2023

"I Wish I Was In Dixie / Away, Away": American Emigration, Cultural Negotiations, And The Confederados / "Play Free Bird!": Southern Anthems As "New Dixies" And The Perpetuation Of The Lost Cause

Shannon Baker
William & Mary - Arts & Sciences, 99shannonlbaker@gmail.com

“I Wish I Was in Dixie / Away, Away”: American Emigration, Cultural Negotiations, and the Confederados / “Play Free Bird!”: Southern Anthems as “New Dixies” and the Perpetuation of the Lost Cause

Shannon Leigh Baker

Middletown, Maryland

Bachelor of Arts, Roanoke College, 2021

A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty of The College of William & Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts

Harrison Ruffin Tyler Department of History

College of William & Mary
August 2023

APPROVAL PAGE

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Shannon Leigh Baker

Approved by the Committee, May 2023

Carol Sheriff, Professor, History
College of William & Mary

Hiroshi Kitamura, Associate Professor, History
College of William & Mary

Charles McGovern, Director of American Studies, Associate Professor, American Studies and History
College of William & Mary

ABSTRACT

“I Wish I Was in Dixie / Away, Away”: American Emigration, Cultural Negotiations, and the Confederados

This paper focuses on the Confederados, white Southern Americans who emigrated to new countries, primarily to Brazil. This paper analyzes the reasons for this mass organized outmigration, with attention paid to both push and pull factors for the migrants. This paper also looks at the Civil War memorial activities perpetuated by the Confederados and their descendants, examining the negotiations between Southern U.S. and Brazilian culture. In addition, this paper argues that Confederado studies can be strengthened by further research from the framework of the United States in the world.

“Play Free Bird!”: Southern Anthems as “New Dixies” and the Perpetuation of the Lost Cause

This paper examines classics of southern rock as “New Dixies,” symbolic of the modern American south just as the original “Dixie” was and has been. Ultimately, this paper argues that southern rock classics has a tendency to rely upon Confederate and Neo-Confederate iconography and ideology to promote regional and cultural pride within the sub-genre. This paper analyzes music by Southern bands and musicians such as Lynyrd Skynyrd, The Charlie Daniels Band, Hank Williams, Jr., as well as the Canadian-American band, The Band. This paper aims to fill in a historiographic gap, arguing that southern rock music should be analyzed as a means of both perpetuating southern memory and the myth of the Lost Cause, as well as a means of creating new memories.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to Hiroshi Kitamura and Charles McGovern, who guided this research. I am also deeply indebted to Carol Sheriff. Many thanks for your patience and criticism as I worked on this manuscript. This research would have been impossible without your thoughtful guidance.

A special thank you to my cohort. This work would never have been completed without your support, commiseration, and willingness to help with the Chicago Style Guide.

Personal acknowledgments go to Jack Miller, Jessica White, Jordan Hanson, Alexandra Ruckman, Megan Blackwell, and Nathan Price. Thank you for allowing me to ramble on about Confederados and Lynyrd Skynyrd for months. Thank you even more for giving me space to be a person and not just a graduate student.

Above all, thank you to my family for their continued enthusiasm and support. I would have quit ten times over if it weren't for you cheering me on. Mom, Dad, Garrett, and Olivia – I am beyond lucky to have you in my corner. Thank you, a thousand times over.

This thesis is dedicated in the memory of Herman Lamar Baker, Jr. I hope I've made you proud, B-Daddy.

Chapter 1: *Intellectual Biography*

Writing two research papers over the course of the 2022-2023 academic year has helped me to further understand my own research interests and future goals. As an undergraduate student, my interests lay largely with the myth of the Lost Cause. This interest was furthered through my undergraduate Distinction Project, entitled "Confederate Monuments in Context: Arlington National Cemetery and the Legacy of the Confederacy." As an undergraduate, I researched Confederate monuments specifically as a means of furthering a modern understanding of the harm pseudohistorical interpretations of the Civil War and Reconstruction can cause. Admittedly, the research I conducted as an undergraduate was not particularly original, but it piqued my interest in the history of the post-Civil War South. I was relatively unsure where this interest would take me as I worked on my master's degree, so I allowed myself to be challenged by researching topics and temporalities outside of my comfort zone.

In Dr. Kitamura's America in the World class, I wrote ""I Wish I Was in Dixie / Away, Away": American Emigration, Cultural Negotiations, and the Confederados." With this research, I studied the largest organized emigration of white Americans following the Civil War and throughout Reconstruction. Many white southerners would eventually leave the South and America at large, with the majority migrating to settlements in Brazil and Mexico, becoming known as the Confederados. I used this paper to examine the complex cultural negotiations Confederados made in their new homes, with many still clinging tightly to their southern identity while living in new nations with different concepts of racial hierarchy. I also argue within this work that future study of the

Confederados would be benefitted from a framework of America in the world, rather than simply as a part of southern history or Brazilian history.

I found this research to be incredibly interesting and found myself simultaneously challenged and fulfilled. I had never heard of the Confederados before this research and had very little understanding of the organized outmigration from the American South following the Civil War. Admittedly, my knowledge of South America during this time period was lacking, as well. However, I found myself struggling more with the language barrier as opposed to a lack of content knowledge. My foreign language background is in Spanish, not Portuguese. I do believe this hampered my research, particularly when I tried to find more information on the Confederados from a Brazilian perspective. Despite this, I am still proud of the research I conducted. Looking back on this paper, I now realize I was very struck by the idea of the Lost Cause as an idea abroad, which can be seen in the Festa Confederada which is celebrated by the modern-day descendants of southern emigrants. I know there are monuments for American enslavers abroad, which, combined with the Confederados, raises questions about the memory of the Civil War abroad. If one day I return to academia to pursue a PhD, I think that would be an interesting research question to examine.

After conducting my research on Confederados, I realized I was extremely interested in the specific culture surrounding Confederates and their neo-Confederate kin. I was interested in looking at the ways in which Lost Cause ideology was furthered, beyond monuments and memorials. Thanks to Dr. McGovern, I would be inspired to start looking at music's role in the perpetuation of the Lost Cause. I had assumed that

this interest would result in my looking at Civil War era songs, but I was encouraged to investigate more modern groups.

In Dr. McGovern's Culture and Capitalism course, I greatly ignored my own comfort zone when writing ""Play Free Bird!": Southern Anthems as "New Dixies" and the Perpetuation of the Lost Cause." I had very little experience with music history, particularly the history of more "low brow" music like Lynyrd Skynyrd. My only experience with the concept was from my childhood, due to having an uncle who loves southern rock and plays in a cover band. I also was not as comfortable with such modern history and struggled often with nervousness about my paper being historically minded enough. However, thanks to the guidance of Dr. McGovern, I felt emboldened enough to break out of that comfort zone. I used this paper to research southern rock and country anthems of the region as "New Dixies" that represented both regional pride and racial oppression throughout the South. In doing so, I studied these genres as a means for young white southerners to feel pride in their southern identity despite the region's complicated history following the Civil Rights movement. I also looking at specific songs as vehicles that furthered Lost Cause ideologies. Specifically, I looked at music by Lynyrd Skynyrd, Hank Williams, Jr., The Charlie Daniels Band, and The Band. I picked these musicians due to their enduring level of fame and their continued usage of southern identity in their music. Conversely, I picked The Band to discuss the usage of Confederate imagery by a band that was not southern.

I do acknowledge that this paper has its limitations. All the musicians discussed in-depth are men, and overwhelmingly white. Further research would be benefitted by an analysis of female musicians who sang about southern identity and examining if they

also used Confederate imagery in their construction of southern identity. Given women's role in constructing the Lost Cause through groups such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy, I think that would be a good research question for future works. Additionally, the only musician addressed in this paper who is not white is Robbie Robertson of The Band, who is indigenous and Canadian. Further research could be done on the music of non-white artists to see if Confederate imagery was used in a manner similar to Robertson. I am not exactly thrilled that my research focused so squarely on young white male southerners, but I do think this research offers a good jumping-off point to further explore how traditionally southern genres of music worked within or against the Lost Cause following the Civil Rights movement.

For both of these papers, I relied primarily on online sources. On some level, internet access both broadened and narrowed my scope. Obviously I do not have the resources to travel to Brazil for a research paper as a master's student, nor do I have the time to listen to every southern rock and country song written in the 1970s. Online archives, such as Auburn University's Special Collections, gave me access to some Confederado papers and writings, while online fan communities listed in painstaking detail the information of various deep cut tracks. Writing about such different topics gave me new ideas and resources for online research, though I do wish I could have taken more advantage of physical archival research. It would have been particularly interesting to be able to examine questions about what has been retained in physical, official archives, versus what has been retained online (particularly on social media) by descendants and fans.

As a terminal master's student who is currently not planning on continuing my education to the PhD, I am unsure if I will continue working on these research questions on my own. If I were to return one day to academia and continue my education, I could see myself building off the research I have conducted at William & Mary. Thanks in part to Dr. Jody Allen and her wonderful Miseducation in America course, I have realized that I am incredibly interested in the larger question of historical miseducation and the ways that miseducation impacts both our modern lives and the ways in which we think about the past. I do believe that if I were to continue in academia, questions of miseducation and memorialization would continue to guide my research. Even outside of academia, these will be issues I will be thinking about for years to come.

Chapter 2: *"I Wish I Was in Dixie / Away, Away": American Emigration, Cultural Negotiations, and the Confederados*

"In Dixie Land/I'll Take My Stand to/Live and Die in Dixie."
Gravestone of Col. William Hutchinson Norris,
September 17, 1800- July 13, 1893

INTRODUCTION

In 1972, future President and then-Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter traveled to Brazil alongside his wife, Rosalynn, as a part of a trade mission. While there, the Carters visited the municipality of Santa Bárbara d'Oeste, within the state of S*ão Paulo. The reason for this visit was rather personal; there, they went to the Cemit*ério do Campo (Campo Cemetery), to see the grave of her great-uncle, W. S. Wise. Brazilian newspapers, interviewing local Santa Bárbara d'Oeste resident Noêmia Cullen Pyles years later about the visit, quoted her as saying: "Rosalyn was very emotional when she found the grave."[1] Eugene C. Harter, who later wrote about his experience viewing the future First Family's visit, stated that "[Jimmy Carter's] face showed real happiness, not sadness. Yet, he paused, and tears ran down his cheeks. Starting again, he told [the crowd] that he would never forget this scene and would tell Americans about it when he returned to his country."[2] Why was this visit so emotional? Rosalynn Carter's great-uncle had died decades before she was even born. Why did this one specific cemetery in Brazil speak so greatly as to move both Carters to tears?

---

[1] Claudio Schapochnik, "Guerra civil trouxe americaonos SP abriga sulista que o vento levou," *Fohla de S. Paulo,* March 16, 1998, https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/turismo/fx16039804.htm.
[2] Eugene C. Halter, "Postscript: Reflections of a Confederado," in *The Confederados: Old South Immigrants in Brazil,* ed. Cyrus B. Dawsey and James M. Dawsey (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1995), 209.

Santa Bárbara d'Oeste and its Campo Cemetery occupy a specific place in both Brazilian and American memory. These places are home to the Confederados, a group of the U.S. Southerners who migrated to Brazil after the Civil War, as well as their present-day descendants. Many of these Southerners were former U.S. Civil War Confederate veterans, and for the most part they were neither poor nor exceedingly wealthy, "albeit certainly privileged."[3] Santa Bárbara d'Oeste would be the most successful destination for the Confederados, with generations remaining in the area and holding to their Confederado culture. In modern-day Brazil, these peoples are more commonly referred to as "Norte-Americanos" or, simply "Americanos," which shows the modern-day conflation of the United States and its descendants with Confederate heritage and iconography.[4] In the present day, a yearly held Festa Confederada commemorates this heritage. Fundamentally, these people are viewed as having a connection to the United States of America, even after generations away.

This paper will explore the broader politics and historical context that would ultimately lead to the Carters' visit in 1972. In so doing, I intend to probe into the politics behind Americans who chose to leave the United States—a topic that is sometimes overlooked in the study of U.S. migration. During the mid-nineteenth century, a sizable number of Americans chose to emigrate to Latin America in organized, structured missions. As Alan P. Marcus wrote, "Scholars' estimates of the number of people who migrated out of the United States [after the Civil War] range between 10,000 and 20,000; of that number, possibly 4,000 to 10,000 went to Brazil… estimates claim that

[3] Alan P. Marcus, *Confederate Exodus: Social and Environmental Forces in the Migration of U.S. Southerners to Brazil* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2021), 2.
[4] Jordan P. Brasher, "The crisis of Confederate memory in the interior of S*ão Paulo, Brazil," Memory Studies 14 (6) 1314-1332 (2021), doi:* 10.1177/17506980211054336, 1323.

the rest went to other countries, mostly Mexico."[5] Brazil would ultimately be the most successful and long-lasting new home for these emigrants, while other nations, such as Mexico and Haiti, would fail within a few years. Ultimately, conditions in the American South following the Civil War were such that emigration was suddenly an attractive concept for many peoples. Simultaneously, Brazilian labor concerns and abrupt economic changes created a desire for Southern U.S. immigrants, which led to governmental inducements in attempt to recruit migrants. Brazil's culture of slavery was also highly appealing for Southern U.S. emigrants, many of whom could not imagine a world without the institution of slavery. Yet what should have been a simple *quid pro quo* between the American migrants and the Brazilian government created a complex cultural negotiation between Southern U.S. and Brazilian culture. Confederado culture would be built upon these cultural complexities, syncretizing Brazil and the American South. Studies of the Confederados, I argue, can be strengthened through further research from the framework of the United States in the world, which has, for one reason or another, largely overlooked this community of emigrants.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

It is important to note that throughout the nineteenth century, Americans (particularly Southern Americans) viewed their politics in a an increasingly global perspective. Historian Matthew Karp, however, has brought forth new insights to the field of U.S. in the world, arguing that Southern enslavers were central to modern

[5] Marcus, Confederate Exodus, 10.

international relations and policy. According to Karp, “American abolitionists believed that national arguments about bondage had global consequences, [and] American slaveholders agreed.”[6] Karp argues that elite Southern slaveholders kept careful watch over the international politics of slavery, “tracking threats to slave property across the hemisphere and monitoring oscillations in global attitudes towards emancipation.”[7] Countering traditional assumptions regarding the slaveholders interests in Latin America “lay in gobbling it up” for more slave territory, Karp argues that slavery was intrinsically tied to foreign policy.[8] Even more important to American slaveholders’ desire for more slave territory was the “need to protect systems of slave property across the hemisphere. After all, American soil was not the only slave soil; the United States was not the only slave state.”[9] Slavery had power globally, and therefore its global implications must be examined.

Other historiographic works have explored this Southern pro-slavery expansionism into Latin America. Militaristic missions pushing into Latin America can be viewed as another option in the strategic plan to preserve Western-style slavery. Antebellum-era filibusters addressed these plans. A filibuster, in the mid-nineteenth century, had a vastly different connotation from the modern-day term; during that period, a “filibuster” generally “referred to American adventurers who raised or participated in private military forces that either invaded or planned to invade foreign countries with which the United States was formally at peace.”[10] These expeditions consisted of men

[6] Matthew Karp, *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2016), 2.
[7] Ibid., 3.
[8] Ibid., 6.
[9] Ibid., 6.
[10] Robert E May, *Manifest Destiny’s Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), xi.

of all economic and social backgrounds, all united in their goal of colonizing various nations and territories. In this vein, Robert E. May discusses how various filibuster armies impacted American policy, both foreign and domestic. In particular, May focuses on the impacts of these military actions and their effects on Northern and Southern feelings about the Union. In his analysis of the filibustering expeditions, May argues that it would be "misleading" to assume these groups were separate from the question of slavery: even prior to the Mexican War, Southerners "occasionally filibustered to alleviate threats to slavery."[11]

Perhaps the most famous American filibusterer, William Walker, acknowledged the importance of the slavery question during his expeditions. As May shows, Walker notoriously led filibusters in Mexico, and somewhat more successfully, Nicaragua, fashioning himself president of the nation in 1856, where he ruled for ten months.[12] May describes Walker's initial "restraint" towards slavery, in which he defied Southerners hopes for the expansion of the institution of slavery in Nicaragua for months, leading to his support from antislavery politicians from the United States' North.[13] "Everything changed," May argues, "once Walker issued a decree on September 22, 1856, legalizing slavery in Nicaragua and began promoting his cause as a means by which Southerners could protect and spread their way of life."[14] With this decree, Walker gained Southern support in Nicaragua. Whether Walker had always endeavored towards the spread of slavery or simply embraced it at the end of his regime in order to gain Southern support is, according to May, "immaterial, given the stateside reaction to

[11] Ibid., 252.
[12] Ibid., 47-48.
[13] Ibid., 263.
[14] Ibid.

his decree."[15] When he was removed from Central America in 1857, Walker would continue to court Southern favor by painting himself as a Southern hero, continually attempting to garner enough support to reconquer Nicaragua. Given Republican efforts to contain slavery in the American West, Walker argued that the only way to strengthen slavery would be by expanding the institution into Central America, giving Southern states a "buffer zone" so as to not be completely surrounded by enemies of slavery.[16]

May further argues that slavery and filibustering were tied together in the American consciousness. Writes May, "Americans habitually came to associate the two, assuming that any expedition must have a proslavery design… More significantly, slavery and filibustering became so conflated that Americans projected the expeditions upon facets of the growing rift between North and South over slavery that had at least superficially little to do with invasions of foreign countries."[17] Essentially, May reasons, these illegal invasions, generated by hundreds of private American citizens, exacerbated the conditions that would lead to the Civil War. They were seen as almost Antebellum proxy wars over slavery. While not all filibustering expeditions started out with a defined end goal of preserving or extending slavery into Central and South America, these missions were certainly viewed as such by citizens back home. The expansion of slavery would be the defense of the institution. Any attempts to curb expansion would be perceived as a threat.

Much of the existing literature which explores Southern expansionism is focused largely upon Central America. Given the pervasiveness of filibustering, this focus on the

[15] Ibid., 264.
[16] Ibid., 266.
[17] Ibid., 267.

region makes sense, though it largely overlooks Southern slaveholding interests in South America. Threats to Brazilian slavery, as the second-largest slaveholding society in the Americas, would have a particular sense of urgency for proslavery Americans. According to Karp, it was "obvious that Brazil… occupied a vital position in the larger hemispheric battle between freedom and slavery."[18] He then goes onto explain what is, essentially, a nineteenth-century domino theory, where Americans feared that the failure of Brazilian slavery (an effort largely pushed by British abolitionists) would lead to its destruction at home. A hemispheric threat to the institution of slavery, therefore, would require an hemispheric action to preserve it.[19] Karp also mentions John C. Calhoun's hope for Brazilian-American friendship serving as Secretary of State in 1844, despite the "plausible sources of tension between the two countries," including rival cotton production, or ideological discomfort between the republican United States and imperial Brazil.[20] These concerns would be meaningless in light of preserving African slavery in the Americas, particularly regarding the efforts of British activists working for its abolition.

Given that many United States Southerners were looking pointedly further south for their own self-interests, the Confederados would seem to be an excellent case study for historians of the U.S. in the world. However, most explorations into Confederado history have not been conducted by U.S. in the world scholars. Alan P. Marcus, who wrote the most recent monograph on the Confederate exodus, is a geographer focused

[18] Karp, This Vast Southern Empire, 70.
[19] Ibid., 71.
[20] Ibid.

on both Brazil and immigration.[21] Another geographer with academic research into the Confederados is Cyrus B. Dawsey, who alongside his brother, a religion professor named James M. Dawsey, edited and wrote a collection of essays on the Confederados, their migration, and culture.[22] The Dawsey brothers are also, themselves, Confederado descendants. Historian Laura Jarnagin, who collaborated with the Dawsey brothers on their edited book, is a Latin Americanist. The works of Marcus, the Dawseys, and Jarnagin all tend to focus on the post-Civil War socioeconomic push-and-pull factors in Confederado emigration. Explorations into Confederado histories from a geographical or Latin American background is important and has led to many contributions. However, U.S. in the world scholars would also have a great deal to offer Confederado research. The Confederados were the largest organized outmigration in American history, and many current-day Confederados still retain connections to America. Ultimately, Confederado culture can be seen as U.S. culture in the broader, international world, and should be studied by U.S. in the world scholars as well.

It is also noteworthy that there has been much disagreement within the broader existing historiographic literature when discussing the continued existence of Brazilian slavery and its impact on this Southern exodus. Some, such as Laura Jarnagin and the Dawsey's argue that the extension of Brazilian slavery past American abolition for another twenty-three years played very little role in spurring the migration. Yet, there are Brazilianists, such as Luciana da Cruz Brito, who argue that the migrants viewed Brazil

[21] Towson University, *Alan Marcus,* 2022, https://www.towson.edu/cla/departments/geography/facultystaff/amarcus.html.
[22] The University of Alabama Press, *Cyrus B. Dawsey,* 2022, https://www.uapress.ua.edu/author/cyrus-b-dawsey/.
Emory & Henry College, *Religion Department,* https://www.ehc.edu/live/profiles/330-james-dawsey.

as a means of continuing to reap the benefits of enslaved labor while also living under familiar racial rules.[23] Alan P. Marcus synthesized these two conflicting interpretations in his recent study of the Confederate emigration to Brazil, arguing that it was ultimately social and environmental forces "like immigration policies, and agro-economic and commercial opportunities – all importantly mediated by global racial formations and hemispheric settler colonialism" that caused this migration to Brazil, though this argument could be applied to settlements in other nations, as well."[24] It is also important to note differences in American and Brazilian slavery, as well as their approaches to race relations in the nineteenth-century. Race in America has generally been understood through the dynamics of a black/white racial divide, which had been enforced through the institution of slavery and later the Black Codes and Jim Crow. However, Brazilian populations have been "historically marked" by heterogeneity, with high levels of miscegenation, making it "difficult, if not impossible to distinguish who is "black" and who is "white" by using U.S.-based standards."[25] Despite this, Brazil still found meaning in race. While Brazil did not experience American Jim Crow-era racialized violence, it still took another two decades after the United States abolished African slavery for Brazil to do so as well.[26] Argued Brito, "The apparent racial integration, the social assimilation of freed blacks, what was considered excessive, and

[23] Luciana da Cruz Brito, "Um Paraíso Escravista Na América do Sul: Raca e Escravidao Sob o Olhar de Imigranted Confederados no Brasil Oitocentista/ A Slave Paradise in Latin America: Race and Slavery Through the Eyes of Confederate Immigrants in 19th Century Brazil," *RHC* v. 9, n. 1 (2015), https://revistas.ufrj.br/index.php/RevistaHistoriaComparada/article/view/2354.

[24] Marcus, *Confederate Exodus,* 3.
Brasher, "The crisis of Confederate memory," 1320.

[25] Marcus, *Confederate Exodus*, 20-21.

[26] Ibid., 19.

the racial mixing made the immigrants wonder if Brazil could really be their new home."[27]

Americans, throughout the mid-nineteenth century, saw the world in increasingly international and hemispheric terms. Confederado scholars have, traditionally, emphasized the role of social and commercial networks in facilitating this specific migration. While scholarship on the filibusterers have begun to treat its subjects as "agents of empire," Confederado research tends to portray a more neutral story. This neutrality can be argued due to the Confederado ability to assimilate into the larger Brazilian culture, though that still raises difficult questions regarding their tightly clung-to notions of "American heritage." For decades pre-Civil War, Americans throughout the nation not only paid attention to the politics of other slave-holding societies but were deeply invested in the policies being enacted and enforced abroad. However, they were not outsiders to other slave-holding societies. Some scholarship on emigration to Brazil chooses to note the importance of various commercial and kinship networks in allowing for successful migrations. Laura Jarnagin uses her 2008 book, *A Confluence of Transatlantic Networks* to argue that "In essence, Confederate migration to Brazil was primarily about networks of elite southerners accessing certain pools of social capital in the Atlantic world and finessing their yield into a new life."[28] As opposed to mass migrations from Europe to the Americas, Southern emigrants to Brazil were "not without other options and most came from privileged backgrounds consonant with standard definitions of 'bourgeoisie'… and 'gentry.'"[29]

---

[27] Brito, "Um Paraíso Escravista…" 146.
[28] Laura Jarnagin, *A Confluence of Transatlantic Networks: Elites, Capitalism, and Confederate Migration to Brazil* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 2.
[29] Ibid., 2.

Jarnagin notes that the reception of the Confederados in Brazil was due to the personal connections derived from the networks of the Atlantic elite. In reconstructing these networks, she uses the term “legacy behaviors” to refer to succeeding generations of migrants becoming the “elite purveyors of capitalism throughout the Atlantic world.”[30] Building on Jarnagin’s work, Marcus chooses to emphasize the “Baltimorean Connection,” dedicating the first chapter of his book to examining the connections of Baltimore and Brazil, mainly through the flour industry. Writes Marcus, “Baltimorean entrepreneurs were already well-established in Brazil by the end of the U.S. Civil War through the kinship, social, and commercial ties they had created with Brazilian politicians and elite families since the 1820s.”[31] In particular, both Jarnagin and Marcus write extensively about the Wright family of Maxwell, Wright & Co., which occupied a unique commercial space of being headquartered in both Brazil and the United States at the same time.[32] Businesses such as Maxwell, Wright & Co. were able to “provide Brazilian contacts and trade knowledge necessary to sustain a migration of such a large scale. That is, the milieu of Confederate migration to Brazil did not occur in a vacuum.”[33] Both Jarnagin and Marcus have focused on viewing the Southern migrants through the lens of capitalism in the Atlantic world. Notably, settlers of Santa Bárbara d’Oeste were funded not by immigration societies but largely through the private efforts of Santa Bárbara d’Oeste founder William Hutchison Norris.[34] Private wealth and connections could then help others migrate who lacked access to these networks.

[30] Ibid., 3.
[31] Marcus, *Confederate Exodus*, 34.
[32] Jarnagin, *A Confluence of Transatlantic Networks,* “Transatlantic Commission Houses.” Marcus, *Confederate Exodus,* 34.
[33] Marcus, *Confederate Exodus,* 34.
[34] Ibid., 12.

Given these connections between America and Latin America, in which political, commercial, and kinship networks were formed and strengthened, it makes sense that some white American emigrants would turn towards Latin America as a new home in the Reconstruction Era. Americans felt (and were) deeply connected to the slave-holding societies of Latin America, having participated in their politics and economies. Naturally, it tends to be easier for a person to emigrate to a nation they have more connections to – whether that is familiarity with the new culture, family being present in the new nation, or better economic prospects. The Confederados, argues Marcus, "inhabited in-betwixt and in-between dimensions, living in two places at the same time. They were tied to two cultures… transitioned between them, and maintained complex connections between the U.S. South, the United States, and Brazil."[35] Their business networks and years of closely watching Latin America made these migrations easier on the American Southerners. These connections allowed for the Confederados to exist in multiple cultures.

It is important, as well, to note the reasons behind this sudden organized migratory movement. During the years after the Civil War, socioeconomic conditions in the south were bleak. The Confederate currency was worthless, schools and churches had closed, and "*Debow's Review* estimate[d] that by 1867, about twenty thousand Southerners had migrated to New York."[36] For many white Southerners of all socioeconomic status, it would be easier to leave their homes for the North, or even other nations, as opposed to living in economic ruin. Additionally, for many white Southerners, living under Reconstruction governments was a severe humiliation. While

[35] Ibid., 22.
[36] Ibid., 60.

newer scholarship focuses more on the economic push and pull factors causing this mass migration, older scholarship tends to focus more on other causes. Andrew F. Rolle's 1965 *The Lost Cause: The Confederate Exodus to Mexico* focuses mainly on Confederate leadership, namely those leaders who fled to Mexico rather than surrender. Rolle argues that it was "Without question," that the Confederacy was legally classifiable as treason, with the penalty being death.[37] "Threats of trial for treason were ringing in the ears of former Confederacy leaders," particularly after witnessing the North's treatment of Jefferson Davis at Fort Monroe, which Rolle argues "symbolized the humiliation inflicted upon the South."[38] While Marcus and Rolle differ in their interpretations of these migrations – Marcus focuses on more common people leaving for Brazil, while Rolle focuses firmly on the Confederate brass who never surrendered in Mexico – it is still important that they both agree that these migrations were caused by Southerners' inability to continue seeing the American South as a successful homeland. Wrote Rolle, "The burgeoning lands of the South were burned out, dead, and uninviting. Her cities, desolated by shellfire, did not seem places in which to start a new future."[39]

While most Southerners who emigrated would eventually return to the United States, the Confederados were able to create a lasting community with generations of descendants still in the region, including those who greeted Jimmy Carter in the 1970s.[40] Notably, a recurring festival is held in Santa Bárbara d'Oeste by the Fraternity of American Descendants in honor of the original Confederado settlers, with participants

[37] Andrew F. Rolle, *The Lost Cause: The Confederate Exodus to Mexico* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 5.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Marcus, *Confederate Exodus,* 12.

waving Confederate and American flags, many wearing hoop skirts and other Antebellum-style clothing. Jordan P. Brasher wrote about the larger debate surrounding Confederate memory following the 2017 “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, analyzing the global impact of the Charlottesville hate rally on Confederate commemoration. Brasher argues that the “strategic ways” in which the Festa Confederada has been cancelled throughout the years (in response to the US invasion of Iraq and to reorganize following white supremacist violence in 2010) “reflects a particular set of commemorative and political commitments that are enmeshed in transcultural entanglements of memory from the Lost Cause to the notion of racial democracy and the conflation of the Confederate States of America with the United States.”[41]

ANALYSIS

The question on many Southerners’ minds once the Civil War ended seemed to be, “Why should we stay?” “Then why should we remain in a country, where we find that there is neither present, nor prospective, security, for life, liberty and property?” asked the Reverend Ballard S. Dunn in his 1866 work, *Brazil, the Home for Southerners*.[42] Dunn, a former minister at St. Philip’s Episcopal Church in New Orleans, wrote his book to convince U.S. Southerners to emigrate to Brazil. He had first toured Brazil in early

[41] Brasher, “The crisis of Confederate memory,” 1326-1327.
[42] Ballard S. Dunn, *Brazil, the Home for Southerners* (New York: George B. Richardson, 1866), 5, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=moa&cc=moa&sid=95e3f6e828e116b80d4cccd93c806bc1&view=text&rgn=main&idno=AJL5604.0001.001.

1866, before settling in the Juquiá valley of the Riveura de Iguape river system, where he worked on *Brazil, the Home for Southerners,* intending for it to be a recruiting tool for a Brazilian colonization scheme.[43] His first chapter, "Our Present Condition in the South," describes the political condition of the post-war South. Dunn writes of a "gloomy night of sorrow, and of death," that has been "lengthened out to four long and bloody years… The lurid morning that struggles, and alternated between darkness and dawning, bewildering, and disheartening indeed, can, at best, promise a day little better than the night."[44] Conditions after the war had not improved for white Southerners, so why should they stay? He then goes on to write about the future, that "with its cumbrous disabilities, and fearful forebodings, promises nothing better than poverty and humiliation: with no guarantee that worse, even may not befall."[45] Dunn saw no indication that the Southern condition would improve. Dunn was not alone in this fear. Many white southerners throughout the period of Reconstruction felt a rather acute sense of fear and foreboding. In particular, southern whites feared that Reconstruction would bring integration throughout society, especially in schools. Karin L. Zipf wrote about white alarm regarding the ratification of North Carolina's Reconstruction constitution, with white southerners being afraid that their white daughters would be forced into racially integrated schools and be subject to sexual relationships with Black men.[46] It is hard to understate the level of fear white southerners felt about a society not

[43] Cyrus B. Dawsey and James M. Dawsey, "Leaving: The Context of the Southern Emigration to Brazil," in *The Confederados: Old South Immigrants in Brazil,* ed. Cyrus B. Dawsey and James M. Dawsey (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995), 15.
[44] Dunn, *Brazil, the Home for Southerners*, 3-4.
[45] Ibid., 4.
[46] Karin L. Zipf, ""The WHITES shall rule the land or die": Gender, Race, and Class in North Carolina Reconstruction Politics," *The Journal of Southern History,* vol. 65, no. 3, August 1999, 499, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2588132.

organized around slavery. It is due to this fear that Dunn would recommend emigrating to Brazil, where according to him, things would almost certainly be better for Southerners.

This is not to say that Dunn wrote his book with the aim of the entire white South emigrating to Brazil *en masse*. In the preface, he writes, “No attempt has been made, at giving reasons, why any should leave this country. If those into whose hands [the book] may fall, have not already good, and sufficient reasons, for quitting the United States, I should be the last to furnish anything of that nature… they should remain where they are.”[47] He was not trying to plant the idea to leave in people’s heads; rather, he was offering options for those who wanted out. For Dunn, the only people who should quit the United States and migrate are people with “sufficient reasons.” Those who would migrate simply in a get-rich-quick scheme did not have a good enough reason to leave; however, those who were fleeing “poverty and humiliation” had reason enough to migrate. The literal poverty of the south seemed to be less of a reason for the migration as opposed to the “gloomy night” and uncertainty white southerners faced under Reconstruction. It is necessary to mention that most southerners who were struggling with genuine poverty after the war would have no means to get to the new settlements in Brazil. Rather, emigrants were to flee the humiliation that was a Reconstruction government and try to rebuild a life that was a similar one to the one that they had left behind.

Dunn was not the only American to write about Brazil with the goal of encouraging future migrants. The Protestant theologians Daniel P. Kidder and James

[47] Dunn, *Brazil, the Home for Southerners*, 1.

Cooley Fletcher endeavored on their own mission to Brazil, where they wrote their book, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, published in 1857. *Brazil and the Brazilians* would become an important primer on Brazil for American readers, with multiple editions published over a span of years. In their 1866 edition, Kidder and Fletcher published a circular that had been issued by an official agent at Rio de Janeiro and countersigned by the Brazilian Consul-General in New York. The circular starts with attempts to induce Americans to migrate: "The Imperial Government looks with sympathy and interest on American emigration to Brazil, and is resolved to give it the most favorable consideration. Emigrants will find an abundance of fertile land, suitable for the culture of cotton, sugar-cane, tobacco, rice, etc."[48] That Brazil looked at potential emigrants with "sympathy" is significant. As the only major surviving slave-holding society in the Western hemisphere, Brazil had been an unofficial ally to the Confederacy, refusing Union demands to treat Southern ships as pirates.[49] This can be read as sympathy for the poor socioeconomic condition of the postwar South, or it can be seen as support for Brazil's unofficial slaveholding ally.

Under the Brazilian Emperor Dom Pedro II, potential emigrees were provided with substantial support. Dom Pedro II promised land for as little as twenty-two cents an acre "at easy terms," and in addition, offered as help with accommodations and transportation upon first arrival. Brazil also made promises of constructing better infrastructure and pathways to citizenship for Americans. Many American planters also

[48] Daniel P. Kidder and James Cooley Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (London: S. Low, Son, and Marston, 1866), 333, https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcmassbookdig.brazilbrazilians00kidd_0/?sp=369&st=text&r=-0.041,0.413,0.996,0.732,0.
[49] Marcus, Confederate Exodus, 59.

saw signs of a beginning Brazilian cotton boom, further interesting Southerners in Brazil.[50] William H. Norris, one of the founders of the Santa Bárbara settlement and a prominent Confederado leader, was quoted in The Anglo-Brazilian Times after he had purchased a fazenda (large estate) in São Paulo: "Say to my North-American friends that I think the Province of S. Paulo is the best for cotton planting, and that is what they desire. Tell them to come and examine the country."[51] There was a hope among the Confederado emigrants that they could find a kindred culture in Brazil. The *Edgefield Advertiser* ran a story recounting a former Confederate's harrowing journey to Brazil. He left "to find a better home if possible and escape Reconstruction," which involved the boy surviving a night in the jungle alone.[52] The boy was rescued by Colonel Gunter, of Alabama, who had purchased a farm and fifty slaves. One of Gunter's slaves (specified to be a "negro slave") nursed the anonymous boy back to health, even washing his feet. That this story, which mainly recounts the boy's adventure in the wild, focuses so heavily on the number of slaves owned by the Colonel, as well as the enslaved people's subservience, displays a yearning for the Antebellum days of slavery.

Despite these hopes, Americans knew that Brazil would be different from the South. An anonymous column written by a "Traveller [*sic*]" in an 1867 edition of *The Charleston Daily News* expressed surprise by this sudden "Brazil Fever." Particularly amongst whites, the Traveller was shocked by the widespread desire to join the emigration movement. Wrote the Traveller: "Some of our people allege they cannot live

[50] Cyrus B. Dawsey and James M. Dawsey, "Leaving," 16-17.
[51] "American Immigration," *The Anglo-Brazilian Times,* February 24, 1866, 3, http://memoria.bn.br/pdf/709735/per709735_1866_00026.pdf.
[52] "How I Lost My Hair, A Night of Horror in a Brazilian Forest: The Thrilling Story of a Young Confederate (by the Way an Edgefield Boy) Who Went to Brazil After the War to Escape Reconstruction," *Edgefield Advertiser,* May 8, 1895, https://www.loc.gov/resource/sn84026897/1895-05-08/ed-1/?sp=2&q=Brazilian+fever&r=0.109,0.162,0.457,0.327,0.

here because they do not wish to be on a political equality with the negro. If they go to South America or to Honduras, we do not see that they better themselves. Here they are only required to live with their own race and with negroes; there with negroes, Spaniards, Indians, and half breeds of every shade and hue… I cannot see a single good argument in favor of emigration."[53] This "Traveller," rather indelicately, depicts the struggle many Americans had with Brazilian culture. If white Americans wanted to leave for Brazil, they would have to live amongst a more racially diverse society, with different cultural norms related to racial division. While many Southerners fled due to the poor conditions in the South and the humiliation of a Reconstruction government, Brazil would not be the rebuilding of the antebellum South they had hoped. Wrote Kidder and Fletcher, "If a man have freedom, money, and merit, no matter how black his skin, no place in [Brazilian] society is refused him."[54] Brazil's culture of miscegenation meant there was no simple divide.

These inducements by the Brazilian imperial government were deeply intentional. By giving land for relatively cheap prices with "easy terms," emigration was made more possible to Americans. Inexpensive land prices would be a boon to the potential emigrants among the planter class. The Brazilians desired the "Emigration of agriculturists and mechanics… Good engineers are in demand in the empire."[55] The hope of Dom Pedro's imperial government was that by recruiting American planters, who had experience growing cotton, Brazil would be able to strengthen the booming

[53] "Emigration," *The Charleston Daily News,* July 16, 1867, 1, https://www.loc.gov/resource/sn84026994/1867-07-16/ed-1/?sp=1&q=%22Brazilian+fever%22&r=0.214,0.091,0.337,0.245,0.
[54] Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians,* 133.
[55] Ibid., 333.

industry. More African slaves were brought to Brazil than any other country in the world, though the slave trade had been suddenly stopped with the outlawing of the transatlantic slave trade in 1850. This meant there was no “new supply” of slaves coming into the nation.[56] Wrote Kidder and Fletcher, “it was considered cheaper [until 1850], on the country-plantations, to use up a slave in five or seven years and purchase another, than to take care of him.”[57] Due to the imbalance in the ratio of enslaved men to women, enslaved birth rates stayed low, while mortality rates and rates of escape were high.[58] Slavery was becoming highly expensive.

Brazilian aristocrats wanted to create a culture of cotton within the nation. This hope would be difficult due to the decline of the enslaved population in Brazil. The decline was particularly pressing as there were gradual steps to abolish slavery within Brazil. Immigrants, then, were viewed as a potential solution to Brazil’s labor shortages. Other inducements given by the Brazilians were also made in the hopes of drawing in more Americans – the five-year reprieve from military obligations, for example, would have been a relief for the war-weary Southerners. Wrote Kidder and Fletcher, “If it be asked, “Who will be the laborers in Brazil when slavery is no more? The reply is that, though the slave’s bonds are broken, the *man*, and a better man, still exists… 1865, many are emigrating from the South of the United States.”[59] The Brazilian imperial government also outright banned the potential emigrants from bringing their slaves along with them, stating that “No slaves can be imported into Brazil from any country

[56] Marcus, Confederate Exodus, 103-104.
[57] Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians,* 132.
[58] Ibid., 104.
[59] Ibid., 137.

whatever."[60] Given that the importation of slaves into Brazil had already been banned prior to the American Civil War, this decree was simply notifying potential emigrants that they would have to follow established Brazilian law, which was moving gradually to abolish the institution of slavery. While Confederados had sought a kindred culture in Brazil, it would not be the same. In fleeing Reconstruction in America, the Confederados would ultimately have to learn to live with the looming end of Brazilian slavery. In exchange, they could live for a few more years in a slaveholding, cotton-dependent nation, where they, as white Americans, would be seen as "better [men.]"

What is telling, then, is the apparent lack of mention of race in writing by Confederados. Alan P. Marcus notes the "inconsistencies" within the Confederado story, noting the "multiple and interrelated push/pull facts of migration."[61] It would be very easy to assume the Confederado emigration was to keep their slaves – the institution had yet to be abolished when the exodus began. However, slavery is mentioned very little by the Confederados themselves. They understood they would be largely bound by Brazilian law. These inconsistencies make the Confederado story much more complicated and demonstrate the cultural syncretism that occurred. Kennie Daguerre Norris (Bletz), born on October 4, 1892, to the prominent (and elderly) Confederados Robert Cicero Norris and Martha Steagall Norris, wrote of her experiences as a second-generation Confederado in a memoir. Kennie Norris' memoir is rather sentimental, writing more about the layout of her house and personal family stories than the sociopolitical dynamics of her childhood. However, she does mention two enslaved people in her recollections: Olympia and Manuel, who her father had

[60] Ibid., 333.
[61] Marcus, Confederate *Exodus,* 130.

bought in an unspecified year. Given that Kennie Norris was born after Brazil had abolished slavery and her assertion that "[her father and Olympia] had a deep love for each other based on trust and long years of association," it is extremely likely that Olympia and Manuel had been purchased prior to abolition.[62] Robert Norris had taken Olympia and Manuel "to their Catholic Church and had them married… They lived on land belonging to Papa and they raised a house full of children and they all spoke English, a novelty in Brazil."[63] For a short time, Robert Norris had been able to rebuild an aspect of the Antebellum South, holding at least two people in slavery in Brazil. We can assume they were freed with Brazilian abolition in 1888 and remained on the Norris land as sharecroppers. That Norris had taken Olympia and Manuel to a Catholic church to be wed when he was himself a Protestant also demonstrates cultural compromises American emigrants had to make with Brazilian culture.

Confederado memory of American history was a powerful way for the emigrants and their descendants to still feel tied to the homes they had left behind. Notably, Kennie Norris dedicated a large portion of her eight-page memoir to reminisce about the stories of her Uncle Clay Norris. She remembered how "[Uncle Clay] used to tell me stories of the Civil War. He and his five brothers, including my father, went through that affair without a loss of life: Papa had two bullets, one in the belly that he carried to his grave, and one cut across his hand as he was aiming at a damn Yankee. Uncle told me that "we did not lose that War, honey, We just wore outselves [*sic*] plumb out "whopping" the damn Yankees." I believed him too."[64] I argue that Kennie Norris' story

[62] Kennie Bletz, *Memoirs of Confederados Families* (1978), https://www.lib.auburn.edu/archive/find-aid/958/steagall-242.gif.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.

of her uncle and the Civil War demonstrates why Confederado culture has persisted for generations after the initial emigration and the abolition of Brazilian slavery. Stories and memories of the American Civil War provide descendants with little connection to the United States after decades of acclimation into Brazilian culture with a way to feel a connection to the southern homeland. It is not insignificant that Kennie Norris devoted some of her short memoir to the memory of her uncle's stories of the Civil War. The Civil War still loomed large in the minds of Confederado children who were born and raised in Brazil. The second generation still felt connected to the Southern United States – Kennie Norris wrote about the "damn Yankees" with the kind of anger she learned from her Confederate veteran family. It is significant as well that Kennie wrote these stories down for future generations, further demonstrating how Confederado descendants believed in the importance in passing this history – and this American connection – down. That she believed her uncle's stories also demonstrate how powerful the memory of the Civil War was for the Confederados. They were more than just stories to Kennie Norris. They were a connection to the United States.

Many newspapers of the period were ambivalent about the whole emigration scheme, while others were plainly against the concept of mass white emigration. A June 1865 edition of *The Columbia Daily Phoenix* wrote about the rising movement of Southerners emigrating to Brazil, saying that, "[the Brazil plan] originated wither with rebel naval officers personally acquainted with those shores, or with the inhabitants of the lower coast, who think they cannot live without negro slavery."[65] The article goes on

[65] "Emigration to Mexico/Emigration to Brazil," *The Columbia Daily Phoenix,* June 27, 1865, 1, https://www.loc.gov/resource/sn84027007/1865-06-27/ed-1/?sp=1&q=emigration+brazil&r=0.257,0.121,0.568,0.417,0.

to acknowledge that most of the talk about Brazil had been by the Southern planter class, who were “fast giving up the idea… for they could not carry their negroes with them, and property would have to be sold at a great sacrifice. The expense of the voyage to Brazil… would also be considerable and beyond the means of most people.”[66] Interestingly, the paper discusses some of the inconsistencies within the Confederado story, discussing those who spoke of slavery as a reason for migration alongside those who would not leave due to their inability to bring slaves. Ultimately, this demonstrates how complex the mindset of the Confederate emigration was. Slavery was still a massive factor in the migration, despite the emigrants understanding that they largely would not be able to participate in the institution.

Significantly, the *Daily Phoenix* used the same paper to rally against Mexican emigration. The *Daily Phoenix* discusses emigration to Mexico through the lens of Louisianian soldiers, quickly dismissing the movement in a few sentences. Migrating to Mexico “has generally been discouraged by the judicious; besides, New Orleans is such a delightful home and residence that few natives can be induced to go away to live exiles in a foreign land.”[67] *The Columbia Daily Phoenix* took special care to note how unrealistic these migrations would be for typical people – emigrating was expensive and would not restore for them the slave system in spite of their hopes. In the case of Mexico, slavery had already been formally abolished for years. Those who had the option to leave were those either familiar with Brazil already, or those with the money to support such a venture. Beyond Brazil’s relative impossibilities for the average Southerner, the dismissal of Mexico by *The Daily Phoenix* shows blatant disdain for

[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.

such form of exodus, asking its readers: who would want to leave the “delightful” home that was New Orleans for a settlement in Mexico? While the foreign nations of Mexico and Brazil had been written about extensively, with many of the wealthier business and planter class being directly tied to institutions in these nations, there was still a visible feeling that America was fundamentally superior to other nations.

In the modern day, descendants of the original Confederados celebrate their heritage with the yearly Festa Confederada, held at the *Cemit*ério do Campo. Memorial activities, such as the Festa, work to pass down Confederado history and memory to future generations. It is in part through activities such as the Festa that Confederado culture and memory has persisted into the modern day, despite Confederado descendants identifying as Brazilian citizens. Presently, the Fraternity of American Descendants run an Instagram account (@festaconfederada), dedicated to the Festa and Confederado heritage. Recent posts celebrate ninety years since the Brazilian Constitutionalist Revolution on the 9th of July 1932, and a celebration of American Independence Day on July 4th.[68] The Constitutionalist Revolution was the last major armed conflict in the nation’s history, wherein the general population attempted an uprising against President Getulio Vargas and is considered the most important movement in São Paulo’s civic history.[69] The post immediately prior to this was about the 4th of July. Despite the Confederados and their descendants being Brazilian citizens who speak Portuguese and participate fully in modern Brazilian life, there is clearly still

[68] Festa Confederada (@festaconfederada), “90 Anos…” Instagram, July 9, 2022, https://www.instagram.com/festaconfederada/.
Festa Confederada (@festaconfederada), “Independence Day…” Instagram, July 4, 2022, https://www.instagram.com/festaconfederada/.
[69] “State Rebellion Day in Sao Paulo in 2023,” *OfficeHolidays,* 2023, https://www.officeholidays.com/holidays/brazil/sao-paulo/state-rebellion-day.

a connection to their American ancestors. Certainly, there is enough of a connection that other posts on @festaconfederada include: a Pearl Harbor memorial, multiple images of Confederate General Robert E. Lee as well as Confederate flags, a 9/11 memorial post, and, somewhat confusingly, a memorial post for the late American musician Charlie Daniels.[70] Their Instagram shows their belief and pride in being simultaneously Brazilian and American.

Confederados not only hold to their heritage as Americans, but also to their heritage as immigrants. São Paulo also boasts the Confederado-curated Museu da Imigracao, which focuses on the "history of the people who arrived in Brazil through the Hospedaria de Imigrantes do Brás [Hostel for immigrants to Brazil], and the relationship built over the years with the various representative communities of the city and the state."[71] Notably, despite many Confederados staying at the Hostel upon first arrival to Brazil, and the museum itself being descendant-curated, there is little to no mention of the Confederados or their descendant communities on the museum website. Reads the website: "By valuing the encounter of multiple histories and origins, we propose to the public the contact with the memories of those people who came from distant lands, their travel conditions, adaptation to new jobs and contribution to the formation of what we

[70] The Charlie Daniels post is likely due to Daniels' comments about the Confederate flag, wherein he compared the flag's removal to ISIS. However, given the lack of caption on the post, it is unsure if it was due to Daniels' politics or his status as a Southern musician that granted him the honor of being featured. Joseph Hudak, "Charlie Daniels: Confederate Statue Removal is Like 'What ISIS is Doing,'" *Rolling Stone,* August 17, 2017, https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-country/charlie-daniels-confederate-statue-removal-is-like-what-isis-is-doing-253214/
Festa Confederada (@festaconfederada), "Uncaptioned Post," Instagram, December 7, 2021, https://www.instagram.com/festaconfederada/.
Festa Confederada (@festaconfederada), "Never Forget," Instagram, September 11, 2020, https://www.instagram.com/festaconfederada/.
Festa Confederada (@festaconfederada), "RIP Charlie Daniels," Instagram, July 6, 2020. https://www.instagram.com/festaconfederada/.

[71] "Immigration Museum," *Museu da Imigracao,* https://museudaimigracao.org.br/sobre-o-mi/o-museu.

now call the Sáo Paulo identity."[72] The museum identifies with a 'Sáo Paulo identity' more so than a Confederado one. Brazilian identity is just as important to the Confederados as their American identity. They feel connections to both and are deeply proud of both heritages.

As the longest lasting organized American emigrant settlement, Santa Bárbara d'Oeste is an important part of the Confederados' cultural memory. Following the 2015 Charleston shooting at a Black AME church, which the shooter had hoped would ignite a race war and was frequently pictured with Confederate flags, and the 2017 Charlottesville 'Unite the Right' rally, where far right supporters with tiki torches spewed hate speech in the defense of a statue of Robert E. Lee, other nations, much like the United States, have revived discussions about their own complicated histories with the Confederates.[73] The year 2018 saw the protest of the Festa by the group UNEGRO (Union of Black People for Equality), in which protestors emphasized that they were not protesting the Festa itself, but rather the Confederate flag.[74] A year later, the UNEGRO protest grew, and more than 100 groups and organizations banded together to further protest the Confederate flag, with UNEGRO participant Pedro Monteiro da Rocha Ramos saying that "[t]he flag has a strong, heavy meaning of racism. We have nothing against the [Festa], but with the Confederate flag, that's what bothers us."[75] A manifesto

[72] Ibid.
[73] Katie Rogers, "Charleston Shooting Reignites Debate About Confederate Flag," *The New York Times,* June 19, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/20/us/charleston-shooting-reignites-debate-about-confederate-flag.html.
Andrew Katz, "Unrest in Virginia," *Time,* August 2017, https://time.com/charlottesville-white-nationalist-rally-clashes/.
[74] Brasher, "The crisis of Confederate memory," 1324.
[75] "More than 100 entities protest against racist flag at Santa Barbara d'Oeste party," *Carta Campinas,* April 30, 2019, https://cartacampinas.com.br/2019/04/x-mais-de-100-entidades-protestam-contra-o-uso-de-bandeira-racista-em-festa-de-santa-barbara-doeste/.

was signed by the more than 100 groups organized against the Confederate flag that says they “repudiate with indignation and vehemence the Confederate party that regrettably ignores the history of the people constituted here and the racial problem that still affects the Brazilian population. While Confederados had become acclimated and joined the larger Brazilian culture, the abandonment of the Confederate flag would be repugnant for them and their Confederado identity. Ultimately, both the United States and Brazil are currently having a larger discussion about their Confederate legacies and what, exactly, it means to commemorate these legacies. It is a complicated discussion, with larger cultural negotiations, but that complexity does not mean it should be avoided.

CONCLUSION

Emigration out of America is often little mentioned in comparison to the immigration into the U.S. throughout the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. This does not mean outmigration from the U.S. is any less important. By analyzing American emigration during and following the Civil War, the larger international context regarding the post-war South is made apparent. U.S. Southerners fled to Brazil in effort to preserve their pre-war lifestyles that had been fundamentally built upon slavery and white supremacy. However, racial divisions in Brazil were never as stark as they had been in the United States, and slavery would only last for a few more years after American abolition. American emigrants would never

be able to rebuild the Antebellum South in Brazil. The Confederado project, then, can be largely considered unsuccessful.

How then, can Santa Bárbara d'Oeste be thought of as a success? Inconsistencies within the Confederado story demonstrate the complicated nature of a group. Despite their inability to recreate the plantation South, they were able to create a lasting community within which Civil War memory and the memory of the American South were passed down as cherished relics. Confederado memory, creating debates within modern-day Brazil, shows how entrenched these connections are for the Confederados and their descendants. Despite their acclimation into Brazilian culture, these people still hold tightly to their American, Confederate heritage. Analyzing emigration in and following the American Civil War, then, demonstrates how the sectional conflict reverberated throughout the international.

When Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter visited the Campo Cemetery in 1972, they were deeply impacted by the American memory held by Confederado descendants. However much the Carters had realized regarding the original settlers' reasoning for leaving, or their hopes for the new community, is unknown. What is known is that both Jimmy and Rosalynn were moved by the community of Santa Bárbara d'Oeste. Ultimately, future-President Carter recognized a kindred spirit within the second-and-third generation Confederados, promising to share their stories back home in the United States. That recognition of community and shared heritage would continue a decade later, when future-President Bill Clinton gave the community an Arkansas flag, which is displayed in the São Paul Immigration Museum.[76] While the Confederados had not and

[76] Claudio Schapochnik, "Guerra civil trouxe americaonos…"

have not abandoned their recognition of their “American heritage,” America seems to have not forgotten the Confederados, either.

Bibliography

"American Immigration." *The Anglo-Brazilian Times.* February 24, 1866, http://memoria.bn.br/pdf/709735/per709735_1866_00026.pdf.

Bletz, Kennie. *Memoirs of Confederados Families* (1978). https://www.lib.auburn.edu/archive/find-aid/958/steagall-242.gif.

Brasher, Jordan P. "The crisis of Confederate memory in the interior of S*ão Paulo, Brazil." Memory Studies 14 (6) 1314-1332 (2021). doi:* 10.1177/17506980211054336.

Brito, Luciana da Cruz. "Um Paraíso Escravista Na América do Sul: Raca e Escravidao Sob o Olhar de Imigranted Confederados no Brasil Oitocentista/ A Slave Paradise in Latin America: Race and Slavery Through the Eyes of Confederate Immigrants in 19th Century Brazil." *RHC* v. 9, n. 1 (2015), https://revistas.ufrj.br/index.php/RevistaHistoriaComparada/article/view/2354.

Dawsey, Cyrus B. and James M. Dawsey. "Leaving: The Context of the Southern Emigration to Brazil." In *The Confederados: Old South Immigrants in Brazil.* Edited by Cyrus B. Dawsey and James M. Dawsey, 11-23. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995.

Dunn, Ballard S. *Brazil, the Home for Southerners.* New York: George B. Richardson, 1866. https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=moa&cc=moa&sid=95e3f6e828e116b80d4cccd93c806bc1&view=text&rgn=main&idno=AJL5604.0001.001.

"Emigration." *The Charleston Daily News.* July 16, 1867, https://www.loc.gov/resource/sn84026994/1867-07-16/ed-1/?sp=1&q=%22Brazilian+fever%22&r=0.214,0.091,0.337,0.245,0.

"Emigration to Mexico/Emigration to Brazil." *The Columbia Daily Phoenix.* June 27, 1865, https://www.loc.gov/resource/sn84027007/1865-06-27/ed-1/?sp=1&q=emigration+brazil&r=0.257,0.121,0.568,0.417,0.

Emory & Henry College. *Religion Department.* https://www.ehc.edu/live/profiles/330-james-dawsey.

Festa Confederada (@festaconfederada). "90 Anos…" Instagram. July 9, 2022. https://www.instagram.com/festaconfederada/.

Festa Confederada (@festaconfederada). "Independence Day…" Instagram. July 4, 2022. https://www.instagram.com/festaconfederada/.

Festa Confederada (@festaconfederada), "Never Forget." Instagram. September 11, 2020. https://www.instagram.com/festaconfederada/.

Festa Confederada (@festaconfederada), "RIP Charlie Daniels," Instagram, July 6, 2020. https://www.instagram.com/festaconfederada/.

Festa Confederada (@festaconfederada). "Uncaptioned Post." Instagram. December 7, 2021. https://www.instagram.com/festaconfederada/.

Halter, Eugene C. "Postscript: Reflections of a Confederado." In *The Confederados: Old South Immigrants in Brazil.* Edited by Cyrus B. Dawsey and James M. Dawsey, 206-210. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1995.

"How I Lost My Hair, A Night of Horror in a Brazilian Forest: The Thrilling Story of a Young Confederate (by the Way an Edgefield Boy) Who Went to Brazil After the

War to Escape Reconstruction." *Edgefield Advertiser.* May 8, 1895. https://www.loc.gov/resource/sn84026897/1895-05-08/ed-1/?sp=2&q=Brazilian+fever&r=0.109,0.162,0.457,0.327,0.

Hudak, Joseph. "Charlie Daniels: Confederate Statue Removal is Like 'What ISIS is Doing.'" *Rolling Stone.* August 17, 2017. https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-country/charlie-daniels-confederate-statue-removal-is-like-what-isis-is-doing-253214/.

"Immigration Museum." *Museu da Imigracao,* https://museudaimigracao.org.br/sobre-o-mi/o-museu.

Jarnagin, Laura. *A Confluence of Transatlantic Networks: Elites, Capitalism, and Confederate Migration to Brazil*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008.

Karp, Matthew. *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2016.

Katz, Andrew. "Unrest in Virginia." *Time.* August 2017, https://time.com/charlottesville-white-nationalist-rally-clashes/.

Kidder Daniel P. and James Cooley Fletcher. *Brazil and the Brazilians.* London: S. Low, Son, and Marston, 1866, https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcmassbookdig.brazilbrazilians00kidd_0/?sp=369&st=text&r=-0.041,0.413,0.996,0.732,0.

Marcus, Alan P. *Confederate Exodus: Social and Environmental Forces in the Migration of U.S. Southerners to Brazil.* Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2021.

May, Robert E. *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

"More than 100 entities protest against racist flag at Santa Barbara d'Oeste party." *Carta Campinas.* April 30, 2019, https://cartacampinas.com.br/2019/04/x-mais-de-100-entidades-protestam-contra-o-uso-de-bandeira-racista-em-festa-de-santa-barbara-doeste/.

Rogers, Katie. "Charleston Shooting Reignites Debate About Confederate Flag." *The New York Times,* June 19, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/20/us/charleston-shooting-reignites-debate-about-confederate-flag.html.

Rolle, Andrew F. *The Lost Cause: The Confederate Exodus to Mexico.* Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.

Schapochnik, Claudio. "Guerra civil trouxe americaonos SP abriga sulista que o vento levou." *Fohla de S. Paulo,* March 16, 1998. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/turismo/fx16039804.htm.

"State Rebellion Day in Sao Paulo in 2023." *OfficeHolidays,* 2023. https://www.officeholidays.com/holidays/brazil/sao-paulo/state-rebellion-day.

The University of Alabama Press. *Cyrus B. Dawsey.* 2022. https://www.uapress.ua.edu/author/cyrus-b-dawsey/.

Towson University. *Alan Marcus.* 2022. https://www.towson.edu/cla/departments/geography/facultystaff/amarcus.html.

Zipf, Karin L. ""The WHITES shall rule the land or die": Gender, Race, and Class in North Carolina Reconstruction Politics." *The Journal of Southern History,* vol. 65, no. 3, August 1999. 499-534. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2588132.

Chapter 3: *"Play Free Bird!": Southern Anthems as "New Dixies" and the Perpetuation of the Lost Cause*

On April 4, 1859, the song "I Wish I was in Dixie's Land," debuted to the public. Later titled simply as "Dixie," the song would quickly become one of the United States' most famous songs. Introduced by Bryant's Minstrels, who were "engaged in a run at 472 Broadway, New York City," what would eventually become known as "Dixie" is usually acknowledged to have been composed and first performed by Dan Emmett. Emmett, a musician and composer from rural Ohio would found the first professional blackface minstrel troupe.[77] Despite the song's Northern origins, "Dixie" would become an unofficial national anthem for the Confederate States and has lived on as an emblem of the region, with the name "Dixie" becoming a shorthand for the South at large. "Dixie," for many people, embodies the American South in a song. Even today, the song is still recognizable, with the tune being played for decades at collegiate and high-school football games, in television programming such as *The Dukes of Hazzard* (the Duke's car, "General Lee" played a twelve note "Dixie" melody corresponding to the first verse: 'oh I wish I was in the land of cotton'), and even in video games such as *Fallout 3* (2008). Simultaneously a source of importance for "the rebel proud to drape the Stars and Bars in his humble barn," and a hateful reminder of generations of racial oppression and segregation, "Dixie" is a song that continually "grabs at our popular culture in ways both subtle and overt."[78]

[77] Howard L. Sacks and Judith Rose Sacks, *Way Up North in Dixie: A Black Family's Claim to the Confederate Anthem* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 3.
[78] Sacks and Sacks, *Way Up North in Dixie*, 5.

"Dixie's" popularity as a regional anthem has extended throughout popular culture, particularly through traditionally "southern" musical genres, such as country and southern rock. Hank Williams Jr's 1981 song, "Dixie on My Mind," banks on the southern memory of the song "Dixie," so that Williams can sing a song in which he can express his longing for his southern home and culture when he is in the "big hassle" of the north. "If this is the promised land, I've had all I can stand," Williams says of the north, "And I'm headed back below that Dixie line."[79] Sings Williams, "All the stations up here don't sign off with Dixie / The way they did in sweet home Alabama… No I just don't fit in and I'll never come back again/ But I'm busted here with Dixie on my mind / Oh, I'm stuck up here and I got Dixie on my mind… These people never smile or say a word / They're all too busy tryin' to make an extra dime."[80] Much like the original "Dixie," Williams is wishing to be back in "Dixie," and expressing a regional pride over the north.

Traditionally "southern" genres have continually relied upon Confederate and Neo-Confederate ideas and iconography in their music, styling, and merchandise. Music that came out the 1960s and 70s South have, to an extent, become "New Dixies," symbolic of the South just as Emmett's "Dixie" did throughout the Civil War. These "New Dixies" symbolize a regional pride for some, and a painful reminder of the legacies of racism and segregation for others. Ultimately, the music of artists such as Charlie Daniels, Lynyrd Skynyrd, and the Band, among others, all exist within the larger scope of the Lost Cause of the Confederacy.[81] Additionally, southern musicians and the

[79] "Dixie on My Mind," *Hank Williams, Jr.* (Elektra 6E-330, 1981).
[80] Ibid.
[81] See also: David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2001). John M. Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2005). Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003). Karen L. Cox, *No Common Ground: Confederate Monuments and the Ongoing Fight for Racial Justice*

southern-style music of this period examined what the South was through their songs. Not every southern musician of this period turned to the Lost Cause and followed in the tradition of Dixie; many created long-lasting southern anthems that notably did not touch on the complicated history of white supremacy and racial oppression of the region. The Allman Brothers Band, for example, were a racially integrated band, largely considered to be architects of the southern rock sub-genre. The Allman Brothers Band "promoted a sense of southern pride that was tolerant and racially integrated without peons to the Confederacy or even delving in specifically to politics."[82] That The Allman Brothers Band was able to become so iconic not just to southern rock, but American music in general should not be discounted when discussing southern music. Their popularity demonstrates that Southern pride was not and did not have to be solely based upon the region's Confederate history. It is still noteworthy, however, that some of the biggest names in country and southern rock used Confederate and Neo-Confederate imagery and ideology, finding some of their biggest commercial and cultural successes in doing so. Southern rock, as a genre, provided a way for young, white southerners to feel pride in their region; however, the invocation of a Confederate past by many of these artists would further Lost Cause ideas of Southern "heritage."

SOUTHERN MEMORY

(Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2021). Adam H. Domby, *The False Cause: Fraud, Fabrication, and White Supremacy in Confederate Memory* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020). James W, Loewen and Edward H. Sebesta, *The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader: The "Great Truth" about the "Lost Cause"* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010). Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1980).

[82] Matthew Cooper, "Gregg Allman: Southern Pride Without the Confederacy," *Newsweek,* May 28, 2017, https://www.newsweek.com/gregg-allman-allman-brothers-band-allman-brothers-greg-allman-dies-music-617008.

To begin, a few words on Southern memory. W. Fitzhugh Brundage has noted that the South as a region has a reputation of being "saturated with history," populated by a historically oriented citizenry, with the "longest, most tenacious memories."[83] Brundage refutes this as being a stereotype, arguing that the claim that the American South is somehow more historically connected or directed than other regions in the nation is ludicrous. In particular, this concept is absurd, as Brundage notes, since any human-occupied region can be made noteworthy in any given historical narrative. If the American South is not naturally, inherently more connected to the past, then the historical memory of the South that has come to exist post-Civil War is a consequence of the "decades of investment, labor, and conscious design by individuals and groups of individuals who have imagined themselves as "southerners.""[84] Writes Brundage, "For individuals and groups alike, memory forms an essential component of their social identity."[85] Collective memories are how groups, such as self-identified "southerners," are able to view their own place in the world by establishing a "genealogy of identity."[86] They are a deliberate creation and suppression. It is not by simply conserving a specific historical narrative that groups are able to form their collective social identity; rather, acts of remembrance become part of social interactions and cultural norms.[87]

Southerners are by no means unique in their attempts to hold tight to their historical memories. Memories are complex in that they are innately resist the

[83] W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "No Deed But Memory," in *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 2.
[84] Ibid., 2-3.
[85] Ibid., 4.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.

processes of preservation due to their ephemeral nature.[88] Therefore, to retain them, memories are stored in both material objects and within the body, both individual and social. Paul Connerton has looked at how memory has been "conveyed in gesture, bodily posture, speech, and the sense – and how bodily memory, in turn, becomes manifested in cultural objects such as tattoos, letters, buildings and public spaces."[89] Connerton argues that cultural memory is formed just as much (if not more) by bodily practices as it is by historical texts and documents; memory "*takes place* on the body's surface and in its tissues, and in accordance with levels of meaning that reflect human sensory capacities more than cognitive categories… culture happens as and in the lived body."[90] Music performances and dance, I argue, can be an example of these memorial rituals. Through the physical acts of performing these 'rituals,' music and dances having to do with past events can serve as a means of physically recollecting and conveying historical memory to both participants and witnesses.

This encoding of memory, however, is not completely passive. Brundage argues that, in recent scholarship, "notions of memory as a passive process of storing and retrieving objective recollections of lived experiences have given way to an understanding of memory as an active, ongoing process of ordering the past."[91] All memory work requires selecting, forgetting, and retaining. Memories are not objective retellings of the past. Rather, they are constructed interpretive acts. These constructions can be made individually, with someone remembering their own past based on selective criteria. Memories can also be constructed by larger collectives; a government archive,

[88] Ibid., 3.
[89] Paul Connerton, *The Spirit of Mourning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), i.
[90] Ibid., ix.
[91] W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "No Deed But Memory," 5.

for example, is a construction in which the government decides what information is retained and kept for future remembrance, as well as what information is left out of the archive to be forgotten. Further, the myth of the Lost Cause, created and circulated largely by elite southerners during and after the Civil War, is an ethos that defended and glorified the antebellum slaveholding South. White southerners, according to this ethos, fought to preserve the antebellum South, going so far as to alter "their tragic military defeat into a tremendous moral triumph."[92] Essentially, the myth of the Lost Cause argues that the South was inherently doomed to lose the war, but that Confederate soldiers still nobly fought on behalf of their ideals, which, as Confederate sympathizers have continued to argues, was not the right to hold people in bondage. The Lost Cause is a means of remembering and interpreting the southern past in a way that gives the region a means of victory despite their defeat.

Southern identity was not formed in a vacuum. Identities, writes James C. Cobb, have always existed "in relation to other perceived oppositional identities against which they are defined."[93] Benedict Anderson developed the concept of the imagined community in his analysis of nationalism; a nation is a socially constructed community, created and imagined by the persons who perceive themselves as part of a group.[94] A national community is imagined because no singular person could ever conceivably know most other members of the community, and yet still feel they share commonality due to identifying with the same nation. I argue that Anderson's concept can apply to regions, as well, with the American South being an imagined community. The identity of

[92] James C. Cobb, *Away Down South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 62.
[93] Cobb, *Away Down South*, 6.
[94] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, revised 2016), 6-7.

the American South, then, was created in opposition to that of the North. This, however, has not been entirely reciprocal, as northerners have been more historically likely to self-identify as "American," in opposition to the South.[95] The importance of regional, collective identity seemingly has less of a personal importance to Americans outside of the South; rather, Northerners see their identity as a national matter. The North, then, has been overwhelmingly conflated with America as a whole. Modern southern history, write Matthew D. Lassiter and Joseph Crespino, came about during a period of "liberal consensus," within which "the North" was tied to a "triumphant narrative of American History."[96] Therefore, southern historians viewed the North and South not in terms of empirical differences, but rather as differences between a "collective southern *identity* from national *myths* and American *ideals.*"[97] The North was seen as innately American, whereas the South, and all of its collective memories, was viewed as inherently separate and apart, simultaneously part of the nation and yet not.

The narrative of the "exceptional south" is of particular importance. Cobb notes the popularity of the song "Dixie" among New Yorkers as a reflection of "an already well-established tendency among northern whites to see the South as a primitive and exotic land distinctly apart from the rest of America," with white southerners continued invocation of "Dixie" reflecting the willingness of white southerners to accept and defend "even the most controversial aspects of their region's distinctiveness."[98] The myth of an exceptional south has provided a framework within which white southerners could

[95] Cobb, *Away Down South*, 7.
[96] Matthew D. Lassiter and Joseph Crespino, "Introduction," in *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism*, ed. Matthew D. Lassiter and Joseph Crespino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 8. See also: Jennifer Rae Greason, *Our South: Geographic Fantasy and the Rise of National Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).
[97] Lassiter and Crespino, p. 8
[98] Cobb, *Away Down South*, 1.

portray their “distinctiveness” from the North. In viewing the south as exceptional from the rest of the United States, and the north in particular, white southerners were able to find ways to define what a “southerner” was meant to ideally be. Recent scholarship has rejected this myth of the exceptional south, with Lassiter and Crespino arguing that “most regional characteristics cited as evidence of differences of kind are really differences of degree – such as rates of unionization or immigration, patterns of religiosity or voting behavior, the pace and scale of urbanization or economic change.”[99] The exceptional South, then, seems to be rather un-exceptional.

Following the Civil War, many white southerners felt, rather acutely, that their cultural pride and sense of superiority to the north had been wounded. Throughout the 1860s, northern wealth grew by 50 percent, whereas southern wealth declined by 60 percent; emancipation alone accounted for an economic loss of $3 to $4 billion in enslaved persons that “had been the primary basis for securing agricultural credit in the antebellum era,” as the single greatest source of wealth in the whole country.[100] Not only had white southerners been conquered militarily, but they faced the ruin of their entire economic system. Ultimately, a new, industrial South would be needed to rebuild. In addition, white southerners faced what they viewed as the indignity of Reconstruction. Cobb notes that, despite this hurting regional pride, white southerners “directed their unifying sense of resentment and grievance not against the United States itself, but against the North, which they believed had seized control of the national government and used its armies and instrumentalities to visit all manner of suffering and

[99] Lassiter and Crespino, “Introduction,” 12.
[100] Cobb, *Away Down South*, 67.

indignities on them."[101] In other words, the war still carried on, but by other means. It was the North, in the view of white southerners, that had conquered the South; therefore, it was the North that the South held a bitter animosity towards, not the nation. White southerners firmly believed that they had not voluntarily seceded, but that they had been forced out of the Union by the actions of the North.[102] This insistence, combined with the poor economic conditions and the much-hated policy of Reconstruction, led many white southerners to fight against further "northernization" of the South.

The term "New South" innately implies that the region would be so thoroughly changed that it would be cleanly detached from its history of slavery and war. Cobb cites George Washington Cable, who in an 1882 speech decried the "New South," with its industrializing and "northernizing" nature, as being in actuality a "No South," with the region being "fully assimilated and essentially indistinguishable from the rest of American society."[103] Even as early as 1882, there were discussions about the south "losing" what had made it "exceptional" in favor of becoming more like the states to the north.[104] In a way, the idea of 'southern rock' as a concept defines the issue at large. What is 'southern rock' but music made by southerners, with an occasional lyrical reference to the South? In other words, southern rock as a sub-genre is relatively musically non-distinct – it's significance as a sub-genre comes from a listening public that is deeply invested in perceiving a culturally distinct South.

---

[101] Ibid., 61.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid., 68.
[104] See also: WJ Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1941).; C Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951).

Historians have tended to focus on southern memory as a method of analyzing the enduring legacy of the mythical Lost Cause. They examined the impacts of Confederate monuments, the Stars and Bars, and Lost Cause textbooks, to name a few. Studies of Confederate music have been done, with analysis of songs such as "Dixie" and its legacy upon the American South.[105] Music journalists and scholars have looked at the history of genres such as Southern rock, and written biographies of some of the biggest acts of the 1960s and 70s, largely analyzing one specific act at a time. However, despite the heated political debates of recent years regarding Confederate memory, it seems that there has been little historical analysis of the impacts that decades of Lost Cause ideology have had upon southern sub-genres of music.

This paper aims to rectify that gap; the songs, bands, and genres of the modern "New" South deserve to be analyzed not only as a method of perpetuating southern memory, but also as a means of creating new memories. Alison Landsberg introduced the concept of "prosthetic memory," memory that "emerges at the interface between a person and a historical narrative about the past…the person does not simply apprehend a historical narrative but takes on a more personal, deeply felt memory of a past event through which he or she did not live. The resulting prosthetic memory has the ability to shape that person's subjectivity and politics."[106] Essentially, prosthetic memory means that people can connect emotionally to historical narratives, which can in turn shape their perspectives on the world. The myth of the Lost Cause is certainly a narrative in

[105] See also: Richard B Harwell, *Confederate Music* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950).; *Bugle Resounding: Music and Musicians of the Civil War Era*, ed. Bruce C. Kelley and Mark A. Snell (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004).
[106] Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 2.

which people have and continue to feel deeply about. The prosthetic memory surrounding the Civil War, particularly the Confederacy, has allowed for musicians to base songs upon Lost Cause ideas and concepts, even generations after the Civil War because people still cared about these topics and viewed them as being important to their southern identity. The Lost Cause was (and still is, for many people) meaningful to many southerners, shaping how they viewed the region and its culture as a whole.

MUSIC IN THE 1960s AND 1970s

The political nature of music, including the more stereotypically "low brow" genres like southern rock and country, has been widely debated. While some have dismissed more traditionally southern genres as being conservative or apolitical, the historical record demonstrates that country music, in particular, has been the most politicized genre of music, often used to get politicians elected or to push various issues.[107] Post-World War II there was a rise in the usage of country music in political campaigns, which Peter La Chapelle argues demonstrates the southernization of politics. Despite "country music politics" not being a sole product of the South, La Chapelle notes Henry Ford's usage of the genre in the Midwest.[108] When looking at southern music within the second half of the twentieth century, it is important to note the political ideology embedded in these songs.[109] Charles L. Hughes analyzes "New

[107] Peter La Chapelle, *I'd Fight the World: A Political History of Old-Time, Hillbilly, and Country Music* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019), 3-4.
[108] Ibid., 6.
[109] It is worth noting, as well, that there was a large amount of political pop music that was by no means "southern" in nature, oftentimes not even addressing the issues of the South. This non-southern political pop music spanned genres, from folk to rock & roll to gospel.

Southern Music" throughout the 1970s in *Country Soul*, arguing that "in the aftermath of civil rights turmoil, southern leaders worked to rehabilitate their region's national image by declaring the emergence of a New South that transcended the backwardness of the past and entered a new phase of political relevance an economic culture."[110] These "New" South musicians of the 1960s and 70s would be the leaders and promoters of southern culture on a national (and even international) scale. Just like the New South of the post-Civil War era, leaders of the "New" South of the 1960s and 70s sought to distance the region from its history of racism and discrimination. Of course, this is not to say that everyone wanted to move on from the Old South, as there were people throughout the region (and entire nation, to be frank) who had no issue with the ongoing legacies of racial oppression and white supremacy. For those more progressively minded, however, there would be a promotion of a modern, progressive Southern culture, which would strengthen the South's reputation in the eyes of the world.

This promotion of southern culture through the avenues of musical genres (both new and old) would provide deep meaning for those who tuned in. Music journalist Mark Kemp wrote on his teenage years listening to southern rock: "I didn't realize it at the time, but the feeling of community that southern rock engendered during the early 1970s was the beginning of a healing process – in me and in many southerners of my generation – that continues to this day."[111] Writing from a deeply personal and somewhat sentimental perspective, Kemp describes the southern rock movement as a method for white southerners of his generation (largely the baby boomers) to let go of

[110] Charles L. Hughes, *Country Soul: Making Music and Making Race in the American South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 152-153.
[111] Mark Kemp, *Dixie Lullaby: A Story of Music, Race, and New Beginnings in a New South* (New York: Free Press, 2006), Kindle location 104 of 6549.

their generational “burdens” and disgrace and “go home again” through paths of self-awareness and forgiveness.[112] Kemp noted specifically the role the Allman Brothers played in his personal journey to self-consciousness, citing the importance of being able to relate directly to the big names in music. Writing about the Allman Brothers, Kemp says “They talked like us, they looked like us, they sang about issues and landscapes that we could feel and see, and they performed often enough in cities close to us that we could drive to their shows.”[113] Representation and proximity provided young white listeners the opportunity to connect emotionally to these musicians, which in turn gave listeners the ability to find meaning to find in the lyrics and the bands.

Young white southerners living through the turbulence of the 1960s and 70s were able to find community in these musicians, who largely questioned the traditional *status quo*. Kemp acknowledges in the preface of *Dixie Lullaby* that it might seem inappropriate or offensive to examine the “notion that young southern whites might have suffered emotional trauma as a result of the changes brought about by civil rights legislation,” but argues that the new southern music of the 1960s and 70s were used to help young southern whites process the complicated history of the American South, and what those histories mean for the southern identity.[114] Resmaa Menakem, who writes about trauma from his perspective as a therapist, said of the link between trauma and white supremacy: “In many cases, the body gets stuck in freeze mode, and then develops strategies around this ‘stuckness…’ Over time, these can become embedded in the body as standard ways of surviving and protecting itself. When these strategies

[112] Ibid., Kindle location 136 of 6549.
[113] Ibid., Kindle location 108-117 of 6549.
[114] Ibid., Kindle location 146 of 6549.

are repeated and passed on over generations, they can become the standard responses in individuals, families, communities, and cultures."[115] From this, we can argue that white supremacy perpetuates trauma both outwards and inwards. Southern whites, on some level, understood their responsibility and their role in perpetuating racial violence and oppression – they saw who was doing the physical harm. Because many southern whites would not confront their past and the acknowledge the reality of the South, this history of white supremacy harmed them as well. Ultimately, for Kemp, the music that came out of acts such as Lynyrd Skynyrd, the Allman Brothers, and Charlie Daniels helped create a process of radical self-acceptance for white southerners and the Southern identity. Through the communities of southern rock, Kemp argues, young white southerners were able to forgive themselves for the historical sins of the region.

However, while Kemp views southern rock as a means for white self-forgiveness, it can be argued that these genres were also used as a form of defensive truculence. The 'fuck you' attitude of many southern rock songs and the musicians themselves suggest that, for many, these sub-genres were a method of defending the region from outward attack and scorn. Certainly, not every white southerner felt guilt about the South's slaveholding past. It can be argued that southern rock was then a means for white southerners to feel pride in their region and history while also proclaiming they did not need to be apologetic about it. Those who saw the sub-genre as a way to show unabashed, unashamed regional pride were participating in a type southern nationalism, placing the region and its culture over the rest of the nation as being

[115] Resmaa Menakem, "White Supremacy as a Trauma Response," *Medium*, April 14, 2018, https://medium.com/@rmenakem/white-supremacy-as-a-trauma-response-ce631b82b975.

innately exceptional. Both possibilities (self-forgiving or defensive) are realistic, considering that the reception of a song's message is inherently dependent upon the person. A song might inspire introspection that leads to self-forgiveness in one person, whereas the same song could raise aggressive regional pride with little further contemplation in a different person. Ultimately, it is important to note that southern rock listeners found their own meanings in these songs, connecting how they felt about southern history and identity to the lyrics and bands of the sub-genre.

The "country-soul triangle," the area connecting Memphis and Nashville, Tennessee, and Muscle Shoals, Alabama was crucial to the creation of some of the most long-lasting music of this period. These musicians from the Triangle would become a "favorite metaphor for the contested state of the South in this turbulent era."[116] In particular, Hughes notes that the rhetoric of the New South tended to be strongest around three new musical genres: swamp music, Outlaw country, and southern rock. These sub-genres emerged as an alternative to mainstream country music, which by the 1970s had been associated with the "perceived musical conservatism of the Nashville sound and the overt political conservatism of the New Right."[117] Nashville's music business, the base of mainstream country music, had formed an alliance with New Right politicians as a result of the conservative backlash post- Civil Rights movement that had transformed U.S. politics with the election of Richard Nixon.[118] This was done to make country music the soundtrack of this new conservatism (also, since the 1950s, country music had not widely accepted rock & roll,

[116] Hughes, *Country Soul*, 2.
[117] Ibid., 153.
[118] Ibid., 10.

even as it made room for performers like Elvis Presley and Jerry Lee Lewis). Therefore, the genre was largely seen as having taken an inauthentic turn, particularly by politicians and musical progressives.

If country music had been labeled as conservative and inauthentic, then the new Southern music would seemingly appeal as a progressive alternative. Despite other scholars and journalists labeling the music of the New South as a racially progressive alternative, due largely to the acknowledged influences of Black musicians, Hughes argues that swamp music, Outlaw country, and southern rock were just as segregated as earlier forms. In effect, music coverage and the business erased Black musicians (who were massive inspirations and influences in this new music) by centering white artists firmly at the forefront of the New South recording industry; white musicians went along. Hughes rejects Kemp's progressive narrative of these genres, arguing that whatever "healing process" southern rock, swamp music, and Outlaw country could provide was relatively surface-level, given the highly segregated nature of these genres.[119] Hughes explicitly notes these new music groups appealing to their audiences by using Confederate and Neo-Confederate imagery, arguing that this invocation of the Confederate past was "juxtaposed awkwardly" with their progressive lyrics, and that "No mainstream Nashville country artist of the period used Confederate imagery as enthusiastically."[120]

In examining triangle musicians through a labor-based analysis, Hughes is working to "demystify[y] a story that has been routinely romanticized."[121] Ultimately,

[119] Ibid., 154.
[120] The earlier genres, it is important to note, came about during the Cold War, and were influenced by the politics of their days, being significantly more nationalistic than later genres. Hughes, *Country Soul,* 154.
[121] Ibid., 6.

triangle musicians “literally and figuratively” performed whatever symbolism, both musical and racial, that was most politically and economically expedient at the present moment.[122] Whereas for someone like Kemp, who was able to find a modicum of regional self-acceptance, Hughes argues that this larger understanding was never the true goal of these new music groups. Musicians invoked whatever symbols gave them authenticity and, therefore, power in the music industry. In looking at Kemp’s writing, we can see that young white southerners in the 1960s, 70s, and into the 80s wanted absolution for their southern heritage. New South musicians were able to use that desire to benefit their own acts and goals.

ANALYSIS

In 1970, on the tail end of the Civil Rights movement, the Canadian-born singer-songwriter Neil Young released the song “Southern Man.” Young condemns the South for its legacies of racism in this song, singing: “I saw cotton and I saw black / Tall white mansions and little shacks / Southern man, when will you pay them back? / I heard screamin’ and bullwhips cracking.”[123] “Southern Man” offended many southerners, who felt that Young had mischaracterized the region as an entirely racist place when he sang about “crosses burning fast.”[124] Two years later, Young would expand on “Southern Man” with the song “Alabama,” off the album *Harvest.* “Alabama,” it is important to note, was written during the segregationist George Wallace’s tenure as

[122] Ibid.
[123] “Southern Man,” *Neil Young* (Reprise Records RS 6383, 1970).
[124] Ibid.

Governor of the state. It is with this context that Young sang about “Banjos playing through the broken glass,” and “old folks tied in white robes.” The final verse of the song ends with Young imploring Alabama to fix its racial inequities, singing: “Oh, Alabama / Can I see you and shake your hand / Make friends down in Alabama / I’m from a new land / I come to you and see all this ruin / What are you doing Alabama? / You got the rest of the union to help you along / What’s going wrong?”[125] Neil Young, a non-southerner, had written two songs explicitly calling out the South. More so, Young was not from the South; to many Southerners, he was an outside agitator, and could never truly understand the region and its problems. “Southern Man” and “Alabama” had to be answered in defense of the region.

Ultimately, Neil Young would be answered by a band from Jacksonville, Florida. Lynyrd Skynyrd lead vocalist Ronnie Van Zant, alongside guitarist Gary Rossington and California-born guitarist/bassist Ed King, would write “Sweet Home Alabama,” a song so famous it would be named the number one ‘southern rock’ song by CMT and was put on Alabama license plates decades after the song’s original 1974 release.[126] The band’s highest ever charting song, it would peak at number eight on the Billboard charts in October of 1974.[127] Van Zant and Lynyrd Skynyrd name Young outright, singing: “Well I heard Mister Young sing about her / Well, I head ol’ Neil put her down/ Well, I hope Neil Young will remember / A Southern man don’t need him around anyhow.”[128]

---

[125] “Alabama,” *Neil Young* (Reprise Records MS 2032, 1972).
[126] Libbe Green, “CMT: The Greatest – 20 Greatest Southern Rock Songs,” Television special, *CMT*, 2006.; Bob Carlton, “State’s ‘Sweet Home Alabama’ is No. 1 license plate slogan, survey says: here’s the Top 5,” *AdvanceLocal*, January 6, 2014, https://www.al.com/living/2014/01/states_sweet_home_alabama_is_n.html.
[127] Billboard, “Sweet Home Alabama: Lynyrd Skynyrd,” *Billboard,* accessed 6 May 2023, https://billboard.elpee.jp/single/Sweet%20Home%20Alabama/Lynyrd%20Skynyrd/.
[128] “Sweet Home Alabama,” *Lynyrd Skynyrd* (MCA Records MCA-413, 1974).

Van Zant said of writing “Sweet Home Alabama,” that “We thought Neil was shooting all the ducks in order to kill one or two.”[129] Tom Dupree wrote in a 1974 *Rolling Stone* article that Lynyrd Skynyrd “had now answered Neil Young’s “Southern Man,” vindicating the thousands of kids who were wondering why they didn’t feel guilty about loving life in the Deep South.”[130] Notably, they did so with a ‘fuck-you’ attitude to northerners who would look down at the region, which naturally inspired a regional pride amongst southern listeners.

Perhaps if Ronnie Van Zant, Gary Rossington, and Ed King, the writers of “Sweet Home Alabama,” had stopped there in their answer to Neil Young, the song would be considered less controversial. However, the third verse is notable for the varied interpretations from the band and listeners alike. Sings Van Zant: “In Birmingham they love the governor (Boo, boo, boo) / Now we all did what we could do / Now Watergate does not bother me / Does your conscience bother you? / Tell the truth.”[131] Described by Mark Ribowsky as “the most cryptic sequence of stray thoughts ever in rock,” the verse is ambiguous in who, exactly, it is attacking.[132] Certainly, the line about Watergate attacks northerners who look badly upon the entire south without looking in the mirror themselves, so to speak. However, the line about the governor is one that has been questioned ever since the song’s release. Generally, the band and old friends have toed the more politically progressive line, arguing that the “Boo, boo, boo” represents Van Zant’s rejection of Wallace’s segregationist views and the racism of the south at large;

---

[129] Tom Dupree, “Lynyrd Skynyrd in Sweet Home Atlanta,” *Rolling Stone*, October 24, 1974, https://proxy.wm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/magazines/lynyrd-skynyrd-sweet-home-atlanta/docview/2513185764/se-2.
[130] Ibid.
[131] “Sweet Home Alabama,” *Lynyrd Skynyrd.*
[132] Mark Ribowsky, *Whiskey Bottles and Brand-New Cars: The Fast Life and Sudden Death of Lynyrd Skynyrd* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2015), 108.

certainly, the band's former manager and producer, Al Kooper interpreted the verse as meaning, "We tried to get Wallace out of [office]."[133] This progressive interpretation is made more complicated due to the fact that Ronnie Van Zant, leader of Lynyrd Skynyrd, died in 1977 in a fatal plane crash that killed five others, including band members Steve and Cassie Gaines. Naturally, Van Zant's loved ones would want to portray his memory in the best possible light. While other band members had the gift of time to ruminate on "Sweet Home Alabama" and its meanings, Van Zant is unable to ever contribute to these discussions.

One of the more recent band members to write retrospectively and against the standard story about "Sweet Home Alabama" is co-writer and southern transplant Ed King. In 2009, King wrote on his website:

> I can understand where the 'boo boo boo' would be misunderstood. It's not US going 'boo'… it's what the Southern man hears the Northern man say every time the Southern man'd [*sic*] say "In Birmingham we love the gov'nor". Get it? "We all did what WE could do!" to get Wallace elected. It's not a popular opinion but Wallace stood for the average white guy in the South.[134]

Further complicating the meaning of the song are the perspectives of Merry Clayton and Clydie King, Black back-up singers who sang the controversial "boos." Notably, Clayton would record her own version of "Southern Man" as an independent artist. Clayton describes being asked by King to join the session, replying: "I'm not signing nothing about nobody's sweet home Alabama. Period." Her husband, Curtis, had to talk her into singing, saying that it would be her protest, and Clayton recalled: "I got it. So I said, "Okay, I'm going to go to this session, but you better believe I'm going to be signing

[133] Lee Ballinger, *Lynyrd Skynyrd: An Oral History* (XT377 Publishers: Los Angeles, 1999), 78-79.
[134] Ed King, "Secong Helping," *The Ed King Forum* (blog), December 3, 2009, https://edking.proboards.com/thread/87/secong-helping.

through my teeth 'Sweet Home Alabama.'"[135] Ultimately, the legacy of "Sweet Home Alabama" seems to depend less upon intention, and more upon reception. Clearly, Clayton, a Black musician, viewed "Sweet Home Alabama" in a certain light, with negative connotations. If the song was meant to refute Neil Young's attacks on the entire south as a whole and condemn southern racism, then why was the condemnation so easy to overlook? Why was it not more explicit? Anyone lacking a context on Southern history is likely to hear the phrase "In Birmingham they love the governor," and assume it is a laudatory phrase. Any potential progressivism can be easily overlooked by Neo-Confederates, who gladly view the song as a part of their southern heritage.

Often playing in front of a large Confederate flag and entering the stage to a recording of "Dixie," the band used Confederate imagery to highlight their "southern-ness." However, just like the ambiguity of "Sweet Home Alabama," it is debatable as to who decided to permanently affix the Confederate flag to the band. Ronnie Van Zant "was not prepared to fall on a Confederate sword," when it could easily damage any mainstream appeal the band held outside the South. It is important to remember Lynyrd Skynyrd came to prominence in the 1970s, on the tail end of the Civil Rights movement, during which white supremacists used the Confederate flag to intimidate Black Americans and signal their racist discontent with the Civil Rights movement. Thus, Van Zant began blaming the flag on MCA records, calling it an identity gimmick to help the band as they began: "you know, Southern band, drunken fighters and all that. [MCA] put out that publicity. Hype, nothin' but hype."[136] Gary Rossington, however, maintained that

[135] Sam Adams, "Merry Clayton on *20 Feet From Stardom,* Ray Charles, Lynyrd Skynyrd, and "Gimme Shelter,"" *AV Club*, August 27, 2013, https://www.avclub.com/merry-clayton-on-20-feet-from-stardom-ray-charles-lyn-1798240198.
[136] Lee Ballinger, *Lynyrd Skynyrd: An Oral History*, 64.

the flag became a Skynyrd icon precisely because MCA did *not* care enough to help the band come up with any gimmicks: “MCA didn’t promote us… We were from the South and our audience always had rebel flags… One night we just said, ‘Hey, let’s just get a big one and put it behind us…’ There was no meaning; like the flag means this, or we’re against blacks. We’re just from the South.”[137] Both stories are rather apolitical in nature. That the flag was viewed by the band in both stories as being largely apolitical is significant. Rather than as a symbol of the slaveholding Confederacy or the segregationist movement, it was viewed by the band as a cultural signifier, a way to express their authenticity in being “redneck” rockers. However, just as “Sweet Home Alabama” demonstrated, the question of reception remains more significant than intention. Many southern white listeners would view the band’s usage of the flag as a vindication of their “southern heritage,” while others (such as people of color, in addition to audiences outside the American South) would be much more likely to view the flag as a painful reminder of racial oppression.

After the deadly 1977 plane crash, Lynyrd Skynyrd took a decade hiatus, with the surviving members choosing instead to work on other projects. However, in 1987, the band would return, this time with Ronnie Van Zant’s younger brother, Johnny, taking over as lead singer. Originally meant to be a one-time tribute, the new and returned Lynyrd Skynyrd would eventually begin making new original albums, including 1993’s *The Last Rebel*. Much like the Lynyrd Skynyrd of the 1970s, the newly reformed band would use Confederate memory in their new music. The album cover looks like an antique photograph from the Civil War, depicting a figure, presumably a soldier,

[137] Ibid.

slumped on the ground, possibly dead or asleep, holding a rifle near a horse. The album's title track, "The Last Rebel," tells the story of the aforementioned "last rebel on the road": "Just a boy with his old guitar / Keeps to himself but everybody takes him wrong / But he carries on / Got a dream that will never die / Can't change him, no use in stayin' where you don't belong… There'll never be another like him / He's the last of a dying breed."[138] The song invokes the memory of Confederate "rebels" to discuss fears of the South losing what made the region and its people so separate from the rest of the nation – the "rebels" were dying out. Southern culture, as framed in the song, was slowly dying. Rather interestingly, the song also addresses those who would attack the "rebel," saying that "everybody takes him wrong." The rebel figure is someone glorified in the song, worthy of honor in his steadfast resolution to never change, despite society continually misunderstanding him. "The Last Rebel," in this way, is Lynyrd Skynyrd trying, yet again, to address people who do not or refuse to understand southerners.

Lynyrd Skynyrd, however, was not the only band to use the rebel imagery. Charlie Daniels and his eponymous Band, musical contemporaries and close friends of Lynyrd Skynyrd, used Confederate imagery in their music to define what being a southerner entailed. The song "The South's Gonna Do It (Again,)" released the same year as "Sweet Home Alabama," mentions some of the biggest names in southern rock from the period, including the Marshall Tucker Band, Lynyrd Skynyrd, and ZZ Top. Invoking these other southern acts, Daniels then sings: "Well you can be proud, hear now / Be

[138] "The Last Rebel," *Lynyrd Skynyrd* (Atlantic 7 82447-2, 1993). Also noteworthy is the fact that, the second verse of *The Last Rebel*, is about original Lynyrd Skynyrd member Gary Rossington, the only original member still in the band in 1993. The association of Rossington, a survivor of the crash, with the "Last Rebel" figure, cloaked in Confederate imagery, is significant, demonstrating how members of the band thought of themselves in relation to Southern memory. See also: Classic Rock Magazine, "Lynyrd Skynyrd: The Last Rebel – Album Of The Week Club Review," *Louder Sound,* March 19, 2023, https://www.loudersound.com/reviews/lynyrd-skynyrd-the-last-rebel-album-of-the-week-club-review.

proud you're a Rebel / 'Cause the South's gonna do it again and again."[139] The South "doing it again," is inherently a reference to the Lost Cause rallying cry by southern whites after the Civil War, that "the South will rise again." However, in the context of the song itself, it is relatively apparent that what the South will "do again" is not rise up and fight another war, but rather produce more musical acts that the region could be proud of. The reference is still noteworthy, given that Daniels urges southern listeners to be proud of their "rebel" reputation. In a way, Daniels seemed to be drawing a parallel between the Confederate "rebels" and modern Southerners – to be Southern was to be a proud rebel. Curiously enough, Charlie Daniels never truly defines what a modern-day rebel was, or what they should be rebelling against. Likely, anything that was not southern. In invoking a Confederate past, there is a certain image of who, exactly, can be a proud rebel; obviously, Black southerners were far less likely to be proud of the Confederacy.[140]

Importantly, one group saw Daniel's song as a particular dog-whistle: the Ku Klux Klan. In 1975, the Klan used the song as background music for the promotion of Louisiana Rallies.[141] What Daniels sang about was appealing to the Klan, something that could be used in recruiting other white Southerners who wanted to see the South "do it again." The song encouraged the South to rise again, and in telling listeners to be proud of their rebel history, it was inherently excluding Black southerners. Daniels did speak out against the Klan's unauthorized usage: "I'm damn proud of the South, but I

[139] "The South's Gonna Do it (Again)," *The Charlie Daniels Band* (Kama Sutra KSBS 2603, 1974).
[140] Christopher A. Cooper and H. Gibbs Knotts, "Region, Race, and Support for the South Carolina Confederate Flag," *Social Science Quarterly,* March 2006, Vol. 87, No. 1, 142-154, https://www.jstor.org/stable/42956114.
[141] Billboard, "KKK Lashed By Daniels On Song Use," *World Radio History,* December 20, 1975, https://worldradiohistory.com/hd2/IDX-Business/Music/Billboard-Index/IDX/1975/1975-12-20-Billboard-Page-0004.pdf.

sure as hell am not proud of the Ku Klux Klan."[142] Despite the legacy of white supremacy entwined with a phrase such as "the South will rise again," it was still a part of a Southern heritage that Charlie Daniels was willing to invoke. However, the Klan was not part of the heritage that Daniels would allow to share in this regional pride, whether it was born from a true disdain for such blatant white supremacy or motivated by public relations. "I wrote the song about the land I love and my brothers. It was not written to promote hate groups," said Daniels.[143] His statement claimed to separate the southern land and people Daniels loved so dearly from hate groups, and yet Daniels did not show it. Daniels wrote the song to promote the South and southern identity. The Klan had a very similar goal in using the song. Appealing to southern nationalism by promoting rebel pride and "doing it again," it seems, is almost impossible to distinguish from the nationalism of hate groups.

Rather, "The South's Gonna Do It (Again)" was viewed by many to be a song about claiming the southern past for a progressive future. It was used by Jimmy Carter in his 1976 presidential campaign. Peaking on the *Billboard Magazine* charts at number twenty-nine and spending ten weeks in the Top 100, "The South's Gonna Do It (Again)" helped further Carter's campaign, along with performances from the Charlie Daniels Band and other southern rock bands.[144] Jimmy Carter, a peanut farmer from Georgia, was appealing to many southern rockers – he inherently understood the southern man more than any other contemporary politician. Said Daniels about the Carter campaign in the wake of Watergate: "[Carter] didn't win by a landslide, he just slid in there and everybody,

[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Billboard, "The Charlie Daniels Band: Chart History," *Billboard,* accessed 6 May 2023, https://www.billboard.com/artist/the-charlie-daniels-band/.

even if they didn't agree with his politics, at least knew he could be trusted. That was a big, big thing at the time. It's something this country desperately needed."[145]

Carter was able to use southern rockers to draw potential donors and voters in. Said Carter, "If it hadn't been for a few people like [Daniels], I couldn't have won any of the early primaries. I wouldn't have had the money to finance my campaign."[146] Southern rockers supported Carter *en masse*, with groups such as the Allman Brothers and Lynyrd Skynyrd playing in support of the future president.[147] Due to both his personality and his status as a southerner, southern rockers threw their hat in for Carter, despite any personal politics – region trumped personal beliefs. The 1976 campaign of Jimmy Carter, according to Daniels, "chang[ed] the way people viewed the South. Everything was changing. All eyes turned to the South, man. The eyes of the United States turned in a southerly direction, and it was good, at least for a while."[148] With Jimmy Carter at the helm, "The South's Gonna Do It (Again)" seemed more of a song about southern progress rather than harkening back to the old antebellum South. However, just as the progressive nature of southern rock has been debated, Carter's presidential progressivism is also questionable, with Peter La Chapelle noting that Carter "was seen in his day as something of a social conservative among economically liberal

---

[145] Mark Kemp, *Dixie Lullaby*, Kindle location 2479 of 6549.
[146] Matt Yancey, "Charlie Daniels concert helps Carter," *The Hattiesburg American*, 18 May 1976. https://www.newspapers.com/image/277247388/?fcfToken=eyJhbGciOiJIUzI1NiIsInR5cCI6IkpXVCJ9.eyJmcmVlLXZpZXctaWQiOjI3NzI0NzM4OCwiaWF0IjoxNjgyODcxMzMxLCJleHAiOjE2ODI5NTc3MzF9.lr_EJ1IG1STrjhb1-cBVo3y2Pxz1J2Pp47QXkAW9400.
[147] Notably, a performance headlined by Skynyrd was nearly derailed by Van Zant being extremely intoxicated and unable to perform. See also: Charles Bethea, "Jimmy Carter's Rock-And-Roll Legacy," *The New Yorker*, March 27, 2023, https://www.newyorker.com/news/letter-from-the-south/jimmy-carters-rock-and-roll-legacy#:~:text=Beard%20helped%20put%20on%20concerts,deputy%20assistant%20to%20the%20President.
[148] Mark Kemp, *Dixie Lullaby*, Kindle location 2498 of 6549.

Democrats," but he gained an increasingly liberal reputation due to his postpresidential actions.[149] The liberal, racially progressive nature of those who created this music, as well as those who used these anthems, is seemingly less straightforward than one would expect.

Nearly a decade after the release of "The South's Gonna Do It (Again)" came an extremely similar song, albeit much more straightforward in invoking the Confederate past. Hank Williams Jr.'s 1982 song, "The South's Gonna Rattle Again" takes inspiration from Daniels, again noting all the big names in Southern music, such as Merle Haggard, George Jones, Dolly Parton, and Charlie Daniels himself. Sings Williams Jr.,: "Yeah the South's gonna rattle again / We got some big silver eagles / And we're flying through Dixie land / You can bet I'll brag on that rebel flag / You can damn well count me in / The ground's gonna shake like a rattle snake / And the southern man's fightin' again / Yeah, we're gonna shake and rattle again."[150] In 1988, Williams Jr. would become even more explicit with "If The South Woulda Won," singing about how good life would be if the South had won the Civil War, noting all the changes the states of the Confederacy and Kentucky would have made. Sings Williams Jr.: "Oh if the South woulda won / We woulda had it made / I'd probably run for President / Of the southern States / The day young Skynyrd died / We'd show our southern pride / If the South woulda won / We woulda had it made / "Play a little Dixieland boys, ah yes.""[151] Williams Jr. paints Lynyrd Skynyrd as a symbol of southern pride, over a decade after the deadly plane crash, which further demonstrates the band's status of importance in the larger southern

[149] La Chapelle, *I'd Fight the World*, 244.
[150] "The South's Gonna Rattle Again," *Hank Williams, Jr.* (Elektra E1-60100, 1982).
[151] "If The South Woulda Won," *Hank Williams, Jr.* (Warner Bros. Records 1-25725, 1988).

identity. Notably, Williams Jr. does not define the "we" that "would have had it made" had the south won the Civil War. Given that there is no mention of the Confederate cause of slavery that would have continued had the Confederacy won the war, it is easy enough to imagine who Williams Jr. pictures with that royal "we," and it is not a diverse populace. This is perhaps the most blatant perpetuation of the Lost Cause through music, as Williams Jr. is inherently portraying the Confederacy as a just and moral cause, with its failure ruining the South and the nation at large for decades. The song demonstrates the inherent resentment and incoherence at the heart of Williams Jr.'s view of Southern history. Both songs, it is worth mentioning, were made and released in the 1980s during the Reagan administration, which "brought neoconservatism into the mainstream," which in turn gave space for figures such as Williams Jr. to express their thoughts on Southern history and identity.[152]

It is important to note that not every musician who invoked a Confederate past in their music came from the southern rock tradition. The Band, a Canadian-American rock band, was made up of Canadians Rick Danko, Garth Hudson, Richard Manuel, and Robbie Robertson, with Levon Helm as the sole American member. Their most popular songs included "The Weight," "Up on Cripple Creek," and, most importantly for this paper, "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down." Released in 1969, the song tells the fictional story of a poor white southerner by the name of Virgil Caine in the last year of the Civil War, when George Stoneman was raiding southwest Virginia: "Virgil Caine is the name / And I served on the Danville train / 'Til Stoneman's cavalry came / And tore up the tracks again… Like my father before me / I will work the land / And like my

[152] Joseph Darda, *How White Men Won the Culture Wars: A History of Veteran America* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2021), 150.

brother above me / Who took a rebel stand / He was just eighteen, proud and brave / But a Yankee laid him in his grave."[153] "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down," was written not by the Arkansas-born Levon Helm, but rather Robbie Robertson, an indigenous Canadian, who often went to visit family at the Six Nations Reserve.[154] In his 2016 memoir, *Testimony*, Robertson recalls writing "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down," saying:

> I flashed back to when [Levon Helm] first took me to meet his parents in Marvell, Arkansas, and his daddy said, "Don't worry Robin – the South is going to rise again." I told Levon I wanted to write lyrics about the Civil War from a southern family's point of view. "Don't mention Abraham Lincoln in the lyrics" was his only advice. "That won't go down too well…" I asked him drive me to the Woodstock library so I could do a little research on the Confederacy. They didn't teach that stuff in Canadian schools.[155]

Levon Helm, The Band's lone southerner, recalled the writing of the song in his 1993 memoir as well: "Robbie and I worked on "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down" up in Woodstock. I remember taking him to the library so he could research the history and geography of the era for the lyrics and make General Robert E. Lee come out with all due respect."[156] The Band was not a southern band by any definition, but it is still significant that Robertson turned to the American Civil War. It is likely that Robertson understood the weight of American nostalgia for the Civil War and the embeddedness of the Lost Cause, something he saw in his interaction with Helm's father, even though he might not have understood the conflict and its legacies himself. Even more significant is the advice of Helm, warning Robertson to avoid mention of Lincoln and to give Lee

---

[153] "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down," *The Band* (Capitol Records STAO-132, 1969).
[154] Robbie Robertson, *Testimony* (New York: Crown Archetype, 2016), Foreword.
[155] Ibid., 333.
[156] Levon Helm and Stephen Davis, *This Wheel's on Fire: Levon Helm and the Story of the Band* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1993), 188.

respect. This advice from Helm was partly born out of the legacy of the Lost Cause; Lee had to be respected and therefore honored. Additionally, invoking Lincoln in a song from a southern family's point of view would only bring about controversy and criticism from whichever direction Robertson went, likely harming The Band's reputation and their bottom line.

Interestingly, the meaning of "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down" has been debated. Jack Hamilton argued that "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down" is an anti-war song, responding more to the contemporaneous, unpopular Vietnam war rather than the century-prior Civil War. The song peaked at number three in the U.S. Billboard Hot 100 charts with a cover by Joan Baez, an artist associated with the Civil Rights movement and anti-war protests, which certainly lends credence to the concept of the song as an anti-war song.[157] "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down," then, "is a song that attempts to grapple with the experience of war for those who are asked to give themselves up as collateral damage for the powerful, a central concern of the Vietnam-era anti-war movement," more in line with Creedence Clearwater Revival's "Fortunate Son" than "Dixie."[158] However, whether or not the song was meant to be about Vietnam is, arguably, less important. To quote Hamilton, "songs don't get to choose to whom they mean what," and "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down" has been perceived by many to be a neo-Confederate anthem.[159] Ta-Nehisi Coates, for example, wrote about his perception of "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down": "I started to play the song

[157] Billboard, "Joan Baez: Chart History," *Billboard,* accessed 6 May 2023, https://www.billboard.com/artist/joan-baez/.
[158] Jack Hamilton, "The Troublesome Case of "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down,"" *Slate*, August 13, 2020, https://slate.com/culture/2020/08/night-they-drove-old-dixie-down-band-confederate.html.
[159] Ibid.

yesterday, and stopped myself. Again, I was angry. Again, another story about the blues of Pharoah, and the people are invisible. The people are always invisible."[160] Coates wrote not about his anger at an anti-war song, but rather anger directed towards a song mourning the Confederate cause and the Old South. Again, reception matters more than intention. However, despite the song not mentioning slavery outright, the lyrics "The night they drove old Dixie down / And the bells were ringing / The night they drove old Dixie down / And all the people were singing / They went "Na, na, la, na, na, la," could potentially be read in a celebratory light, with the "na na na's" being viewed as code for liberation.[161] Certainly, this perspective would be more in line with a reading of "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down" as an anti-war song. Due to the vagueness of the song's intentions regarding deeper meaning, it is easy to see how receptions can be skewed based on a listener's own background, experiences, and temporalities.

Joan Baez was not the only musician to cover one of The Band's classics. Additionally, "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down" has been covered by prominent southern musicians such as the Charlie Daniels Band, the Allman Brothers, and Johnny Cash. More recently, in 2020 Early James, a singer-songwriter from Alabama made headlines in *Rolling Stone* when he sang at a tribute performance for The Band, changing Robertson's original lyrics. Before he began the song, James said "I hope we piss off the right people by changing these words," before launching into his version.[162] Instead of being mournful about Dixie's downfall, James is advocating the death of the

[160] Ta-Nehisi Coates, "Virginia," *The Atlantic,* August 17, 2009, https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2009/08/virginia/23415/.
[161] "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down," *The Band.*
[162] Simon Vozick-Levinson, "Can 'The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down' Be Redeemed?" *Rolling Stone,* August 6, 2020, https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-country/night-they-drove-old-dixie-down-early-james-interview-1036886/.

Lost Cause. Sings James: "*Tonight*, we drive old Dixie down," with the final verse being revised as such: "Unlike my father before me, who I will never understand / Unlike the others below me, who took a rebel stand / Depraved and powered to enslave / I think it's time we laid hate in its grave / I swear by the mud below my feet / That monument won't stand, no matter how much concrete."[163] James, like Coates, views the song as something mourning the Confederacy and Lost Cause; rather than participating in that perpetuation, he changes the lyrics to take a stand against the Confederate cause and legacies of racial oppression throughout the South. Perhaps James' rendition is made more powerful because he is southern himself. Unlike Neil Young, who critiqued southern racism from a northern perspective, James is from "Sweet Home Alabama" – he understands the region in an inherently personal manner. While the repossession of songs can be a gamble, the reception to James' changes was relatively positive. It must be noted, however, that this performance occurred as a live-stream due to 2020 Covid-19 restrictions, likely cutting off a large portion of those who would have reacted loudly and negatively. Still, the positive reception from *Rolling Stone* points to the power behind James' re-writes.

CONCLUSION

It is necessary to mention that southern musicians did not need to appeal to the Confederate past and the myth of the Lost Cause in order to define an authentic southern identity or to inspire pride throughout the region. Loretta Lynn's "Coal Miner's

[163] Ibid.

Daughter" expressed pride in the hard, honest work of her parents back home in Butcher Holler, Kentucky, while Dolly Parton's "My Tennessee Mountain Home" showed a deep love of the people and the beauty of Tennessee, where "life is as peaceful as a baby's sigh."[164] Some bands, especially in the more recent decades, have actively used their music to examine the repercussions of the long legacy of the Lost Cause in Southern genres of music. The Drive-By Truckers, for example, have used the song "The Southern Thing" to examine the "Duality of the southern thing," singing: "Ain't about no hatred, better raise a glass / It's a little about some rebels but it ain't about the past / Ain't about no foolish pride, ain't about no flag / Hate's the only thing that my truck would want to drag."[165]

This study has only looked in-depth at the music of white men, and this is, perhaps, its greatest limitation. With more research, we can uncover the role played by gender in the perpetuation of the Lost Cause in southern music. Given the role of groups such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy in furthering and enshrining the Lost Cause in the public consciousness, a study focused on female musicians would be of particular importance. Future studies would also benefit from a comparison with what Black artists of the same period were or were not saying about the Lost Cause and southern identity in their music. Ultimately, this paper is meant to open the door to a new avenue of inquiry for those researching the Lost Cause and its legacies in the more recent years.

---

[164] "Coal Miner's Daughter," *Loretta Lynn* (Decca DL 75253, 1970).; "My Tennessee Mountain Home," *Dolly Parton* (RCA Victor APL1-0033, 1973).

[165] "The Southern Thing," *Drive-By Truckers* (Soul Dump Records SDR-005, 2001). Notably, *Southern Rock Opera* also contains the song "Ronnie and Neil," about Neil Young's "Southern Man" and "Alabama," with "Sweet Home Alabama" as a response. The song mentions southern outrage at Young, but also how Young and Van Zant had no real feud but were just speaking their minds on what they felt.

Fundamentally, it is significant that musicians such as Lynyrd Skynyrd, Charlie Daniels, Hank Williams Jr., and The Band turned to a Confederate memory in their music. Significant as well is the reception of these songs, with many considering them to be classics and iconic even today, despite more vocal pushes to reckon with the South's Confederate history. These songs were successful and helped to create a picture of what a "real southerner" was: a rebel with a deep-held pride in his region and his history, who would give a "fuck you" attitude to any northerners who dared to judge. These songs allowed for young, white southerners to feel pride in where they came from. In doing so they ignored the complicated legacies the Civil War, oversimplifying the Confederate cause to one of rebellion rather than slavery and racism while also ignoring the Confederate rebels held up as exemplars for authentic "southern-ness" were overwhelmingly white men. This is not to say that this perpetuation was done so on purpose, with a malicious intent – for most of the artists mentioned in this paper, it is hard to believe they thought particularly hard about their lyrics and the legacies of what they were saying. However, that shows how deeply engrained the concepts of the Lost Cause and white supremacy were. Writing the "New Dixies," or the anthems of the South, meant writing about the Confederacy and the rebels who fought for it. The best way to show pride, then, was to be a rebel, too.

Bibliography

Adams, Sam. “Merry Clayton on *20 Feet From Stardom,* Ray Charles, Lynyrd Skynyrd, and “Gimme Shelter.”” *AV Club*. August 27, 2013. https://www.avclub.com/merry-clayton-on-20-feet-from-stardom-ray-charles-lyn-1798240198.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso Books, revised 2016.

Ballinger, Lee. *Lynyrd Skynyrd: An Oral History.* XT377 Publishers: Los Angeles, 1999.

Bethea, Charles. “Jimmy Carter’s Rock-And-Roll Legacy.” *The New Yorker*. March 27, 2023. https://www.newyorker.com/news/letter-from-the-south/jimmy-carters-rock-and-roll-legacy#:~:text=Beard%20helped%20put%20on%20concerts,deputy%20assistant%20to%20the%20President.

Billboard. “Joan Baez: Chart History.” *Billboard.* Accessed 6 May 2023. https://www.billboard.com/artist/joan-baez/.

Billboard. “KKK Lashed By Daniels On Song Use.” *World Radio History.* December 20, 1975. https://worldradiohistory.com/hd2/IDX-Business/Music/Billboard-Index/IDX/1975/1975-12-20-Billboard-Page-0004.pdf.

Billboard. “The Charlie Daniels Band: Chart History.” *Billboard.* Accessed 6 May 2023, https://www.billboard.com/artist/the-charlie-daniels-band/.

Billboard. “Sweet Home Alabama: Lynyrd Skynyrd.” *Billboard.* Accessed 6 May 2023, https://billboard.elpee.jp/single/Sweet%20Home%20Alabama/Lynyrd%20Skynyrd/.

Brundage, W. Fitzhugh. “No Deed But Memory.” In *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity*. Edited by W. Fitzhugh Brundage, 1-29. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Carlton, Bob. “State’s ‘Sweet Home Alabama’ is No. 1 license plate slogan, survey says: here’s the Top 5.” *AdvanceLocal*. January 6, 2014. https://www.al.com/living/2014/01/states_sweet_home_alabama_is_n.html.

Coates, Ta-Nehisi. “Virginia.” *The Atlantic.* August 17, 2009. https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2009/08/virginia/23415/.

Cobb, James C. *Away Down South.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Connerton, Paul. *The Spirit of Mourning.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Cooper, Christopher A. and H. Gibbs Knotts. “Region, Race, and Support for the South Carolina Confederate Flag.” *Social Science Quarterly.* March 2006, Vol. 87, No. 1, 142-154. https://www.jstor.org/stable/42956114.

Cooper, Matthew. “Gregg Allman: Southern Pride Without the Confederacy.” *Newsweek,* May 28, 2017. https://www.newsweek.com/gregg-allman-allman-brothers-band-allman-brothers-greg-allman-dies-music-617008.

Darda, Joseph. *How White Men Won the Culture Wars: A History of Veteran America.* Oakland: University of California Press, 2021.

Dupree, Tom. “Lynyrd Skynyrd in Sweet Home Atlanta.” *Rolling Stone*, October 24, 1974. https://proxy.wm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/magazines/lynyrd-skynyrd-sweet-home-atlanta/docview/2513185764/se-2.

Green, Libbe. “CMT: The Greatest – 20 Greatest Southern Rock Songs.” Television special. *CMT*, 2006.

Hamilton, Jack. “The Troublesome Case of “The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down.”” *Slate*. August 13, 2020. https://slate.com/culture/2020/08/night-they-drove-old-dixie-down-band-confederate.html.

Helm, Levon and Stephen Davis. *This Wheel’s on Fire: Levon Helm and the Story of the Band.* Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1993.

Hughes, Charles L. *Country Soul: Making Music and Making Race in the American South.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

Kemp, Mark. *Dixie Lullaby: A Story of Music, Race, and New Beginnings in a New South.* New York: Free Press, 2006. Kindle.

King, Ed. “Secong Helping.” *The Ed King Forum* (Blog). December 3, 2009. https://edking.proboards.com/thread/87/secong-helping.

La Chapelle, Peter. *I’d Fight the World: A Political History of Old-Tine, Hillbilly, and Country Music.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019.

Landsberg, Alison. *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Lassiter, Matthew D. and Joseph Crespino. “Introduction.” In *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism*. Edited by Matthew D. Lassiter and Joseph Crespino. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Menakem, Resmaa. “White Supremacy as a Trauma Response.” *Medium*, April 14, 2018. https://medium.com/@rmenakem/white-supremacy-as-a-trauma-response-ce631b82b975.

Ribowsky, Mark. *Whiskey Bottles and Brand-New Cars: The Fast Life and Sudden Death of Lynyrd Skynyrd.* Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2015.

Robertson, Robbie. *Testimony.* New York: Crown Archetype, 2016.

Sacks, Howard L. and Judith Rose Sacks. *Way Up North in Dixie: A Black Family's Claim to the Confederate Anthem*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993.

Vozick-Levinson, Simon. "Can 'The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down' Be Redeemed?" *Rolling Stone.* August 6, 2020. https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-country/night-they-drove-old-dixie-down-early-james-interview-1036886/.

Yancey, Matt. "Charlie Daniels concert helps Carter." *The Hattiesburg American*. 18 May 1976. https://www.newspapers.com/image/277247388/?fcfToken=eyJhbGciOiJIUzI1NiIsInR5cCI6IkpXVCJ9.eyJmcmVlLXZpZXctaWQiOjI3NzI0NzM4OCwiaWF0IjoxNjgyODcxMzMxLCJleHAiOjE2ODI5NTc3MzF9.lr_EJ1IG1STrjhb1-cBVo3y2Pxz1J2Pp47QXkAW9400.

Songs Cited

"Alabama." *Neil Young.* Reprise Records MS 2032, 1972.

"Coal Miner's Daughter." *Loretta Lynn*. Decca DL 75253, 1970.

"Dixie on My Mind." *Hank Williams, Jr.* Elektra 6E-330, 1981.

"If The South Woulda Won." *Hank Williams, Jr.* Warner Bros. Records 1-25725, 1988.

"My Tennessee Mountain Home." *Dolly Parton.* RCA Victor APL1-0033, 1973.

"Southern Man." *Neil Young.* Reprise Records RS 6383, 1970.

"Sweet Home Alabama." *Lynyrd Skynyrd.* MCA Records MCA-413, 1974.

“The Last Rebel.” *Lynyrd Skynyrd.* Atlantic 7 82447-2, 1993.

“The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down.” *The Band.* Capitol Records STAO-132, 1969.

“The South’s Gonna Do it (Again).” *The Charlie Daniels Band.* Kama Sutra KSBS 2603, 1974.

“The South’s Gonna Rattle Again.” *Hank Williams, Jr.* Elektra E1-60100, 1982.

“The Southern Thing.” *Drive-By Truckers.* Soul Dump Records SDR-005, 2001.