduction." *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838-1839*. Frances Anne Kemble. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984. 1863. xlv. Print.

²⁵⁸ Olmsted, Frederick Law. *The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveller's Observations on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States* [sic]. New York: Mason Brothers, 1861. Print.

²⁵⁹ Hartman, Saidiya. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press 1997. 22. Print.

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- ²⁶⁰ Cate, Margaret Davis. "Mistakes in Fanny Kemble's Georgia Journal." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 44.1 (March 1960): 1-17, 3. Online.
- ²⁶¹ Kemble, Frances Anne. *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838-1839*. John A. Scott, ed. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984. 60. Print.
- ²⁶² *Ibid*, 252.
- ²⁶³ *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was a text that Kemble herself defended through a letter to the editor of the London Times which was included as an appendix to the 1863 English edition of her journal.
- ²⁶⁴ Visitors Center Staff Member. A.J. Jones Heritage Center. St. Simons Island. 28 December 2010.
- ²⁶⁵ Kemble, Frances Anne. *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838-1839*. John A. Scott, ed. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984. 200. 280. Print.
- ²⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 217.
- ²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 201.
- ²⁶⁸ St. Simons. "Georgia Quick Facts." State & County Quick Facts. 2010 U.S. Census. *U.S. Census Bureau*. Web. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/13/1368040.html>. 2 February 2012.
- ²⁶⁹ Bell, Karen B. "Race, Resistance, and Forced Transatlantic Communities: (Re)Envisioning the African Diaspora in Low County Georgia, 1750-1800." *Journal of African American History* 95.2 (Spring 2010): 157-182, 159. Online.
- ²⁷⁰ The term "gentrification" was coined by British sociologist, Ruth Glass, in the mid 1960's to refer to the influx of middle and upper class individuals (as in, the suffix "gen" for "gentry" who are today, "gentrifiers") into an area which displaces working and lower class residents from that area. I use the term broadly here to refer to patterns of class and race changes that can stem from, in this case, the increased development of an area which leads to a sharp rise in property values that results in the inability of homeowners to pay the attendant property taxes or rent in their home area. This can often involve the displaced residents being of working class and non-white racial and economic backgrounds. For a complete analysis of the evolution of the term and contemporary processes of gentrification, see: Less, Loretta, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly. *Gentrification*. Routledge, New York, 2008. 3-10. Print.
- ²⁷¹ DuBois, W.E.B. "Of the Dawn of Freedom," *The Souls of Black Folk*. David W. Blight and Robert Gooding-Williams, eds. Boston: Bedford, 1997. 48. Print.
- ²⁷² Blight, David W. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Cambridge: University Press, 2001. 24. Print.
- ²⁷³ Ellipses in quote from Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 25.
- ²⁷⁴ Marszalek, John F. *Sherman's March to the Sea*. Abilene: McWhiney Foundation Press, 2005. 120. Print.

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- ²⁷⁵ DuBois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. David W. Blight and Robert Gooding-Williams, eds. Boston: Bedford, 1997. Note 16, 199. Print.
- ²⁷⁶ Donald, David Herbert, Jean Harvey Baker and Michael F. Holt. *The Civil War and Reconstruction* New York: Norton & Company, 2001. 524. Print.
- ²⁷⁷ Kirkland, Jack. *Tobacco Road, A Play in Three Acts*. New York: Samuel French, Inc., 1934. 5. Print.
- ²⁷⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁷⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁸⁰ For purposes of comparison, Glynn County had a 67.6 white and 26 black percentage calculations for the county's 2010 total population. State & County Quick Facts. "Georgia Quick Facts." 2010 U.S. Census. *U.S. Census Bureau*. Web. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/13/1368040.html>. 2 February 2012.
- ²⁸¹ St. Simons. State & County Quick Facts. "Georgia Quick Facts." 2010 U.S. Census. *U.S. Census Bureau*. Web. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/13/1368040.html>. 2 February 2012.
- ²⁸² Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011.
- ²⁸³ See photograph 4.8 in Image Appendix.
- ²⁸⁴ See photograph 4.9 and 4.10 in Image Appendix.
- ²⁸⁵ Wing, Catherine. *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among Georgia's Coastal Negroes*. Georgia Writers' Project. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986. 1940. Print.
- ²⁸⁶ "Cannon's Point: Dream Acquisition." *Land Trust News*. St. Simons Land Trust Newsletter. (Spring 2011): 1-3. Online.
- ²⁸⁷ Stepzinski, Teresa and Terry Dickson, "St. Simons Island Property to Become Nature Preserve." *The Florida Times-Union*. 4 January 2011. Online.
- ²⁸⁸ "Who We Are." *St. Simons Land Trust*. Web. <http://www.sslt.org>. 29 January 2012.
- ²⁸⁹ See photograph 4.11 in Image Appendix.
- ²⁹⁰ "2011 Places in Peril." *The Georgia Trust*. Web. <http://www.georgiatrust.org/index.php>. 29 January 2012.
- ²⁹¹ Deveau, Patty. "Starting at the Top." Friends of Harrington School, Inc., Newsletter. Winter 2012. Online. See photograph 4.12 in Image Appendix.
- ²⁹² Associated Press. "Group Struggles to Save Black Schoolhouse." *The Marietta Daily Journal*. 6 April 2010. Online.
- ²⁹³ See photograph 4.13 in Image Appendix.
- ²⁹⁴ Ibid.

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- ²⁹⁵ Doster, Stephen. *Voices from St. Simons: Personal Narratives of an Island's Past*. Winston-Salem: John F. Blair Publisher, 2008. 71. Print.
- ²⁹⁶ Post, Cynthia. "Slave History of St. Simons Island in CAU Exhibit." *Atlanta Daily World*. 28 January 2001.
- ²⁹⁷ Quoted in Doster, *Voices from St. Simons*, 79.
- ²⁹⁸ See photograph 4.14 in Image Appendix.
- ²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 80.
- ³⁰⁰ Farai Chideya with Congressman James Clyburn and Emory Campbell Interview, "Bill Will Provide Millions for Gullah Community." U.S. News. National Public Radio. 17 October 2006. Online.
- ³⁰¹ "Gullah-Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor." Heritage Areas. *Alliance of National Heritage Areas*. Web. http://www.nationalheritageareas.com/heritage_areas.html. 9 February 2012.
- ³⁰² The ongoing battle by displaced local residents to reclaim land from federal authorities in the nearby Harris Neck community is indicative of the tensions between area activists and federal and state governments. Harris Neck's undecided land status is further proof of the importance of the Gullah-Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor bill in 2006. See: Dewan, Shaila. "Black Landowners Fight to Reclaim Georgia Home." *The New York Times*. 30 June 2010. Online.
- ³⁰³ Smith, Bruce. "100s of Gullah-Geechee Sites Noted in Southeast." *The Times and Democrat*. 20 September 2010. Online.
- ³⁰⁴ "Gullah-Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor." Pressroom. *United States Congressman James E. Clyburn*. Web. <http://clyburn.house.gov/district-gullah.cfm>. 29 September 2009.
- ³⁰⁵ See Chapter Six, "Gullah Attitudes Toward Life and Death," by Margaret Washington and Chapter Seven, "The Sacred World of the Gullahs" by Joseph E. Holloway in: *Africanisms in American Culture*. 2nd ed. Joseph E. Holloway, ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005. 1990. Print.
- ³⁰⁶ Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993. 15-16. Print.
- ³⁰⁷ Roach, Joseph. *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. 28. Print.
- ³⁰⁸ Upshaw, Ronald. President of St. Simons African-American Heritage Coalition. "The Original Annual 2011 Georgia Sea Islands Festival." Program. 18 June 2011. Print. See photograph 4.15 in Image Appendix.
- ³⁰⁹ Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011.

³¹⁰ Rosenbaum, Art. "McIntosh County Shouters." Folk Songs and Tales. Folklife. *The New Georgia Encyclopedia*. Web. <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-520>. 9 February 2012.

³¹¹ The festival was moved to Gascoigne Park, while Neptune Park was used instead for a private family reunion that day as seen in photograph 4.16 in Image Appendix.

³¹² See photograph 4.17 in Image Appendix. This sign alerted visitors that the festival had been moved and was posted on the construction fence on the western edge of Neptune Park.

³¹³ See photograph 4.18 in Image Appendix.

³¹⁴ See photograph 4.19 and 4.20 in Image Appendix.

³¹⁵ See photograph 4.21 in Image Appendix.

³¹⁶ See photograph 4.22 in Image Appendix.

³¹⁷ See photograph 4.23 in Image Appendix.

³¹⁸ See photograph 4.24 in Image Appendix.

³¹⁹ Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011.

³²⁰ Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011.

³²¹ "Festival Demonstrators." "The Original Annual 2011 Georgia Sea Islands Festival." Program. 18 June. 2011. Print. See photographs 4.25 and 4.26 in Image Appendix.

³²² Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011. See photograph 4.27 in Image Appendix.

³²³ Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011.

³²⁴ Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011.

³²⁵ The Penn Center is located on St. Helena Island off the South Carolina coast and was founded in 1862 by two northern teachers as the Penn School. The school was instrumental in educating freed slaves of the Sea Islands and today carries out its preservationist mission through certification programs, workshops, and community events. See: "Organizational History." *Penn Center*. Web. <http://www.penncenter.com/history.html>. 5 February 2012.

³²⁶ Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011.

³²⁷ Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011.

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- ³²⁸ Friends of Harrington School, Inc. Newsletter. Winter 2012. Online.
- ³²⁹ Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011.
- ³³⁰ Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011.
- ³³¹ Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011.
- ³³² Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011.
- ³³³ See photograph 4.28 in Image Appendix.
- ³³⁴ See photograph 4.29 in Image Appendix.
- ³³⁵ See photograph 4.30 and 4.31 in Image Appendix.
- ³³⁶ See photograph 4.32 in Image Appendix.
- ³³⁷ Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011. See photograph 4.33 in Image Appendix.
- ³³⁸ Pollitzer, William S. *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. 100-101. Print.
- ³³⁹ Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011.
- ³⁴⁰ Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011.
- ³⁴¹ Italics from Pollitzer, 118-119.
- ³⁴² Participant Observation. "Sea Islands Festival." Gascoigne Bluff Park. St. Simons Island, Georgia. 18 June 2011. See photograph 4.34 in Image Appendix.
- ³⁴³ See photograph 4.35 in Image Appendix.
- ³⁴⁴ See photograph 4.36 in Image Appendix.
- ³⁴⁵ See photograph 4.37 in Image Appendix.
- ³⁴⁶ Italics in original. Benjamin, Walter. "On the Concept of History." Dennis Redmond, Trans. Frankfurt: 1974. Web. "Frankfurt School: On the Concept of History."
<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/benjamin/1940/history.htm>. 8 December 2008.
- ³⁴⁷ See photograph 4.38 in Image Appendix.

Chapter Five

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- ³⁴⁸ Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1991.1974. 44. Print.
- ³⁴⁹ Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mèmoire." *Representations* 26 (Spring, 1989): 7-24. Print.
- ³⁵⁰ Cox, Karen. *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. 7.
- ³⁵¹ Kim, Claire Jean. "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans." *Politics & Society* 27.1 (March 1999): 105-138. Online.
- ³⁵² Guterl, Matthew Pratt. "South." *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*. Bruce Burgett and Glenn Hendler, eds. New York: New York University Press, 2007. 230. Print.
- ³⁵³ Faulkner, William. *Absalom, Absalom!* New York: Random House, 1993. 1936. 7. Print.
- ³⁵⁴ DuBois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. David W. Blight and Robert Gooding-Williams, eds. Boston: Bedford, 1997. 1903. 188. Print.
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