

Stony Brook University



OFFICIAL COPY

The official electronic file of this thesis or dissertation is maintained by the University Libraries on behalf of The Graduate School at Stony Brook University.

© All Rights Reserved by Author.

Bildung Culture:
Elite Popular Music and the American University, 1960–2010

A Dissertation Presented

by

David Kenneth Blake

to

The Graduate School

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

(Music History/Theory)

Stony Brook University

May 2014

Stony Brook University

The Graduate School

David Kenneth Blake

We, the dissertation committee for the above candidate for the
Doctor of Philosophy degree, hereby recommend
acceptance of this dissertation.

Peter Winkler – Dissertation Advisor
Professor, Music

Judith Lochhead – Chairperson of Defense
Professor, Music

Stephen Decatur Smith – Committee Member
Assistant Professor, Music

Robert Fink – Outside Reader
Professor, Department of Music, University of California-Los Angeles

This dissertation is accepted by the Graduate School

Charles Taber
Dean of the Graduate School

Abstract of the Dissertation

***Bildung* Culture: Elite Popular Music and the American University, 1960–2010**

by

David Kenneth Blake

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music History and Theory

Stony Brook University

2014

Milton Babbitt's 1958 article "The Composer as Specialist" (in)famously aligned the scientific aspirations of avant-garde art music with the university's mission of disinterested research. More recently, musicologists have criticized the alleged resultant hermitage of modernist styles within academia by asserting universities' separation from "public" musical culture. However, the growth of the American university in terms of population and social power since the mid-twentieth century has enlarged rather than mitigated the institution's societal influence. While universities have traditionally been associated with art music rather than popular music scenes, changes in demography, curricula, and student life over the past half-century have connected university culture with non-mainstream popular musics.

This dissertation examines the influence of American universities in the creation of elite forms of traditional and rock music. I use the term "elite popular music" to describe popular music genres that, through aesthetic criticism and social privilege, have been intellectually differentiated and culturally elevated from other popular musics instead associated with mass culture. I show how campus musicians and audiences found the university to house the appropriate intellectual tools to cultivate their ideas about how to critically discuss, create, and listen to popular music. In particular,

the primary means of cultivating elite popular music derived from liberal arts education, especially cultural criticism and the ethics of self-development, or *Bildung*. This dissertation covers four case studies that discuss popular musics on American campuses as extensions and applications of liberal arts culture: 1960s folk music at the University of Illinois and Indiana University; 1970s ethnomusicology of Native American music at UCLA and Wesleyan; 1980s college rock at the University of Georgia; and 2000s indie rock at Yale and Columbia. By examining discourses and performances through the dispositions, privileges, and geographies of the American university, this dissertation demonstrates how the intellectual and cultural politics of elite popular music reflect the central ethics and tensions of liberal arts education: between universality and privilege, commercial and critical success, and individual development and social acquiescence.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Case Studies	13
<i>Bildung</i> , Criticism, and Nineteenth-Century American Higher Education	20
University Culture in the Age of Mass Culture	29
Elite Popular Music and University Transformations since 1950	35
Chapter 2: <i>Bildung</i> Traditions: Campus Folksong Clubs and Folk Music Criticism at the University of Illinois and Indiana University	42
Urbana-Champaign, Bloomington, and the Geography of Folk Music Study	44
Tradition as Minority Culture	53
Performing Traditions: Folksong Club Concerts	57
Printing Traditions: <i>Autobarp</i> and <i>Blue Yodel</i>	69
Recording Traditions: The University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Record Label	77
Conclusion: The Ethics of Overemphasis	87
Chapter 3: <i>Bildung</i> Indigeneity: Ethnomusicology and the Scholarly Representation of Native American Music, 1974–1980	91
Ethnomusicologists, Native Americans, and Colonialism	95
“Anthropologists and Other Friends”: Red Power Critiques	101
New Music, New Ethnomusicology: Heth and McAllester	107
Performing Indigeneity: Jimersen at Wesleyan, Yazzie Sr. at UCLA	112
Speaking for Itself: <i>Songs of Earth, Fire, Water and Sky</i> (1976)	123
McAllester’s “New Indian Music” (1976)	130
Conclusion	137
Chapter 4: <i>Bildung</i> Scenes: College Rock in Athens, Georgia	140
Theorizing the College Rock Scene	143
Athens as Institutional and Dispositional Geography	148
The Athens Scene and the Athens Sound	156
Broadcasting the Scene: WUOG	167
<i>Athens, GA: Inside Out</i>	178
Conclusion	185

Chapter 5: <i>Bildung</i> Omnivores: Inclusive Taste and Higher Education in Vampire Weekend and Dirty Projectors	188
From Bourgeois Highbrow to Petit Bourgeois Omnivore.....	191
Omnivory and Higher Education: Vampire Weekend and Dirty Projectors	198
Vampire Weekend, “A-Punk,” “Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa,” and “M79”	203
Omnivory as Critical Juxtaposition	210
Dirty Projectors, “What I See” and “Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie”	217
Omnivory as Remediated Incorporation.....	224
Conclusion: The Omnivore’s Dilemma	232
Epilogue: The Rhetoric of Crisis and Elite Popular Music.....	235
Bibliography	247

List of Figures

Figure 2.1: Kandee Trefil, “Ethnics vs. Folkniks,” first page.....	76
Figure 2.2: <i>Green Fields of Illinois</i> , front cover.....	84
Figure 3.1: Avery Jimersen, honoring song for Wesleyan University written for his residency at Wesleyan on February 22, 1974.....	115
Figure 3.2: Floyd Westerman, “Here Come the Anthros,” chorus melody and chords	132
Figure 4.1: Map of Athens, Georgia downtown and campus areas	155
Figure 4.2: Pylon, “Cool,” beginning of verse 1.....	164
Figure 4.3: R.E.M., “Wolves, Lower,” verse guitar riff.....	165
Figure 5.1: Vampire Weekend, “A-Punk,” verse and chorus.....	205
Figure 5.2: Vampire Weekend, “A-Punk,” video screenshot.....	205
Figure 5.3: Vampire Weekend, “Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa,” verse riff.....	207
Figure 5.4: Vampire Weekend, “Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa,” chorus.....	207
Figure 5.5: Vampire Weekend, “M79,” instrumental riff.....	209
Figure 5.6: Dirty Projectors, “What I See,” form chart	221
Figure 5.7: Dirty Projectors, “Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie,” chorus 1 vocal flourish.....	221
Figure 5.8: Dirty Projectors, “Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie,” hocket.....	221
Figure 5.9: Black Flag, “Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie,” chorus	221
Figure 5.10: Comparative form chart, Black Flag, “Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie” and Dirty Projectors, “Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie”	223

Acknowledgments

This dissertation would not have been possible without the help of many people. First, I would like to thank my committee for their hard work. Peter Winkler and Judith Lochhead have combined to help steer this project from its rather unwieldy origins to its final, manageably broad state. Peter has continually provided tough feedback with a keen eye to what I should be arguing, and compelled me to productively rethink and revise my project. Judy's comments have in turn helped surface and streamline the argumentative structure of each chapter. Conversations with both Stephen Decatur Smith and Robert Fink have also helped clarify my arguments, and their prodding questions during the defense have suggested fruitful argumentative lines for future iterations of this project. A number of other faculty, especially Ryan Minor, Mauro Calcagno, Raiford Guins, and (from Syracuse) Theo Cateforis, have also provided invaluable insights.

Second, I wish to thank those who provided me with institutional and library assistance. During the summer of 2010, I received a grant from the Mellon Foundation for a dissertation seminar offered through the Stony Brook Humanities Institute. Peter Manning was instrumental for organizing the seminar and fostering rich dialogues that helped shape my theoretical approach during the early stages of my dissertation. The grant monies for that seminar helped fund research trips to various American research centers over the subsequent two years. I wish to thank the staffs of these centers: the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music, especially Suzanne Mudge and Alan Burdette; the Folkways Archives at the Smithsonian Institute, especially Jeff Place; the Southern Folklife Collection at the University of North Carolina; the Wesleyan University World Music Archives and University Archives; the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive and University Archive; the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archive and University Archives; and the Walter J. Brown Media Archive and Peabody Awards Collection, University Archives, and WUOG Archives at the University of Georgia, especially Ruta Abolins. Their staffs helped work with my

usually tight research schedules, and I thank them for digitizing old tape reels (and in some cases, even baking them right in front of me). Though I only briefly conducted research at the American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress for this project, I wish to especially thank Todd Harvey for introducing me to the campus folk revival back in my undergraduate years. If he did not point me to some uncatalogued folders back in 2006, this project would never have existed.

Last, but certainly not least, I wish to thank my graduate student colleagues here at Stony Brook. I wish to especially thank Ben Downs, Jon Fessenden, Kassie Hartford, Kathleen Hulley, Katherine Kaiser, Anna Reguero, Michael Richardson, and Nick Tochka for listening, critiquing, and sparking new ideas over these past few years. My parents, Jean and Kenneth, have provided constant support and encouragement over my graduate school career. Most importantly, Bethany Cencer has been there for me through the entire process: granting effusive encouragement and boundless support, listening to the successes and frustrations, and offering suggestions and tough comments. This one's for you.

Chapter 1: Introduction

And so, I dare suggest that the composer would do himself and his music an immediate and eventual service by total, resolute, and voluntary withdrawal from [the] public world to one of private performance and electronic media, with its very real possibility of complete elimination of the public and social aspects of musical composition....

But how, it may be asked, will this serve to secure the means of survival of the composer and his music? One answer is that, after all, such a private life is what the university provides the scholar and the scientist. It is only proper that the university, which—significantly—has provided so many contemporary composers with their professional training and general education, should provide a home for the “complex,” “difficult,” and “problematical” in music.

-Milton Babbitt¹

Few pronouncements in twentieth-century American music history have generated as much controversy as the conclusion of Milton Babbitt’s “The Composer as Specialist,” polemically retitled “Who Cares if You Listen” upon its publication in *High Fidelity* in 1958. Babbitt believed that the development of new compositional forms such as integral serialism and electronic music necessitated a shift in the economics of composition. Instead of the public concert-based model dominant since the late eighteenth century, Babbitt asserted that modernist composers should seek the patronage of the university. His belief rested on a fundamental schism between public and university culture. For Babbitt and fellow high modernist composers, the public world of the concert hall and mass media demanded music remaining within familiar aesthetic parameters, a requirement that stunted the exploratory potential of new compositional techniques. By contrast, the private world of the university would instead allow composition to progress in the same fashion as scientific research, as an intellectual discipline whose findings were intended exclusively for fellow compositional peers. In the age of mass culture and conservative concertgoers, the survival of “complex, difficult, and problematical” modern music demanded the one cultural institution oriented toward the private specialist instead of the public layman: the university.

Babbitt’s argument emblemized the fundamental change in twentieth-century art music composition from the public to the academic world, and as such has been the target of both

¹ Milton Babbitt, “Who Cares if You Listen,” in *Strunk’s Source Readings in Music History*, ed. Leo Treitler and Oliver Strunk (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998), 1310.

vociferous support and vehement criticism. Supporters have used it to legitimize the tenuous relationship between composition and research, arguing for the benefits of music oriented towards scientific rather than aesthetic concerns.² Critics have instead contested the claim that music need withdraw its social function in the name of technical progress. Evan Ziporyn, Susan McClary, and others have asserted the relevance and vitality of public music-making, blaming composers sequestered in university music departments for the social obsolescence of art music. For these critics, university-based composers only propagated what McClary vitriolically termed “terminal prestige,” the social privilege of musicians who paradoxically denied their music a social function. McClary lambasted universities as nothing more than “creepy institutions,” arguing that the claims of exclusivity and privacy propounded by its composers were premised on “the extraordinary assumption...that there is no other music.”³ Yet this music dismissed by Babbitt (signified in her article by Earth, Wind, and Fire’s 1987 hit “System of Survival”) was in fact more aesthetically vibrant, more socially engaged, and more likely to “survive” in contemporaneous American culture.

Postmodern critiques of Babbitt’s position such as McClary’s have debunked many of his initial premises: the connection between compositional complexity and musical progress; the rejection of familiar aesthetic criteria in judging musical works; and the implicit exclusion of non-white male perspectives in compositional discourse. One premise crystallized in his text, however, remains unchallenged: the separation between public and university musics. According to McClary, Babbitt dismissed public music as inferior and conservative, negating its artistic value to the point of nonexistence. If Babbitt may have rhetorically asserted there was no other music, though, both Babbitt and his detractors have consequently assumed that no other music exists *within* institutions

² For a recent example, see Stephen Peles, “‘Any Theory is a Choice’: Babbitt and the Post-War Reinvention of Music Theory,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 34, no. 1 (2012): 22–24.

³ Susan McClary, “Terminal Prestige: The Case of Avant-Garde Music Composition,” *Cultural Critique* 12 (1989): 63–64. See also Evan Ziporyn, “Who Listens if You Care,” in *Strunk’s Source Readings*, ed. Treitler and Strunk, 1312–18.

of higher education. The debates over the university's patronage of contemporary art music since "The Composer as Specialist" have effectively disbarred public musics, especially popular music, from consideration as a part of university life. Universities appear to exclusively cloister elite art music, while popular musicians dance in streets rather distant from "creepy" ivied halls.

While Babbitt and McClary's polemics stressed the cultural elitism of the university for different ends, neither of their arguments accounts for the incredible variety of popular music heard, performed, and written on campus. Take for example the northeastern public research university in which this dissertation has been written. Fliers for pop shows featuring graduate colleagues and undergraduate students fill the bulletin boards of the music building. The Office of Student Affairs funds takeoffs on "American Idol" and "Dancing with the Stars" staged on the quad outside of my office. Students in public piano rooms learn Final Fantasy-esque piano arrangements or sing *a cappella* arrangements of pop songs as often as they try to play Mozart or Chopin. Students walk to class listening to their iPods as they pass by students plucking guitars. In dorms and cafeterias, they listen to music through Youtube, Facebook, Spotify, and iTunes on their smartphones and tablets, or discreetly share music on illegal torrent services. In my office, I type up a dissertation on popular music with my desk covered by piles of books and articles covering over three decades of scholarly literature. Alongside dissertation work, I make lesson plans for courses devoted to popular music, courses initially devised and taught over *forty* years ago.⁴

In short, my university, and the American university *in toto*, is positively inundated with popular music, and has been for some time. Of course, my experiences have reflected the growing acceptability of popular music as an academic field of study over the past couple of decades. I have been able to develop my scholarly interests with significantly less of the invective hurled against the

⁴ Here I refer to Rock Music (MUS 109), a course I taught in Fall 2011 and 2012 which was first taught by Peter Winkler in Spring 1971.

first musicologists attempting to study popular styles forty years ago.⁵ Yet popular music had been heard on campus before the earliest musicological inquiries into the field, even before “The Composer as Specialist.” On his walks to the Woolworth Center in Princeton, Babbitt undoubtedly heard students playing folk music in quads or whistling the bawdy songs of Greek life. If he walked down to Nassau Street for dinner, jazz, folk, and rock would have emanated from the bars, coffeehouses, and diners. At home, he (along with many of his Princeton colleagues) likely watched television, purchased records, and read popular literature, even if he would have been loath to admit as such.⁶ Likewise, McClary need not have resorted to *Earth, Wind, and Fire* to assert the vitality of popular music while writing “Terminal Prestige” at the University of Minnesota. She could have simply turned her radio dial to 730 AM, WMMR, and listened to bands from the local scene just off-campus like the Replacements or Hüsker Dü.⁷ Yet the power of Andreas Huyssens’ “great divide” between modernist and mass culture precluded Babbitt, McClary, and many others from seriously considering the popular music surrounding them in their daily activities as a part of university culture.⁸

Scholars have frequently invoked the social power of popular music to undermine the hegemonic cultural stratifications endemic to modernism, arguing along with Frederic Jameson that

⁵ Cf. Charles Hamm, “Modernist Narratives and Popular Music,” in *Putting Popular Music in its Place* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1–40.

⁶ Harold L. Wilensky, “Mass Society and Mass Culture: Interdependence or Independence,” *American Sociological Review* 29, no. 2 (1964): 190: “For both intellectuals and the general population..., the cultural atmosphere is permeated by the mass media.... There is little doubt from my data as well as others’ that educated strata...are becoming full participants in mass culture.” Of course, Babbitt was more discursively than personally exclusive from popular culture. He famously won a Tin Pan Alley songwriting competition as a teenager, curated a collection of obscure Tin Pan Alley songs for New World Records (*Where Have We Met Before? Forgotten Songs From Broadway, Hollywood, And Tin Pan Alley*, 1977), and was mentoring a young Stephen Sondheim shortly after the publication of “Who Cares if You Listen.”

⁷ The University of Minnesota campus radio station is currently KUOM, or “Radio K,” but WMMR was the rock-oriented campus station until the two merged in the mid-1990s. McClary herself associated more with avant-garde composers and performance artists who blurred the lines between popular and art musics during her time in Minneapolis during the 1980s. Robert Fink, personal communication, April 20, 2013.

⁸ Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

modernism and mass culture are mutually and inextricably constituted.⁹ Such critiques correlate the rise of popular music in contemporary society with the decline in the social power of highbrow culture. As Michael Denning has provocatively argued, the last decades of the twentieth century witnessed “the end of mass culture: mass culture has won. There is nothing else.”¹⁰ The impact of popular music on recent American art music needs little introduction; witness the interplay between composers and rock musicians in the downtown New York scene since the 1960s, the rock-classical hybrids of composers like Michael Dougherty, or the new “alt-classical” movement by composers like Nico Muhly and Gabriel Kahane over the past few years. The opposite corollary—the influence of art music on popular music—has instead received comparatively less attention. Bernard Gendron has sought “to sketch out a genealogy of the cultural empowerment of popular music” by discussing how popular musicians from the French chanson movement to the Beatles and punk have gained cultural legitimacy through their associations with the Parisian and New York avant-gardes.¹¹ In searching for interactions between high and low, though, his book focuses only on the musical scenes of sophisticated urban centers. Yet just as universities across the country have attracted high art composers, so too have they become a home for popular musicians seeking “cultural empowerment” through intellectual and critical prestige.

This dissertation examines the formative role of the American university in the creation of elite forms of traditional and rock music over the past half-century. I conceive of these genres as “elite popular music,” a term referring to popular genres that are considered intellectually differentiated from, and culturally elevated above, other popular musics which instead are associated with mass culture. The word “elite” implies both a search for textual quality via traditionally

⁹ Frederic Jameson, “Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture,” *Social Text* 1 (1979): 130–48.

¹⁰ Michael Denning, “The End of Mass Culture,” in *Culture in the Age of Three Worlds* (New York: Verso, 2004), 103. Cf. also Robert Fink, “Elvis Everywhere: Musicology and Popular Music Studies at the Twilight of the Canon,” *American Music* 16, no. 2 (1999): 135–79.

¹¹ Bernard Gendron, *From Montmartre to the Mudd Club: Popular Music and the Avant-Garde* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 5.

bourgeois modes of aesthetic value and a delimited, privileged community engaged in this search who set themselves in contrast to mass culture's supposed wide audiences and indiscriminate tastes. I argue that the cultural distinctions of elite popular music are predicated on liberal arts education, the disinterested, critical study of aesthetic culture at the heart of American university education. In translating the techniques, ideals, and ethics of the liberal arts to popular music, collegians have sought to legitimize their musical activities through promoting intellectual and critical approaches. By doing so, they have attributed to popular music a personal and social enrichment distinct from mass culture and aloof from the practical economic necessities of contemporaneous popular music practices. Though case studies which discuss popular musics on American campuses as extensions and applications of liberal arts education, this dissertation illuminates how the ethics and tensions of university culture have undergirded the discourses of non-mainstream popular musics since the 1950s.

Two aspects of liberal arts culture are central for the production of elite popular music within American universities. The first is criticism, the study of aesthetic culture for the purposes of discerning textual coherence and humanistic value. This dissertation uses the definition of criticism promulgated by English poet and cultural critic Matthew Arnold, who stressed its disinterest from more practical forms of judgment. I argue that the orientation of criticism toward intellectual reflection rather than utilitarian purpose has attracted popular musicians who have sought musical meaning outside of economic value. Rather than discerning quality through markers of commercial success, the criticism used in elite popular music depend on cultural canons and intellectual histories. Mirroring high culture, elite popular music gains legitimacy from demonstrating and discerning influence from other musics and intellectual currents that are also perceived to have intellectual and aesthetic quality distinct from mass culture. These perceptions provide the contingencies of value, in

Barbara Herrnstein-Smith's phrase, for the production and reproduction of its standards of judgment.¹²

Along with criticism, a concept of self-development is central to elite popular music. In this dissertation, I understand self-development through the German philosophy of *Bildung*. Originally theorized by German Enlightenment philosophers like Herder, Schiller, and Goethe, *Bildung* refers to a process of self-fulfillment enacted through life experiences and exposure to high culture. Literary theorist Jeffrey Sammons has summarized the concept as “the shaping of the individual self from its innate potentialities through acculturation and social experience to the threshold of maturity.”¹³ Wilhelm von Humboldt drew on *Bildung* as the underlying mission of the University of Berlin, whose 1810 founding is seen as the beginnings of the modern Western university. If criticism is the action of liberal arts education and literature its referent, *Bildung* is its ethical purpose: a critical approach to knowledge rather than a strictly utilitarian, careerist perspective improves the self and, therefore, society. Elite popular music is premised on the belief that popular music with a critical rather than commercial aspiration promises to impart a deeper meaning for practitioners and listeners, one enabling a better understanding of themselves and a greater awareness of their society.

In this dissertation, I use *Bildung* both to access the ethical aims of elite popular music and the implicit tensions of pursuing self-development through cultural criticism. Elite popular music is theoretically open to all participants: the case studies in this dissertation cover folk and rock genres easily accessible to amateur musicians and listeners. However, the intellectualism and anti-mainstream politics of these genres assert a privileged exclusivity that resonates with class distinctions. Elite popular music encourages a disinterested, aesthetic and historical approach to

¹² Barbara Herrnstein Smith, *Contingencies of Value: Alternative Perspectives for Critical Theory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

¹³ Jeffrey L. Sammons, “The Bildungsroman for Nonspecialists: An Attempt at a Clarification,” in *Reflection and Action: Essays on the Bildungsroman*, ed. James Hardin (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 41.

popular music that claims a higher calling than purely economic motives. Yet sustaining such an approach requires financial solvency whether through class privilege or commercial success. Lastly, the disinterested propensity of elite popular music encourages a critical aloofness from practical social use. Both the American university and popular music, though, have been formed through the legacies of colonialism and inequalities of race, class, and gender, making awareness of social privilege an important but difficult topic of criticism.

The aforementioned tensions between privilege and universality, independence and commercialism, and political aloofness and social inequality point to the fundamental paradox of *Bildung*: despite its ethical claims for social and personal uplift, the individualistic project of self-development ultimately requires a form of social acquiescence. Enlightenment theorists had optimistically harmonized self-development and social uplift, believing self-fulfillment the most productive vehicle for improving the state. Goethe believed *Bildung* to be “a continuing project of the highest ethical significance” and “the simplest and most advisable mission that man can undertake.”¹⁴ Romantic critiques of *Bildung* instead argued that it merely socialized the self into the structuring rationalities of bourgeois culture. Hegel’s *Aesthetics* delivered the most damning elucidation of this critique:

For the end of such apprenticeship consists in this, that the subject sows his wild oats, builds himself with his wishes and opinions into harmony with subsisting relationships and their rationality, enters the concatenation of the world, and acquires for himself an appropriate attitude to it. However much he may have quarreled with the world, or been pushed about in it, in most cases at last he gets his girl and some sort of position, marries her, and becomes as good a Philistine as others.”¹⁵

Gyorgy Lukács mediated the rift between Enlightenment optimism and Hegelian pessimism by acknowledging the inextricable mixture of self-development and submission in *Bildung*, writing

¹⁴ Todd Kontje, *The German Bildungsroman: History of a Genre* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1993), 3–4.

¹⁵ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, vol. 1, translated by T.M. Knox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 592–93. The word “apprenticeship” (*Lehrjahre*) refers to Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, considered the archetypal *Bildungsroman*. For an example of this argument closer to this dissertation’s cultural milieu, see the lyrics of Malvina Reynolds’ satirical folk song “Little Boxes,” written in 1962: “And the people in the houses all went to the university/where they were put in boxes and they all came out the same.”

that “in one sense many of the [*Bildungsromane*] contradict Hegel’s assertion; but in another sense, equally specific, they confirm his point of view.”¹⁶ In using *Bildung*, this dissertation recognizes that the hope of individual fulfillment and the necessary complicity with social hegemony are both implicit in elite popular music. I follow literary theorist Franco Moretti, who argued that the ethics of *Bildung* lie not in reconciliation, but in becoming aware of the imperfections of one’s own social milieu and *striving* to solve them:

The success of the *Bildungsroman* suggests in fact that the truly central ideologies of our world are not in the least intolerant, normative, monologic, to be wholly submitted to or rejected. Quite the opposite: they are pliant and precarious, ‘weak’ and ‘impure.’ When we remember that the *Bildungsroman* – the symbolic form that more than any other has portrayed and promoted modern socialization – is also the *most contradictory* of modern symbolic forms, we realize that in our world socialization itself consists first of all in the *interiorization of contradiction*. The next step being not to ‘solve’ the contradiction, but rather to learn to live with it, and even transform it into a tool for survival.¹⁷

If Hegel condemned the ends of *Bildung*, Moretti stressed the means to argue that its pursuit helps understand the powerful contradictions structuring modern life. As indicated by my use of “elite,” I recognize that *Bildung* reinforces social inequalities as it tries to challenge them. By stressing the element of striving, though, this dissertation argues that elite popular music translates the mission of liberal arts education in order to “transform” popular forms into “tools for survival.”

Criticism and *Bildung* provide the means and ends, respectively, of how the liberal arts influence elite popular music. According to Bill Readings, they have combined to form the cultural center of American universities.¹⁸ Connecting elite popular music with university culture is on one hand intended to introduce higher education as a formative intellectual influence on post-war American popular music. As mentioned earlier, the scholarly attention to academic music as represented by Babbitt and McClary has delimited its influence to curricular musics. Instead, I hope

¹⁶ Quoted in Theodor Adorno, “Reconciliation under Duress,” in Ernst Bloch et al., *Aesthetics and Politics* (London: New Left Books, 1977), 176.

¹⁷ Franco Moretti, *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture* (New York: Verso, 1988), 10.

¹⁸ Bill Readings, *The University in Ruins* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

to better understand the cultural work of universities on constituent but extracurricular cultural forms. Philosophers and education theorists who have considered the cultural influence of universities have usually theorized it as an unconscious guiding principle, whether an “idea,”¹⁹ “hortatory ideal,”²⁰ psychoanalytical “discourse,”²¹ or a “contract signed.”²² This dissertation offers both a material and ideological perspective on the university as a habitus, a privileged population, and a place.

The central argument of this dissertation is that the university imparts an approach to culture which is then applied to extracurricular popular music practices. Here I follow Bourdieu in theorizing higher education as a habitus of dispositions that both generates and systematizes tastes. As Bourdieu wrote in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, “through its value-inculcating and value-imposing operations, the school... helps...to form a general, transposable disposition towards legitimate culture.”²³ University study is not simply intended for the acquisition of knowledge, but produces tastes in line with institutionally-sanctioned cultural distinctions which are then transferred to extracurricular activities such as popular music.²⁴ Music is in fact well suited to exemplify this transferral of university dispositions. Bourdieu has claimed that the aesthetic forms central to the liberal arts are dually oriented both toward cultural preservation and the scientific

¹⁹ John Henry Newman, *The Idea of a University*, ed. Frank M. Turner (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996); Abraham Flexner, “The Idea of a Modern University,” in *Universities: American, English, German*, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967), 19–46; Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Idea of the University: A Reexamination* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).

²⁰ Margareta Bertilsson, “From University to Comprehensive Higher Education: On the Widening Gap between ‘Lehre und Leben,’” *Higher Education* 24, no. 3 (October 1992): 333–49.

²¹ Jacques Lacan, *The Other Side of Psychoanalysis: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan Book XVII*, translated by Russell Grigg (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007).

²² Jacques Derrida, “Mochlos; or, the Conflict of the Faculties,” trans. Richard Rand and Amy Wygant, in *Logomachia: The Conflict of the Faculties*, ed. Richard Rand (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 22.

²³ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 23. See also Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Sage, 1990), 67: “The word *disposition* seems particularly appropriate to express what is covered by the concept of the habitus (defined as a system of dispositions).”

²⁴ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 23: the academic disposition is “first acquired with respect to scholastically recognized knowledge and practices but tends to be applied beyond the bounds of the classroom.”

production of knowledge.²⁵ Music especially delineates taste and class formations, since “nothing classifies more rigorously than tastes in music.”²⁶ Elite popular music thus richly illuminates how dispositions learned in liberal arts education can travel outside the classroom walls.

Bourdieu’s connection between class and taste has been used extensively in studies examining the social privilege of non-mainstream music by Sarah Thornton, Ryan Hibbett, and Michael Z. Newman, among others.²⁷ Most of the collegians discussed in this dissertation are white males with upper- or middle-class urban upbringings, social origins that Bourdieu has noted are predisposed towards the acquisition of cultural capital.²⁸ It is unsurprising that the case studies of this dissertation all take place at prestigious universities with significant social power: Illinois, Indiana, Wesleyan, UCLA, Georgia, Columbia, and Yale. This is not to dismiss the popular music of other university forms (e.g. sectarian, historically black, community, and commuter regional colleges), but to echo geographer Blake Gumprecht’s argument that collegiate dispositions are more culturally dominant in socially prestigious institutions.²⁹

The delimitation of elite popular music to an elite, privileged population entrenches class stratification. While reflecting the Hegelian critique of *Bildung* mentioned earlier, the case studies in this dissertation also bear out the French poststructuralist argument that education in a classed society solely functions to reproduce the conditions of its own privilege.³⁰ Simply pointing out that elite popular musicians are in fact elite, though, fails to account for the tensions of liberal arts

²⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, trans. Peter Collier (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1984), 73–74.

²⁶ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 17.

²⁷ Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1996); Ryan Hibbett, “What is Indie Rock,” *Popular Music and Society* 28, no. 1 (2005): 55–77; Michael Z. Newman, “Indie Culture: In Pursuit of the Authentic Autonomous Alternative,” *Cinema Journal* 48, no. 3 (2009): 16–34.

²⁸ Bourdieu, *Distinction*.

²⁹ Blake Gumprecht, *The American College Town* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 22–28.

³⁰ Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *The Inheritors: French Students and their Relation to Culture*, trans. Richard Nice (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979); Bourdieu and Passeron, *Reproduction*; Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation),” in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), 155: “in this concert, one Ideological State Apparatus certainly has the dominant role, although hardly anyone lends an ear to its music: it is so silent! This is the School.”

education described earlier. The musicians discussed in this dissertation are generally mindful of their social privilege through the self-awareness brought by university study, and use popular music to understand and try to resolve the sociocultural inequalities into which they were born. Elite popular music is thus a means for critically grappling with privilege (a “tool for survival,” in Moretti’s words) rather than a path for its uninformed reproduction.

If the American university is theorized more generally as a habitus of dispositions encountered and applied by a privileged population, this dissertation also recognizes that individual universities are places whose specific physical and socioeconomic attributes influence institutional formation and dispositional expression. Understanding universities through place helps reconcile two scholarly discussions influential to this study. On one hand, seminal ethnographies of music in universities by Bruno Nettl and Henry Kingsbury have acutely unmasked the sociocultural mores underpinning familiar musical practices, but they do not examine geographic factors.³¹ On the other hand, Barry Shank, Holly Kruse, Ruth Finnegan, and Sara Cohen have discussed non-mainstream popular music communities in cities with prominent universities, but they do not consider the university as part of these scenes.³²

The unique geographies of American universities and their constituent cultural landscapes have an indelible impact on the production and circulation of cultural dispositions. Three aspects of university geography are important to the intersection between university culture and place. First, universities are centralized, residential institutions. They are concentrated places away from students’

³¹ Henry Kingsbury, *Music, Talent, and Performance: A Conservatory Cultural System* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); Bruno Nettl, *Heartland Excursions: Ethnomusicological Reflections on Schools of Music* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995); Tamara E. Livingston, Melinda Russell, Larry F. Ward, and Bruno Nettl, eds., *Community of Music: An Ethnographic Seminar in Champaign-Urbana* (Champaign: Elephant & Cat, 1993).

³² Barry Shank, *Dissonant Identities: The Rock ‘n’ Roll Scene in Austin, Texas* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1994); Holly Kruse, *Site and Sound: Understanding Independent Music Scenes* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003); Sara Cohen, *Rock Culture in Liverpool: Popular Music in the Making* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1991); Ruth Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 2007).

homes where they live, learn, and play, creating a community surrounded by institutional cultural mores. Second, universities are geographically separate, whether in college towns (e.g. Champaign-Urbana, Bloomington, Middletown, and Athens) or specific neighborhoods in larger cities (e.g. Westwood and Morningside Heights). Colleges are thus economically and culturally dominant within their constituent communities, enabling their dispositions to travel beyond their campus gates. Lastly, and paradoxically, liberal arts education is intended to cultivate the metaphysical self, leaving behind the physical realms of body and place. The aforementioned class privilege of college populations as compared to their communities enables this aesthetic stance to take hold, concretizing a sense of institutional autonomy and producing what is colloquially termed a “town/gown divide.” Universities at once seek recusal from, and wield power over, their places.

In summary, the American university impacts elite popular music as a dispositional field, a privileged population, and an institutional geography. Elite popular music results from taste formations and cultural hierarchies which encourage a critical approach to popular music for the purposes of self-development. This approach is propagated by a small intellectual community situated in the archipelago of elite colleges across the country. Through the interplay of inward-facing factors related to liberal arts education and outward-facing power dynamics, the university exerts significant influence over constituent musical activities, extending its cultural hierarchies outside of the classroom to popular musics on and off campus. The case studies to follow consider the role of the university in producing musical activities and critical discourses within communities devoted not to creating the financially successful popular musician, but the popular musician as dedicated, privileged, and conflicted specialist.

Case Studies

This dissertation asserts the prominent influence of the university on elite popular music, but does not imply that all campus popular musics are therefore elite. Returning to the activities on my

campus mentioned on page 3, it would be difficult to argue that the American Idol or Dancing with the Stars takeoffs are intended to promote critical reflection simply because they took place on a university quad. The case studies to follow are not elite in the sense that they require technical proficiency or they dovetail with curricular music. Instead, I consider them as elite popular musics for three reasons: they are musics whose cultural capital stems from an opposition to mass culture; they are appreciated via an intellectual approach predicated on criticism and *Bildung*; and the celebrants of these musics (but not always the performers or sources) either come from or are associated with a privileged class stratum.

This dissertation examines how university culture produces elite popular music through four representative case studies stretching from the early 1960s to the first decade of the twentieth century. Chapter 2 discusses folk music at the University of Illinois and Indiana University between 1961 and 1964. This chapter focuses on concerts, newsletters, and recordings produced by folksong clubs, student-run organizations devoted to performing and studying folk music, on both campuses. Chapter 3 turns to the ethnomusicology of Native American³³ music at Wesleyan University and the University of California-Los Angeles during the late 1970s. This chapter analyzes scholarly research, recordings, and public concerts presented by David McAllester, Professor of Music and Anthropology at Wesleyan, and Charlotte Heth, then Assistant Professor of Music and American Indian Studies at UCLA. Chapter 4 examines the college rock scene at the University of Georgia

³³ Scholars studying Native American culture lament the lack of a broadly acceptable umbrella term in which to describe the vast range of indigenous peoples, societies, and cultures. As Robert Berkhofer acknowledged in *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1978), 3], the peoples whom Columbus erroneously called Indians had no word for the total racial term. Instead, tribal affiliation signaled one's ethnic community. All broad ethnic terms, whether "Indian," "Native American," or "American Indian," remain ultimately derived from Euro-American epistemologies. These labels are all problematic in different ways, but because the relationship between whites and "Indians" depends on broad ethnic difference, scholars generally take a personal and ad hoc approach in deciding which terms to use. I follow Bryan Burton's terminology as found in *Moving within the Circle: Contemporary Native American Music and Dance* (New York: World Music Press, 1993), 10: "In this resource, peoples will be identified by tribal affiliation where individuals or individual groups are discussed. 'Native American' will be used as a generic term for general discussions." I use "Indian" to signal Berkhofer's "White Man's Indian," and "American Indian" to avoid the unnecessary repetition of "Native American."

during the mid-1980s, using newsletters, radio broadcasts, and a documentary film to study the scene. Lastly, Chapter 5 discusses the music of Vampire Weekend and Dirty Projectors, two indie bands whose members graduated from Columbia and Yale, respectively. This chapter analyzes songs from two albums, Vampire Weekend's *Vampire Weekend* (2007) and Dirty Projectors' *Rise Above* (2006) to study the continuation of collegiate dispositions past the campus gates.

These four case studies were selected to reflect different facets of the dimensions of the relationship between elite popular music and the liberal arts detailed in this introduction. They cover different university populations (students, faculty, alumni, and local residents), subject positions (musicians, audiences, and scholars), activities, and source materials. Each chapter discusses a different musical genre (folk music, Native American traditional and popular music, college rock, indie rock) and associated artists, approaching them through theoretical bases from literary studies, cultural sociology, ethnomusicology, cultural studies, folklore, and Native American studies. In discussing a variety of musical styles, populations, genres, and time periods, I conceive of elite popular music as a cultural "terrain," following Stuart Hall. Hall used this geographic metaphor to shift the categorization of culture from taxonomies of unified, static entities to interdependent, contextual fields made meaningful through constructing discursive boundaries.³⁴ Theorizing elite popular music as a terrain also draws on scholars such as Lawrence Levine, Eric Hobsbawm, Morag Shiach, and Matthew Gelbart who have asserted the historical production and naturalization of cultural categories.³⁵ Elite popular music is not a specific style or genre, but a historically delimited

³⁴ Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing the Popular," in *People's History and Socialist Theory*, ed. Raphael Samuel (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 227–41.

³⁵ Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (New York: Canto, 1983), 1–14; Morag Shiach, "A History of Changing Definitions of 'The Popular,'" in *Discourse on Popular Culture: Class, Gender and History in Cultural Analysis, 1730 to the Present* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1989), 19–34. Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music': Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

musical terrain arising from both the goals and aspirations of higher education as well as developments in technology and popular culture in the post-World War II era.

Despite the differences between the case studies, I have used a diachronic organization to clarify the historical trajectory of elite popular music. This does not imply causality or influence specifically between them. I selected these four genres and places largely because of comparatively extensive extant documentary evidence.³⁶ As a primarily extracurricular practice, elite popular music has rarely been formally archived, making primary source material scarce. No direct relationships between any of the chapters are presumed or explored, nor will all case studies fully engage with all dimensions of elite popular music theorized in the introduction. Yet they serve to represent a general historical trajectory, one meant to reflect the transition from modernism to postmodernism in university education. This change has produced two main objects of elite popular music—traditional music and independent music—which each comprise one half of this dissertation.

Traditional music, music distinguished from mass culture through its association with rural populations, marks the first, modernist object of elite popular music. The concept of traditional music as “popular” music seems odd given the divisions between art, popular, and traditional cultural spheres dominant during modernism, but I understand “tradition” as a compromise between an interest in popular music and a learned distaste for mass culture rather than a separate

³⁶ A wealth of information survives from the Illinois and Indiana campus folksong clubs. Complete runs of newsletters, concert recordings, flyers, and unpublished materials like club minutes and informal financial records have been preserved at the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music, the American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress, the Folkways Archives at the Smithsonian Institute, and the Southern Folklife Collection at the University of North Carolina. An oral history was also conducted for the Illinois folksong club, and I interviewed members of both clubs. Only scattered materials exist for folksong clubs at Swarthmore, Oberlin, Michigan, and a few others at the American Folklife Center. For Chapter 3, articles, books, and recordings published by Heth and McAllester are easily accessible, and primary source recordings have been deposited at the Wesleyan University World Music Archives, the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive, and the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archive. The scene in Athens was selected partly due to the notoriety of bands like R.E.M. and the B-52s, but also because radio broadcasts from the era have been archived in the Walter J. Brown Media Archive and Peabody Awards Collection at the University of Georgia and the student newspaper, *The Red & Black*, has been digitally archived with full-text search capabilities. Many articles on, and interviews with, Vampire Weekend and Dirty Projectors are available. However, little information about their collegiate years has been made public, and the ephemerality of the Internet means that some primary sources from 2007 have disappeared or are only available via the Internet Archive (web.archive.org).

musical field. The second, postmodernist orientation is “independent music,” non-mainstream rock music. Arising during the 1980s, the word “independent” stems from post-punk record labels viewing themselves as alternatives to the mainstream music industry.³⁷ Despite their sonic differences, “tradition” and “independent” signify a similar influence from university culture: a musical terrain opposed to the mechanized products of the culture industry; a critical disposition whose powers of discernment were limited to an elite few; and the intersection of a working-class music and a privileged audience.

In the first two case studies, practitioners celebrated traditional musics for their connections to cultures perceived as distinct from the urbanization and technologization of contemporary life. The liberal arts were employed to critically dialogue with different perspectives and faithfully imitate traditional repertoires to respect, rather than usurp, them. In doing so, practitioners grappled with the perceived irreconcilability between their privileged university backgrounds and those of comparatively underprivileged traditional musicians, while paradoxically using their university culture to approach traditional music. Chapter 2 uses David Riesman and F.R. Leavis’s concept of “minority culture,” elite culture discerned via a critical orientation and differentiated from mass culture, to theorize how folksong club members conceived of tradition. They turned toward a critical, aesthetic, and historical appreciation of tradition in order to celebrate and interact with rural, working-class folk musicians in Urbana-Champaign and Bloomington. Chapter 3 argues that ethnomusicologists curated performances of indigenous practitioners as a form of cultural diplomacy. Concerts, recordings, and scholarship redressed the colonialist resonances of prior scholarship after the rise of indigenous rights movements. Using Native American studies scholar Elizabeth Cook-Lynn’s concept of “indigeneity,” the cultural sovereignty of Native America based on inherent relationships between contemporary life, pre-European social identity, and geography, this chapter argues that

³⁷ Cf. David Hesmondhalgh, “Indie: The Institutional Politics and Aesthetics of a Popular Music Genre,” *Cultural Studies* 13, no. 1 (1999): 34–61.

ethnomusicologists tried to grant Native American performers power over their own culture while simultaneously needing to render their presentations of indigenous music legible to university study.

After the advent of postmodernism, though, the notion of a pure tradition untouched by mass culture becomes untenable. This point was realized in David McAllester's scholarship discussed at the end of Chapter 3, which argued that Native American adaptations of Western popular styles were more pertinent for their contemporaneous cultural identity than traditional forms. The subsequent two case studies likewise turn to rock music as a means of asserting differentiation from mass culture. As Simon Frith has demonstrated, rock discourses began to use "the ideology of the folk" in the late 1960s, imputing values of personal and communal authenticity to the genre.³⁸ Terms like "alternative" and "independent" have translated the critical and intellectual facets ascribed to tradition into rock music.

If the practitioners in the first two chapters demonstrate criticism by respecting the repertoires of Others, the final two focus instead on how the university encourages a critical approach to rock songwriting and discourse. Chapter 4 uses Blake Gumprecht's theories of the cultural geography of college towns and Pierre Bourdieu's theorization of the "field of cultural production" to demonstrate how the dispositional power of colleges enables the production of alternative rock scenes in college towns like Athens. The city's rise to national prominence after the success of bands like R.E.M. and the B-52s seemed to demonstrate the possibility of merging musical self-expression with commercial gain. Through magazines, radio broadcasts, and a 1987 documentary, *Athens, GA: Inside/Out*, I show how bands tried to negotiate these two poles through projecting a critical disposition while uneasily worrying about how to turn rock music into a career. Chapter 5 turns from campus community formations to the tastes of alumni, using Richard Peterson's omnivore theory to argue that inclusive tastes have encouraged students to appreciate

³⁸ Simon Frith, "The Magic that Can Set You Free: The Ideology of Folk and the Myth of the Rock Community," *Popular Music* 1 (1981): 159–68.

different genres in distinction to the exclusive highbrow tastes found in previous chapters.

Reflecting the growth of multiculturalism and popular culture in university curricula, the music of Vampire Weekend and Dirty Projectors develops and explores tastes crossing previously established cultural hierarchies by combining Afro-pop, punk, classical, and indie rock. At the same time, their desire to respect the music of different cultures retrenches, rather than challenges, their own class prestige.

Though the theories of Riesman, Leavis, Cook-Lynn, Gumprecht and Peterson do not explicitly touch on the musical practices discussed in their respective chapters, I use them to help contextualize the cultural stakes in transferring liberal arts education to particular musical activities. One of the difficulties with connecting elite popular music to university culture is that the former rarely admits the influence of the latter. The framing discourses of musical activities—prefatory comments to a concert, liner notes of a recording, artist comments in documentaries and interviews—exemplify criticism and self-development, but they rarely make direct reference to university culture. The aforementioned theories are heuristics to understand the specific articulation of musical genre, taste, and cultural hierarchy into which a liberal arts approach intervenes.

In theorizing the liberal arts through both its ethics and paradoxes, though, each case study is centered on a central, unsolvable tension. The folksong club members in Chapter 2 wondered how urban-born college students could appreciate rural folksinging given the socioeconomic divide between themselves and their object of study. In Chapter 3, McAllister and Heth sought to undo the colonialist legacies of anthropology that delimited Native American identity to its late nineteenth-century instantiation, as they grappled with the differences between the self-development of Western education and the communal identity central to Native American cultural epistemologies. The college rock bands discussed in Chapter 4 saw rock music as both an avenue for self-expression and commercial success. Lastly, Vampire Weekend and Dirty Projectors in Chapter 5 use music crossing

art, rock, and Afro-pop to reconcile and reconceive the legacies of colonialism and highbrow taste. Importantly, in none of these case studies do I claim a solution to these underlying tensions. This lack of resolution, due to the ethical commitment to criticism and self-development, most clearly demonstrates the impact of university culture on elite popular music.

Through these case studies, this dissertation argues that elite popular music results from a symbiotic relationship between popular music and the liberal arts. Liberal arts culture helps artists to seek meaning in popular music practices aloof from financial associations. Popular music in turn acts as a way for students to apply liberal arts culture to new forms outside of their curricular studies, increasing rather than delimiting the impact of university culture within the public sphere. In the epilogue, I argue that the cultural work of elite popular music in diffracting and expanding the liberal arts outside the classroom can impact scholarship on both popular music and American higher education. Greater attention to elite popular musics can both provide insight into the influence of higher education on popular music, and nuance scholarly understanding of the cultural role of higher education in contemporary society. Before turning to the elite popular music of the present, though, this chapter will first trace its historical development. The first elite popular music dates from the middle of the twentieth century, shortly before the folk revival scenes discussed in Chapter 2. The musical terrain, however, has resulted from changes to the form, ideology, and size of American universities beginning in the nineteenth century which have combined with cultural changes and technological advances in popular music. To understand the philosophies undergirding elite popular music in contemporary America, this dissertation will first travel to Enlightenment Germany and Victorian England.

***Bildung*, Criticism, and Nineteenth-Century American Higher Education**

Ironically, neither *Bildung* nor criticism, the two central aspects of the liberal arts in the American university, was actually an invention of American higher education. The importation of

German *Bildung* and English criticism into American higher education during the late nineteenth century catalyzed a drastic change in institutional form, size, and disciplinary breadth. They transformed the small, sectarian colleges of the colonial period and early republic into the modern-day university.

The philosophy of *Bildung* stems from the Lutheran Revolution, where its purpose was to reform the sinful self in God's image through devotional worship.³⁹ Enlightenment philosophers including Herder, Goethe and Schiller secularized the concept, rethinking it for towards more humanistic purposes. The self-development of *Bildung* could take myriad forms, whether genetic development in Herder, aesthetic study in Schiller, or life experiences in the Goethean *Bildungsroman*.⁴⁰ Regardless of its means, *Bildung* was thought to engender free thought and ultimately personal fulfillment.

In the early nineteenth century, *Bildung* helped reinvigorate the German university system in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars. Eighteenth-century German universities were monastic institutions devoted to the recitation of ancient knowledge in theology, law, and medicine little evolved from their medieval predecessors. They had been largely considered ineffectual, pedantic cloisters with dubious value to city or intellectual life.⁴¹ Following the 1806 annexation of Prussian lands which included the prominent university town of Königsburg, Secretary of Education Wilhelm von Humboldt convinced King Friedrich William III to supply funds for a new university in Berlin,

³⁹ Todd Kontje quotes the Pietist Gottfried Arnold: "wir müssen zerstöret und entbildet warden, auf daß Christus in uns möge formieret, gebildet werren und allein in uns sein" [we must be destroyed and *entbildet* so that Christ may be formed, *gebildet* within us and be in sole possession of us]. Kontje, *The German Bildungsroman*, 1. See also Susan Cocalis, "The Transformation of *Bildung* from an Image to an Ideal," *Monatshefte* 70, no. 4 (Winter 1978), 400.

⁴⁰ Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*, trans. T. Churchill (London: Luke Hansard for J. Johnson, 1803), 318–22; Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*, trans. Reginald Snell (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1965), 26–27; Dennis Mahoney, "The Apprenticeship of the Reader: The Bildungsroman of the 'Age of Goethe,'" in *Reflection and Action*, ed. Hardin, 97–117.

⁴¹ Charles E. McLellan, *State, Society, and University in Germany, 1700–1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 101–49; Daniel Fallon, *The German University: A Heroic Ideal in Conflict with the Modern World* (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1980), 5–9.

which had remained within Prussian borders.⁴² Humboldt saw in *Bildung* the key to elevating the German university and, by extension, the German state. Both government official and philosopher, Humboldt had written extensively on *Bildung*, theorizing it as an individual pursuit in harmony with social and state uplift. In his treatise “Ideas toward an Attempt to Determine the Limits of State Authority,” he described *Bildung* as an ethical, necessary pursuit of personal uplift and the state as a potentially advantageous resource for the individual process.⁴³

Humboldt believed that the new University of Berlin, and by extension German higher education, should aim to cultivate *Bildung*. Universities could encourage *Bildung* by pursuing *Wissenschaft*, or knowledge-science, through advanced seminars and faculty research conducted without concern for utilitarian application.⁴⁴ Such a university provided an environment for *Wissenschaft* based on “Einsamkeit und Freiheit,” or autonomy and freedom. Humboldt believed that autonomous, *Wissenschaft*-oriented research nurtured the individual free thought of *Bildung*: “the essence (of the university), manifested in the individual, consists of the combination of objective *Wissenschaft* with subjective *Bildung*. In institutional terms, this essence lies in the articulation of the mastery of transmitted knowledge at the school stage with the first stages of independent inquiry.”⁴⁵ The new university would no longer simply impart established information, but actively cultivate the advancement of knowledge.

Humboldt succeeded in funding the University of Berlin (today the Humboldt University of Berlin) and generating its underlying mission, but he retired from his post as Secretary of Education before it took institutional shape. Theologian and hermeneuticist Friedrich Schleiermacher, head of

⁴² Now Kaliningrad, Russia, Königsburg had been the home of Albertina University, where Kant had taught and Herder and E.T.A. Hoffman had studied.

⁴³ Kontje, *The German Bildungsroman*, 4.

⁴⁴ Humboldt was also drawing on theories by Kant and Schelling which sought to ground university study in philosophical inquiry rather than functional knowledge. Immanuel Kant, *The Conflict of the Faculties*, trans. Mary J. Gregor (New York: Abaris, 1979); Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling, *On University Studies*, ed. Norbert Guterman, trans. E. S. Morgan (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1966).

⁴⁵ Translation adapted from Wilhelm von Humboldt, “On the Spirit and the Organisational Framework of Intellectual Institutions in Berlin,” *Minerva* 8, no. 2 (April 1970): 243.

the theology faculty, was instead tasked with institutionalizing *Bildung mit Wissenschaft*. In his *Occasional Thoughts on Universities in the German Sense* of 1810, Schleiermacher established *Bildung* through a general studies curriculum, a group of courses that introduced students to the full range of university subjects. He believed that “if [students] are permitted to take a year for themselves to get a firm hold on principles and to acquire an overview of all the genuinely scientific disciplines...the disposition, love, and talent of these young people will develop.”⁴⁶ The general studies curriculum enabled students to become more aware of intellectual currents and encouraged the study *Wissenschaft*, ensuring the realization of *Bildung* through university education.

The concept of *Bildung mit Wissenschaft* revolutionized German higher education, and the institution of advanced seminars devoted to autonomous research was a progressive influence for theorists desiring to reshape their own institutions. Matthew Arnold, a mid-nineteenth century poet and professor of literature at Oxford, used *Bildung* to propound a theory of university study based on cultural criticism.⁴⁷ Arnold defined culture in his 1863 text *Culture and Anarchy* as a pursuit which “seeks the best which has been thought and said in the world, and through this knowledge, turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits.”⁴⁸ For Arnold, culture was

⁴⁶ Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Occasional Thoughts on Universities in the German Sense: With an Appendix Regarding a University Soon to be Established*, trans. Terrence N. Tice with Edwina Lawler (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), 37. Philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte, another faculty member, proffered a different conception of the University of Berlin based on his *Wissenschaftslehre*, or theory of *Wissenschaft*. In “Deducierter Plan einer zu Berlin zu errichtenden höherin Lehranstalt” (Deductive Plan to Erect an Institution of Higher Education in Berlin), he conceived of the University of Berlin as an institution completely autonomous from the state, a theory which directly followed Kant and Schilling’s arguments. Humboldt had instead desired to connect *Wissenschaft* with state concerns, and Schleiermacher’s conception of a general studies curriculum was ultimately implemented. Cf. Timothy Bahti, “Histories of the University: Kant and Humboldt,” *MLN* 102, no. 3 (April 1987): 458–59.

⁴⁷ As literary scholar Ruth apRoberts noted, “[Arnold] had been freshly reviewing the idea of *Bildung* in his study of Wilhelm von Humboldt and education, and finding again and again...that this idea served and confirmed his interests.... The rubric of *Bildung*-culture... becomes the controlling idea of *Culture and Anarchy*.” Arnold also underlined specific passages on *Bildung*, such as Herder’s argument that “it is in culture [*Bildung*] that the solidarity of mankind is to be sought” Ruth apRoberts, *Arnold and God* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 45, 142.

⁴⁸ Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 3.

defined through an Aristotelian sense of perfection characterized by the twin concepts of “sweetness,” or aesthetic beauty, and “light,” or intellectual value.

In order to discern and cultivate the perfection of culture, Arnold advocated a disinterested process of textual criticism. As described in his essay “The Function of Criticism at the Present Time”:

The rule [of criticism] may be summed up in one word—*disinterestedness*. And how is criticism to show disinterestedness? By keeping aloof from what is called “the practical view of things,” by resolutely following the law of its own nature, which is to be a free play of the mind on all subjects which it touches. By steadily refusing to lend itself to any of those ulterior, political, practical considerations about ideas...which criticism has really nothing to do with. Its business is...simply to know the best that is known and thought in the world, and by in its turn making this known, to create a current of true and fresh ideas. Its business is to do this with inflexible honesty, with due ability; but its business is to do no more, and to leave alone all questions of practical consequences and application.⁴⁹

Enacted in resolute separation from immediate utility, criticism would discriminate fine culture embodied in literary works to develop ideas and thoughts for cultural progress. In turn, it would uplift literature, the self, and ultimately the nation. Through his theories, Arnold transformed the central discipline of Schleiermacher’s general studies curriculum from philosophy-oriented *Wissenschaft* to literary criticism.⁵⁰

While Humboldt and Arnold’s ideas influenced German and English higher education during the nineteenth century, American higher education remained beholden to its Protestant colonial origins. American colleges had been small religious institutions catering exclusively to the upper-class, white, male colonial elite. Collegiate education revolved around compulsory church services and instruction in subjects such as ancient languages, math, and rhetoric.⁵¹ Much like

⁴⁹ Matthew Arnold, “The Function of Criticism at the Present Time,” in *Essays in Criticism: First Series* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1903), 18.

⁵⁰ Arnold had advocated for the German model in British universities in another contemporaneous essay, “The Literary Function of Academies.” He hoped that “academies with a limited, special, scientific [in the sense of *Wissenschaft*] scope, in the various lines of intellectual work—academies like that of Berlin, for instance—we with time may, and probably shall, establish.” This chapter focuses on other works which more clearly delineate his ideas of culture and criticism. Matthew Arnold, “The Literary Influence of Academies,” in *Essays in Criticism*, 78.

⁵¹ See Roger L. Geiger with Julie Ann Bubolz, “College as it Was in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” in *The American University in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Roger L. Geiger (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2000), 80–90.

eighteenth-century German schools, the purpose of American colleges was to instruct students in theology, law, and classics. According to a report published by Yale in 1828, collegiate education should cultivate “the discipline and the furniture of the mind,” training the student to receive information rather than generate independent inquiry.⁵² The gains of the Enlightenment which transformed the German university had comparatively less impact on the American college. Schools began teaching modern European languages and moved away from explicit sectarianism toward nondenominational Protestantism, but the concepts of autonomous research or self-development remained largely at bay.⁵³

Beginning in the 1820s, though, the German university increasingly attracted American students.⁵⁴ For Americans, the research-oriented seminar format was vastly superior to the American system because it insisted on academic freedom, challenged received wisdom, and tolerated dissenting views. In the words of one American student, the German university’s “chief task, that to which all its energies are directed, is the development of great thinkers, men who will extend the boundaries of knowledge.” In contrast, American institutions required substantially less intellectual labor: “so long as our graduates can spell with tolerable accuracy, have a modicum of the classics and mathematics, can write and declaim with fluency, what more do you expect of them?”⁵⁵ While individual students and faculty lionized their German counterparts, American colleges initially resisted the German influence. For example, Harry Tappan, a German-educated scholar, attempted to implement a general studies curriculum and faculty research requirements upon being elected

⁵² “The Yale Report of 1828,” in *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, ed. Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 278–79.

⁵³ Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), 73–76.

⁵⁴ Carl Diehl, *Americans and German Scholarship, 1770-1870* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978).

⁵⁵ James Morgan Hart, “James Morgan Hart Compares the German University and the American College during the 1860’s,” in Hofstadter and Smith, ed., *American Higher Education*, 577, 581. Other accounts by early nineteenth-century students praising German universities are found in *ibid.*, 257–64, 308–11.

president of the University of Michigan in 1854. His proposals instead met with staunch criticism, and he was forced to resign in favor of a conservative theologian.⁵⁶

Shortly after Tappan's experiments, though, American colleges finally began transforming into German- and English-influenced universities. The main catalysts of change were Andrew White, a former protégé of Tappan's who founded Cornell University and served as the school's first president; Daniel Coit Gilman, the first president of the Johns Hopkins University; and Charles Eliot, president of Harvard. Presidents who each began their tenures around 1870, they believed the American college institution they inherited to be parochial and intellectually backwards compared to their European counterparts. Influenced by the German model, they transformed their schools into universities devoted to research and liberal arts education.⁵⁷ This reorientation was enacted through numerous institutional changes: the founding of graduate schools devoted to specialized research; the development of elective systems rather than compulsory curricula; the dramatic growth of libraries; and increased attention to new subjects like science, English literature, and the fine arts.⁵⁸

These developments created what Eliot called "a university of liberal arts and sciences" which "must give its students three things: freedom in choice of studies; opportunity to win academic distinction in single subjects or special lines of study; [and] a discipline which distinctly imposes on each individual the responsibility of forming his own habits and guiding his own

⁵⁶ For more on Tappan's history at Michigan, see George Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 104–107. Henry Tappan published his theory in *University Education* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1851, repr. New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1969). Tappan's interest in Schleiermacher's hermeneutic method, which analyzed Biblical texts through historical criticism, marked another point of consternation with the more fundamentalist orientation of Michigan's Board of Trustees.

⁵⁷ Daniel C. Gilman, *University Problems in the United States* (New York: Century, 1898, repr. New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1969), esp. 18–19; idem., *The Launching of a University and Other Papers: A Sheaf of Remembrances* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1906); Charles W. Eliot, *Educational Reform* (New York: Arno Press, 1969); Andrew D. White, *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White* (New York: The Century Company, 1905).

⁵⁸ Libraries in colonial colleges were to store books rather than facilitate student research and exploration. Many were only open to students one hour per week. For a history of the university library, see Dale Allen Gyure, "The Heart of the University: A History of the Library as an Architectural Symbol of American Higher Education," *Winterthur Portfolio* 42, no. 2–3 (2008): 107–32.

conduct.”⁵⁹ In shifting the central aim of the university from recitation to research, American institutions maintained the Germanic ideal of *Bildung* while shifting its object to English criticism. By the 1870s, preeminent American scholars were engaging in criticism and arguing, in the words of Noah Porter, then president of Yale, that “no class of habits that are purely intellectual can possibly enter so largely into our happiness for life, as those habits of reading with discrimination and with ardor, which are formed by abundant studies in the history and criticism of English literature.”⁶⁰ Formerly relegated to extracurricular literary societies, literature replaced philosophy as the central subject of liberal arts education.⁶¹

The creation of liberal arts education as a result of importing European innovations to American universities occurred concurrently with a more uniquely American innovation: the land-grant state college. The Morrill Act of 1862 granted federal money to state governments in order to purchase land for establishing public universities. Expanding the university system helped serve as a form of nationalist uplift in the wake of the Civil War and American Indian Wars, much like the Humboldtian plan in Germany sixty years prior. Money from the bill created new state colleges in the Midwest (e.g. Nebraska, Illinois, Michigan State, Oklahoma A&M), formed new colleges in the northeast through matched funds by private donors (i.e. Cornell), and founded A&M departments in northeastern colonial universities (e.g. Yale, Brown, Rutgers).

The Morrill Act had constructed a university network throughout the growing nation and linked higher education with nationalist mythologies of American opportunity and manifest

⁵⁹ Eliot, *Educational Reform*, quoted in *American Higher Education*, ed. Hofstadter and Smith, 701.

⁶⁰ Noah Porter, “The New Criticism,” *New Englander* 29 (1870): 306.

⁶¹ Rudolph, *The American College and University*, 142–43. Arnoldian literary criticism also deeply influenced the development of music as an academic discipline. Michael Joiner has discussed how John Knowles Paine and John Sullivan Dwight explicitly drew on Arnoldian theories when forming the first university music curriculum at Harvard in the 1880s. Michael Joiner, “Courses in Culture: The Acceptance of Music in the Late-Nineteenth Century American University,” Ph.D. diss., University of California-Santa Barbara, 2013.

destiny.⁶² Unlike the Germanic model, though, land-grant schools were premised on vocational study, educating local residents about efficient agricultural and mechanical (A&M) techniques. Higher education was no longer intended to be the province of an elite few, but an institution which promoted a broader form of social uplift. Unsurprisingly, the concurrent missions between liberal and vocational topics became a particularly fraught aspect of the mission of higher education. Both Schleiermacher and Arnold theorized *Bildung* and criticism, respectively, as an activity enacted at a privileged remove from utilitarian concerns and public life.⁶³ If land-grant institutions were founded as primarily vocational schools, the perceived superiority of Germanic study led to its rapid absorption in these universities. By the late nineteenth century, American universities had become hybrid institutions containing both liberal and utilitarian studies, with cultural hierarchies elevating the liberal arts above vocational topics.⁶⁴ In combining the community orientation of A&M study with the cultural uplift of liberal arts study, American institutions intensified the tension between disinterested and utilitarian knowledge by placing both as foundational principles of university study. If the Morrill Act brought higher education more into the public sphere, the guiding mission of *Bildung* through criticism ensconced the tension between cultural uplift and community outreach within the identity of the American university.⁶⁵

⁶² Rudolph, *The American College and University*, 265; Richard F. Teichgraeber III, “The Academic Public Sphere: The University Movement in American Culture, 1870–1901,” in *Building Culture: Studies in the Intellectual History of Industrializing America, 1867–1910* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2010), 75–109.

⁶³ Schleiermacher conceived the general studies curriculum at the University of Berlin as developing progressive, independent thought elevated above the comparatively regressive, barren culture of its city. He argued that students must disavow the city to properly pursue *Bildung*, noting “the contrast between the highest enculturating principle, which they are there to develop in themselves, and the crude common mass that opposes the culture.” Schleiermacher, *Occasional Thoughts*, 58. Likewise, Arnold’s criticism safeguarded “culture” against the “anarchy” of the lower classes. Arnold valued criticism because it developed, upheld, and reproduced literature through liberal, rational thought, while the lower class simply “does what it likes,” a position which painted lower class taste as hedonistic pleasure instead of reflective reason. Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, 48–66 (“Doing as One Likes”), 69–70.

⁶⁴ Joseph Baker, “The Victorian Chronology of Our Liberal Education,” *Journal of Higher Education* 18, no. 8 (1947): 416.

⁶⁵ For example, Abraham Flexner, an early twentieth-century educational critic, followed Humboldt in arguing that *Bildung* uplifted the countenance of American students. As such, it served an instrumental purpose by contributing to the development of national culture. He construed *Bildung* as “a rare balancing and maturing of qualities

University Culture in the Age of Mass Culture

The last decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the rapid growth and transformation of American higher education. Universities expanded in number and size, newly guided by criticism and *Bildung* in seeking to study, in the words of one late nineteenth-century university president, “a wide vision of the best things which man has done or aspired after.”⁶⁶ The curricular focus on high culture reflected, and contributed to, the striation between “highbrow” and “lowbrow” culture during the late nineteenth century.⁶⁷ If university education increasingly stressed high culture during the late nineteenth century, these decades also witnessed the development and explosion of mass media. The invention of technologies of mass reproduction such as photography, phonograph recordings, film, and player piano rolls transformed the American cultural landscape. Their proliferation instigated both the means of circulation and cultural stratification between elite highbrow and mass lowbrow culture that, according to Stuart Hall, has defined the “matrix of functions and problems” of modern popular culture.⁶⁸

Although the vocational aims of American universities required them to attend to their contemporary societies, popular culture remained far beneath the purview of academic study. As described in a 1945 report published by Harvard, the purpose of education remained “primarily a process of opening before students the intellectual forces that have shaped the Western mind.”⁶⁹ Popular culture was instead relegated to the sociology of deviance and treated as a symptom of the ills of a modernized, urbanized, and technologized society. As historian Paul Gorman writes, “many American social scientists in the era after World War I considered the emerging society a serious

calculated to equip men to meet with dignity and competency the responsibilities of life.” Abraham Flexner, *Universities: American, English, German* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967), 76.

⁶⁶ Lawrence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 186. The president quoted is C.F. Thwing, then president of Western Reserve University (now Case Western), writing in 1897.

⁶⁷ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*.

⁶⁸ Hall, “Notes on Deconstructing the Popular.”

⁶⁹ “The Harvard Report on General Education, 1945,” in *American Higher Education*, ed. Hofstadter and Smith, 957.

threat to the nation's existing civilization, and mass culture was prominent among their fears."⁷⁰

Cultural critics like Walter Benjamin, Clement Greenberg, Dwight MacDonal, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno were likewise concerned about the mechanization of aesthetic culture, arguing that mass culture propagated standardized, industrialized culture that diluted its critical potential.⁷¹

Despite the fears of leftist intellectuals, expansions in university populations and innovations in music technology would inevitably draw university and popular culture closer to one another. The transformation of American colleges into universities at the end of the nineteenth century was followed by a second wave of drastic growth in student population and institutional size after World War II. The Servicemen's Readjustment Bill of 1944, also known as the GI Bill, granted tuition assistance to nearly two million World War II veterans. As veterans enrolled upon returning home from the war, the post-war affluence and increased mobility of American society brought more students to college. Higher education became a rite of passage for millions of American youths beginning in the late 1940s.

Along with rising student populations, universities incorporated advanced scientific research facilities, continuing education programs, business initiatives, and intimate ties with state and federal governments to create new, sprawling institutions. Clark Kerr, former president of the University of California, coined the term "multiversity" in 1963 to describe this new institutional form. Kerr

⁷⁰ Paul R. Gorman, "Social Scientists and 'Deviant' Entertainments," in *Left Intellectuals and Popular Culture in Twentieth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 83. For contemporary examples of this attitude, see Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, "Using Leisure," in *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1929), 225-312; William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943); and David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

⁷¹ Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 2007), 217-51; Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," in *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 3-21; Dwight MacDonal, "A Theory of Popular Culture," *Diogenes* 1 (1953): 1-17; and Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception," in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (New York: Continuum, 1993), 120-67.

argued that the unity of culture undergirding the university had transformed into a multiplex of conglomerated communities with divergent interests and purposes:

The multiversity is an inconsistent institution. It is not one community but several—the community of the undergraduate and the community of the graduate; the community of the humanist, the community of the social scientist, and the community of the scientist; the communities of the professional schools; the community of all the nonacademic personnel; the community of the administrators. Its edges are fuzzy—it reaches out to alumni, legislators, farmers, businessmen, who are all related to one or more of these internal communities. As an institution, it looks far into the past and far into the future, and is often at odds with the present. It serves society almost slavishly—a society it also criticizes, sometimes unmercifully. Devoted to equality of opportunity, it is itself a class society. A community, like the medieval communities of masters and students, should have common interests; in the multiversity, they are quite varied, even conflicting. A community should have a soul, a single animating principle; the multiversity has several.⁷²

Kerr painted the American multiversity as a conflicted institution that equally pursued critical and utilitarian missions; both served and critiqued the public; and sought autonomous institutional prestige as it cultivated governmental and corporate alliances. Its sprawling aims, populations, and purposes mitigated against the centrality of “a single animating principle,” the disinterested aspirations of liberal arts education. As Derek Bok, then president of Harvard University, wrote in 1982, “after World War II...the image of the ivory tower grew obsolete. Instead, a vast and intricate network of relationships arose linking universities to other major institutions in the society. Under these conditions, the meaning of the traditional academic safeguards [i.e. liberal arts education] began to seem increasingly obscure.”⁷³

The institutional agglomerations of universities in the age of the multiversity have spawned numerous critiques of American higher education over the past few decades. Most commentators have followed Kerr’s and Bok’s pessimism by positing the attenuation of the liberal arts in the multiversity’s organizational mission. For many, the university has become what Bill Readings has

⁷² Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University, With a Postscript—1972* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 18–19.

⁷³ Derek Bok, *Beyond the Ivory Tower: Social Responsibilities of the Modern University* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 7.

called a “ruined institution,” one that “no longer participates in...the historical project of culture.”⁷⁴ Even if the growth of the multiversity has diminished the overarching gravity of the liberal arts within American higher education (a position debated in the epilogue), it has also brought a larger and more socioeconomically diverse population into contact with liberal arts education. The same sociocultural developments that had brought more students to campus also caused them to increasingly bring along popular music.

The growing affluence of the post-war middle class that enabled youths to attend university had also fostered youth-oriented leisure activities. Popular music became particularly identified with mid-century adolescent life, as new genres like doo-wop and rock 'n' roll were directly marketed to the new youth market. Technological advances like new record formats (33¹/₃ and 45), television, and transistor radios greatly expanded and reconfigured the dissemination and consumption of popular music as well during this time. Whereas pre-war popular music was relegated to live performance, bulky radios, or scratchy 78s, these new technologies brought recorded music to cars, bedrooms, and dormitories, effectively exploding the potential soundscape of popular music. The heterogenization of radio stations and development of niche markets in the 1950s further increased the amount of music circulated via mass media.⁷⁵ The increasing mobility of American culture through new forms of travel, television, and patterns of migration increasingly circulated musical forms across the country.

If popular music remained largely absent from university curricula in post-war American higher education, university life was positively teeming with it. Many of the same students who attended university—white, middle-class, suburban—were previously the new teenage target audience of popular music. The residential nature of American universities brought students from

⁷⁴ Readings, *The University in Ruins*, 5.

⁷⁵ Richard Peterson, “Why 1955? Explaining the Advent of Rock Music,” *Popular Music* 9, no. 1 (1990): 97–116; Reebee Garofalo, “From Music Publishing to MP3: Music and Industry in the Twentieth Century,” *American Music* 17, no. 3 (Autumn 1999): 333–36.

the youth culture of home to university culture on campus. For many students, their encounter with liberal arts education brought about a more critical disposition through exposure to high culture, making their teenage music appear juvenile by contrast. They sought music which spoke to their developing sensibilities, but what options were available? The conversion of modernist composition from public to specialist audience had distanced contemporary art music from the vast majority of students. The art music familiar to students remained the Classical and Romantic canon of the increasingly distant past, further diminishing modern classical music within student life. Yet the distinction between elite and mass culture propagated in universities had necessitated a form of music that fulfilled the purpose of self-development previously reserved for classical music.

The ubiquity of popular music combined with the marginalization of art music within student life made it a natural conduit for applying this disposition to more familiar cultural realms. The technological changes that promulgated rock 'n' roll had also circulated other popular music forms like folk, blues, and bebop. As these genres were considered the forebears of youth-oriented genres like rock 'n' roll, and were perceived to circulate outside of the contemporaneous recording industry, they became an attractive alternative for college students wanting new music different from their adolescent tastes.⁷⁶ In connecting university dispositions with these newly available popular musics seen as historically and economically distinct from mass culture, post-war students gave rise to elite popular music.

The first direct evidence of elite popular music on campus comes from University of Chicago sociologist David Riesman's seminal 1950 article "Listening to Popular Music." Riesman divided popular music taste into two categories, which he called "majority" and "minority" listeners.

⁷⁶ More recent scholarship has connected earlier recorded genres with the culture industry, differentiated only by discourses of authenticity and tradition. See David Monod, "'Ev'rybody's Crazy 'bout the Doggone Blues': Creating the Country Blues in the Early Twentieth Century," *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 19, no. 2 (2007): 179–214; and Richard Peterson, *Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

He described majority listeners through language similar to mass culture critiques. They had “indiscriminate” tastes and did not care about the sociocultural problems associated with popular culture, but saw popular music solely as a means of peer acceptance. Riesman believed that the majority listener “conformed to a culturally provided image of himself” rather than developing independent thought.⁷⁷ On the other hand, minority listeners were active and critical, and sought out music differentiated from majority taste. They developed “rigorous standards of judgment and taste,” resisted musical commercialization and commodification, and prized individuality over homogeneity. They preferred genres like “hot jazz” (bebop) and blues rather than the “sweet jazz” performed on the radio.⁷⁸

Riesman based his paradigm of minority and majority listening on interviews he conducted in Chicago’s South Side. He discovered that majority listeners could be easily located within working-class areas of the city, but minority listeners (described in the following quote as “hot-jazz fans”) were only found within the Gothic walls of the University of Chicago:

While my handful of interviews in white South Side Chicago brought to light only a single hot-jazz fan, there have been a number of such fans among the students at the University of Chicago. Sometimes these are young men—strikingly enough there are very few hot-jazz girls, save in an occasional “symbiotic” relation to a hot-jazz boy—who grew up as somewhat rebellious individuals in a small high school group where they stood almost alone in their musical orientation. Then, when they came to the university, they found many other such people and for the first time experienced the security and also the threat of peers who shared their outlook. What happens then, when this discovery is made, is something we are far from understanding; obviously, the problem touches on the whole congeries of issues connected with social and intellectual mobility, the American *rites de passage*, the role of big cities and intellectual centers.⁷⁹

Riesman’s statement connected minority listening with sociological aspects of universities, such as geographic and socioeconomic mobility, adolescence and early adulthood, and intellectual geography. However, the connections between minority listening and liberal arts culture are even

⁷⁷ David Riesman, “Listening to Popular Music,” *American Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (1950), 363–64. His argument reflects his critique of “other-directed” society central to *The Lonely Crowd*, his critique of contemporary industrial society.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 365.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 369–70.

more striking: the cultivation of sophisticated taste through criticism; the use of aesthetic culture in narratives of self-discovery; the distinction of an elite few set apart from the many; the uneasy relationship between the university and its geographic milieu; the predominance of masculine perspectives; and the emergence of fields of tension through the criticism of aesthetic culture. Riesman's article demonstrated how the liberal arts disposition cultivated in university education became transferred to extracurricular pursuits, signaling the emergence of elite popular music.

Elite Popular Music and University Transformations since 1950

As the preceding section demonstrates, elite popular music developed through institutional expansions in the American university, developments in popular music technology, and the increased affluence of American society. These factors enabled musicians and audiences to apply a liberal arts approach to culture previously reserved for art music to popular music forms that became increasingly prominent on campus through technological developments and demographic expansions. Riesman's "Listening to Popular Music" demonstrated how students applied aspects of their university culture such as criticality, taste hierarchies, and intellectualization to their hot jazz interests. His specific paradigm of minority listening will be further developed in Chapter 2, as it applies to the attitudes toward "purist" and "popularizing" folk music by campus folk revivalists.⁸⁰

While his article discusses the 1950s origins of elite popular music, the cultural terrain and the interrelationship between popular music and university culture have drastically changed over the subsequent half century. For example, in the first case study of this dissertation, campus folksong club members transposed the cultural stratification of modernist university culture to folk music, defining traditional music through its opposition to popular urban folk groups like the Kingston

⁸⁰ Riesman footnoted "audiences of hillbilly music" due to his desire to simply focus on jazz listeners, but his remarks are prescient for the folk revivalists in Chapter 2: "It would be interesting to study urban fanciers of hillbilly music as possible exemplars of the many city folk who, though they depend on the city for income, friends, and entertainment, despise or pretend to despise it and long nostalgically for the very rural life from which they or their parents may have fled; perhaps for such people to define themselves as country folk in their musical and other leisure tastes is the only way they can accept the city." *Ibid.*, 363.

Trio. At the same time, folk music was disbarred from curricular study because of its association with urban culture, creating a fraught relationship between the clubs and their universities. Fifty years later, Vampire Weekend and Dirty Projectors could instead move freely between disparate genres—indie rock, punk, Afro-pop, and art music—through an inclusiveness that reflects the increasing rhetorical openness and topical diversity of their studies. Many of the songs on *Vampire Weekend* originated in the senior writing project of the group’s lead singer, marking a more harmonious connection between curricular study and extracurricular pursuits. The transformation detailed in this dissertation from the strict cultural binaries of the folk revival to the seeming stylistic inclusivity in recent indie rock music results from three factors which have deeply impacted university education over the last fifty years: civil rights movements, increased student rights, and postmodern curricula.

The civil rights movements of the 1950s and 1960s provided the first catalysts for transforming the university and the object of elite popular music. Until the middle of the twentieth century, higher education had largely been a segregated, white, and male field.⁸¹ The repeal of the “separate but equal” doctrine in 1954 due to *Brown vs. Board of Education*, the resultant fraught desegregation of southern public schools, and the black civil rights movement of the 1960s influenced certain segments of the academic world, especially in the humanities, to examine the racist prejudices endemic to, and reproduced by, university education. Rather than structurally and culturally subjugating African-Americans, universities slowly and contentiously allowed black perspectives to gain more academic credence. The critique of cultural hegemony implicit in civil rights movements also prompted a curricular interest in popular music as a way of transgressing

⁸¹ Many prominent schools prohibited blacks and women from enrolling well into the twentieth century. Historically Black Colleges like Fisk and Morehouse had provided higher education possibilities for African-Americans, while women’s colleges associated with prominent men’s colleges like Barnard and Radcliffe educated women. However, these institutions were (and are) marginal to the public conception of the American university. John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 231–34.

cultural hierarchies as a way to recognize different cultural values. Nearly absent from American university curricula in the 1960s outside of sociology departments, many schools began offering courses in popular culture beginning in the 1970s.⁸² During this decade ethnomusicologists also began studying Western popular influences as part of non-Western musical practices.⁸³

The black civil rights movement soon lent academic legitimacy to other civil rights movements in the 1960s, including women's rights, Chicano rights, and the Native American civil rights movement discussed in Chapter 3. The amount of Native American students increased greatly during the 1970s, mirroring similar gains among African-Americans and Hispanics, and new American Indian studies centers opened in universities with large indigenous populations.⁸⁴ The two ethnomusicologists discussed in the chapter, David McAllester and Charlotte Heth, represent different subject positions to the influx of American Indians into higher education. As McAllester was a white, upper-middle-class New Englander who began his professorial career in the 1940s, he reevaluated his former beliefs through conducting research on popular music in contemporary indigenous culture. Heth instead was a Cherokee from eastern Oklahoma who attended UCLA as part of the first wave of Native American students. Her research tried to assert the aesthetic power of ceremonial music as an expression of current identity politics.

Civil rights movements also led to the relaxation of social restrictions in student life. The 1960s had witnessed the rise of student rebellion and campus demonstrations. Though mostly focused on civil rights and anti-war protests, student rebellions also addressed the constrictive

⁸² Mark Gordon and Jack Nachbar, *Currents of Warm Life: Popular Culture in American Higher Education* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1980). Beginning in the 1970s, the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham developed sophisticated tools for analyzing the relationship between cultural and social formations. Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, ed. *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock 'n' Roll* (New York: Pantheon, 1981).

⁸³ The beginnings of the ethnomusicological study of non-Western popular music are further discussed in Chapter 3.

⁸⁴ Arthur M. Cohen, *The Shaping of American Higher Education: Emergence and Growth of the Contemporary System* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1998), 198.

regulations that bound student behavior. Since their founding, residential American colleges had enacted *in loco parentis* policies. Universities curtailed students' extracurricular activities through curfews, single-sex dormitories, and restrictions on political expression.⁸⁵ Student movements beginning in the late 1960s protested these regulations through the Free Speech Movement, seeking freedom of expression and relaxed strictures on political and sexual behavior. Student riots slowly impacted institutional structures. As higher education historian Arthur Cohen wrote, "the student rebellion... hastened [the relaxation of *in loco parentis* regulations on student life] along. After the early 1970s it became difficult to find a campus where strict rules limited the tendency of students to socialize in any way they chose."⁸⁶

The specific institutional changes wrought by the redaction of *in loco parentis*—co-educational dorms, increased freedom of political and religious speech, removal of curfews and other restrictive policies—are in and of themselves tangential to this dissertation. However, student freedoms enabled the proliferation of campus popular music scenes like the underground rock community around the University of Georgia in the late 1970s. Students could increasingly form rock bands, go to co-ed parties, and illicitly drink at off-campus bars. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, colleges became a home for genres like punk and new wave that connected amateur skill, performance art, and rock. Historians such as John Thelin have argued that the development of such scenes traded "collegiate culture" for "youth culture," decentralizing specifically collegiate activities like Greek life or intramural clubs for the continuation of high school leisure activities.⁸⁷ Chapter 4 argues instead that collegiate culture was applied to "youth culture" pursuits like rock music in imbuing the values of criticism and self-development to extracurricular musical activities.

⁸⁵ The charters of Harvard, Yale, and many other universities had stressed behavioral regulations more than academic missions. Cf. Hofstadter and Smith, ed., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, 8–10, 39–49, 54–61.

⁸⁶ Cohen, *The Shaping of American Higher Education*, 206.

⁸⁷ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, 329.

Finally, the last important change is the curricular shift to multiculturalism in the humanities. As mentioned earlier, civil rights movements challenged the Eurocentricism of liberal arts education. During the 1980s, humanities curricula increasingly stressed multiculturalism as a way to critique modernist cultural hegemonies. Lawrence Levine has defined multiculturalism as the impetus “to study and understand as many of the contributing cultures [to American history] and their interactions with one another as possible...as a simple matter of *understanding* the nature and complexities of American culture and the processes by which it came, and continues to come, into being.”⁸⁸ Multiculturalism stressed the cultural context of aesthetic culture, dovetailing with influences in post-structuralist Continental philosophy to deconstruct notions of cultural purity. This change transformed the humanities, especially literary studies, philosophy, and the development of the “new musicology.” While the vehement debates over multiculturalism vis-à-vis university culture will be discussed in the epilogue, multicultural curricula have come to dominate humanities departments by the 2000s.

Multicultural studies have been enabled materially through the continued technological development that has given rise to global culture. By the 1970s, new technologies like the cassette and CD as well as increased transportation circulated popular music on a global scale. By the 1980s, the term “world music” was coined to indicate non-Western music influenced by Western popular music and began receiving extensive scrutiny within ethnomusicology.⁸⁹ As Arjun Appadurai has noted, the beginnings of global culture challenged the nationalist epistemology of culture underpinning modernist cultural paradigms, arguing that culture in the global, electronic age is

⁸⁸ Lawrence Levine, *The Opening of the American Mind: Canons, Culture, and History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 160.

⁸⁹ Cf. Bruno Nettl, “Some Aspects of the History of World Music in the Twentieth Century: Questions, Problems, and Concepts,” *Ethnomusicology* 22, no. 1 (January 1978): 123–36; idem., *The Western Impact on World Music: Change Adaptation, and Survival* (New York: Schirmer, 1985); Roger Wallis and Krister Malm, *Big Sounds from Small Peoples: the Music Industry in Small Countries* (London: Constable, 1984); Simon Frith, ed., *World Music, Politics, and Social Change: Papers from the International Association for the Study of Popular Music* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1989).

ontologically multinational and hybridized.⁹⁰ Of course, the Internet, torrents, iPhones, and social media have further recalibrated how popular music is produced and consumed over the past decade. Students in the twenty-first century comparatively have a staggeringly vast array of musics available to them on a growing number of media.

The academic legitimization of multicultural studies and the further development of popular music technology are central to the omnivory of Vampire Weekend and Dirty Projectors. Whereas the dispositions demonstrated in other chapters were based on a strict cultural hierarchies between an elite and mass version of the same genre, the two indie rock bands are able to include a more eclectic range of genres within the compass of elite taste that include non-Western, classical, and popular styles. Their genre crossings between indie rock, punk, Afro-pop, and art music reflect both postcolonialist critiques of Western culture and curricular multiculturalism and their ability to access a nearly infinite amount of music via the Internet. Despite this new cultural openness, multiculturalism does not erase the inequalities of global culture. Rather, its focus on respecting perspectives from different cultures retains the class boundaries central to American university education since its formation nearly four centuries ago.

Further changes in campus demography, student life, and curricula have continued to shape the musical and political stakes of elite popular music from its post-war origins to the present day. The critical approach to popular music by mid-century jazz fans at the University of Chicago described by David Riesman in “Listening to Popular Music” has remained a part of elite popular music and has been transformed into that of indie bands in the contemporary university. The case studies to follow will further develop this historical trajectory, demonstrating at once the individual configurations of elite popular music given particular time periods and genres, as well as the

⁹⁰ Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

permanence of the ethics and tensions derived from the criticism and self-development central to American university education.

Chapter 2: *Bildung* Tradition: Campus Folksong Clubs and Folk Music Criticism at the University of Illinois and Indiana University

For the May 19, 1961 issue of *Autoharp*, the newsletter of the University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club, club member Dick Adams submitted an opinion article, “In Defense of the Kingston Trio.” The Trio’s “Tom Dooley” had topped the Billboard charts in December 1958, catalyzing the American folk revival then sweeping college campuses. While the band was widely popular amongst their fellow students, club members detested them for converting folk songs into Top 40 fodder. In other issues, the club had lambasted them as “unpardonably degenerative” “concert singers...with no real commitment to traditional modes or values.”¹ Adams’ article countered by arguing that the Trio could be an introduction to folk music for their fellow students, who could then seek out artists with more “commitment to tradition.”² To explain his point, he compared the Trio to an introductory course in a hypothetical university curriculum of folk music:

All disciplines and art forms must have their popularizers. What are the beginning courses at the university—the “100’s” in the social sciences, the introductory classes in engineering, architecture, music, etc.—but simplified and, to a degree, popularized presentations of rather complex and sophisticated systems of knowledge?

In this sense, the Kingston Trio is “Folk Music 100- an introductory course.”

Thus the folk purists (many of whom I secretly suspect have Trio records hidden away from their own early interest in folk music) should try to foster and develop a wide interest in traditional materials—in the “200” and “300” class level—above the Kingston Trio.³

Adams’ analogy between folk music and university curricula epitomizes how campus folksong clubs used their university milieu as a crucial tool for defining and debating tradition. The use of a curricular metaphor in one sense simply reflects Adams’ student status, himself enmeshed in subjects and course numbers. The connection Adams made between musical hierarchies and

¹ Kandee Trefil (Candy Trefill), “Ethnics versus Folkniks,” *Autoharp* 3, no. 2 (November 30, 1962): 9; “Folkniks: Fact or Fancy?” *Autoharp* 2, no. 1 (October 6, 1961): 6. The latter article may have been written by *Autoharp* editor Dick Parkinson. N.B: *Autoharp* lacks consistent page numbers. For reference purposes, footnotes use pagination from the front cover as bound and archived in collections at the Archive of American Folk Music at the Library of Congress, the Indiana University Folklore Collection, and the University of Illinois University Archives.

² An editorial disclaimer prefaced the article, stating that Adams’s opinions are “not necessarily those of the *Autoharp* editors.” This editorial was the only article that received a disclaimer in the entire run of *Autoharp*.

³ Dick Adams, “In Defense of the Kingston Trio,” *Autoharp* 1, no. 4 (May 19, 1961): 24.

university culture, however, indicates a more substantive connection between tradition and criticism. His analogy defined traditional music as a “complex and sophisticated system of knowledge” differentiated from popularized culture, an argument presenting folk music as a specialized literature requiring committed study. Knowledge of the Kingston Trio could have been an introductory prerequisite, but students still had to learn a complex, differentiated curriculum in order to complete their degree.

This chapter examines how the University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club (hereafter CFC) and the Indiana University Folksong Club (IUFC) interlaced folk music with university culture to study tradition as an object of liberal arts culture. The clubs conceived of tradition through its supposed opposition to mass culture and entrenched this division through activities promoting the critical, disinterested study of folk music. While clubs were intended to be organizations devoted to the criticism of tradition, utilitarian pressures such as current events, institutional club regulations, the tastes of “native” folk musicians, and unsolvable economic inequalities forged a mutable, reactive, and at times contradictory realization of these aims. By conceptualizing folk music through the liberal arts, members of these clubs ultimately comprehended university culture rather than the practices of traditional musicians, transferring student binaries between popular and traditional music onto practitioners who more freely incorporated traditional folk and contemporary country music. Yet the pursuit of an authentic tradition through criticism was perceived by both students and folksingers as a respectful way to approach folk music.

This chapter opens by historicizing the formation of folksong clubs at Illinois and Indiana through the broader folk revival and the geographies of their rural Midwestern university towns. Using theories of “minority culture” by David Riesman and F.R. Leavis, I argue that these factors encouraged campus folksong clubs to conceive of tradition through both cultural distinctions between high and low music and the rural geographies of their campuses. I then discuss three club

activities in which clubs performed, discussed, and documented tradition: concerts by rural exemplars like Frank Proffitt and the Stoneman Family and urban folksingers like the New Lost City Ramblers; club newsletters, the CFC's *Autoharp* and the IUFC's *Blue Yodel*; and recordings, especially a fieldwork recording of local musicians produced by the CFC entitled *Green Fields of Illinois*. These activities represent not only different ways to approach tradition, but combine to reflect the process of self-development intended through its study. Concerts sought to introduce students to an unfamiliar, elevated culture set apart from current events. Newsletters aimed to develop a critical approach based on these encounters. Recordings then applied this critical approach through documenting of rural folksong, acting as a capstone project for their liberal arts study of traditional music.

Urbana-Champaign, Bloomington, and the Geography of Folk Music Study

The formation and growth of folksong clubs at the University of Illinois and Indiana University was sparked by the American folk revival, a surge in folk music popularity catalyzed by the Kingston Trio's 1958 hit "Tom Dooley." While the folk revival was primarily based in urban centers like Boston, New York, and Los Angeles, folk music had been performed on campuses since at least the 1920s, when musicians like John Jacob Niles and Richard Dyer-Bennet toured campuses performing classically-inflected renditions of folksong. The growth of folk music festivals in the South and Northeast during the 1930s spread to college campuses in the ensuing decade. Bucknell University hosted the first collegiate folk festival in 1936, which was followed in 1940 by one at Fort Valley State College in Macon, Georgia.⁴ In 1945, Swarthmore College inaugurated an annual festival

⁴ Ronald D. Cohen, *A History of Folk Music Festivals in the United States: Feasts of Musical Celebrations* (Latham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2008), 20-23.

which brought Leadbelly, Woody Guthrie, and Jack Elliott to the outskirts of Philadelphia.⁵ During the 1940s and 1950s, students increasingly brought their passion for folk music to college campuses.

The increased presence of folk music on campus during these decades had been initially sparked by the turn to folk music by urban populists during the 1930s and the use of folk music in K-12 education.⁶ During the 1950s, campuses became increasingly important as an asylum for leftist folk musicians during the McCarthyist era. Perhaps the most influential folk musician for future student musicians was Pete Seeger, former member of the Almanac Singers and the Weavers. Seeger had been accused of having Communist sympathies in 1952 and later charged with contempt of Congress by the House of Un-American Activities Committee in 1957. He was summarily blacklisted from the music industry, but his connections with university students from New York City allowed him to perform at colleges throughout the U.S.⁷ Starting in 1953 with a lecture series

⁵ For more information on the Swarthmore Folk Festival, see Ralph Lee Smith, "If I Had a Song," *Swarthmore College Bulletin* 94, no. 4 (March 1997): 16–20, 62. Festival participants are taken from Swarthmore College Folk Festival, List of Performers, 1945–60, Library of Congress Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Swarthmore College Folder.

⁶ For the revival's prehistory between the 1930s and 1950s, see Ronald Cohen, *Rainbow Quest: The Folk Music Revival and American Society, 1940–1970* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 36–124; Richard Reuss with Joanne C. Reuss, *American Folk Music and Left-Wing Politics* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2000); David Whisnant, *All That Is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983). For a broad discussion of the interest in folk and working-class culture amongst the American urban left, see Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Verso, 2011). Along with folksong's use among the cultural left, a wellspring of folk music anthologies had also appeared during the 1940s and 1950s by figures like Burl Ives, John & Alan Lomax, and Ruth Crawford Seeger, along with reprints of both Francis Child's *English and Scottish Ballads* and Cecil Sharp's *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*. A sampling of important anthologies printed and reprinted between 1940 and 1958 includes John Lomax, Alan Lomax, and Ruth Crawford Seeger, *Our Singing Country: A Second Volume of American Ballads and Folk Songs* (New York: Macmillan, 1941); Olin Downs and Elie Siegmeister, *A Treasury of American Song* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1943); John Lomax, *Folk Song U.S.A.: The 111 Best American Ballads* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pierce, 1947); Ruth Crawford Seeger, *American Folksongs for Children in Home, School, and Nursery School: A Book for Children, Parents, and Teachers* (New York: Doubleday, 1948); Burl Ives and Albert Hague, *The Burl Ives Songbook: American Song in Historical Perspective* (New York: Ballantine, 1953). Francis James Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (New York: Folklore Press, 1957); Cecil Sharp, *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, ed. Maud Karpeles (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952). The Child pressing was a reprint of the original source, while the Sharp reprint contained a new introduction by Karpeles.

⁷ For Seeger's connections with university students, see Pete Seeger, "Thou Shalt Not Sing" in *It Did Happen Here: Recollections of Political Repression in America*, ed. Bud Schultz and Ruth Schultz (Berkeley: University of California, 1989), 18.

and festival at Columbia, Seeger began playing at colleges across the country.⁸ Seeger's concerts combined populist politics with educational aims, teaching students about folk music history and encouraging spirited sing-alongs. Seeger treasured his work on college campuses, later recollecting that "what I did in the colleges was the most important single job I ever did in my life—introducing the songs of Leadbelly and Woody Guthrie to young people."⁹ Some of these "young people" became leading figures in the folk revival, including Joan Baez, Peter, Paul, and Mary, and even the Kingston Trio.

The burgeoning interest in campus folk music led by Seeger was further encouraged by the explosion of rock 'n' roll in the mid-1950s. As discussed in Chapter 1, technological innovations like the jukebox, television, and the transistor radio saturated the American soundscape with popular music, and no music was more widely circulated through these media than rock 'n' roll. The genre's ubiquity and juvenile orientation caused college students to seek different, less commercialized music. The educative associations of folk music appealed to collegians undergoing the *rites de passage*, to invoke Riesman, from adolescence to adulthood. Following the Kingston Trio's success, folk music scenes formed at universities across the country. While many students emulated the Kingston Trio's combination of folk and pop music, other students believed folk and pop to be resolutely separate and resented these bands. They instead desired to uphold what they saw as the traditional, educative aspects of folk music.

Folk music flourished in university areas in major cities during the revival, especially Washington Square in Greenwich Village, Harvard Square in Cambridge, Westwood, and Berkeley. Yet both geographically and culturally, Midwestern universities like Illinois and Indiana became

⁸ Advertisement for the Folksong Festival at Columbia University, 1953, and American Folk Music and its World Origins Pamphlet, Columbia University, 1954, Library of Congress Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Pete Seeger Folder. His campus audience increased over the next few years—attendance at his Oberlin concerts rose from 200 in 1954 to about 1000 in 1957. Joe Hickerson, letter to Robert Haslun, October 2, 1996, Library of Congress Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Oberlin College Folder.

⁹ Ken Perlman, "Interview with Pete Seeger" *Banjo Newsletter* 27, no. 12 (October 2000): 26.

particularly appropriate places for the development of a critical approach to folk music.¹⁰ The rural setting of Midwestern campuses provided closer proximity to the native environs of folk music. Folklore studies had equated traditional music with the musical practices found in rural places untouched by modern civilization.¹¹ Rather than commiserating about the endless countryside surrounding them, students at Bloomington and Urbana-Champaign previously familiar with urban folk music could experience the supposedly real thing within its native setting.

As such, the University of Illinois and Indiana University proved to be particularly fertile grounds for the formation of folksong clubs. Indiana University was initially formed in Bloomington in 1820, a few years after Indiana achieved statehood, as the Indiana State Seminary. The institution followed northeastern Protestant colleges by predominantly teaching theology and classics. Rechristened Indiana University in 1838, the school remained in essence a seminary removed from community and state concerns. Over the late nineteenth century, the university gradually replaced its theological focus with a liberal arts core. The University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana was founded in 1867 through Morrill Act funds allocated to the state of Illinois.¹² Chartered as Illinois Industrial University, the institution was conceived as an agricultural school according to both the terms of the Morrill Act and support for an industrial university in Illinois.¹³ Like many Morrill Act

¹⁰ Joe Hickerson, co-founder of folksong clubs at both Oberlin and Indiana, claimed that all Big Ten campuses (i.e. the flagship state universities of the upper Midwest) featured a “University-sponsored folk sing group.” “Folk Singers Will Seek Sponsorship,” *Indiana Daily Student* August 3, 1962, 4. Bob Dylan famously spent a year at the University of Minnesota before arriving in Greenwich Village, and two University of Minnesota students founded the influential folk music journal *Little Sandy Review*. The Universities of Chicago and Michigan both hosted annual folk festivals. Archival documentation also exists for other folksong clubs at Midwestern universities including Wisconsin, Antioch, Notre Dame, and St. Olaf.

¹¹ Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).

¹² Though Indiana University had sought to use Morrill Act funds to expand their own campus, the funds allocated to Indiana were instead used to found Purdue University in West Lafayette. For documents on Indiana University and the Morrill Act, see Thomas D. Clark, *Indiana University: Midwestern Pioneer, Vol. IV: Historical Documents since 1816* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), 200–13.

¹³ The movement was sparked by an 1851 address in Griggsville, a small town near Quincy, by Jonathan Baldwin Turner, a Yale graduate and prominent educator in Jacksonville. See Jonathan Baldwin Turner, “A State University for the Industrial Classes,” in *Some Founding Papers of the University of Illinois*, ed. Richard A. Hatch (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 33–49.

institutions, though, the founders of Illinois were caught between the A&M movement and the new Germanic liberal arts model. The first regent of the university, John Milton Gregory, instituted a curriculum stressing liberal arts research despite fervent community opposition.¹⁴ The university would uneasily balance its liberal arts core with its rural, agricultural milieu.

By the mid-twentieth century, both the University of Illinois and Indiana University had become bustling multiversities replete with strong humanities programs, A&M initiatives, and divergent research foci.¹⁵ As they became leading liberal arts research schools, they attracted youths from more privileged urban backgrounds in cities such as Chicago, Peoria, Milwaukee, and New York rather than small towns dotting the surrounding prairie. Blake Gumprecht has argued that college towns with flagship state institutions such as Bloomington and Champaign-Urbana are the most highly educated and cosmopolitan of university communities. Flagships “attract students and faculty from a wide area, so the towns in which they are located tend to be more sophisticated culturally than other types of college towns.”¹⁶ Schools like Illinois and Indiana thus feature an unusual socioeconomic geography where thousands of predominantly middle- and upper-class students live and learn in a primarily working-class rural area of its state.

This intermingling of urban privilege and rural location in Champaign-Urbana and Bloomington produced the conception of folk music explored by folksong clubs in their organizational activities. Folk music became a valued part of students’ musical lives, circulating

¹⁴ Winton U. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894: An Intellectual and Cultural History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968), 84–117. Gregory’s inaugural address stressed the importance of liberal arts in uplifting the industrial classes, while acknowledging the disapproval of popular opinion (which he called “external difficulties”). John Milton Gregory, “The Inaugural Address of Regent John Milton Gregory,” in *Some Founding Papers*, 99–113, esp. 104–106.

¹⁵ For the history of Indiana University to 1960, and the subsequent political turmoil under president Elvis Storr, see Mary Ann Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland: The Sixties at Indiana University* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 1–21. George Dinsmore Stoddard examines the multivalent pressures of the mid-century multiversity in *Ferment in Education: the Problems, Responsibilities, and Opportunities of Universities in this Time; A Symposium at the Installation of George Dinsmore Stoddard as President of the University of Illinois* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1948).

¹⁶ Blake Gumprecht, “The American College Town,” *Cultural Geography* 93, no. 1 (2003): 58.

amongst the liberal arts culture of the university, the urban folk music of their home life, and the rural folksong of their Midwestern surroundings. The prominence of the liberal arts within their college towns combined with the rural setting converted the populist associations of folk music prominent in the early days of the folk revival into a critical approach toward folksong.

The socioeconomic and physical geographies of both Indiana and Illinois fertilized the development of folksong clubs. The formation of both schools' clubs was further conditioned by preexistent institutional frameworks. Indiana had boasted a rich history of folklore study stretching back to the 1940s. Led by English professor Stith Thompson, Indiana formed the country's first Ph.D. program in Folklore in 1948.¹⁷ The revival spurred the rapid growth of Indiana's Folklore Department over the subsequent decade.¹⁸ Many Indiana students were folksingers wishing to buttress their passion for traditional music with academic study. Joe Hickerson, one such student, began study in 1958. Hickerson, a native of New Haven whose family participated in the Greenwich Village folk scene, completed his B.A. at Oberlin. He catalyzed the school's folk music scene, organizing Pete Seeger's concerts, distributing records for Folkways and Elektra, forming the Oberlin Folk Song Club, and singing in the Folksmiths, an octet of Oberlin students which toured northeastern summer camps in 1957.¹⁹ Other folk musicians, including Neil Rosenberg and Ellen Stekert, pursued folklore study at Indiana.

The year before Hickerson's arrival, though, Stith Thompson retired and was replaced as chair by Richard Dorson, a Harvard-trained English professor from Michigan State. While

¹⁷ Indiana University Department of English, "Indiana University Department of English: Graduate Courses in Folklore," c. 1940, Library of Congress Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Indiana University Folder; Indiana University Department of Folklore, "Graduate Program in Folklore," *Indiana University Bulletin* 46, no. 30 (1948): 3. Thompson had attended Harvard and was a student of George Lyman Kittridge, who was Francis Child's student and John Lomax's teacher.

¹⁸ In the words of Regina Bendix, "both popular and academic interest in folklore [during the 1950s] arose from the same cultural circumstances." Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity*, 191.

¹⁹ The Folksmiths released an album in 1957 on Folkways entitled *We've Got Some Singing to Do*. Band member Ricky Sherover documented their travels in "The Folksmiths: Eight Students Who Had Some Singing to Do," *Sing Out!* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1958): 17–21.

Thompson had been an avid amateur ballad singer, Dorson detested any academic interest in folk music.²⁰ Dorson was compelled by a “determination to professionalize the field of folklore studies, to legitimize it, and to imbue it with the kind of credibility enjoyed by other academic disciplines.”²¹ In 1950, he wrote “Folklore and Fake Lore,” an article distinguishing between “pristine folkstuff,” traditional lore originating through oral transmission, and “fakelore,” commercialized putrefactions thereof. Dorson defined fakelore as “a synthetic product claiming to be authentic oral tradition but actually tailored for mass edification,” advocating the academic study of real folklore to combat the promulgation of fakelore.²² While folk revivalists distinguished between “purists” and “popularizers,” Dorson considered both attitudes “fakelore” as compared with academic folklore.²³ His attitude toward students’ interest in folksinging ranged from outright condemnation to begrudging tolerance.²⁴ Dorson made some concessions for folksingers, asking Joe Hickerson to stage a folksing for the 1962 Summer Folklore Institute.²⁵ However, he insisted that folklore scholarship remain “inviolable” from folksinging.²⁶

²⁰ Thompson’s interest in ballad singing was related to me by Judith McCulloh, interview with author, April 14, 2012.

²¹ Jeanne Harrah-Conforth, “Dorson and the Indiana University Folklore Program: Oral Histories,” *Western Folklore* 48, no. 4 (1989): 342.

²² Richard Dorson, “Folklore, Academe, and the Marketplace,” in *Folklore and Fakelore: Essays toward a Discipline of Folk Studies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 5.

²³ He later wrote that, “because the popularizers are numerous and the professionals few in folklore studies, there is hardly anyone with the temerity to say, ‘it isn’t folklore.’ It has fallen to me to make this statement, repeatedly, in a series of encounters with lay experts on folklore.” *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁴ Judith McCulloh reminisced that Ellen Stekert, a folksinger recorded by Folkways, received a rude welcome from Dorson: “He looked around the room and he said, ‘Now, we’re students of folklore. And we’re going to be respectable, we’re going to be respected, we’re going to make the field respected. We are going to act the part,’ and he says, looking at her, “there will be no long-haired singers of folksongs in this folklore program.” Judith McCulloh, interview by Tracie Wilson, May 22, 2007, transcript, University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Oral History Project, accessed February 15, 2011, http://www.library.illinois.edu/edx/folklore/transcripts/mcculloh_22052007_.pdf, 4. She reiterated this story to me in her interview on April 14, 2012. Harrah-Conforth’s review of the oral history she conducted on the Indiana University folklore program and Richard Dorson [“Dorson and the Indiana University Folklore Program”] indicates heated and tense confrontations regarding his attitude towards folk music. The oral history, conducted in 1986-87, remains closed to the public until 2015.

²⁵ Joseph C. Hickerson, interview with author, January 9, 2011, Wheaton, MD.

²⁶ According to Dorson, Hickerson could bridge the divide between folklorist and folksinger only by bringing the academic rigor of the former to his activities as a latter, and not the other way around. Richard Dorson, “The American Folklore Scene, 1963,” *Folklore* 74, no. 3 (1963): 433–49. Hickerson recalled that Dorson’s denunciations

Dorson's dismissal of the revival did not stop students from performing. By 1958, Bloomington was home to an actively concertizing cadre of folklore students.²⁷ As folksinging activity grew, coffeehouses including the Quiet Answer, Countrepoint, and Phase 3 opened in downtown and became frequent folk performance venues. By the time Hickerson held his concert at the 1962 Folklore Festival, folksinging had become so popular that students considered forming an official student club. Hickerson and fellow folklore graduate students Neil Rosenberg and Mayne Smith drew on their prior experience in the Oberlin Folksong Club to form a similar organization in Indiana. A constitution was drawn up and ratified on October 5, 1962, and the University Senate formally approved the club on October 18.²⁸

While the folklore department brought many seasoned folksingers to Bloomington, the scene at the University of Illinois stemmed instead from informal activity marshaled by a gregarious new faculty member. Folk music groups arose from hootenannies, gatherings featuring folk music and dance, hosted by the YMCA and the Alpha Chi fraternity beginning in the mid-1950s. In 1957, the first campus folk club, the Illinois Folk Arts Society, formed and sponsored hootenannies at the local Unitarian church. Though group membership grew during 1958 and 1959, internal fractures dissolved the group shortly thereafter.²⁹ Folksings at the newly opened Turk's Head Coffee House soon became the center of campus folk activity.³⁰ Students desired to form a single folksong club like the Illinois Folk Arts Society, but the absence of faculty interested in folk music led them to consider off-campus sponsorship via the YMCA.

of folksinging may have been rhetorical embellishments of his actual feelings, but noted that students were encouraged to separate folksinging and scholarship. Hickerson, interview with author.

²⁷ Joseph C. Hickerson, "News from Indiana," *Caravan* 9 (April 1958): 4. Hickerson's letter is printed directly above an advertisement for the 1958 Summer Folklore Institute.

²⁸ Dates from "Folksong Club to Seek Senate Approval Thursday," *Indiana Daily Student* October 10, 1962, 6; and "Folksong Club Plans Instrument Lessons," *Indiana Daily Student* November 6, 1962, 2.

²⁹ Bill Becker, "As It Was in the Beginning," *Autoharp* 4, no. 4 (March 16, 1964): 5–7.

³⁰ A more in-depth reminiscence of the Champaign-Urbana coffeehouse scene is found in Jim Hockenhull, interview by Annie Paprocki, March 5, 2010, transcript, University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Oral History Project, accessed February 15, 2011, http://www.library.illinois.edu/edx/folklore/transcripts/Jim_Hockenhull_Interview_Transcript-8-19-10.pdf, 3–4.

Students soon found a faculty sponsor in Archie Green, a Berkeley-educated former shipwright and carpenter from San Francisco who was newly hired as librarian for the Illinois Institute for Labor and Industrial Relations. Green, who researched laborlore and coal miners' songs, was passionate about the revival and became an enthusiastic mentor for students interested in folk music.³¹ Green moved to Champaign in 1958 to receive his M.L.S. and began permanent employment in 1960. He immediately began participating in the local folk music scene, even emceeding an evening concert at the 1961 University of Chicago Folk Festival.³² Vic Lukas and Dick Kanar, two students involved with the Turk's Head scene, asked Green to become the faculty advisor for a new folksong club.³³ Green accepted, and the Campus Folksong Club was ratified on March 3, 1961.³⁴ If Dorson took particular pride in delimiting folklore, arguing that the discipline "cannot tarry with folklore performers and popularizers" who "employ no theoretical premises," Green galvanized students to perform and study folk music and to develop their own "theoretical premises" in the process.³⁵ While Indiana's students were perhaps more advanced in their knowledge

³¹ He later received his Ph.D. in Folklore at the University of Pennsylvania and taught English and Folklore at Illinois and the University of Texas-Austin. In the 1970s, his advocacy led to the founding of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress. For more information about Green's interests in labor and public folklore, see Sean Burns, *Archie Green: The Making of a Working Class Hero* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011).

³² University of Chicago Folklore Society, University of Chicago Folk Festival Program, 1961, Folder #1385, Archie Green Papers. #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (hereafter "Archie Green Papers"). He would continue to be involved in the University of Chicago Folk Festival throughout the 1960s.

³³ Green reminisced he met Lukas and Kanar after his lecture at the University of Chicago Folk Festival (Archie Green, "The Campus Folksong Club: A Glimpse at the Past," in *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined*, ed. Neil V. Rosenberg [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993], 63), while Lukas claimed that he had known Green prior to the festival, presumably through their mutual involvement with the Turk's Head Coffee House (Victor Lukas, interview by Tracie Wilson, June 18, 2007 transcript, University of Illinois Campus Folk Song Oral History Project, accessed February 15, 2011, http://www.library.illinois.edu/edx/folklore/transcripts/Lucas_18062007.pdf, 5). The exact timing of their meeting, though, is immaterial for the eventual formation of the group in 1961.

³⁴ V. J. Hampton, letter to Richard P. Kanar, March 3, 1961, Folder #1404, Archie Green Papers. Folklore faculty wanted no part of the Indiana student folksinging club, so the first faculty sponsor of the IUFC was Bruce Buckley, a recent folklore Ph.D. employed in the Audio-Visual department.

³⁵ Richard Dorson, "A Theory of American Folklore," *Journal of American Folklore* 72, no. 285 (1959): 202. Robert Sayers, former president of the CFC, recalled in an interview that Archie Green "was the club." Robert Sayers, interview with author, Washington, DC, December 22, 2010.

of folk music, Green's encouragement enabled a healthier environment for developing a campus folksong club.³⁶

Tradition as Minority Culture

Both clubs quickly consolidated campus folk activity and grew in size as the revival expanded in the early 1960s. The CFC blossomed from an original core of only nineteen students to nearly five hundred members during the club's 1963 peak.³⁷ The IUFC, which formed with 150 members, grew to approximately 250 by 1963.³⁸ With such large numbers for a campus organization, clubs could stage a variety of activities. The IUFC's constitution, for example, read that "the club's activities are both recreational and educational, including folksings, lectures, symposia, films, concerts, and instructional workshops."³⁹ Joe Hickerson, co-founder of the IUFC, stressed to me in an interview that folk music organizations were intended to serve both "recreational and educational" ends.⁴⁰ Folk music was not just a fun extracurricular social activity, but an object of serious study.

As revival organizations, the CFC and IUFC viewed tradition as their central educational object. Tamara Livingston has defined a music revival "as any social movement with the goal of

³⁶ Archie Green, and the CFC in general, rejected Dorson's position. Green invited two folklorists with notorious feuds with Dorson, professor-turned-treasure collector Benjamin Botkin and University of Pennsylvania professor MacEdward Leach to deliver lectures at Illinois. Botkin delivered his seminal "The Folksong Revival: Cult or Culture" on November 12, 1963, a version of which was later published in *The American Folk Scene: Dimensions of the Folksong Revival*, ed. David A. DeTurk and A. Poulin, Jr., (New York: Dell, 1967), 95–100. MacEdward Leach gave a talk called "The Ballad and the Folk Aesthetic" on March 29, 1963. The feud between Dorson and Botkin is described in Benjamin Filene, *Romancing the Folk: Public Memory and American Roots Music* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 169–72; Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity*, 190–94; and Gene Bluestein, *Poplore: Folk and Pop in American Culture* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 84–85. Roger D. Abrahams discusses Dorson's feud with MacEdward Leach in "Representative Man: Richard Dorson, Americanist," *Journal of Folklore Research* 26, no. 1 (1989): 29–30. Incidentally, Dorson was never asked to make the quick trip over to Urbana, and Green later moved to Philadelphia to receive his Ph.D. in folklore under Leach's tutelage.

³⁷ University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club, Application for Recognition of New University Organization, c. February 1961, Folder #1404, Archie Green Papers. Figure of 500 from Green, "The Campus Folksong Club," 64.

³⁸ "Folksong Club Plans Instrument Lessons;" Neil V. Rosenberg, "Neil V. Rosenberg," in *Wasn't That a Time: Firsthand Accounts of the Folk Revival*, ed. Ronald D. Cohen (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1995), 73.

³⁹ Neil V. Rosenberg, "Bloomington Folk Scene Notes Copy," personal copy given to author.

⁴⁰ Hickerson, interview with author. The fun aspect of folk music was another point of contention for Dorson, who viewed folklore as an object of serious study.

restoring and preserving a musical tradition which is believed to be disappearing or completely relegated to the past.” She argues that revivals primarily serve two purposes: as a cultural alternative whose capital rests on fidelity to a historical tradition, or “authenticity”; and a means of social uplift through exposure to values assumed to rest within this tradition.⁴¹ Fritz Plous, a CFC member, wrote that “the chief item of dispute... is the definition of 1) tradition, the keystone of our Club’s constitution, and 2) the role of the Club in defining, discovering, and presenting traditional material.”⁴² Green likewise recalled that “‘tradition’ became our talismanic keyword. We used it variously to describe process (a tale handed down traditionally); substance (customary material as in traditions of a people); meliorative norm (‘Sarah’s more traditional than Joan’).”⁴³

Campus folksong organizations like the CFC and IUFC drew their belief of “tradition” from a mid-century modernist approach that authenticated rural folk music practice in distinction from urban culture. The conceptualization of tradition within campus folksong clubs stemmed from folklore studies, which defined the term as the folkways of rural peoples that ran counter to, and were threatened by, the products of the culture industry.⁴⁴ As such, a number of later critiques from folklore and cultural studies stressing the “invention of tradition,” in Eric Hobsbawm’s words, are germane to this study.⁴⁵ Critiques by folklorist David Whisnant and historian Benjamin Filene have

⁴¹ Tamara Livingston, “Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory,” *Ethnomusicology* 43, no. 1 (1999): 68.

⁴² Fritz Plous, “From the Editor’s Diary,” *Autoharp* 4, no. 4 (March 16, 1964): 16. Article II of the group’s constitution read that club activities should “facilitate the study, exchange, and enjoyment of traditional folk material”

⁴³ Green, “The Campus Folksong Club,” 61. Green’s quote implicitly compares Sarah Ogan Gunning, a folksinger born in 1910 in eastern Kentucky most famous for writing “I Am a Girl of Constant Sorrow,” to Joan Baez, the urban-born folksinger central to the 1960s revival.

⁴⁴ Cf. Sharp, *English Folk Songs*, xvi: “It is surprising and sad to find how quickly the instinctive culture of the people will seem to disappear when once they have been brought into touch with modern civilization, and how soon they will imitate the manners and become imbued with the tastes of ‘polite society’.... And the singing of traditional songs is relegated almost immediately to that past life, which has not only been outgrown, but which has no apparent bearing on the present existence.”

⁴⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (New York: Canto, 1983), 1–14. Neil V. Rosenberg rejected Hobsbawm’s theory as too extreme, arguing that folk revival activities were “informal” and “non-elite” “customs” rather than imposed traditions. Rosenberg’s claim that folk revivalists were “non-elite,” however, fails to acknowledge both their university

acutely illuminated the limitations of revivalist conceptions of tradition as romanticized imaginaries that privileged students projected onto rural musicians. Whisnant theorized revivalists as “intervenors” who “define what the culture is, ... normalize and legitimize that definition in larger society, and even ... feed it back into culture itself, where it is internalized as ‘real’ or ‘traditional’ or ‘authentic.’”⁴⁶ Thomas Turino has similarly argued that the folk revival “was an *adoption* of certain musical influences, styles, and imagery by urban and suburban middle-class Americans from other social groups and regions.... The movement represented more of a transference than a revival.”⁴⁷ Yet following Whisnant and Turino by critiquing revivalists for tautologically seeking a romanticized concept they themselves invented and projected overlooks the meanings and purposes campus clubs bestowed upon the concept of “tradition.”

Folklorist Neil V. Rosenberg (himself a founding member of the IUFC) has argued that folk revivals “transform tradition,” remaking musical practices associated with the past for present-day purposes.⁴⁸ As a campus folksong club mostly comprised of students, the IUFC and CFC inevitably drew on their university in defining and transforming tradition. This does not mean, though, that students learned about the revival in their classes. Folklorists believed their object of study to arise from rural locations removed from urban development. As members of the IUFC knew only too well, the folk revival did not translate into curricular interest, instead remaining the province of student-run organizations.⁴⁹ The influence of the university on the club thus lay not in curricular study, but in the broader influence of liberal arts culture.

privilege and their impulse to formalize and guard tradition through folksong club institutionalization. Neil V. Rosenberg, “Introduction,” in *Transforming Tradition*, 20.

⁴⁶ Whisnant, *All That Is Native and Fine*, 260; Filene, *Romancing the Folk*.

⁴⁷ Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 156.

⁴⁸ Rosenberg, “Introduction.”

⁴⁹ An *Autoharp* notice praised the university’s ethnomusicology faculty for “so valiantly... instructing Club members in the ways of tradition,” but faculty did not participate in club activities nor or discuss revival music. “Nettle [*sic*] to Teach Here,” *Autoharp* 4, no. 5 (April 30, 1964): 26. The notice, which announced the hiring of Bruno Nettl, stated that he “has long been interested in the role of folk music in a contemporary environment, and is

The connection between tradition and the liberal arts is best understood by the concept of “minority culture” theorized by both David Riesman and F.R. Leavis. As discussed in Chapter 1, Riesman’s “Listening to Popular Music” demonstrated how students applied aspects of their university culture such as criticality, taste hierarchies, and intellectualization to their hot-jazz interests. His specific paradigm of minority listening also described the attitudes toward elite “purist” and mass “populist” approaches to folk music assumed by campus folk revivalists. Although discussing British culture, F.R. Leavis similarly defined “minority culture” as a small elite that could preserve high culture through its ability to “[discern] and appreciat[e] culture” amidst mass culture. “Upon this minority,” asserted Leavis, “depends our power of profiting by the finest human experience of the past; they keep alive the subtlest and most perishable parts of tradition. Upon them depend the implicit standards that order the finer living of an age, the sense that this is worth more than that.”⁵⁰ In his 1943 essay, “The Idea of the University,” Leavis tasked the university with developing the critical faculties needed to reproduce the elite capable of upholding minority culture.⁵¹

The definition of minority culture propagated by Riesman and Leavis reflected how campus folksong clubs conceived of traditional music in three important ways: a preserved canon opposed

sympathetic to the concerns of revival participants; we understand that he is an avid reader of *Autoharp*, and is looking forward to joining the Club in action.” Nettl had known Green as a participant in a Michigan Folklore Society meeting held at Wayne State University in 1960. They had corresponded prior to his arrival, but no evidence of Nettl’s participation in the club exists. A few Illinois faculty members did take part in club activities. A. Doyle Moore (art history) played autoharp in the Philo Glee and Mandoline Society, the first group recorded by the CFC. John Schmidt (veterinary medicine) recorded many CFC events which were later deposited in the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music. Thatcher Robinson (mathematics) helped record the *Green Fields of Illinois* album. However, all of their participation in the club was extracurricular. Green had lamented to MacEdward Leach, a folklore professor at Penn, that “we are one of the largest American universities without a folklore program. [English] Professor [John P.] Flanagan teaches a single course on folk themes in American literature. Henri Stegemeier [professor of Germanic Studies] studied under Stith Thompson and could teach a fine introductory course but does not. None of our anthropologists seem to have an active folklore interest. The English Department has not seen fit to hire a ballad scholar. In a sense the faculty lags behind the student body.” Archie Green, letter to MacEdward Leach, November 13, 1961, Folder #211, Archie Green Papers.

⁵⁰ F.R. Leavis, “Mass Civilization and Minority Culture,” in *Education and the University: A Sketch for an ‘English School’* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 143–44.

⁵¹ F.R. Leavis, “The Idea of the University,” in *Education and the University*, 15–32.

to the mechanized products of the culture industry; a critical disposition whose powers of discernment were limited to an elite few; and an institution reproducing these faculties through education. Traditional music became a concept to be preserved, critiqued, and taught as a means of self-development in opposition to invasive popularized forms. The wide range of club activities can be seen as strategies pragmatically deployed along these fronts to safeguard tradition, to celebrate it through recreation and education, and to wrestle with the socioeconomic, political, and institutional tensions inherent in these pursuits. Folksong concerts, probably the most central activity of both the IUFC and CFC, demonstrated how clubs produced a conception of tradition as aloof from politics and disinterested from financial gain.

Performing Traditions: Folksong Club Concerts

In the wake of the revival, folk music was extensively performed on campuses across the country. Many schools, including Swarthmore, Michigan, Yale, Oberlin, UCLA, UC-Berkeley and Chicago, hosted yearly festivals during the revival, and campuses were frequent stops on national tours for many folksingers. Both the CFC and IUFC sought to host folk concerts as well. Ideally, such concerts would educate audiences about the performative, biographical, and geographic aspects of traditional folk music. At the same time, concerts also sustained club activities as a necessary profit-making mechanism. As campus clubs, the IUFC and CFC were bound to regulations from their respective universities requiring student organizations hosting events to turn a profit. Both clubs also worked alongside more powerful and profitable concert series run by university entertainment organizations—Star Course at Illinois and the Student Activities Board at Indiana—which presented popular folk artists like the Kingston Trio. These series controlled large campus venues and limited the frequency of for-profit shows held by other groups, thereby limiting club profitability. Intending to create an alternative concert series within their universities, club members at Illinois and Indiana masked their own profit motives by foregrounding aesthetic and historical

aspects in their concerts, positioning themselves and their concert guests in opposition to commercialized folk.

Clubs stressed the educational aspects of concerts because they were deeply concerned whether universities could even be appropriate venues for traditional music performances. In the inaugural issue of *Autoharp*, Archie Green wrote an article called “Folksong on Campus” which examined the difficulty of performing traditional music on university campuses. Green believed the University of Illinois campus antithetical to, even destructive of, the rural origins of folk music. Despite this potentially negative influence, he believed that the campus setting could ameliorate these concerns through critical exposure to “pure” folk music:

To wrench a ballad or blues out of its culture context for concert presentation [on campus] is, by definition, an act of violence. Yet college audiences cannot invade, en masse, Appalachian mountain hamlets, or Nova Scotian fishing villages to hear “pure” folksong. If traditional folksong is to be heard on campus, other than via record or tape, it must be heard by importing true folksingers, or by imparting to collegiate singers of folksongs some respect for traditional material and styles.⁵²

“Importing true folksingers,” those native to folk traditions, meant providing a glimpse into the traditional performance practices and geographies of folk music to produce a respectful understanding of difference.

Many of Green’s “true folksingers” came to Bloomington and Urbana-Champaign, including Flatt & Scruggs, Doc Watson, Dock Boggs, Almeda Riddle, and Frank Proffitt. Proffitt, an instrument builder and tobacco farmer from the North Carolina Appalachians, was the source of “Tom Dooley,” a song about an 1867 murder in nearby Wilkes County that the Kingston Trio converted into their 1958 hit.⁵³ Proffitt’s association with the Kingston Trio’s hit provided him modest success over the ensuing years. He recorded albums for Folkways Records, enjoyed

⁵² Archie Green, “Folksong on Campus,” *Autoharp* 1, no. 1 (April 7, 1961): 3.

⁵³ Proffitt was not the first to record the song; then-deceased G.B. Grayson (whose uncle is mentioned in the song’s lyrics) and Henry Whittier recorded the song for Victor in 1929. However, fans credited Proffitt as the originator of the Kingston Trio’s version. For more information on the Kingston Trio’s “Tom Dooley,” see Cohen, *Rainbow Quest*, 129–36; Robert Cantwell, “When We Were Good: Class and Culture in the Folk Revival,” in *Transforming Tradition*, 35–60, esp. 36–45.

increased sales of his handcrafted banjos and dulcimers, and performed at folk festivals.⁵⁴ Through a coordinated effort by both clubs, Proffitt toured both Illinois and Indiana on March 22 and 24, 1963.⁵⁵ Club members lionized Proffitt as more traditional than the Kingston Trio, and wanted students to understand Appalachian traditions through his concert. Like Green, though, both clubs questioned whether viewing Proffitt in their university concert halls could encourage such a critical, historical approach. His Indiana concert thus began by exhorting audience members to picture Proffitt's Appalachian ranch:

All I can say is that Frank Proffitt is a traditional singer, he is a folk singer, and he sings songs from his own tradition—and the best possible way to see/meet with traditional singer is at his own home.... We don't have the advantage of seeing Frank Proffitt in his own workshop, home, on his farm, among his family and friends. You'll have to do some imagining of Reese, North Carolina.... What's going to happen is that Frank's at his home, and you're coming down to visit. What we're going to expect you to do is to ask him questions about making banjos, what songs does he sing. We now present to you, the finest American folksinger to ever appear outside of his home, Frank Proffitt.⁵⁶

Following Green's article, club members believed Proffitt's Appalachian ranch, not the campus concert stage he sat upon, was the "true" home of his folk music. Of course, very few students from either group had ever traveled to Appalachia, let alone the mountain valley Proffitt called home.⁵⁷ Students thus imagined his ranch, rather than the university's concert stage, as a means of accessing traditional singing. Proffitt recognized the importance of representing his home in the cultural value of his concert, and performed Appalachian folk songs at each concert, many with texts tied to his native North Carolina. Concertgoers heard him sing "Tom Dooley"; "Wreck of

⁵⁴ Marty Green, "Frank Proffitt: The Man and his Songs," *IUFC Newsletter* 1, no. 5 (c. March 1963): 2.

⁵⁵ Both clubs split transportation costs per an arrangement between club treasurers Bill Becker and Joe Hickerson, but paid Proffitt separate concert fees. Jont Allen, letter to Mayne Smith, n.d. [c. January 1964], Folder #1415, Archie Green Papers.

⁵⁶ Joe Hickerson, at Frank Proffitt concert, March 24, 1964, Indiana University, Archives of Traditional Music 66-137-F, Indiana University. A similar speech opened his concert at the University of Illinois. Frank Proffitt concert, March 22, 1964, University of Illinois, Archives of Traditional Music 65-047-F, Indiana University.

⁵⁷ CFC members may have read Fritz Plous' three-part travelogue about his travels to the Smoky Mountains in Tennessee and Kentucky in *Autoharp*. Fritz Plous, "On the Road to the Southern Appalachians," *Autoharp* 3, no. 1 (October 15, 1962): 15–16; idem, "Through the Great Smokies with Jug and Fiddle," *Autoharp* 3, no. 2 (November 30, 1962): 7–8; and idem, "Through the Appalachians with Jug and Fiddle," *Autoharp* 3, no. 3 (February 8, 1963): 5–9. Plous' account of his journey is so romanticized, though, that I had to confirm in an interview [with Robert Sayers] that his trip actually occurred.

the Old 97,” a song about a local train accident; “On Top of Old Smokey,” in homage to his home mountains; “Charlie Lawson,” another tune about a local murder; and a Civil War parody of “Battle Hymn of the Republic” handed down from his grandfather, a Confederate soldier.⁵⁸ He introduced many songs by discussing their origins, especially detailing the history of “Tom Dooley” as performed in North Carolina. IUFC members also obliged the introduction by asking him about his instrument building.

Proffitt happily performed his local repertoire, but he also consciously omitted commercial country songs dissonant to club binaries between urban and rural folk music. The following month, Archie Green relayed his encounter with Proffitt after his Illinois concert:

In spite of the fact that we romanticize Frank Proffitt, if you get him alone and late at night, then he doesn't play Child ballads, he plays Jimmie Rodgers songs. Because if he could have made it in Nashville, [he would have, but] his voice is too raspy. He's great in terms of tradition, he just doesn't have the skill to make it in Nashville, he's not talented enough. That's why he's still a tobacco farmer with some academic friends.⁵⁹

In bringing Proffitt to their campuses, the CFC sought to effect a critical approach to folksong through importing an exemplar of traditional folk music geographies who, by virtue of his home, was implicitly opposed to popular culture. Bringing artists like Proffitt to campus required imagining their original locations in order to undo the violence of their importation. Proffitt knew the club's narrative of him as distinct from the Kingston Trio wouldn't align with his interest in Grand Old Opry repertoire. His concert thus enacted a performed differentiation rather than an innocent, unvarnished tradition. Attempting critical engagement through folk music reflected power dynamics that encouraged Proffitt to present his repertoire through an artificial, romanticized cultural lens. Yet

⁵⁸ “Wreck of the Old 97” was the source of the melody of the Kingston Trio's hit “M.T.A.,” which was written by Bess Lomax Hawes. Recordings by Vernon Dalhart or G.B. Grayson and Henry Whittier, not Proffitt, were considered the song's source during the 1960s revival.

⁵⁹ Archie Green, “Hillbilly Music: Source and Symbol,” lecture, Campus Folksong Club, Urbana, IL, April 18, 1963, Archives of Traditional Music 65-127-F, Indiana University. His comment occurred in the Q&A session following the lecture.

club members believed this perspective to be the most respectful path for students to conceptualize tradition.

While concerts by rural musicians purported to provide glimpses into the traditional landscapes of folk music, performances by urban-born musicians attempted to exemplify respectful, faithful performance practices. Folksong club members believed that urban-born folksingers like themselves were “folkniks” (à la the jazz “beatnik”), “citybillies” or “imitators,” in Ellen Stekert’s words.⁶⁰ If at some level urban musicians were romanticizing imitators, some were seen to have more fidelity to tradition than others. These artists, like Hedy West, Dave Van Ronk, and Jack Elliott, were hosted by the clubs as exemplars for the budding student folksingers in their groups. Perhaps the most popular “imitative” group for club members at both schools was the New Lost City Ramblers. A trio comprised of John Cohen, Mike Seeger (Pete’s half-brother), and Tom Paley (who was later replaced by Tracy Schwarz), they were renowned for their stylistically accurate renditions of old-time string band music.

In concerts, the New Lost City Ramblers used their stylistic mimicry to educate their audience about traditional music. The trio performed at both Illinois and Indiana and befriended club members.⁶¹ In a 1962 interview in Urbana-Champaign, Mike Seeger described the Ramblers as “a link between city folk musicians who previously liked the Weavers and Kingston Trio and the Highway Manure here, and the traditional country performer... or people you see around even here in Champaign-Urbana.”⁶² Both the Ramblers and campus folksong clubs shared a passion for

⁶⁰ Ellen Stekert, “Cents and Nonsense in the Urban Folksong Movement: 1930–1966,” in *Folklore and Society: Essays in Honor of Benjamin A. Botkin*, ed. Bruce Jackson (Hatsboro, PA: Folklore Associates, 1966), 153–66.

⁶¹ The trio performed twice at Illinois and once at Indiana. They stayed with folksong club members at each concert, including the Philo Glee & Mandoline Society discussed later.

⁶² New Lost City Ramblers, interview with Emerson Klein, “Celebrity Interview,” WINL-TV, October 27(26?), 1962, Archives of Traditional Music 65-127-F, Indiana University. “Highway Manure” refers to the Highwaymen, a popularized folk group akin to the Kingston Trio. The equation of the Weavers, led by Mike’s half-brother Pete, and Kingston Trio seems strange given the importance of Pete for campus folksinging in the previous decade. Despite his influence, the group’s Decca recordings, many of which paired folksong with studio orchestra arrangements, were considered as urban and thus inauthentic as the Kingston Trio’s slick vocal harmonies.

traditional music, and were also deeply concerned about the disconnection between their privileged backgrounds and those of rural musicians. All three band members had grown up in well-to-do New York suburbs and honed their chops at Yale and Greenwich Village. Ray Allen has argued that the group negotiated this schism by promoting the aesthetic and historical aspects of traditional music at the expense of political concerns.⁶³ The group's concerts at Indiana and Illinois similarly sought to educate concertgoers about early twentieth-century folkways while avoiding contemporary politics—even when events forced the band to confront them.

The Ramblers' conception of old-time music was evidenced during their CFC concert on October 27, 1962. Mike Seeger prefaced the slapstick "There Ain't No Bugs on Me" by deadpanning, "This song has considerable social significance... beyond the fact that we're city boys playing country music."⁶⁴ Seeger's introduction implicitly critiqued the seriousness of student attitudes toward folk music, and winked at the incongruity of urbanite interest in folk music. Their performance was based on Fiddlin' John Carson and Moonshine Kate's 1928 version, using the same chorus melody, fiddle fills, and chorus harmonies.⁶⁵ The group embellished the live version with some humorous fiddle scoops and audience banter, draping their faithful rendition with historically-informed performance practices. The humor of "There Ain't No Bugs on Me," however, shifted to a more serious tone for the next song, "The True and Trembling Brakeman." Seeger's introduction underscored the dangerous realities of early twentieth-century railroad life depicted in the song:

⁶³ Ray Allen, *Gone to the Country: The New Lost City Ramblers and the Folk Music Revival* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010). Allen rightly argues that the club's seeming apolitical stance registers an implicitly political critique.

⁶⁴ New Lost City Ramblers concert, October 27, 1962, University of Illinois, Archives of Traditional Music 65-127-F, Indiana University.

⁶⁵ New Lost City Ramblers, Liner notes, *Gone to the Country* (Folkways Records FA 2491, 1963), 8. The liner notes also reference a version by Fiddlin' John Carson recorded on Okeh Records, but the tempo, vocal harmonies, and melodies of both the recording and performance point to his version with Moonshine Kate recorded on Bluebird Records. Incidentally, "Moonshine Kate" was the stage name of Fiddlin' John's daughter Rosa Lee.

Next we'd like to do a song a little more rarified called "The True and Trembling Brakeman." It comes from the mines and hills in West Virginia written about an accident that happened there. When you live with these accidents, you take them very seriously. This is one of these kinds of songs that probably would never have been sung on stage, but that doesn't stop us from doing it here. We'd like to say that this is the kind of situation we have here, the chance to sing such songs so you all can hear them, and I think at this time we should also thank the folksong club for allowing us to be here and sing such songs rather than just put on big ol' entertainment. We'd like to sing songs about real things that happened that most of us can't hear nowadays.⁶⁶

Songs like "The True and Trembling Brakeman" were "rarefied" because they could be used to educate students about the social context of traditional music. While the topic, West Virginia coal miner life, reflects the populist strain of folksong politics (especially the Harlan County strikes in nearby eastern Kentucky), the purpose of the song was more critical than radical; the trio sought to invoke Appalachian domestic settings as opposite to "big ol' entertainment" and college campuses.⁶⁷ The song's introduction also nodded to the folksong club, demonstrating their shared pedagogical and ideological viewpoints.

The Ramblers preference to educate their audiences about the historical contexts informing their repertoire, however, put them at odds with current events. This tension was viscerally present at an IUFC concert held November 22, 1963—the night of John F. Kennedy's assassination. Though other schools cancelled activities in mourning, the Ramblers' concert was still held as planned.⁶⁸ The group, arriving late from a concert in Iowa the previous night, relayed a statement for the IUFC to announce before the show:

The Ramblers would like to make the statement that they're aware of the really tragic news events of today and that instead of making specific mention of it, they feel that the best thing to do for you all and for themselves is to go ahead with the concert as they would have done it had this thing hadn't

⁶⁶ New Lost City Ramblers concert, October 27, 1962, University of Illinois.

⁶⁷ The Harlan County strikes were well known in the revival due to the Almanac Singers' "Which Side Are You On," a pro-miner song, and the repertoire of Sarah Ogan Gunning, who was associated with communist union organizations in the region. She was recorded by Alan Lomax in the 1940s and enjoyed a resurgence of interest during the revival partially due to Archie Green's work on the music of coal miners.

⁶⁸ The CFC scheduled Hedy West for a concert on November 23, but the university cancelled all activities. Since she had already journeyed to Urbana, she performed an informal house concert for CFC members. The extant recording of her performance neglects to mention the assassination. Hedy West concert, November 23, 1963, Urbana, IL, Archives of Traditional Music 65-045-F, Indiana University. The New Lost City Ramblers concert may have been held as planned due to the considerable problems with university bureaucracy the IUFC faced in scheduling the concert. L. Mayne Smith explained these problems in a letter to the *Indiana Daily Student* dated November 10, 1963, published in *IUFC Newsletter* 2, no. 2 (November 1963): 3–4.

occurred but they do wish to express their sorrow. Therefore, with this last of sad notes, I'll introduce the New Lost City Ramblers.⁶⁹

The Ramblers figured the most appropriate response was to help their audience escape for a couple of hours. IUFC member Neil V. Rosenberg remembered the concert as “art in the spirit of grieving.”⁷⁰ Aside from the obvious trauma of the day, such an escape was necessary because neither the trio nor the IUFC could conceivably link their conception of southern string-band style as an aesthetic, historical object with the pressing topicality of the day’s tragedy. The trio never mentioned the assassination directly during their concert, instead focusing on their trademark slapstick humor and virtuosic recreation of old-time music. Mike Seeger only referenced the assassination once, during his introduction to “The True and Trembling Brakeman.” Seeger prefaced the song by describing its tragic origins just as he had done for the CFC, but he included an oblique reference to the day’s own events:

Well it’s hard to go through a day like today without having some sober thoughts and, er, this isn’t about today, but it’s sort of a sober song about a kind of accident that does go on in the mountains quite a bit. It’s a song that’s taken quite seriously by the mountain people, and it seems to have been quite popular. It was recorded a few, many times in the olden days, and I guess some people do still sing it. It’s called “The True and Trembling Brakeman.”⁷¹

While the day’s terrible events were on the trio’s mind, they just as quickly *disconnected* the song’s trauma from the assassination, turning instead to the song’s history and its relationship to Appalachian folkways. The IUFC shared the Ramblers’ reluctance to discuss JFK’s assassination, as the review of their concert gushed over the performers’ skill while neglecting to mention the impact of the historic event on the performers or audience members.⁷²

Concerts by rural folksingers like Frank Proffitt and urban “imitators” like the New Lost City Ramblers promoted and performed a conception of traditional music opposed to contemporary

⁶⁹ New Lost City Ramblers concert, November 22, 1963, Indiana University, Archives of Traditional Music 66-139-F, Indiana University. The news is faintly audible throughout the concert recording—the recorder, like most of America, was glued to the radio.

⁷⁰ Neil Rosenberg, interview with the author, February 18, 2011, Stony Brook, NY, and St. John’s, NF.

⁷¹ New Lost City Ramblers concert, November 22, 1963.

⁷² Marty Green, “New Lost City Ramblers Concert Review,” *IUFC Newsletter* 2, no. 2 (November 1963): 2.

politics, popularized folk, and the socioeconomic privilege of college settings. The institutional niche campus folksong clubs sought by concertizing traditional music, however, was contingent upon the financial mandate from their universities that student organizations show financial solvency over the course of the school year. Folksong clubs therefore needed to host performers that would both comply with their definition of traditional music and produce a profit. Club members viewed their concerts as educational, non-profit entertainment diametrically opposed to popularized, commercialized folk music.⁷³ Tensions over utilitarian financial matters thus intertwined with appeals for the ethicality of disinterested traditional music performance, creating a discursively sharp, yet pragmatically messy, division between “traditional” and “commercial” folk.

Indiana University policies deeply impacted artist choices for IUFC concerts. The lack of strong faculty guidance had hindered the club not only organizationally, but financially. To secure their financial situation, club leaders wanted a surefire profitable artist for the 1963-64 school year. They contacted Joan Baez, who much to their surprise accepted the club’s sponsorship for a concert in early 1964. Baez even agreed to split concert profits with the IUFC to help the club fund further events. Unfortunately, the Student Activities Board denied the IUFC access to the Auditorium, the only venue with requisite audience capacity, because university regulations prevented performances hosted by student groups. The Board felt that the concert would be *too* profitable for the club and disallowed their sponsorship. Baez refused to come without the Folksong Club’s involvement, and the Board summarily cancelled the concert.⁷⁴

⁷³ Some students at Indiana University maintained music industry connections separate from their studies. Neil Rosenberg, for example, distributed records for Folkways and other labels (a job he inherited from Joe Hickerson), managed the Brown County Jamboree hosted by the famed bluegrass musician Bill Monroe, and acted as the local agent for the Country Gentlemen concert mentioned below. He removed himself from the Executive Committee after the concert’s financial problems due to his conflict of interest. Rosenberg, interview with author.

⁷⁴ Such actions were not limited to Indiana University. Ron Radosh, founder of the University of Wisconsin Folk Arts Society, detailed a similar confrontation between the club and school administration when hosting Pete Seeger and Guy Carawan. Ron Radosh, “Problems of a College Folk Music Group,” *Caravan* 13 (October–November 1958): 26–27.

The cancellation caused a furious war of words between the Student Activities Board and the IUFC. In a January 14, 1964 letter to the *Daily Student*, the Board declared Baez “uncooperative” for refusing to follow university policies. A rebuttal by the IUFC Executive Committee published on February 8 argued that Baez’s actions were not uncooperative, but “respect[ful] for the integrity and traditions of folk music” because she was unwilling to “lend either herself or the songs she sings to commercial exploitation.”⁷⁵ Of course, Baez’s first few albums were phenomenally successful, and she became so popular that she graced the front cover of the July 7, 1962 issue of *Time*, which marked the commercial peak of the revival.⁷⁶ She performed at the University of Illinois on November 29, 1962 as part of the university’s Star Course series, not through the CFC. Though her commercial success, intellectual middle-class background, and *bel canto* soprano delivery could be viewed as the milieu of popularized folksinging, Baez’s simple, sober performance style could also be differentiated from the Kingston Trio and similar groups because she avoided overt pop influences.⁷⁷ The club’s need for financial security and Baez’s performance practice enabled her to become a “traditional” artist.⁷⁸

The battle between club and university regulatory board at Indiana was not waged at Illinois. Through shrewd maneuvering by Archie Green, the CFC signed an agreement with Star Course permitting them to stage a small amount of folk music concerts per semester.⁷⁹ The club reaped a large profit from their first three concerts, Jimmie Driftwood, the New Lost City Ramblers, and

⁷⁵ Indiana University Folksong Club Executive Committee, “Letter to the Editor,” *The Daily Student* February 8, 1964, reprinted in *IUFC Newsletter* 2, no. 4 (February 1964): 6. The January 14, 1964 editorial was also reprinted in that issue.

⁷⁶ John McPhee, “Sibyl with Guitar,” *Time*, November 23, 1962, 54–60.

⁷⁷ While she performed for the more popularizing Star Course series at Illinois, she also performed at the University of Chicago under their Folklore Society on October 28, 1961. University of Chicago Folklore Society, Press Release for Second Annual University of Chicago Folk Festival, c. December 1961, Folder #1386, Archie Green Papers.

⁷⁸ The club ultimately booked Rev. Gary Davis and Jack Elliott on February 1, 1964 in lieu of Baez. While Davis and Elliott were well known during the folk revival, their concert was not as financially successful as Baez’s would have been.

⁷⁹ Clifford C. Delong, Agreement between University of Illinois Concert and Entertainment Board and Campus Folksong Club, n.d., Folder #1408, Archie Green Papers.

Flatt & Scruggs. Encouraged by its own bankroll, the CFC sought to capitalize on their success by introducing their audience to Adams's "200- and 300-level" folk artists. On May 18, 1963, they hosted the Stoneman Family, a country music group of thirteen siblings led by their father, Ernest "Pop" Stoneman. Born in rural Virginia, Pop had been recorded on Victor Records in 1926 by Ralph Peer, the famed impresario who had recorded country luminaries like Jimmie Rodgers and the Carter Family. The group's connection to Peer caused Green to consider him a pioneer in hillbilly music and he soon became popular among club members.⁸⁰

Despite club interest in the group, ticket sales lagged in comparison to prior concerts. The comparatively poor turnout enraged club members, especially in the wake of a well-attended concert by the Limelites, a popularizing folk group, hosted by Star Course on April 4. The front page of the subsequent issue of *Autoharp* ran an editorial denouncing the Limelites and popularized folk in general: "In the years of the collegiate folksong revival, students have turned out in droves for the IBM-programmed and music business assembly line produced 'folk' groups. Some months ago 3,300 Illini flocked to a Limelites concert. Less than 300 saw fit to 'dig' the Stoneman Family." To the CFC, the Stoneman Family represented "a tradition that is alive—not archaic; vital—not quaint," but "to sit in a half-filled auditorium in one of the nation's largest universities is to realize that great numbers of students are not aware of the differences between folksingers and exploiters of folksong, and, if aware, seem unimpressed." The CFC believed they must "spread our committment [*sic*] to the Stoneman Family and their fellows throughout the Illini community."⁸¹ As with Frank Proffitt's concert, the CFC cast the Stoneman Family as traditional because their concert supposedly represented distinctly Appalachian performance practices. In the words of Fritz Plous, the group offered true folksinging because "they simply presented the same act with which they

⁸⁰ Archie Green discusses Pop Stoneman in "Hillbilly Music: Source and Symbol," *Journal of American Folklore* 78, no. 309 (1965): 213–14.

⁸¹ "The Stoneman Family: An Editorial Comment," *Autoharp* 3, no. 5 (May 24, 1963): 1.

entertain audiences in their native Appalachians. The result was straight country music, with the real brand of wild country humor and liberal use of sex.”⁸²

By describing the Stoneman Family as “straight country music,” Plous romanticized the band while masking the concert’s financial concerns. Though the Stoneman Family hailed from rural Virginia and had connections to the 1920s folk recordings lionized by club members, they had long moved away from Appalachia to concertize in Washington, DC nightclubs. They even appeared on television during the 1950s replete with exaggerated hillbilly outfits and bumpkin humor in the style of Grand Ole Opry performances.⁸³ Since the Stonemans hailed from Appalachia rather than the urban backgrounds of the Limelitters, the club ignored their commercial success and Grand Ole Opry aspirations and considered them “folksingers” rather than “exploiters of folksong.”⁸⁴ The CFC’s virulent defense of the Stoneman’s traditional status, like the IUFC’s of Joan Baez, arose from the club’s financial loss on the show. They grossed only one-sixth the ticket revenue of their Flatt & Scruggs concert the year before, posting a substantial net loss.⁸⁵ Both the CFC and IUFC masked their concerts’ profit requirements under the rhetoric of a decommercialized tradition. Both

⁸² F.K. Plous, Jr., “Stoneman Family Provides Wide Appeal,” *Autoharp* 3, no. 5 (May 24, 1963): 2.

⁸³ For more information on the Stoneman Family, see Ivan M. Tribe, *The Stonemans: An Appalachian Family and the Music That Shaped Their Lives* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

⁸⁴ The CFC’s editorial also neglects the Limelitters’ own collegiate associations. The trio included Lou Gottlieb, a former graduate student in musicology at Berkeley who completed a dissertation on 15th-century mass settings under Edward Lowinsky; Alex Hassilev, who attended the University of Chicago; and Glenn Yarbrough, a former student at St. John’s College in Annapolis. The three musicians met in San Francisco after their disillusionment with academic life. Gottlieb published for the Kingston Trio and was quite impressed by the financial potential in folk music. The Limelitters followed the Kingston Trio’s template by mixing popularized arrangements of folk music with topical, juvenile humor. As former graduate students, though, the group saw themselves as more intellectual than other groups, noting in a *Saturday Evening Post* article that “if the Kingston Trio represents the student body, we represent the faculty.” Edward Linn, “Eggheads with a Big Beat,” *Saturday Evening Post*, December 16, 1961, 32–34. The Limelitters employed the same distinction between themselves and the Kingston Trio as the CFC in Dick Adams’ “In Defense of the Kingston Trio.” The Limelitters’ decision to perform popularized folk music, though, caused the CFC to construe the group as opposites rather than kindred university students. As a side note, Archie Green had known Gottlieb in San Francisco; Gottlieb had corresponded about potentially creating an album of labor union songs. Lou Gottlieb, letter to Archie Green, January 19, 1956, Folder #135, Archie Green Papers.

⁸⁵ University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club, Balance sheet for Campus Folksong Concerts, Folder #1429, Archie Green Papers. The club posted a net loss of \$381.39 loss, the equivalent of over \$2,800 in 2013. Adding to the club’s anger, they released *Green Fields of Illinois*, their fieldwork album of local folk musicians discussed later in this chapter, at this concert. The Limelitters audience represented not only Riesman’s “majority listener,” but a potential market for their album.

clubs wanted concerts to instill “some respect for traditional material and styles,” in Green’s words, via critical engagement with authentic folk music, but underlying the endeavor of critically engaging with authentic folk music were the utilitarian exigencies of political, commercial, and institutional concerns.

Printing Traditions: *Autoharp* and *Blue Yodel*

Concerts were sites where the CFC and IUFC could present their conception of tradition and wrestle with both financial and political issues, whether the need to generate funds or, in an extreme case, cope with John F. Kennedy’s assassination. If concerts introduced students to tradition, newsletters served as fora for debating how they should in turn respectfully approach tradition. In the words of Archie Green, their intention was “to keep members informed and to give them a forum for opinion and criticism.”⁸⁶ Club newsletters followed in the wake of a number of folk music magazines arising in the 1950s like *Sing Out!* and *Caravan*. The *Little Sandy Review*, formed by University of Minnesota students Jon Pankake and Paul Nelson in 1958, was particularly influential for both clubs. The magazine exclusively printed record reviews, using the review format to promulgate an ideology of folk music criticism that both virulently opposed commercial folk music and ardently celebrated traditional music.⁸⁷ Neither Pankake nor Nelson was a folk musician, but they instead used their background in film studies to critique folk music:

What Paul and I tried to do...was to make the same distinction in folk music records that we had learned to make in movies. That is, to distinguish, in a market of consumer products, those artifacts that were just “product”—out to make a buck, to entertain, some slickly and some ineptly—from those that had intellectual value, integrity, commitment, emotional depth, meaning.... We tried to do this in the pages of *The Little Sandy Review*—to distinguish those records that invoked passion in us from those that were mere product.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Archie Green, “Campus Report: University of Illinois,” *Hootenanny* 1, no. 2 (March 1964): 24.

⁸⁷ IUFC member Marty Green wrote that the *Little Sandy Review* was “devoted to extolling the virtues of traditional music as opposed to everything else.” Marty Green, “The New Folk Music Magazine- A Review,” *IUFC Newsletter* 2, no. 3 (January 1964): 5. The titular “new folk magazine” was *ABC Hootenanny*. See also Thomas Scanlan, “Folk Music vs. Folkum,” *Minnesota Daily*, December 5, 1960: 5, 25; Cohen, *Rainbow Quest*, 164–67.

⁸⁸ Jon Pankake, “Jon Pankake,” in *Wasn’t That a Time*, 111.

In producing the *Little Sandy Review*, Pankake and Nelson drew on mid-century academic film criticism, which in the words of Rudolf Arnheim focused on “what was required or forbidden in the achievement of art.”⁸⁹ The magazine’s reviews sought to distinguish between “art,” that is, music that has “intellectual value, integrity, commitment, emotional depth, meaning” and “product” through discerning its fidelity to tradition. The newsletter encouraged students to not simply print concert fliers or activity schedules, but use print as a medium for critiquing folk music through the cultural distinctions found in academic study.

The CFC published *Autoharp* and the IUFC circulated *Blue Yodel*, originally titled *IUFC Newsletter*.⁹⁰ These two publications were the most extensive newsletters published by campus folksong clubs. The IUFC published twenty-seven issues of *Blue Yodel* from November 1962 to April 1967, while *Autoharp* lasted for thirty-three issues from April 1961 to April 1970. Keeping with their mission to discuss and discern traditional music, both newsletters were oriented toward education and criticism. Alongside announcements and reviews of club activities sat opinion pieces, song descriptions, letters, biographies, travelogues, instrument instruction, and even recurring topical columns. As with their concerts, their relative ability to realize their mission reflected their relationship to institutional pressures. *Blue Yodel* printed folklore studies touching on musical subjects, but the newsletter also documented the fraught balancing of institutional space between curricular folklore study and institutional regulations. The CFC’s relative success enabled *Autoharp* to include opinion articles promoting the mission of self-development through critical engagement with the sociocultural differences between university students and traditional music.

⁸⁹ Rudolf Arnheim, “Introduction,” in *Film Essays and Criticism*, trans. Brenda Benthein (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 4. See also idem., *Film as Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957).

⁹⁰ Throughout this section, I refer to the complete run of IUFC publications, including the *IUFC Newsletter*, as *Blue Yodel* because that is the name used to bind the newsletter in the Library of Congress and Indiana University Folklore Collection. Specific issues are referred to by the appropriate title.

Blue Yodel began as a simple legal-sized flyer in October 1962 announcing the club's formation.⁹¹ After its formal ratification, the club released more extensive notices formalized under the name of *IUFC Newsletter*. These early bulletins were compact one-page flyers detailing campus folk music activities. The Newsletter was mailed and posted around campus, but the IUFC included issue and volume numbers to signify a serious serial publication. The size and frequency of the *IUFC Newsletter* increased after club-sponsored activities began in early 1963. For the 1964-65 school year, the *IUFC Newsletter* was christened *Blue Yodel* after the Jimmie Rodgers song. Though publishing dropped to two issues a semester during this year, the newsletter increased in length to between eight and fourteen pages as articles began outweighing club announcements. As the newsletter grew, *Blue Yodel* became a space for printing folk music studies ignored by the Folklore Department. Early volumes of *IUFC Newsletter* featured brief reference articles on folk music, such as a "Folk Song Guide" and "A Brief Bibliography of Southern Mountain Folksong Collections."⁹² Later issues included lengthier historical and ethnomusicological articles on topics as diverse as reissues of recordings originally released before 1935, ragtime, and Ukrainian folksong in Canada.⁹³ Since many students came from the Folklore Department, the newsletter also announced course offerings, seminars, and meetings of scholarly organizations of interest to folksingers. The publication of studies by folklore students in *Blue Yodel* indicated the club's to apply the critical methods of their curricular study to folk music.

⁹¹ Indiana University Folksong Club notice, c. October 10, 1962. Library of Congress Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Indiana University Folder.

⁹² "Folk Song Guide," *IUFC Newsletter* 1, no. 4 (ca. February 7, 1963): 3; L. Mayne Smith, "A Brief Bibliography of Southern Mountain Folksong Collections," *IUFC Newsletter* 1, no. 7 (April 1963): 3.

⁹³ Cf. Frank A. Hoffman, "Pre-1935 Recordings Reissued on LP," *IUFC Newsletter* 2, no. 4 (February 1964): 3-6; David G. Lorentz, "History and Structure of Ragtime," *Blue Yodel* 3, no. 3 (March 1, 1965): 5-10; Brian R. Goodey, "Some Features of the English Folk-Music Scene," *IUFC Newsletter* 2, no. 2 (November 1963): 5-7; Robert B. Klymasz, "The Ukrainian Folksong in Canada," *Blue Yodel* 3, no. 3 (March 1, 1965): 3-4. The club also discussed a folk music panel at the Society of Ethnomusicology meeting at Bloomington in 1964. Gerald T. Johnson, "Folk Music Session at Society for Ethnomusicology Meeting," *Blue Yodel* 3, no. 2 (December 7, 1964): 5-6. The ethnomusicology faculty at Indiana, especially Alan Merriam and George List, were happy to advise student projects on folk music, an attitude which caused contention between them and Dorson.

When the newsletter turned toward club activities, though, articles lamented the club's financial and institutional difficulties. Concert announcements frequently urged members to attend. At the end of the 1963-64 school year, four months after the Student Activities Board prevented the IUFC from hosting Joan Baez, club president L. Mayne Smith published a report describing an organization frustrated with university policy. Smith harangued that "all along, we have been so close to real trouble that we have not been able to plan more than one concert at a time." Nodding to the successful programming of their neighbors three hours west, he added "we have not been able to follow the Illinois Campus Folksong Club in presenting free to members programs and lectures." Though Smith blamed "a lack of audience" for the club's woes, he asserted that "this difficulty could have been overcome with more support from the University." Invoking the same argument used in the Joan Baez concert fiasco, Smith argued that although "our purpose is not to make money—it is to present concerts, essentially as public services," the university "expected [the club] to justify our existence by showing a profit."⁹⁴ Smith felt that Indiana University regulations transformed the IUFC from an educational service into a for-profit business.⁹⁵ Smith's article depicted a club caught in the central paradox of the multiversity, with disinterested, critical aims forced to confront utilitarian necessities.

The articles of *Blue Yodel* almost exclusively dealt with institutional concerns, whether publishing folklore scholarship or bewailing university regulations. Since the CFC had a more secure institutional niche, their newsletter, *Autoharp*, could more critically examine the connection between tradition and university culture.⁹⁶ The first issue was printed April 7, 1961, approximately one month after the club's official ratification. For the first semester, the club printed biweekly issues to

⁹⁴ L. Mayne Smith, "This Year with the Folksong Club," *IUFC Newsletter* 2, no. 5 (April 1964): 4-5.

⁹⁵ This conclusion comes from Rosenberg, "Bloomington Folk Scene Notes Copy."

⁹⁶ The CFC never gave an explicit reason for titling their newsletter *Autoharp*. The name has three potential referents: a pedagogical instrument used in Appalachian schools, a folk revival instrument performed by the Carter Family, or a sounding board.

coincide with the club's folksing schedule. During the following three school years, the club published five or six issues per annum, with most newsletters containing over twenty pages of material.⁹⁷ While *Blue Yodel* mostly circulated in Bloomington, *Autoharp* reached far beyond Urbana-Champaign to subscribers like Jimmie Driftwood in Arkansas and Izzy Young's Folklore Center in Greenwich Village. Benjamin Botkin lauded *Autoharp* in the *New York Folklore Quarterly*, writing that "the magazine's writing and research...represents a high standard of amateurism."⁹⁸ Fritz Plous, editor of *Autoharp*, noted that "in contrast to the exciting, jumpy, enthusiastic tone of the songs and dances we present at our sings and concerts, *Autoharp* can offer only the pale scratching of prose.... Yet somehow *Autoharp* has...emerged as an outstanding contribution to the intellectual life of this club."⁹⁹

Autoharp became an important vehicle for the CFC to discuss both traditional music as an intellectual subject and the consequences of such intellectualization in light of the socioeconomic divisions between students and folksingers. Like the IUFC, the CFC published many articles intended as resources for studying and performing traditional music. *Autoharp* featured a number of bibliographic and discographic essays on folk music, including short articles on "Folk Music at the Library of Congress" and "Folksong Record Reissues," and an extensive "Selected Bibliography of Illinois Folklore."¹⁰⁰ These articles functioned not only as bibliographic resources, but as pedagogical

⁹⁷ Whereas *Blue Yodel* published around forty articles through the Spring 1965 semester, *Autoharp* numbered over 250 during the same time frame. My count defines "article" as anything written for the two magazines amounting to more than a succinct announcement, from lengthy essays to more in-depth announcements and headlined letters.

⁹⁸ Benjamin A. Botkin, "Little Magazines of the Folksong Revival," *New York Folklore Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (March 1963): 64. *Autoharp* was the only student newsletter discussed in Botkin's article.

⁹⁹ Plous, "From the Editor's Diary," 15.

¹⁰⁰ "Folk Music from the Library of Congress," *Autoharp* 2, no. 6 (November 3, 1961): 5; Archie Green, "Folksong Record Reissues: Alternative Approaches," *Autoharp* 2, no. 6 (May 4, 1962): 12–13; Judy McCulloh, "Selected Bibliography of Illinois Folklore," *Autoharp* 4, no. 4 (March 16, 1964): 23–31. *Autoharp* also reprinted two CFC lectures delivered by Indiana University students: L. Mayne Smith, "Bluegrass as a Musical Style," *Autoharp* 3, no. 3 (February 8, 1963): 13–18; and Brian Goodey, "Some Thoughts on the Rise in Popularity of Folk Music in Britain," *Autoharp* 24 (March 20, 1965): 8–16.

examples of scholarly inquiry for other students.¹⁰¹ *Autoharp* also featured technical descriptions ranging from basic guitar technique to picking styles of Earl Scruggs and the Carter Family.¹⁰² Such descriptions encouraged students to learn idiomatic performance practices while simultaneously stressing their difficulty and skill.

Above and beyond scholarly and technical articles, CFC members wanted their newsletter to be controversial as well as educational.¹⁰³ Following *The Little Sandy Review*, the club published many opinion pieces examining the distinction between traditional and popularized folk music. While the *Review* focused on LP releases, the club used tradition as a way to critically examine *themselves*. Opinion articles sought to cultivate a respectful approach toward music distinct from their readers' own privileged backgrounds while distancing themselves from the popularized folk of their peers. The three opinion articles from *Autoharp* already discussed in this chapter exemplify this stance. Dick Adams' "In Defense of the Kingston Trio" presented distinction between Kingston Trio and traditional musicians as that between an introductory seminar and the specialized study of an academic subject. Archie Green's "Folksong on Campus" emphasized the violence wrought on traditional music by its exportation to campus, arguing that the urbanity of collegiate culture was irreconcilably separate from the rurality of tradition. The editorial on the Stoneman Family concert excoriated students who ignored supposedly authentic practitioners for cheap imitations. Each

¹⁰¹ Judy McCulloh, interview with author.

¹⁰² Lyle Mayfield, "Lyle Mayfield on Guitars and Guitar-Playing," *Autoharp* 4, no. 4 (March 16, 1964): 12–13; idem., "What Can You Expect from the Guitar?" *Autoharp* 4, no. 5 (April 30, 1964): 18–19; idem., "Let's Play the Guitar," *Autoharp* 21 (October 7, 1964): 16–21; Bob Laughton, "The Bluegrass Banjo and Scruggs Style Picking," *Autoharp* 2, no. 6 (May 4, 1962): 7–9; Victor T. Lukas, "The Carter Family Guitar Style," *Autoharp* 2, no. 4 (February 16, 1962): 6.

¹⁰³ For example, the minutes of the 1964 meeting of the Executive Committee report that editor Fritz Plous lamented the lack of controversy in *Autoharp*. Robert Koenig, minutes of the April 19, 1964 Executive Committee Meeting, Judith McCulloh personal collection. In the previous issue of *Autoharp*, Plous wrote, "we would like to add some items of controversy to the pages of this journal—not because we are addicted to controversy as such, or because we think it will make people more interested in our little paper—but because we know from experience that controversy—strong, and sometimes bitter controversy—exists in the folklore field in general and in this Club in particular. . . . Therefore it is the intention of this editor to solicit actively items of a controversial nature for this paper. We solicit these views wholly intending to print them, and we fully expect other readers to take issue with them in the following [issues]." Plous, "From the Editor's Diary," 15–17.

article wrestled with the essential problem—the socioeconomic disconnect between folk musicians and campus students—and its attempted solution—cultivating respectful, sophisticated, and sympathetic attitudes through exposure to and criticism of traditional music.

Other opinion articles stressed the inherent challenges of a critical approach to folk music by campus performers. “Folkniks: Fact or Fancy,” examined the term “folknik” used to describe campus and urban folk performers. The term “folknik,” like Stekert’s “imitator,” disparaged urban folksingers because of their perceived socioeconomic distance from traditional music. The anonymous author noted that “there is no single meliorative catch-phrase to categorize campus folksingers. It is significant that in-group neologists confronted by the new phenomena of the urban folksinger developed a negative, not a positive, word. Perhaps the necessity of using deprecatory language in connection with pleasurable and rewarding activity stems from current ambivalence on the academic folk scene.”¹⁰⁴ The author stressed the inherent use of pejorative terminology as a way to signal the potential danger of urban folksingers usurping the musics of an underprivileged class. The article sought to make students aware that the recreational ends of campus folksong necessarily took place at the expense of class Others.

“Ethnics versus Folkniks” by CFC member Kandee Trefil (first page shown in Figure 2.1) offered a corrective to the concept of “folknik” by delineating campus folksingers according to their ability to respect differences in folk music culture. Using the beat language of jazz, Trefil defined an “ethnic” as a musician who “digs particular cultures, has respect for the people in them, and tries to sing their songs as they do, from their point of view.” As in the previous article, a folknik “digs folk songs and tries to fit them...into the framework of his own culture.”¹⁰⁵ Trefil advocated for the “ethnic” approach because she believed that it offered a higher form of listening for students.

¹⁰⁴ “Folkniks: Fact or Fancy?” *Autoharp* 2, no. 1 (October 6, 1961): 6.

¹⁰⁵ Trefil, “Ethnics versus Folkniks,” 9. The use of jazz lingo in folk recalls Riesman’s connection between “hot jazz” and “hillbilly” fans as minority listeners in “Listening to Popular Music.”

Ethnics versis Folkniks

by Kandeé Trefil

For convenience's sake I'll define an ethnic (prostituting the adjective into a noun) as a person who digs particular cultures, has respect for the people in them, understands and empathizes with their mores and folkways, and tries to sing their songs as they do, from their point of view. Dissimilarly then, a folknik is a person who digs folk songs and tries to fit them, no matter what the expense, into the framework of his own culture. To avoid confusion I will use the much maligned "Kingston Trio" to epitomize the folknik, altho I am sure I could find a much more vulgar example. No one can really epitomize an ethnic as they tend to specialize and be considerably more individualistic.

To begin with I'll be quite frank and admit I am pro-ethnic. I believe the Kingston Trio definitely serves a purpose tho, and often a good one. They sometimes provide a stepping stone into a more scholarly and humane understanding of folk music; in other words, for most people it is difficult to attain the ethnic point of view before having enjoyed folk songs of your own culture or of other cultures worked into your own culture. However, other aspects of the impact of the Kingston Trio have been unpardonably degenerative. It's like dressing up and going to a concert where college students sing in chorus "Rocka My Soul in the Bosom of Abraham"...how many people are interested in the people who created such masterpieces of folk culture? The same people who attend the concert could be the very ones who picket, violate, kill, and degrade those coming from the culture which produced the song. And how many people would have enough respect for the inherent ART in the song to be interested enough to go to the culture where it was born and listen to how it was originally sung?

The Kingston Trio must sell, it must be popular. And what is the best way to insure this success? How did Amos and Andy become popular? It was a very old gimmick. Since Old Testament times there has had to be a scape goat. The Negro used to be a popular cultural scapegoat. Now it seems that any race or culture will do, so long as it is not ourselves. To illustrate this point let us suppose that the Trio records some ancient American Indian song. Can you imagine them doing it in a way which would leave unanswered questions such as what did some of the religious symbolism mean? Or would the Trio remove the parts which would arouse curiosity about the culture..the PEOPLE.. and substitute phrases about beautiful Indian princesses and bold warriors and so forth in order to reinforce delapidated, misleading stereotypes and thus remove the audience's responsibility to see the artists as people, as individuals. This whole idea is caught up in the overwhelming conformity blaring forth from our mass media..from football games to folksongs. To the folknik, then, what purpose do folk-songs serve? From my observations I would emphatically pronounce them mere catalysts for a cathartic orgy..or another means to reinforce our tendencies to see people as things and other cultures as laughable or incomprehensible.

Don't misunderstand. I think cathartic orgies are fine. College kids need them and it is one of the best ways to indirectly express anger at having been forced to remain like children..with no suitable sexual outlet, with parental purse-string control or university-parental control, and with no adult respect paid to you. But lets not call these orgies folk music. I can understand, that when some kids

Figure 2.1: Kandeé Trefil, "Ethnics vs. Folkniks," first page

“Ethnics” seek critical understanding of a resolutely different repertoire, rather than adapting folksong into the popular culture of their own backgrounds. Trefil’s dichotomy between “ethnic” and “folknik” echoed Green’s argument in “Folksong on Campus” by distinguishing between traditional and urban folk music, and by mapping personal development onto an acquired sensibility for the former.¹⁰⁶

Autoharp opinion articles demonstrated club members’ awareness of the inherent tensions in appreciating traditional music on campus. The preponderance of popularized folk concerts on campus and students’ largely urban backgrounds led club members to critique the appropriateness of their university as a location for folksong performance. Authors like Green, Trefil, and Adams sought to solve these problems through a *Bildung* approach by valuing a critical self-reflection which enabled respectful appreciation of a differentiated music. Their solution mimicked the tensions of *Bildung* in that they failed to solve the underlying social disconnect between student “folknik” and rural folksinger, instead using folk music as an avenue for self-development.

Recording Traditions: The University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Record Label

While newsletters offered a way to debate how students should appreciate traditional music, the popularity of the CFC enabled them to demonstrate what they perceived to be a respectful approach by creating a record label, the University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Records. The club saw the label as a medium in which they could, as per Article II of its constitution, “facilitate the study, exchange, and enjoyment of traditional folk material.”¹⁰⁷ The club modeled their record label on non-profit imprints like Folkways and the Library of Congress differentiated from major label folk recordings. Fritz Plous believed that records could serve a critical purpose by

¹⁰⁶ Benjamin Botkin specifically praised “Ethnics versus Folkniks” in his discussion of *Autoharp* for scrutinizing “the social philosophy of folksong.” Botkin, “Little Magazines,” 64–65. Green mentioned the article was a “polemical challenge” in “The Campus Folksong Club,” 64.

¹⁰⁷ University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Executive Committee, “Constitution of the Campus Folksong Club,” *Autoharp* 4, no. 3 (February 3, 1964): 2.

demonstrating how the club “had successfully assimilated...the sounds and techniques of traditional Appalachian music, that the club had defined for its members a valid meaning for the words ‘folk music,’ and that students...could, in the absence of an academic department of folklore, learn to recognize and appreciate traditional music and make artistic judgments about it.”¹⁰⁸ Unique among campus folksong groups, the CFC recorded and released three albums: *PG&MS: Philo Glee and Mandoline Society* (1962); *Green Fields of Illinois* (1963); and Glenn Ohrlin’s *The Hell Bound Train* (1964).

The first album recorded a trio of CFC members called the Philo Glee & Mandoline Society, whom Archie Green praised as, “unlike the Kingston Trio-type groups..., a monument to good taste and respect for tradition.”¹⁰⁹ The trio performed old-time string band music in the style of the New Lost City Ramblers and shared the Ramblers’ interest in using folk music to examine early twentieth-century rural history.¹¹⁰ The CFC revered the trio for seeking a respectful attitude toward their repertoire. They merged spirited performance with critical awareness, leading band member Paul Adkins to assert that “our music equals the spirit of the Folksong Club.”¹¹¹ Their eponymous album, *PG&MS: Philo Glee and Mandoline Society*, was recorded and released during the Spring 1962 semester.¹¹² The album was a financial success for the club, selling out two pressings and clearing a net profit just shy of \$800.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ Fritz Plous, “Why Another Record?” *Autoharp* 3, no. 4 (March 22, 1963): 9.

¹⁰⁹ Archie Green, letter to Kenneth Goldstein, November 13, 1961, Folder #1409, Archie Green Papers.

¹¹⁰ This can be evidenced in the group’s name: Philo is a small rural village southeast of Champaign, and glee & mandolin societies were campus musical groups popular during the turn of the century.

¹¹¹ Quoted in Dick Adams, liner notes to *PG&MS: Philo Glee & Mandoline Society* (University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Records CFC 101, 1962), 2.

¹¹² Due to university regulations, the CFC had to prove the record’s financial solvency before commencing production. The surfeit of independent labels then forming in niche markets, which recorded cheaply in house and contracted out the bare minimum to specialized companies, provided an organizational model for the club. CFC members volunteered to record the album, design and print the sleeve, and compose liner notes; the club only needed to pay for pressing vinyl and forming record sleeves. After submitting a prospectus to the university, the CFC then needed to offer a presale of the album in late March—before any recordings were made! The club managed to secure over a hundred preorders, enough for the CFC to commence recording. The recording process quickly began with only two months left in the semester. Over two days in early April, the PG&MS huddled around a microphone and recorded approximately thirty songs. Eighteen were selected for the final product, which was pressed in Saukville, Wisconsin and copied in Los Angeles. The club hoped to release the album at the Flatt & Scruggs concert, but production delays precluded that possibility. The CFC received the final records on May 17,

While popular among club members, the album also received praise from listeners in rural communities who grew up with old-time folk music. A listener in Arcola, about forty miles south of Champaign, wrote that the trio “brings back memories of the ‘good old tunes.’ We would much rather hear this sort of songs and music, than all these High Flutin’ songs and music put together.” Compiling such letters into an *Autoharp* article, CFC member Larry Klingman declared that “these letters are more than fan mail. These letters are a tremendous compliment to the Philo Glee & Mandoline Society for reproducing Southern Mountain music in a form which is recognizable by people involved in that tradition.”¹¹⁴ Receiving praise from inhabitants of the traditions they venerated had bolstered the club’s belief in their critical understanding of rural folksong practices.

Yet CFC students didn’t have to travel to Arcola or other small Illinois towns, let alone Frank Proffitt’s Appalachia, to meet native-born folk musicians. Rather, the traditional folk music admired by the club could be found in the houses of local residents and the acres of farmland surrounding their university. Shortly after the club’s formation, the CFC had received attention from local residents. In November 1961, they hosted Jimmie Driftwood, a folksinger and country artist popular among listeners in central Illinois. After meeting members at Driftwood’s concert, a concertgoer encouraged a couple from her church, Lloyd and Cathy Reynolds, to perform at the club’s weekly folksings. The Reynoldses performed religious folk music and introduced the Philo Glee & Mandoline Society to two songs they recorded on their album.¹¹⁵ The CFC also began

about six weeks after the initial recording sessions. Dick Adams, “Our First Record: CFC 101,” *Autoharp* 3, no. 1 (October 15, 1962): 6–10. For its initial release date, see “Folksingers Record Due for Release,” *Champaign-Urbana Courier*, May 8, 1962.

¹¹³ Pat Wilson, Minutes of the February 13, 1963 Executive Committee Meeting, Folder #1415, Archie Green Papers; “PG&MS Record Back in Print,” *Autoharp* 3, no. 2 (November 30, 1962): 1. The amount is equivalent to approximately \$6,000 in 2013.

¹¹⁴ Larry Kingman, “Philo’s Facilitate,” *Autoharp* 3, no. 2 (November 30, 1962): 6. Soon after the recording, PG&MS broke up. Two of the members were graduating seniors who went elsewhere for graduate school. Cf. Roger Ebert, “UI’s Philo Glee and Mandolin Society Boosts Folk Singing,” *Champaign News-Gazette*, April 25, 1962, 26. Archie Green reminisced about Ebert’s “CFC apprenticeship” in “The Campus Folksong Club,” 67.

¹¹⁵ Archie Green, liner notes to *PG&MS: Philo Glee & Mandoline Society* (University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Records CFC 101, 1962), 7–8. The two songs were “Eighth of January,” a fiddle tune with the same melody as

hosting concerts by local musicians such as Red Cravens and the Bray Brothers, a bluegrass trio from Champaign. In the fall of 1962, Archie Green struck up a conversation with Lyle Mayfield, a printer from Greenville in south-central Illinois, who had been recently hired as day foreman for the *Daily Illini*. Green found out that Mayfield collected songs and built instruments and invited him to perform at a folksing. Mayfield was distrustful of the invitation at first, recalling that he was scared of “running into a bunch of wild-eyed hippies,” but his debut performance proved an instant hit.¹¹⁶

He later recalled:

...I said “I’d like to do the oldest song I know...” It was called “Two Babes in the Woods.” It’s a very brief song, only three short verses. And the audience got kinda quiet. I did this very simple the way my mother taught it to me, it just was a straight three chords on the guitar, and after I finished it was— total silence. And I thought “Boy, have I laid an egg.” And the only way I can describe it...was all hell broke loose. Those kids— there were about 500 kids in that group, and they just went crazy over that one. I went backstage...I said “I don’t understand what happened. And Judy [McCulloh] said “Well, Lyle, for the first time in these kids’ lives, they’ve heard a real folk singer.”¹¹⁷

Encouraged by audience enthusiasm, Mayfield and his wife Doris became regular performers at folksings. The Mayfields and Reynolds proved surprisingly popular; a review of a November 1962 club folksong by Fritz Plous exclaimed that “it was not the University’s own student folksingers who captured the crowd, but a bunch of townspeople who have been singing songs all their lives.”¹¹⁸ They frequently invited students over for post-concert coffee and song swapping. In February 1963, Mayfield brought another member of his church to a folksing, fiddler Stelle Elam, whose performance received “perhaps the longest and loudest applause ever received by an artist in the history of [CFC] folksings.”¹¹⁹ Later that spring, club member Vic Lukas met Jim and Cecil Goodwin, two Champaign residents who toured with their father as a string-band trio in the early 1930s. The Goodwins’ home soon became a frequent stop for students interested in old-time music.

Jimmie Driftwood’s “The Battle of New Orleans,” and “Reynolds’ Waltz,” a variant on Woody Guthrie’s “Cowboy Waltz.”

¹¹⁶ Mayfield, interview by Wilson, 3–4.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 3.

¹¹⁸ Plous, “Town Folksong Moves Crowd,” 1.

¹¹⁹ Fritz Plous, Liner notes, *Green Fields of Illinois* (University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Records CFC 102, 1963), 2.

As musicians native to the folk traditions that students revered, local residents became particularly treasured sources and mentors for CFC students. Rather than having to imagine distant places as in Proffitt's concert, club members could visit the homes of "real folksingers." Their encounters became opportunities for students to develop a respectful disposition toward folksingers' milieu, becoming "ethnics" rather than "folkniks" to borrow Kandee Trefil's terminology. Burgeoning friendships, however, brought acute awareness of sociocultural differences. Most students interested in folk music came from progressive, middle-class urban families and shared liberal views on sex, drugs, civil rights, and dress. Local musicians, by contrast, tended to be rural and poor, and more likely to hold conservative and deeply religious views. Students used their liberal arts education to cross this socioeconomic divide by celebrating locals as representatives of a native folk tradition distinct from their own.

As club members began meeting more local musicians, it dawned on them to document these musicians for their second LP. The CFC knew that "the whole folk revival...had not produced a single LP of traditional Illinois folksongs."¹²⁰ The ancestral ties of many central Illinoisans to Appalachian regions led students to view their repertoire as an undocumented variation of southern folklore. Students believed that an anthology of local musicians that documented their native milieus could contribute to the recorded corpus of traditional music. As Fritz Plous wrote in *Autobarp*, "people in the Club who had struck up friendships with local musicians suddenly realized the academic import of their avocations."¹²¹ In February 1963, the CFC executive committee decided to record Elam, the Mayfields, the Reynoldses, and the Goodwins for an album documenting central Illinois folksong.¹²² Throughout February and March, CFC members conducted extensive recording sessions at performers' houses in Urbana-Champaign and Brownstown, a small town two hours

¹²⁰ Plous, liner notes, *Green Fields of Illinois*, 1.

¹²¹ Plous, "Why Another Record," 11.

¹²² Diane Wells, Minutes of the February 13, 1963 Executive Committee Meeting, Folder #1415, Archie Green Papers.

southwest of campus.¹²³ The club announced the new album, titled *Green Fields of Illinois*, on March 19, and released it at the aforementioned Stoneman Family concert on May 18.¹²⁴

Using Archie Green's connections within folklore circles, the club sent review copies to numerous academic journals.¹²⁵ *Green Fields of Illinois* was praised within journals such as *Western Folklore*, *Journal of American Folklore* and even *Ethnomusicology* as an important ethnomusicological document.¹²⁶ For example, D.K. Wilgus lauded the album as an "important archival [recording] in a neglected area," claiming that "the recording, fully transcribed and annotated, is a credit to Archie Green and the UI club—and a boon to scholars."¹²⁷ The album even received an article in the *New York Times* by the famed folk music columnist Robert Shelton, who praised their efforts as an "enterprising music recording project by students...that merits the attention of collegians

¹²³ The club conducted twelve recording sessions from February 8 to March 24, 1963. From these sessions, 112 unique songs were recorded. University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club, Tapes and Log Sheets for *Green Fields of Illinois*, Archives of Traditional Music, 64-018-F, Indiana University.

¹²⁴ Announcement information from "Know any Folk Songs?" *Champaign-Urbana Courier*, March 21, 1963, 9. Release of the album announced at the beginning of the Stoneman Family concert, May 18, 1963, University of Illinois, Archives of Traditional Music 65-046-F, Indiana University.

¹²⁵ The CFC had sent review copies of *PG&MS* to folk music magazines, academic folklore publications, and radio stations in folk music hubs across the country. Green also deposited a copy at the Library of Congress. L. Quincy Mumford, letter to Archie Green, August 22, 1962. Folder #1407, Archie Green Papers. The full list of recipients, which was later used for *Green Fields of Illinois*, is found in Folder #1409, Archie Green Papers. *PG&MS* ultimately received two scholarly reviews, from *Western Folklore* and *Midwest Folklore*. Ed Kahn, "Folk Song Discography," *Western Folklore* 22, no. 1 (January 1963): 75; reprinted in "Western Folklore Reviews PG&MS Record," *Autoharp* 3, no. 4 (March 22, 1963): 8; and Bruce Jackson, "Folklore on Records: Folksingers and Finksongers," *Midwest Folklore* 13, no. 1 (1963): 59–60. The club also reprinted a review by R. [Dick?] Adams in the January 16, 1963 issue of the *Daily Illini* in "P.G.M.S. Review," *Autoharp* 3, no. 3 (February 8, 1963): 19.

¹²⁶ Ed Kahn, "Review of *Green Fields of Illinois*," *Western Folklore* 22 (October 1963): 294, reprinted in "Greenfields of Illinois' Reviews," *Autoharp* 4, no. 3 (February 3, 1964): 12; Ellen Stekert, "Review of *The Hell-Bound Train*, *Green Fields of Illinois*, and *Traditional Singers and Musicians in Victoria*," *Ethnomusicology* 9, no. 1 (January 1965): 79–81; and Evelyn K. Wells, "Review of *Green Fields of Illinois* by Archie Green," *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 17, no. 1 (March 1965): 79.

¹²⁷ D.K. Wilgus, "Review of *Philo Glee and Mandoline Society* and *Green Fields of Illinois*," *Journal of American Folklore* 77 (January 1964): 94, reprinted in "Greenfields of Illinois Reviews."

throughout the country.”¹²⁸ The CFC, proud of the extensive praise, advertised the album as “Acclaimed Coast to Coast.”¹²⁹

This newfound academic veneration was pleasantly strange to the local folksingers. Lyle Mayfield wryly noted in a newspaper article celebrating the record, “down home they called us a bunch of hillbillies, but up here we’re known as folksingers.” He added, “it’s strange to be considered an authentic folksinger since I’ve been singing these songs all my life...but then that’s what folksinging really is.”¹³⁰ His remark insinuates the prominent strategy whereby *Green Fields of Illinois* sought to document its eponymous landscape: by replacing contemporary politics with a critical examination of tradition. Mayfield’s quote noted his shift from a derogatory sociopolitical label with a complimentary artistic one. The album likewise invoked this shift by celebrating the “green fields” as a landscape of authentic folksong by stressing the textual, historical, technical, aesthetic, and domestic aspects of their informants’ repertoires and simultaneously downplaying the sociopolitical differences between “hillbillies” and students.

The album cover demonstrated how the club’s definition of tradition impacted their perception of local folk music. As shown in Figure 2.2, the cover art depicted a nineteenth-century farm scene, with a bearded man in suspenders and horse-drawn plow working a field behind his simple farmhouse.¹³¹ This drawing framed the album’s repertoire as a glimpse into the past domestic spaces of rural farmlands which were perceived as the origins of contemporary folk traditions.

¹²⁸ Robert Shelton, “Students Unearth Local Recording Project,” *New York Times*, September 29, 1965, X15. The *Times* article led to a mild upsurge in sales. See “New Demand for Record: Favorable Review in *Times* for ‘Green Fields,’” *Champaign-Urbana Courier*, October 6, 1963, n.p.

¹²⁹ “Acclaimed Coast to Coast,” *Autoharp* 4, no. 4 (March 16, 1964): 11. The group also received album requests and praise from as far away as Virginia Beach and Colombia, and even from *Downbeat*, the New York City jazz publication. C.W. Solomon, letter to University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club, December 6, 1963; Glen Mitchell, letter to University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club, n.d.[c. 1963]; and Peter J. Welding, letter to University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club, October 16, 1963, Folder #1414, Archie Green Papers.

¹³⁰ “Folk-Music is Basic Part of Life,” *Champaign-Urbana Courier*, February 16, 1964, G1-G3, G8.

¹³¹ The cover art was provided by A. Doyle Moore, art history professor and member of the Philo Glee & Mandoline Society. Judith McCulloh recalled that it may have been an existing print, but was not certain. Judith McCulloh,

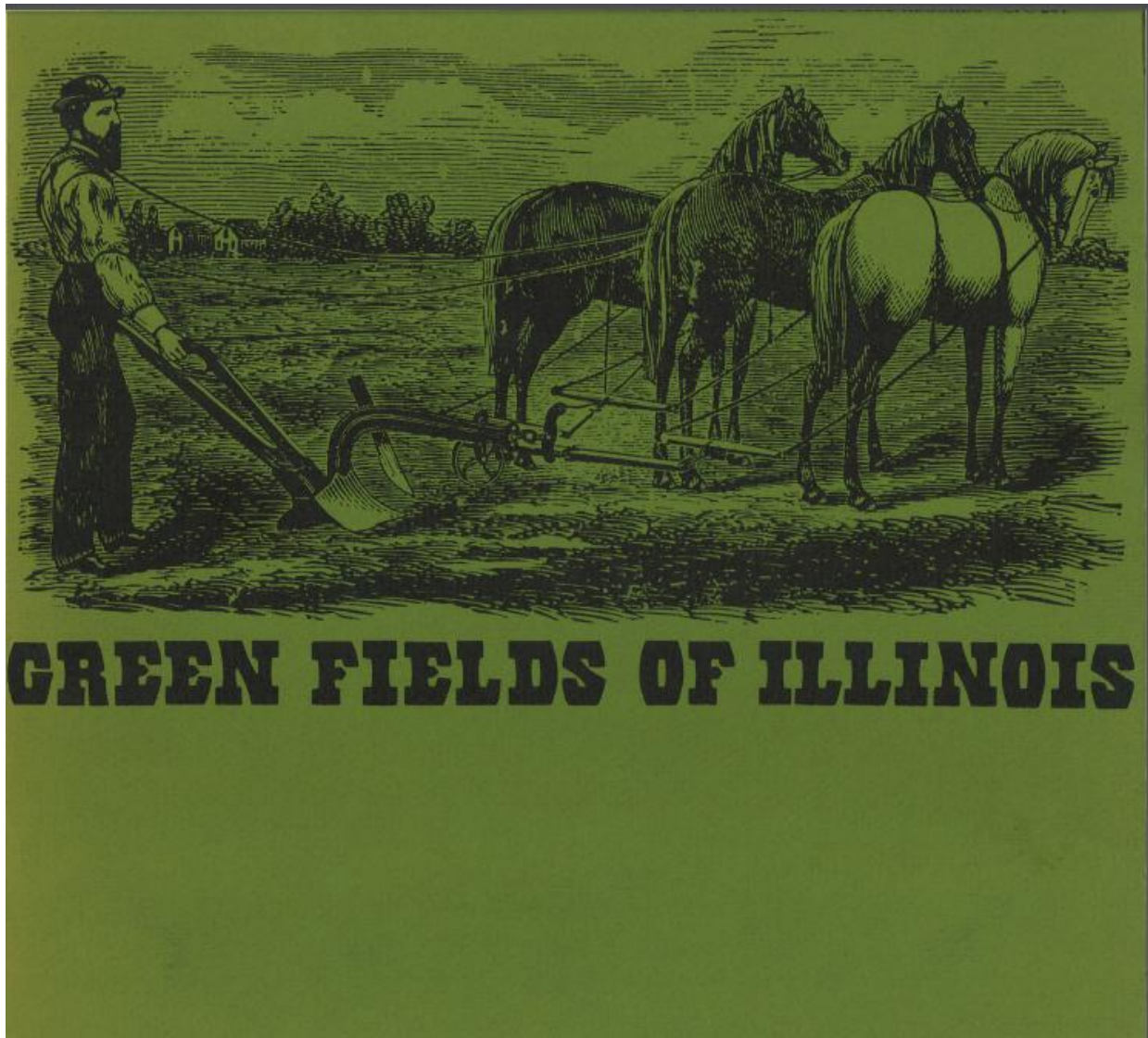


Figure 2.2: *Green Fields of Illinois*, front cover

Reflecting the cover, *Green Fields of Illinois* included a representative variety of folk repertoires stemming from this past—fiddle reels, banjo picking tunes, gospel hymns, old-time country songs, and songs learned through oral tradition—rather than the popularized versions of the present.¹³²

The folksingers and their songs were linked with this older tradition through extensive liner notes, which ran over forty pages and included an introductory essay, complete artist biographies, song

email communication to author, November 7, 2013. Incidentally, the cover was used as CFC letterhead, possibly as early as 1962. University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club, Blank Letterhead, Folder #1408, Archie Green Papers.

¹³² A track list and song lyrics for the full album are available at “*Green Fields of Illinois* – Song Texts,” <http://webpages.charter.net/dnance/greenfields/songtexts.htm>, accessed May 9, 2013.

bibliographies, lyrics, and even transcriptions.¹³³ The liner notes projected a critical orientation by situating the songs within folk traditions and providing sources for further exploration. For example, song bibliographies traced the history of each song within oral tradition, folklore anthologies, and recordings by performers such as Leadbelly, Vernon Dalhart, and Gid Tanner and His Skillet Lickers.

The recordings sought to present local repertoire as exemplifying the informal folk traditions implied by the cover. The performers were recorded at home, and the clipped tracks and background sounds of many songs oriented the album towards fieldwork rather than polished popularized folk. The album highlighted documentary interest over technical perfection in performance and production. For example, two of Stelle Elam's fiddle songs, "Buffalo Nickel," and "Jay Bird," contained substantial mistakes in Lyle Mayfield's rhythm guitar part. Other tracks provided glimpses into domestic spaces. During a take of "Apples in the Summertime," a guitar solo performed by Jim Goodwin, someone accidentally dropped spoons, which clanged in the background. Though unintentional, this sound helped present the domestic setting of the Goodwins' folk music.¹³⁴ The grain of these recordings helped frame the album as a document of authentic folk landscapes outside of the processed studio sounds of popular recordings or the perceived artificiality of the college campus.

The representational use of landscape, liner notes and recording strategies all contributed to the framing of *Green Fields of Illinois* as a document of traditional folk music. Another aspect *not* found on this album equally encouraged such framing: any reference to the contemporary music and

¹³³ The full liner notes are printed online at "*Green Fields of Illinois – The Booklet*," <http://webpages.charter.net/dnance/greenfields>, accessed May 9, 2013.

¹³⁴ "Apples in the Summertime" was recorded four different times; the other three did not contain any recording blemishes. University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club, Tapes and Log Sheets for *Green Fields of Illinois*, Archives of Traditional Music, 64-018-F, Indiana University. When I asked Judith McCulloh about this selection, she wrote that, "as best I recall...we would've had musical reasons for choosing [the take]. I added the information about the spoons on the chance that someone might think Jim was doing something unusual with his guitar. And I thought hard about whether I should even do this." Judith McCulloh, personal communication, November 13, 2013.

politics of rural Illinois. The album contained scant evidence of the country music artists then exceedingly popular in the region. Like Frank Proffitt, the artists on *Green Fields of Illinois* also performed the music of popular country artists like Gene Autry and Roy Rogers. Lyle and Doris Mayfield had produced a multitracked version of “When the Saints Go Marching In” in emulation of Les Paul’s famous experiments.¹³⁵ The Mayfields even tried to parlay their appearance on *Green Fields of Illinois* into a career in Nashville, albeit with little success.¹³⁶ Likewise, though the folk revival may be known today for its connection with the civil rights movement and protest songs, the most political song on the album is “Old Age Pension,” a conservative, Depression-era critique of the Social Security Administration included more for historical interest and whimsical lyrics than current relevance. Topicality was instead reserved for songs addressing the concerns of nineteenth-century rural life, like infant mortality in “Put My Little Shoes Away” or railroad crashes in “Billy Richardson’s Last Ride.”¹³⁷ The album thus represented folkways through essentially nineteenth-century exemplars.

The deliberate omission of contemporary culture from *Green Fields of Illinois* reflected the influence of university culture on the album. *Green Fields of Illinois* conflated rural folksinging with their conception of tradition by masking aspects of local culture dissonant to university cultural binaries. The album thus elided differences in the use of folk music by students and rural folksingers between educational preservation and informal practice, and ignored the conservative politics and country music interests of their performers. These two populations could only come together through an aestheticized nineteenth-century past. This move to historical perspective reflects the

¹³⁵ His recordings, which include the Paul experiment, are deposited in the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music, accession numbers 64-018-F, 65-119-F, and 66-215-F. *Green Fields of Illinois* also contained a parody of Albert von Tilzer’s “My Little Girl,” a Tin Pan Alley song whose Broadway origins were at some remove from central Illinois.

¹³⁶ Lyle Mayfield, “Impressions of Nashville,” *Autoharp* 4, no. 3 (February 3, 1964): 19–20.

¹³⁷ Cf. “*Green Fields of Illinois* – Song Texts.”

process of disinterested self-development encapsulated in *Bildung* by encouraging a critical perspective on folk music aloof from political engagement.

The distance from contemporary concerns additionally reflects the cultural geography of the University of Illinois. The reference to “green fields” was intended to celebrate the vibrant, fertile state of local music and the importance of agricultural folkways in traditional culture. The album title and cover art construed tradition, though, as stemming from a temporally distant, differentiated place when it in fact derived from the cultural landscapes of the University of Illinois. The introductory essay to the liner notes claimed that “we offer [the album] for enjoyment—musical enjoyment—as well as for the satisfaction that comes when we rediscover our musico-historical heritage.”¹³⁸ This last claim may have been true for the native musicians the CFC venerated, but the album framed central Illinois folk music through distinctions absent from the local musicians it documented. Rather than uncover the heritage of club members, *Green Fields of Illinois* enabled students to discover the heritage of the relationship between music, education, aesthetics, and politics encapsulated in the liberal arts disposition of their university.

Conclusion: The Ethics of Overemphasis

After *Green Fields of Illinois*, the CFC recorded one more album, Glenn Ohrlin’s *The Hell-Bound Train* (1964). Like the local folk artists documented in *Green Fields of Illinois*, Ohrlin was a native exemplar of a popularized American tradition, in this case cowboy music.¹³⁹ *The Hell-Bound Train* helped propel Ohrlin into the folk world, enabling him to perform at the 1964 Newport Folk

¹³⁸ Plous, Liner notes, *Green Fields of Illinois*.

¹³⁹ As the *Champaign-Urbana Courier* later wrote, Ohrlin “represent[ed] the actual tastes of today’s cowboys, rather than the outsider’s conception of what a cowboy ought to sing. “Cowboy to Sing Here,” *Champaign-Urbana Courier*, December 12, 1964, 20. The club met Ohrlin at the 1963 Arkansas Folk Festival hosted by Jimmie Driftwood. Archie Green recollected being stunned by his performance of “The Hell-Bound Train,” and invited him to perform. See Archie Green, preface to Glenn Ohrlin, *The Hell-Bound Train: A Cowboy Songbook* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), xii.

Festival and receive a grant to compile a book of cowboy songs.¹⁴⁰ Though the record helped launch Ohrlin's career, it was a financial disaster for the CFC. As of May 1964, the CFC had lost over \$400 on the album.¹⁴¹ A follow-up album documenting the Chicago blues scene never moved past the exploratory stage, and a fourth LP never came to fruition.¹⁴² While the Indiana University Folksong Club wanted to emulate the CFC record label, they lacked the financial solvency to realize this project. IUFC members only began exploring potential options for recording a potpourri of student talent in Spring 1965. The IUFC recorded students in March, but the record release was bumped back to the Fall 1965 semester due to further financial constraints.¹⁴³ Though the club offered a presale of the album in May, declining student interest during the fall marked the end of the recording project, and the album would never be formally released.¹⁴⁴

The moment when Bob Dylan plugged in his electric guitar to sing "Maggie's Farm" at the 1965 Newport Folk Festival is usually considered the end of the 1960s folk revival. The following fall likewise marked the death knell of both the Illinois and Indiana folksong clubs. IUFC member Neil Rosenberg reminisced that, starting in 1965, Indiana students became more interested in politics, rock, and drugs than in debating definitions of tradition. Since "rock 'n' roll was acceptable to intellectuals and college students," students no longer required folksong clubs to serve as gatekeepers into mature popular music.¹⁴⁵ The "200 and 300 level courses" that Dick Adams urged campus folksong clubs to offer had switched their curricula to rock music. The IUFC straggled for a

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. The book was published by University of Illinois Press under the direction of former CFC member Judith McCulloh, who initially met Ohrlin at the 1963 Arkansas Folk Festival.

¹⁴¹ William T. Becker, "Current Status Report: Hell-Bound Train, CFC 301," May 14, 1963, Folder #1424, Archie Green Papers.

¹⁴² The only mention of this fourth record is in a letter from Victor Lukas to Mike Bloomfield, January 20, 1965, Folder #1424, Archie Green Papers.

¹⁴³ Frank A. Hoffman, "About that Club Record..." *Blue Yodel* 3, no. 4 (April 5, 1965): 7–10. The IUFC lacked the internal free resources of the CFC, such as recording and design. The club produced test recordings to decide recorded material beforehand, and then planned to use a local studio as efficiently as possible to record and press the albums.

¹⁴⁴ Thom Foreman, Presale Announcement, *Blue Yodel* 3, no. 4 (April 5, 1965): 13. The dry run tapes during March survive in Archives of Traditional Music 66-173-F, Indiana University.

¹⁴⁵ Rosenberg, "Neil Rosenberg," 75–76; Rosenberg, interview with author.

couple of years before disbanding in 1967. In the fall of 1965, Archie Green also left Urbana-Champaign to complete his Ph.D. in folklore studies at the University of Pennsylvania. Bereft of Green's mentorship, the CFC shrank from nearly five hundred members in Spring 1965 to under two hundred the following semester, and only a few dozen by the end of the 1965-66 school year.¹⁴⁶ Though Green returned in 1968, the club slowly dwindled before formally disbanding in the early 1970s.

If, following Joe Hickerson's statement earlier in this chapter, folksong clubs aimed to provide recreation and education, members had felt the organizations overall met their objectives. In a later interview, Fritz Plous noted that "for those of us who found folk music in the Campus Folksong Club... this was the kind of personal growth experience... that we had been looking for."¹⁴⁷ As this chapter has examined folksong club activity from the student point of view, though, it is appropriate to conclude with the words of a "native" folk musician, Lyle Mayfield. Mayfield was certainly grateful for his associations—indeed, lifelong friendships—with CFC members, as well as his concomitant transformation from "hillbilly" to "folksinger." Upon moving back to Greenville in the late 1960s, he formed his own folklore society and held a folk music festival in 1969.¹⁴⁸ In a 2007 interview, though, he admitted some unease concerning club definitions of folk music: "I think the club served a very useful purpose. I think the term 'folk music' has been corrupted. But these young people were trying to delve into what folk music really was. And I think sometimes they overemphasized the value of it."¹⁴⁹

Mayfield's statement highlights the central tension of campus folksong activities: their attempt to understand traditional music resulted in the understanding of university culture. On one

¹⁴⁶ Judi Munday, Letter to Beverly Plummer, November 30, 1965, Folder #1428, Archie Green Papers.

¹⁴⁷ Fritz Plous, interview by Tracie Wilson, May 23, 2007, transcript, University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Oral History Project, http://www.library.illinois.edu/sshel/specialcollections/folklore/transcripts/plous_23052007.pdf (accessed November 14, 2013), 11.

¹⁴⁸ Lyle Mayfield, letter to Archie Green, March 25, 1969, Folder #235, Archie Green Papers.

¹⁴⁹ Mayfield, interview with Wilson, 13.

hand, the clubs tried to access and celebrate the practice of traditional music outside of music industry “corruptions.” On the other, the club’s conversion of folk music into a form of elite culture appreciated through criticism “overemphasized” the degree to which traditional music practices were premised on sharp distinctions—authentic vs. fake, domestic vs. public, folk vs. country, practice vs. preservation. This tension is evident in concerts, newsletter articles, and recordings, where campus folksong clubs at both Illinois and Indiana reflected *Bildung* values by highlighting the aesthetic, historical, and domestic aspects of tradition while disassociating it from its political and musical present. This conception of tradition was intended to make students less imitative and more respectful, ultimately encouraging self-development through the study of folk music. Neither the CFC nor the IUFC intended to solve the class inequalities endemic to the pursuit of tradition through a university setting, but instead to become aware of tradition through a more critical means than that produced by popularized city folksong. Perhaps this burden placed on folk music was different from Mayfield’s perception of his music, but both students and local folksingers found it appropriate and constructive.

Chapter 3: *Bildung* Indigeneity: Ethnomusicology and the Scholarly Representation of Native American Music, 1974-1980

How, precisely, is a garrulous, overdetermined cross-cultural encounter shot through with power relations and personal cross-purposes circumscribed as an adequate version of a more or less discrete “other world”?

-James Clifford¹

On February 22, 1974, the Seneca musician Avery Jimersen came to Wesleyan University as an artist-in-residence for the school’s Study Group in American Indian Music class. Renowned as a prolific composer of Longhouse religious music, Jimersen presided over a master class in which he taught students ceremonial songs, rattling patterns, and dance steps.² That evening, he performed for the Middletown community in a concert hosted by David McAllester, Professor of Music and Anthropology and course instructor. McAllester intended Jimersen’s visit to counteract dominant stereotypes of Native Americans in American culture as a primitive, savage, and warrior people.³ Before Jimersen came on stage, McAllester announced that “we want [this concert] to be just a simple kind of family evening of Seneca music. This is not an *Indian show*. This is a chance for the rest of the community who wants to, to have the benefit of Avery Jimersen’s being here.”⁴ Through this exordium, McAllester framed Jimersen’s performance as the representation of a distinct Seneca identity, one his Connecticut audience would respectfully appreciate through hearing and learning about his music.

The epigraph from James Clifford opening this chapter, though, casts doubt on the possibility of such an endeavor. Can a respectful presentation of Jimersen’s music—and by

¹ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 25.

² For information on the Longhouse religion of the Haudenosaunee (the group of Native American nations from present-day upstate New York including the Seneca), see Ron LaFrance, “Inside the Longhouse: Dances of the Haudenosaunee,” in *Native American Dance: Ceremonies and Social Traditions*, ed. Charlotte Heth (Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian, 1992), 19–31.

³ To summarize my use of terminology outlined on page 14: Native American and American Indian implies the general ethnic term, tribal identities (i.e. Navajo or Seneca) are used to describe individuals, while “Indian” implies Anglo-American perceptions of Native American culture wrought by cultural imperialism.

⁴ Avery Jimersen, singer, and David McAllester, host, “An Evening of Seneca Indian Music,” World Music Hall, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT, February 22, 1974, World Music Archives, Wesleyan University.

extension, Seneca culture—actually occur on a university stage given the unequal power relationship between American and Native American culture? If Archie Green had asked a similar question about folksingers in the previous chapter, the question here is even more fraught because, after all, Western education had been a primary means of producing and reinforcing the Indian stereotypes that McAllester sought to counteract. For nearly a century, primary schools had tried to assimilate Native Americans into American society in concert with American colonialism. Anthropologists had also long studied Native American culture through Western eyes, marginalizing indigenous perspectives in the academy. As Hopi and Miwok writer Wendy Rose has written, “the inclusion of non-European intellectual content in the academy is absolutely predicated upon its conformity to sets of ‘standards’ conceived and administered by those adhering to the basic precepts of Euro-derivation.... The purpose is to occupy and consume other cultures just as surely as their land and resources have been occupied and consumed.”⁵ If Western education had contributed to the colonization of Native America, how could a concert curated by an ethnomusicologist and presented at an American university help understand Jimersen as *Seneca* without “occupying or consuming” his identity?

Through the public concerts and research activities of David McAllester and Charlotte Heth (UCLA), this chapter examines how ethnomusicologists during the 1970s sought to present Native American music as a medium for expressing a distinct, sovereign, and contemporary cultural identity. This more diplomatic form of representation was influenced by then-recent indigenous rights movements, colloquially termed “Red Power,” which had asserted the self-sovereignty of Native culture and criticized the colonialist legacies of higher education. As a result, McAllester and Heth refigured concert curation, fieldwork documentation, and research in order to critically examine the colonialist legacies of education and insist on what Crow Creek Sioux scholar and

⁵ Wendy Rose, “The Great Pretenders: Further Reflections on Whiteshamanism,” in *The State of Native North America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, ed. M. Annette Jaimes (Boston: South End Press, 1992), 407.

activist Elizabeth Cook-Lynn has called the “indigeneity” of Native American practitioners. For Cook-Lynn, the indigeneity of American Indians refers to a category of being, origin, and land outside of Western influence, “a reference to the intellectual defense of Native existence as standard in a specific geography.”⁶ In the absence of legal sovereignty, and in the wake of cultural ethnocide, the concept of indigeneity tries to ascribe a cultural autonomy and thus national sovereignty to Native American nations originating from pre-contact culture and geography.

McAllester and Heth’s attempted to diplomatically present Native Americans through ethnomusicology by stressing their indigeneity, understanding performers as emissaries of a distinct indigenous nation rather than a colonized protectorate. In this paradigm, ethnomusicology could be a medium for cultural exchange through tactful, reciprocal communication. Of course, indigeneity insists on envoicing and dialoguing dissimilar cultural ontologies. Given the power dynamics described by Wendy Rose, though, such a task is difficult because indigenous cultural perspectives are necessarily distorted when they become legible to university study. Yet by recognizing this unequal power dynamic and seeking to dialogue the differences between university and indigenous culture on a more even plane, McAllester and Heth believed that the ethnomusicology of Native American music could both critically examine academic power and assert the modernity of Native American identity.

This chapter begins by tracing the relationship between American colonialism and education, arguing that the universality assumed in central concepts like *Bildung* served to enforce the colonialization of Native America. As Western educational modes were deployed to convert indigenous peoples to American ways, the assumption of assimilation encouraged the first musical anthropologists to consider Native American culture solely as a historical relic. As a result, scholars beginning in the turn of the twentieth century delimited indigenous culture to ceremonial forms,

⁶ Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, *A Separate Country: Postcoloniality and American Indian Nations* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2012), 15.

considering them to be musically primitive. Beginning in the 1960s, though, Native American political activists such as Vine Deloria, Jr. castigated anthropological authority for its complicity in the ethnocide of indigenous culture. As a result, Heth and McAllester oriented their scholarly activity dialoguing with indigenous cultural ontologies, acknowledging their difference from those of the Western academy, and using contemporary indigenous musical politics to effect disciplinary critiques. I first examine concerts hosted by both McAllester and Heth: the aforementioned Avery Jimersen concert at Wesleyan and an interview and performance by the Navajo musician Sam Yazzie, Sr. hosted by Heth at UCLA in 1976. I demonstrate how both McAllester and Heth tried to use the concert setting to forge a respectful understanding of contemporary indigenous practices for a public audience, but show how this aim evinced disjunctures between these practices and Western cultural mores.

While concerts demonstrated shared concerns between McAllester and Heth, I then turn to their respective research activities, as they had different subject-positions which resulted in different approaches for examining contemporary Native American music and critiquing their own discipline. As a member of the Cherokee Nation from Oklahoma, Heth believed that the aesthetic power of ceremonial music could assert a modern indigenous identity. I discuss an anthology of traditional Native American music she produced for New World Records in 1976 titled *Songs of Earth, Water, Fire and Sky: Music of San Juan Pueblo, Seneca, Northern Arapaho, Northern Plains, Creek, Yurok, Navajo, Cherokee, Southern Plains*, through which she connected the survival of ceremonial music with contemporary Red Power activism. As a white New Englander trained in the 1930s, McAllester recognized the implicit colonialism of prior ethnomusicological perspectives. While Heth sought to repoliticize ceremonial music, McAllester believed that more scholarly attention to popular forms could critique the academic delimitation of indigenous identity to traditional forms. I lastly examine McAllester's research on Anglo music, the adoption of Western popular forms like rock, jazz, and

gospel, by Native Americans. Lectures and articles, especially “New Perspectives on Native American Music,” published in *Perspectives on New Music* in 1982 and “The Astonished Ethno-Muse,” published in *Ethnomusicology* in 1980, demonstrate his argument that popular music could express indigenous identity. Through these concerts, recording projects, and articles, Heth and McAllester sought to reframe ethnomusicology as a site of diplomatic dialogue.

Ethnomusicologists, Native Americans, and Colonialism

The military defeat of Native Americans at the hands of the United States army led to the loss of their territory and national sovereignty to the new, expanding nation. A rider to the Indian Appropriations Bill of 1871 declared that “no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty.”⁷ Further laws made Native Americans colonial subjects of the United States. The 1883 Dawes Act divided reservations into private allotments, criminalizing the communal land ownership practices of indigenous communities. The 1885 Major Crimes Act granted United States courts jurisdiction over Native American reservations; the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act granted citizenship to Native Americans; the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act replaced traditional governance forms with democratic tribal councils; and the 1953 Termination Acts repealed federal recognition of nearly one hundred tribes.⁸

These legislative acts were accompanied by cultural assimilation driven by the imposition of Western educational practices into indigenous life. Social theorist Ashis Nandy has argued that education perniciously maintains the hegemonic power of Western colonialism initially gained by military conquest. Education acts as the “second form of colonization” that “colonizes minds in addition to bodies and it releases forces within the colonized societies to alter their cultural priorities.

⁷ Quoted in Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man’s Club: Schools, Race and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 6.

⁸ A description of important U.S. and Native American legal cases from a Native American point of view is found in Ward Churchill and Glenn T. Morris, “Indian Laws and Cases,” in *The State of Native North America*, 13–21.

In the process, it helps generalize the concept of the modern West from a geographical and temporal entity into a psychological category.”⁹ Though Nandy developed his theory within postcolonial India, Jorge Noriega has echoed his theory in a Native American context by asserting that “education has been the mechanism by which colonialism [of Native Americans] has sought to render itself effectively permanent, creating the conditions by which the colonized could be made essentially self-colonizing, eternally subjugated in psychic and intellectual terms and thus eternally self-subordinating in economic and political terms.”¹⁰

Westerners had attempted to convert Native Americans to their social and religious mores almost since first contact, but military conquest enabled the United States to institutionalize Western education.¹¹ The Office of Indian Affairs mandated that Native American children attend “Indian schools” devoted to Western education. These schools enforced Western culture by disbaring students from speaking in native languages or performing ceremonial music and dance, actions denigrated for their supposed savagery and backwardness.¹² Attendance was compulsory through eighth grade, and traditional educational forms were criminalized. The effects of enforced Western education were devastating for American Indians. Donald A. Grinde has claimed that “coercive educational policies... continued the genocidal practices that marked the U.S. government’s

⁹ Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), xi.

¹⁰ Jorge Noriega, “American Indian Education in the United States: Indoctrination for Subordination to Colonialism,” in *The State of Native North America*, 374. See also Fear-Segal, *The White Man’s Club*, 13. Noriega’s argument resonates with the French poststructuralist argument that education solely reproduces its own privilege discussed in Chapter 1.

¹¹ For settler educational initiatives for Native Americans prior to 1800, see Noriega, “American Indian Education,” 371–77. Colonial universities like Harvard and William and Mary were partially instituted to Christianize Native Americans. Harvard University’s original 1650 Charter, for example, called for “the education of the English & Indian Youth of this Country in knowledge: and godlines [sic].” Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), 6. For a history of Native Americans at Harvard, see *ibid.*, 340–60.

¹² Jacqueline Shea Murray, “Have They a Right? Nineteenth-Century Indian Dance Practices and Federal Policy,” in *The People Have Never Stopped Dancing: Native American Modern Dance Histories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 29–52.

relationship with Native peoples from the outset,” contributing to the decline of Native American population by half between 1880 and 1934.¹³

The claims to universality at the root of United States education made it a particularly invasive tool for the cultural assimilation of Native Americans. As discussed in Chapter 1, *Bildung* education had originally developed within Protestant theology, but transformed during the Enlightenment into a more universal theory that connected personal growth and cultural uplift with educational practices that encouraged self-development. The tension between universality and privilege at the heart of *Bildung* had made it a vehicle for assimilating Othered populations. During the late eighteenth century, for example, the Jewish intelligentsia was drawn to *Bildung* as a tool for integrating into German society. Though subordinated culturally and politically in central Europe since the Middle Ages, Jews were granted Prussian citizenship in 1812. For historian George L. Mosse, *Bildung* became “fundamental to the search for a new Jewish identity after emancipation.”¹⁴ Amos Elon wrote that “[the Jews’] true home...was not ‘Germany’ but German culture and language. Their true religion was the bourgeois, Goethean ideal of *Bildung*.”¹⁵ Jews could merge nationhood and religious identity through seeking self-development by appreciating aesthetic culture. As Jews sought *Bildung* to integrate into German society, though, the concept’s Protestant roots increasingly subjugated them under a Christian conception of Germanness as German nationalism emerged over the nineteenth century.¹⁶

The liminal position of the Jews vis-à-vis *Bildung*—subjected to its claims of universality but excluded from religious-national requisites—offers a parallel to the cultural ethnocide of Native

¹³ Donald A. Grinde, “Taking the Indian out of the Indian: U.S. Policies of Ethnocide through Education,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 19, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 30.

¹⁴ George L. Mosse, *German Jews beyond Judaism* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1985), 4. See also Amos Elon, *The Pity of it All: A History of the Jews in Germany, 1743–1933* (New York: Metropolitan, 2002), 66–67.

¹⁵ Elon, *The Pity of it All*, 9.

¹⁶ Cf. Shulamit Volkov, “The Ambivalence of *Bildung*,” in *Germans, Jews and Anti-Semites: Trials in Emancipation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 246–55.

America.¹⁷ Germanic teaching models, especially *Kindergarden*, had been employed as pedagogical methods for assimilating Native Americans into American society.¹⁸ Education through self-development, though, radically differed from indigenous education, which foregrounded learning one's place within community kinship systems.¹⁹ Coercive Germanic educational practices thus removed the educational systems that enabled a differentiated cultural identity. For Native Americans, enforced Western education thus contributed to what sociologist Jeffrey C. Alexander has called the "cultural trauma" of Native Americans, one "marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways."²⁰ For Westerners, the study of Native Americans became premised on the assumption of their eventual assimilation. Indigenous identity was delimited to what Brian Dippie has called the "vanishing American," the culture of a nineteenth-century people doomed to extinction at the close of the frontier.²¹

¹⁷ The Holocaust remains a powerful referent for Native American activists seeking to bring the horrors of Native American genocide to public consciousness. For example, see M. Annette Jaimes, "Sand Creek: The Morning After," in *The State of Native North America*, 3. Despite the linked cultural history, there are some obvious differences between Jews and Native Americans in terms of education: Jews willingly engaged with *Bildung*, while Indians had Germanic education imposed on them; and Germanic education manifested itself in Native American schools more through *Kindergarten* than higher education.

¹⁸ Francis Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reforms and the Indian, 1865–1900* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 268–69.

¹⁹ For example, Ellen Deloria wrote, "The ultimate aim of Dakota life, stripped of accessories was quite simple. One must obey kinship rules; one must be a good relative. . . . In the last analysis every other consideration was secondary—property, personal ambition, glory, good times, life itself." Quoted in Fear-Segal, *The White Man's Club*, 53. James V. Fenelon and Dorothy LeBeau used a famous quote by Onondaga tribal leader Canasatego rejecting Western education as producing "good for nothing" community members to define indigenous education through six features: knowledge of the physical environment, conduct of everyday social sustenance activities, construction and maintenance of a household, provision of food and defense of the community, knowledge of language and diplomacy, and culturally appropriate counseling and teaching. James V. Fenelon and Dorothy LeBeau, "Four Directions for Indian Education: Curriculum Models for Lakota/Dakota Teaching and Learning," in *Indigenous Education & Empowerment: International Perspectives*, ed. Ismael Abu-Saad and Duane Champagne (Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 2006), 24.

²⁰ Jeffrey C. Alexander, "Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma," in Jeffrey C. Alexander, et al., *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 1.

²¹ Brian Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982). Dippie's use of the frontier invokes Frederick Jackson Turner's "frontier thesis," delivered at the 1893 World Columbian Exposition in Chicago celebrating the quadricentennial of Columbus' "discovery." Turner argued that American culture had been connected to the existence of the frontier. The disappearance of the American frontier indicated a new stage in the predestined civilizing mission of Euro-Americans to the west. Like the frontier itself, Turner believed that Indian culture was doomed to extinction. Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* 4 (1893): 199–227. Though the "frontier" is normally considered a nineteenth-century phenomenon, Wilbur Jacobs has shown

As a result, the perception of contemporary Native Americans was premised on Western stereotypes, or what historian Robert Berkhofer has called the “White Man’s Indian.” As Berkhofer wrote, “what began as reality for the Europeans ended as image and stereotype for Whites, and what began as an image alien to Native Americans became a reality for them.”²² The damaging stereotypes perpetuated by popular culture (e.g. sports mascots and movie sidekicks) are well known. In academia, though, the pervasiveness of the “vanishing American” notion, combined with the exclusion of popular culture, delimited Indian culture to the late nineteenth-century ceremonial rituals existent prior to indigenous assimilation. Since traditional forms, which usually consisted of a monophonic melody with drum and dance accompaniment, were seen as less musically complex, they were perceived as an inferior, primitivist cultural form. As Thomas Biolsi has argued, primitivism “undergirded [the] ethnographic worldview, and determined what anthropologists saw on the reservation.”²³ Indian music thus became interpellated within United States education not as a contemporary indigenous practice, but a primitive artifact of traditional culture preserved for its historical interest and, more nefariously, proof of the evolutionary progress made by white American society.²⁴

that frontier mentalities stemmed from the earliest European encounters. Wilbur Jacobs, “The White Man’s Frontier in American History: The Impact upon Land and the Indian,” in *Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier* (New York: Scribner, 1972), 19–30.

²² Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1978), 195.

²³ Thomas Biolsi, “The Anthropological Construction of ‘Indians’: Haviland Scudder Mekeel and the Search for the Primitive in Lakota Country,” in *Indians and Anthropologists: Vine Deloria, Jr., and the Critique of Anthropology*, ed. Thomas Biolsi and Larry J. Zimmerman (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 136.

²⁴ For the importance of the Native American primitive for self-definitions of United States civilization, see Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967); Helen Carr, *Inventing the American Primitive: Politics, Gender, and the Representation of Native American Literary Traditions, 1789–1936* (New York: New York University Press, 1996); Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 1997); Shari Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001); Joel Pfister, *Individuality Incorporated: Indians and the Multicultural Modern* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007). For a broader study connecting primitivism and modernism, see Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

The beginnings of Native American musical anthropology during the late nineteenth century combined a primitivist perspective of indigenous culture with assimilationist United States federal policy. The first compilers of Indian music, Alice Fletcher and Frances Densmore, understood their work as preserving the culture of a “vanishing” people. Both were government employees with connections to the Office for Indian Affairs and national archives who believed Native Americans were destined to assimilate into white culture.²⁵ Fletcher referred to her transcriptions of Omaha as a contribution to the “archaeology of music,” while Densmore believed her voluminous studies of various tribal ceremonial musics to be “historically rather than actively relevant.”²⁶ Their recordings and transcriptions became examples of “real” Native American music for Western audiences during the early twentieth century.²⁷ Their collections were featured in turn of the century world expositions in Chicago and St. Louis that celebrated the development of United States civilization by contrast with Native American primitivism.²⁸

The preservationist approach of early scholars like Fletcher and Densmore left a complex legacy for later scholars of Native American music. Much like the folklore scholars of Chapter 2, they believed they were documenting traditional culture before its eventual demise at the hands of modern civilization. A bibliographic review in an early *Ethnomusicology* pamphlet extolled Densmore’s

²⁵ Fletcher received a full-time research stipend from the Peabody Museum, which was associated with Harvard University, while Densmore worked for the Smithsonian. Both were also steadfast supporters of Indian legislation like the Dawes Act. For Fletcher, see Joan Mark, *A Stranger in her Native Land: Alice Fletcher and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 72–77. Densmore even requested the Smithsonian purchase and sell a recently deceased singer’s allotment to pay for the publication of one of her ethnographies. Jonathan Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879–1934* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 162.

²⁶ Mark, *A Stranger in Her Native Land*, 227; Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 159.

²⁷ For the importance of transcriptions in creating and authenticating early perceptions of Native American music, see Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004), 183–223; and Michael Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 182–239.

²⁸ Robert Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair*; Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music*, 172–77; Lucy Maddox, *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race, and Reform* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 1–4. For Densmore and Fletcher’s participation in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, see Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 164, 186–87. Joan Mark discusses Fletcher’s ambivalent relationship with the Chicago exhibition due to gender discrimination in *A Stranger in her Native Land*, 233–242.

recordings as “an irreplaceable document of the music of an aboriginal culture before it had suffered too extensively under the impact of modern civilization” and claimed that the discipline was “deeply indebted to Dr. Densmore for having preserved for the future such a large and representative collection of music of the American Indian.”²⁹ They also felt their studies were presenting actual indigenous culture as opposed to the stereotypes of popular fiction and Hollywood. The colonization of Native America, though, had enabled them to construct and circulate narratives of indigenous cultural identity while disenfranchising Native Americans from the power to define themselves. Anthropologist S. Elizabeth Bird has written that “many American Indians have complained that they do not recognize themselves in these ethnographic descriptions,” instead finding descriptions of imagined nineteenth-century identities.³⁰ Yet multiple generations of enforced educational and legal assimilation had caused crippling destitution in American Indian communities, preventing them from contesting their representation and enabling the “White Man’s Indian” to become the Western perception of indigenous culture.

“Anthropologists and Other Friends”: Red Power Critiques

During the 1960s, though, the burgeoning “Red Power” movement began to challenge the colonialist policies of the United States.³¹ Advocacy groups including the American Indian Movement and the National Congress of American Indians formed to reassert indigenous rights and broadcast the inhuman and unequal treatment of forced reservation life and cultural assimilation. Following the African-American civil rights and women’s rights movements, events including the

²⁹ “Bibliography: Frances Densmore,” *Ethnomusicology* 1, no. 7 (1956): 15. Matthew W. Stirling, her former boss in the Bureau for American Ethnology, wrote in a memorial volume that “Dr. Densmore realized that she was working in a period when real native culture was rapidly disintegrating. American anthropologists and musicologists will always be in her debt for the rescue work she accomplished during this critical time.” Matthew W. Stirling, “Introduction,” in *Frances Densmore and American Indian Music: A Memorial Volume*, ed. Charles Hofmann (New York: Museum of the American Indian and the Heye Foundation, 1968), viii.

³⁰ S. Elizabeth Bird, “Savage Desires: The Gendered Construction of the American Indian in Popular Media,” in *Selling the Indian: Commercializing and Appropriating American Indian Cultures*, ed. Carter Jones Meyer and Diana Royer (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 63.

³¹ Cf. Alvin B. Josephy, *Red Power: The American Indians’ Fight for Freedom* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1971).

takeover of Alcatraz from 1969 to 1971 and the Wounded Knee standoff in 1973 brought the indigenous rights movement to a national audience. The increased visibility of colonialist injustices caused federal policies to shift from assimilationist measures to a mixture of cultural autonomy and legal protectionism. The government relaxed more stringent Bureau of Indian Affairs policies, revoked some of the devastating tribal termination acts, and allowed communities to pursue new business initiatives, especially casinos, to provide revenue streams.

Accompanying this change was a turn to education as a means of illuminating America's colonialist past. White Americans had begun to reevaluate their own history, as authors like Dee Brown and Alvin Josephy documented white atrocities.³² Even John F. Kennedy had written in 1961 that "it seems a basic requirement to study the history of our American Indians. Only through this study can we as a nation do what must be done if our treatment of the American Indian is not to be marked down for all time as a national disgrace."³³ Along with a growing self-reflection among whites, the Red Power movement also empowered Native Americans to make and circulate their own critiques of Western education. Vine Deloria, Jr., a Sioux law student and former executive director of the National Congress of American Indians, published *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* in 1969, a devastating reproof of the United States' treatment of Native Americans.³⁴

Along with cultural, governmental, religious, and social topics, Deloria included a chapter, satirically titled "Anthropology and Other Friends," that accused anthropologists studying American Indians of contributing to United States colonialism. Deloria declared that anthropological attempts to salvage and understand traditional Native culture merely reinscribed the paternalist aims of

³² Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Wilson, 1971); Alvin M. Josephy, *The Indian Heritage of America* (New York: Knopf, 1968); Wendell H. Oswalt, *This Land Was Theirs: A Study of the North American Indian* (New York: Wiley, 1966); Virgil J. Vogel, *This Country Was Ours: A Documentary History of the American Indian* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

³³ In William Brandon, *The American Heritage Book of Indians* (New York: Dell, 1964), 12.

³⁴ Vine Deloria, *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988). Further citations noted in text.

United States government policy. For Deloria, the “massive volume of useless knowledge produced by anthropologists attempting to capture real Indians in a network of theories has contributed substantially to the invisibility of Indian people today” (81). Rather than providing substantive assistance to Native Americans, whether through financial means or simple empathy, anthropologists subjected Indian communities to observation. Anthropology’s primitivist conceptions of Indian culture defined Indians “in terms that white men will accept, even if that means re-Indianizing them according to a white man’s idea” (92), confining Indian culture to a Western “conceptual prison” (93). Instead of contributing to the uplift of Native American society through cultural awareness, “in believing they could find the key to man’s behavior, they have...become forerunners of destruction” (99-100).

Deloria’s salvo deeply troubled anthropologists of Native America. While some brushed off his manifesto as part of an “Indian minority...[who] have sometimes engaged in desperate acts,” many were shaken by the accusations that their discipline was unethical and even colonialist.³⁵ His manifesto dovetailed with a broader disciplinary reexamination of whether anthropological observation actually communicated indigenous perspectives. As the famed Oxford anthropologist E.E. Evans-Pritchard had written in 1964, “speaking a language fluently is very different from understanding.”³⁶ The 1970 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association featured a symposium on *Custer Died for Your Sins*.³⁷ Perhaps influenced by one of Deloria’s suggestions (95),

³⁵ William W. Newcomb, Jr., *North American Indians: An Anthropological Perspective* (Pacific Palisades, CA: Goodyear Publishing, 1974), viii. Others critiqued Deloria’s polemics for ignoring the contributions of anthropologists to visibility concerns and land rights lawsuits. See John Whittaker, “‘Here Comes the Anthros’: What Good is an Archaeologist?” in *Anthropology Matters: Essays in Honor of Ralph A. Luebben*, ed. Jonathan G. Andelson (Coe, IA: Grinnell College, 1997), 101–10.

³⁶ Edward E. Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 7. See also Clifford Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic, 1973); 20–23; and idem., “‘From the Native’s Point of View’: On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding,” in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology* (New York: Basic, 1983): 55–71.

³⁷ Thomas Biolsi and Larry J. Zimmerman, “Introduction: What’s Changed, What Hasn’t,” in *Indians and Anthropologists*, 4.

the organization changed their Code of Ethics the following year to grant Native Americans more control over anthropological research. Deloria's caricature of anthropology became, for the next generation of anthropologists of Native America, "our primer for how *not* to behave.... It made us defensive, in the true sense of the term: we continually had to defend and justify our existence and practice self-reflection and introspection."³⁸

Texts like *Custer Died for Your Sins* influenced anthropologists to conceptualize Native American culture as that of a distinct, contemporary, and sovereign nation rather than Dippie's "vanishing Americans" or Berkhofer's "White Man's Indian." Scholars increasingly recognized this unique indigenous identity as evidence of survival in spite of American ethnocide rather than as a failed process of acculturation.³⁹ Robert Berkhofer argued in 1971 that "if white assumptions about racial superiority and the multifarious activities that this belief took in relation to Indian societies provide the basic theme of a history of white-Indian relations, then the central theme of a new history of Indians ought to be the remarkable persistence of cultural and personality traits and ethnic identity in Indian societies in the face of white conquest and efforts at elimination or assimilation."⁴⁰

³⁸ Elizabeth S. Grobsmith, "Growing Up on Deloria: The Impact of His Work on a New Generation of Anthropologists," in *Indians and Anthropologists*, 36–37. This collection came from a 1989 symposium held by the American Anthropological Association marking the twentieth anniversary of the publication of *Custer Died for Your Sins*, signifying the continued importance of Deloria's manifesto. See also Luke E. Lassiter, *The Power of Kiowa Song: A Collaborative Ethnography* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 44–56.

³⁹ The anthropological concept of acculturation examined the process by which one discrete culture changes through influence of another culture. Acculturation tied into vanishing American epistemologies by presupposing the interaction of discrete static cultures with "original cultural patterns." Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits, "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation," *American Anthropologist* 38, no. 1 (January–March 1936): 149: "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups." For an overview of acculturation, see Evon Z. Vogt, "The Acculturation of American Indians," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 311 (1957): 137–46. Other concepts like "diffusion" or "agglomeration" reconfigured the relationship between static cultures, but did not challenge the underlying methodology. For an overview of concepts of change in ethnomusicology, see Margaret J. Kartomi, "The Processes and Results of Musical Culture Contact: A Discussion of Terminology and Concepts," *Ethnomusicology* 25, no. 2 (May 1981): 227–49.

⁴⁰ Robert Berkhofer, "The Political Context of a New Indian History," *Pacific Historical Review* 40, no. 3 (August 1971): 357–58.

Beginning in the late 1960s, a number of books were published about this “new” and “emergent” indigenous identity.⁴¹

The critiques launched against anthropology were soon felt in ethnomusicology. Native American music was a prominent topic in early ethnomusicology, the subject of studies by Alan Merriam, Willard Rhodes, Bruno Nettl, and David McAllester, among many others. Bruno Nettl wrote in 1954, the year after the Society of Ethnomusicology formed, that “the history of the study of North American Indian music is closely tied to the history of comparative musicology at large. It served as the subject matter for the beginning of the science and has been a central branch of it since then.”⁴² Following the legacies of Densmore, Fletcher, and others, ethnomusicologists working with Native American music exclusively studied ceremonial forms connected to late nineteenth-century culture.⁴³ This repertoire was valuable as a traditional practice different from both mass culture representations and the encroachments of modern American culture.⁴⁴ The liner notes of

⁴¹ Stan Steiner, *The New Indians* (New York: Dell, 1968); Deward E. Walker, *The Emergent Native Americans: A Reader in Culture Contact* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1971).

⁴² Bruno Nettl, *North American Indian Musical Styles* (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1954), v. Nettl cites a long list of early anthropologists of Native Americans who discussed music, including Fletcher, Densmore, Natalie Curtis, Carl Stumpf, Franz Boas, Erich von Hornbostel, and Benjamin Ives Gilman.

⁴³ Jaap Kunst had famously defined the discipline of ethnomusicology in 1950 as “the *traditional* music and musical instruments of all cultural strata of mankind...Western art- and popular (entertainment-) music do not belong to its field.” Jaap Kunst, *Ethnomusicology: A Study of its Nature, its Problems, Methods, and Representative Personalities to which is added a Bibliography* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959), 1. Kunst, an influential figure in the development of ethnomusicology, had been employed in Indonesia as a colonial administrator for the Netherlands, merging colonialism and musical anthropology much as Densmore and Fletcher had done for the Office of Indian Affairs. Other mid-century ethnomusicologists posited a wide range of definitions. Mantle Hood argued that “ethnomusicology is concerned with the music of all non-European peoples—the civilized nations of the Orient as well as tribal societies—and includes within its purview the tribal, folk, and popular music of the Western world, as well as hybridizations of these forms...In other words, ethnomusicology embraces all kinds of music not included by studies in historical musicology, i.e., the study of cultivated music in the western European tradition.” Mantle Hood, “Music, the Unknown,” in *Musicology*, ed. Frank Ll. Harrison, Mantle Hood, and Claude V. Palisca (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963), 217. Charles Seeger critiqued the schism between ethnomusicology and musicology, arguing that the two disciplines would eventually merge. A dialogue on the object of ethnomusicological study held at the 1958 meeting of the Society of Ethnomusicology was published as “Whither Ethnomusicology?,” *Ethnomusicology* 3, no. 2 (May 1959): 99–105.

⁴⁴ Bruno Nettl, for example, called “aboriginal North America...the continent of primitive cultures whose music has been the most extensively studied and is best known.” Nettl, *North American Indian Musical Styles*, vi. See also idem, *Music in Primitive Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956).

Alan Merriam's 1953 LP *Songs and Dances of the Flathead Indians* exemplified the cultural hierarchies of ceremonial Native American music in mid-century ethnomusicology:

Traditional modes of behavior are disappearing among the Flathead, both because of the indifference of the young people and because the functions which they served no longer find a place in the changed way of life induced by the white man. Among those cultural aspects which do persist, however, none is stronger than the indigenous musical patterns which tend to continue long after the actual situations in which they arose have disappeared. Indeed the music of the Flathead retains its individuality [and musical integrity] almost completely in the face of white intrusion.⁴⁵

Mid-century ethnomusicology of Native American music thus still reflected the preservationist approach of Densmore and Fletcher, based on its assumption of Western cultural hierarchies and “vanishing American” precepts. Just as in anthropology, though, ethnomusicologists of Native America began studying “new” and “emergent” musical forms that mixed Western influence with a distinct indigenous identity. Writing about the discipline of ethnomusicology more broadly, Bruno Nettl wrote in 1964 that “the tendency to look for ‘pure’ or ‘authentic’ material which had never undergone any influence from Western music has gradually given way to an attitude according to which musical material available in a culture is the object to be studied.... An interest whereby the musical influence of the West is being brought to bear on non-Western musics...is becoming increasingly evident.”⁴⁶ Alan Merriam's 1964 book *The Anthropology of Music* concluded with an anecdote about a man named “L.T.” who formed a Blackfoot performance group called the “Flathead Ceremonial Dancers” that created new dances influenced by modern American show business. Merriam declared that understanding such examples of musical change through the mixture of Western and non-Western music was “the challenge of ethnomusicology today.”⁴⁷

Naomi Ware's 1971 study of the Pima Indians extended Nettl and Merriam's arguments by claiming that Western-influenced music was more prominent than ceremonial styles in reservation life. She asserted that “it is essential to examine types of music other than traditional ones in making

⁴⁵ Alan Merriam, Liner notes, *Songs and Dances of the Flathead Indians* (Folkways Records FW04445, 1953), 2.

⁴⁶ Bruno Nettl, *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), 22–23.

⁴⁷ Alan Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 317–19.

a study of musical activity in a culture.”⁴⁸ Whereas popular music had once been ignored or marginalized, Ware believed the study of such music reflected both the survival of indigenous identity and the impacts of United States colonialism.⁴⁹ For ethnomusicologists in the 1970s, both the continued practice of Native American ceremonial forms and the development of syncretic genres could reflect the cultural sovereignty, and thus indigeneity, of a distinct people surviving in the wake of American colonialism. In historian Matthew McNally’s words, “the challenge [of studying Native American culture] is to hold within view both the resilience of cultures in motion and the coercive nature of cultural change.”⁵⁰

New Music, New Ethnomusicology: Heth and McAllester

The work of ethnomusicologists David McAllester and Charlotte Heth reflected the new politics of indigeneity in the study of Native American music during the 1970s. McAllester had been Professor of Anthropology and Music at Wesleyan since 1947, and he had been a co-founder of the Society for Ethnomusicology. As a white New Englander who trained in anthropology during the 1930s, he was the demographic Deloria had in his crosshairs while writing *Custer Died for Your Sins*.⁵¹ Following mid-century disciplinary assumptions of Native American music, he had originally studied the subject as a “‘primitive’ music...in which the anthropological approach to music as one aspect of

⁴⁸ Naomi Ware, “Survival and Change in Pima Music,” *Ethnomusicology* 14, no. 1 (January 1970): 111. While she continues to split traditional and Western musical production, her study acknowledges the increase in Westernized forms performed on reservations.

⁴⁹ Scholars who worked with musical acculturation viewed acculturated forms as peripheral to, and less authentic than, traditional music. Willard Rhodes, “Acculturation in North American Indian Music,” in *Acculturation in North American Indian Music: Proceedings and Selected Papers of the Twenty-ninth International Congress of Americanists*, ed. Sol Tax (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 127–32; Alan Merriam, “The Use of Music in the Study of Acculturation,” *American Anthropologist* 57, no. 1 (1955): 28–34. Even ceremonial music with intertribal influence was perceived as acculturated, and thus less authentic. W.W. Newcomb, Jr., “A Note on Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism,” *American Anthropologist* 57, no. 5 (1955): 1041–45; William K. Powers, “Contemporary Oglala Music and Dance: Pan-Indianism versus Pan-Tetonism,” *Ethnomusicology* 12, no. 3 (1968): 352–72, especially 367.

⁵⁰ Michael D. McNally, *Ojibwe Singers: Hymn, Grief, and a Native Culture in Motion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 14.

⁵¹ McAllester was born in Everett, a suburb northeast of Boston. He received his A.B. from Harvard in 1938 and his Ph.D. from Columbia in 1952. McAllester mentioned a “somewhat remote Narragansett heritage” in “Autobiographical Sketch,” in *Explorations in Ethnomusicology: Essays in Honor of David P. McAllester*, ed. Charlotte Frisbie (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1986), 201.

total culture is of importance.”⁵² McAllester’s assumption of primitivist perspectives, though, did not preclude awareness of the problematic power dynamic involved in ethnomusicological research. His scholarship had advocated for participant-observation methodologies, the inclusion of native viewpoints, and self-reflection to allow for more native authority and autonomy. In a 1963 talk at the University of Washington, he argued that the ethnomusicologist was the “first person there as a student,” and claimed that assuming the submissive student role could be a sympathetic, respectful corrective for cultures inured to anthropological subjugation.⁵³ His 1953 monograph *Enemy Way Music*, an important early text for the development of ethnomusicology, had given voice to disjunctures between his questions and Navajo answers. For example, he described songs in the Enemy Way ceremony both through musicological analysis of formal features and informant dialogue, highlighting the difference between the two perspectives.⁵⁴

As a result, McAllester was receptive to Red Power criticisms of anthropology. His 1970 review of a retrospective on Frances Densmore engaged Red Power critiques: “For some of the ‘wrong’ reasons and in some of the ‘wrong’ ways, she did the best work that has been done, perhaps ever will be done, on American Indian music.... Now that we agonize over our approach to other races and other cultures, and now that Red Power puts down the anthropologists, ...the easy assumption that we can ‘understand’ the Indian is somewhat shaken.”⁵⁵ This awareness impacted his research in two ways over the decade. First, his scholarship on ceremonial music foregrounded respectful understanding between anthropologist and informant. His introduction (co-edited with

⁵² “A Proposal for a Ph.D. Program in Ethnomusicology,” November 24, 1963, 5, David McAllester Papers, Special Collections and Archives, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT, USA. Native American music was contrasted with Indian music within departmental philosophy along the lines of primitivism/anthropology and complexity/musicology.

⁵³ David McAllester, “Field Research among American Indians,” paper delivered at the Symposium on Ethnomusicology, University of Washington, March 8, 1963, Ethnomusicology Archive, University of Washington.

⁵⁴ David McAllester, *Enemy Way Music: A Study of Social and Esthetic Values as Seen in Navaho Music* (Cambridge, MA: Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1954), 27–30.

⁵⁵ David McAllester, review of *Frances Densmore and American Indian Music: A Memorial Volume*, *American Anthropologist* 72, no. 1 (1970): 143.

Charlotte Frisbie) to a 1978 autobiography of Frank Mitchell, a Navajo Blessingway singer, stressed Mitchell's agency in knowledge disclosure and narrative shaping and included a section examining "human relations in fieldwork."⁵⁶ This interest shaped his curation of Avery Jimersen's concert discussed in the following section.

Second, McAllester also studied how adaptations of Western popular music could express modern indigenous identity. Like Merriam and Ware, he realized that the influence of Western popular culture was inextricable from even the most "traditional" of settings. For example, his 1980 book *Hogans and House Songs* (written with his wife, Susan) described ceremonial music associated with hogans, or traditional Navajo houses. The book contained photographs of not just log and mud structures, but a living room bookshelf with Western encyclopedias, books on Greek mythology, and a Monopoly set; as well as a kitchen with a ceremonial center stove, Coca-Cola cans, and even Christian objects.⁵⁷ He developed a research project he called "The New Indian Music" over the last half of the 1970s which delved into the world of Anglo music, a project discussed in the final section of this chapter. In depicting the intermixture of Western influences and Navajo traditional culture, McAllester's research sought to reevaluate the ethnomusicological homology between indigenous identity and ceremonial culture.

While McAllester challenged the mid-century scholarly premises in which he had participated, Charlotte Heth sought to stress indigenous points of view in the study of ceremonial music. Heth was a member of the Cherokee Nation born in the 1930s from Muskogee, Oklahoma. While Native Americans were rarely found in higher education prior to the 1960s outside of

⁵⁶ Frank Mitchell, *Frank Mitchell: Blessingway Singer*, ed. Charlotte J. Frisbie and David P. McAllester (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1978), 5–7. The Blessingway ceremony is arguably the most important Navajo religious ceremony, from which all other ceremonies derive. Long Mustache, a Navajo informant, described it as the "spinal column of [Navajo] songs." Leland Clifton Wyman, *Blessingway* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970), 5.

⁵⁷ David P. and Susan W. McAllester, *Hogans: Navajo Houses & House Songs* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1980), 33, 39.

segregated institutions, the Red Power movement had influenced many Native American students to attend universities.⁵⁸ After teaching secondary school in Oklahoma, New Mexico, and California, Heth enrolled in the ethnomusicology program at UCLA in 1969. She completed a dissertation on the Cherokee Stomp Dance, a multi-day religious ceremony, and was hired by UCLA in 1974 as an Assistant Professor through a joint appointment between the Music Department and the newly formed American Indian Center.⁵⁹ Heth immediately instituted a three-part curriculum in Native American music, a topic previously absent from UCLA's ethnomusicology course offerings. The first two courses surveyed various culture areas, while the third, "Sociology of American Indian Music," studied "the manner in which cultural values, prescriptions, oral traditions, language, and technological advances have affected music of various tribes."⁶⁰ Like McAllister, she also instituted a performance ensemble in Native American music. Along with her courses, she forged connections with both campus and community powwow groups in Los Angeles.⁶¹

While McAllester's research reflected the new ethnomusicological concern with Westernized genres, Heth instead focused solely on ceremonial genres. She believed that studying ceremonial music as a contemporary practice affirmed the survival of a separate indigenous identity. In particular, she stressed its aesthetic value as central to its cultural power. As evidenced in McAllester's earlier quote, Native American music had usually been considered more valuable in ethnomusicology for anthropological reasons rather than musicological insights. Heth instead

⁵⁸ By 1977, approximately 30,000 Native Americans attended college. Beatrice Medicine, "Higher Education: A New Arena for Native Americans," in *Learning to Be an Anthropologist and Remaining "Native:" Selected Writings*, ed. Beatrice Medicine and Sue-Ellen Jacobs (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 83. The rise of Native American Studies programs and Native American community colleges helped provide opportunities for Native American students to dismantle stereotypes and produce knowledge from their point of view. See Dave Warren, "American Indian Challenge and Opportunity of a New Century," in *Sharing a Heritage: American Indian Arts*, ed. Charlotte Heth (Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Center, University of California-Los Angeles, 1984), 3–10.

⁵⁹ Heth discussed her early interest in ethnomusicology and the Cherokee music of her native northeastern Oklahoma in Victoria Lindsey Levine, Interview with Charlotte Heth, *SEM Newsletter* 47, no. 3 (2013): 1, 6.

⁶⁰ *UCLA General Catalog 1975–76*: 511–12.

⁶¹ Los Angeles had the largest population of Native Americans of any United States city, making community ties particularly important. "Native American Music at UCLA," *Ethnomusicology at UCLA* 4, no. 1 (Fall 1986): 1.

demanded that indigenous music be appreciated on its own aesthetic terms, asserting in her dissertation on the Cherokee Stomp Dance that Cherokee ceremonial “music has a value and integrity that was not hitherto apparent.”⁶² She presided over a discography of Native American musical holdings at the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive and edited a special volume of *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology* that examined musical forms and aesthetics from Native perspectives.⁶³ In addition, she curated anthologies of Native American music for New World Records and produced a video series of Native American musicians, projects which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Heth and McAllester’s research interests were impelled by American Indian identity politics to reexamine received stereotypes, but did so in different ways. Heth sought to elevate the aesthetic value of traditional music, while McAllester examined the potential identity politics of popular music.⁶⁴ If their work was driven by the desire to redress the residues of colonialism in the ethnomusicology of Native American music, neither strategy was a perfect panacea. Anglo music could be seen as the result of ethnocide as well as a radical critique thereof. The use of Western instruments, musical forms, and languages could entrench, rather than dissolve, the domination of Western culture over Native culture.⁶⁵ Ceremonial music could demonstrate resistance to American influence, but it could also continue the delimitation of indigenous identity to that of the “vanishing American.” As the Cherokee folklorist Rayna Green had argued in 1975, “perhaps if we explore the

⁶² Charlotte Heth, “The Stomp Dance Music of the Oklahoma Cherokee: A Study of Contemporary Practice with Special Reference to the Illinois District Council Ground” (Ph.D. diss., University of California-Los Angeles, 1975): xiv.

⁶³ Nora Yeh, ed., *Musics of the World: A Selective Discography, Part III* (Los Angeles: University of California-Los Angeles Ethnomusicology Archive, 1977), 24–30; Charlotte Heth, ed., *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology, Volume 3, No. 2: Native American Music* (Los Angeles: University of California-Los Angeles Department of Music, 1980).

⁶⁴ Her introduction to the *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology* collection flatly stated that “the articles in this issue deal with aboriginal forms of Indian music and not with revivals, pan-tribal music, or Indian innovations based on Western music.” Heth, “Introduction,” in *Native American Music*, x. She briefly discusses modern innovations in Charlotte Heth, “Update on Indian Music: Contemporary Trends,” in *Sharing A Heritage*, 96–97.

⁶⁵ As anthropologist David Samuels wrote in his 2004 study of Apache bands on the San Carlos Reservation outside Phoenix, “the claim that popular musicians on the reservation express deeply sensed feelings of Apache identity is in no way meant to overlook the centuries-long history of cultural genocide, linguistic imperialism, and primitivist fantasizing of colonization.” David Samuels, *Putting a Song on Top of It: Expression and Identity on the San Carlos Apache Reservation* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004), 97.

meaning of Native American lives outside the boundaries of the stories, songs, and pictures given us in tradition, we will find a more humane truth.”⁶⁶

More broadly than subject matter, though, as academics Heth and McAllester risked a more systemic reproduction of the power dynamics that had legitimated Western perceptions of Indians over indigenous perspectives. Rather than “effacing Native identity as it is disclosed,” to invoke Spivak, they sought to present indigenous culture in diplomatic dialogue with university culture.⁶⁷ By connecting Native American music with contemporary identity politics, Heth and McAllester sought to enact the cultural uplift of liberal arts education by using Native American music as a means to make inequalities, differences, and colonialist legacies known in order to hopefully “find a more humane truth” per Rayna Green. This chapter now turns to three ways that they tried to present both the new Indian and new ethnomusicologist. Both curated concerts as sites of dialogue using ceremonial music, showcasing their shared interest in cross-cultural dialogue, performance, and respect for traditional genres. I then turn to their individual approaches to discussing contemporary Native American musical identity; Heth’s celebration of traditional music through the anthology *Songs of Earth, Fire, Water, and Sky*; and McAllester’s articles on Anglo music. In their works, Heth and McAllester tried to assert the indigeneity of Native American musicians and, in doing so, redefine the ethics of ethnomusicological study.

Performing Indigeneity: Jimersen at Wesleyan, Yazzie Sr. at UCLA

Despite their different subject positions and research interests, both McAllester and Heth believed that performance could be a way to respectfully present indigenous music. They each instituted American Indian musical ensembles, making UCLA and Wesleyan the only

⁶⁶ Rayna Green, “The *Pocahontas Perplex*: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture,” *Massachusetts Review* 16, no. 4 (1975): 714.

⁶⁷ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography,” in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, ed. Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 11.

ethnomusicology programs to have such groups.⁶⁸ These ensembles were influenced by the concept of bimusicality, the practice of performing both Western and non-Western music originally developed by Mantle Hood at UCLA.⁶⁹ McAllester in particular believed that learning about Native American music through both participation and scholarly study could enable a more direct and embodied respect of musical practices rather than the critical distance of humanities scholarship. In a contemporaneous article “Cerebration or Celebration,” he had cited bimusicality as a method of undoing “the German university system, that enormously influential prototype of ‘civilized’ education all over the world.”⁷⁰

Along with promoting bimusical understanding, Heth and McAllester’s courses also brought guest teachers to campus for public concerts. These concerts were curated not only for students, but also to perform for public audiences. Despite Native American activism, Indian stereotypes remained exceptionally trenchant in public life during the 1970s (even more than they do today). Americans frequently caricatured Indians, per one contemporary account of stereotypes among white children, as “warlike, hostile, and a homogenized entity, and supposedly living today as they

⁶⁸ Heth, “Update on Indian Music: Contemporary Trends,” 96. McAllester began teaching his “Study Group in American Indian Vocal Music” in 1964, a course dedicated to “the analysis and practice of the vocal techniques of various North American Indian music areas.” *Wesleyan University Bulletin* 58 (1964): 83. Heth added American Indian music to the list of ethnomusicology performance organizations in 1976. *UCLA General Catalog 1976–77*: 292–93. Other schools with large indigenous populations, like Dine Navajo College and Brigham Young University, had similar performing ensembles.

⁶⁹ Mantle Hood, “Training and Research Methods in Ethnomusicology,” *Ethnomusicology* 1, no. 11 (1957): 6–8; idem., “The Challenge of Bi-Musicality,” *Ethnomusicology* 4, no. 2 (1960): 55–59; Paul J. Revitt, “The Institute of Ethnomusicology at UCLA,” *College Music Symposium* 2 (1962): 39–49; and Hood, “Music, the Unknown,” 243–247. David McAllester describes the influence of bimusicality in the formation of the Wesleyan Ethnomusicology Program in “Autobiographical Sketch,” 210–11; and idem., “Cerebration or Celebration,” *Current Musicology* 15 (1973): 95–96.

⁷⁰ McAllester, “Cerebration or Celebration,” 95. He echoed Mantle Hood’s observation about the strangeness of avoiding performance in pedagogy: “the basic study and training which develops musicality is known by several names: musicianship, fundamentals of music, solfeggio. I have never heard a musician suggest that this *sine qua non* might be bypassed, that the beginner should start with musical analysis or criticism.” Hood, “The Challenge of Bi-Musicality,” 55. McAllester also discussed the importance of performance in ethnomusicological curricula in “The Wesleyan Symposium” and “Performances and Workshops,” in *Becoming Human through Music: The Wesleyan Symposium on the Perspectives of Social Anthropology in the Teaching and Learning of Music*, ed. David McAllester (Reston, VA: Music Educators National Conference, 1985), 1–4, 123–28.

once did.”⁷¹ At the turn of the century, education was closely linked to Wild West exhibitions, legitimizing their stereotypes as authentic representations of indigenous identity.⁷² Heth and McAllester’s concerts instead tried to counter such stereotypes, imparting a sympathetic appreciation of indigenous culture through framing performers as authorities over their own music.

Beginning in 1969, David McAllester invited many Native American musicians to Middletown as artists in residence for his Study Group in American Indian Music course. For example, the Navajo musician Douglas Mitchell, son of Frank Mitchell, was a Visiting Artist at Wesleyan from 1969 to 1972.⁷³ In 1974, the Seneca musician Avery Jimersen came for a residency which included the evening concert on February 22 introduced at the beginning of this chapter. Advertised as “An Evening of Seneca Music,” McAllester wanted Jimersen, not himself, to be the expert on his ceremonial music. The announcement of Jimersen’s concert in the *Wesleyan Argus*, for example, described him as a “noted and prolific composer/performer.”⁷⁴ At Jimersen’s request, and as a gesture toward the music’s usual place in Longhouse religious ceremonies, McAllester recited a lengthy Longhouse opening prayer to begin his concert.⁷⁵ After Jimersen performed a few opening songs, McAllester solicited student and audience participation. Jimersen had met with students in

⁷¹ Arlene B. Hirschfelder, ed., *American Indian Stereotypes in the World of Children: A Reader and Bibliography*, (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1982), 2. The tenacity of Native American stereotypes during the 1970s can be seen in the source readings in the above source, as well as Gretchen M. Bataille and Charles L.P. Silet, eds., *The Pretend Indians: Images of Native Americans in the Movies* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1980); James Clifford, “Identity in Mashpee,” in *The Predicament of Culture*, 277–345; and Eva Garroutte, *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

⁷² Even before the conflation between Wild West shows and anthropological exhibitions discussed earlier in the chapter, Richard Pratt, the founder of the Carlisle School, would host public exhibitions of Native American shooting feats at the Fort Marion School in St. Augustine, Florida, the first assimilationist school. Fear-Segal, *The White Man’s Club*, 22.

⁷³ McAllester, “Autobiographical Sketch,” 212–13: “He was a gifted singer and linguist and was a visiting artist in American Indian music at Wesleyan from 1969 until his untimely death in 1972. In 1971 he was co-author, with me, of an article on Navajo music for the Smithsonian Institution’s new *Handbook of North American Indians* and he sang a leading role in an opera by [faculty member] Richard Winslow. Faculty and students of that time remember his prodigious talents and sometimes still speak of ‘the Doogie era.’”

⁷⁴ “Arts Announcements,” *Wesleyan Argus* February 22, 1974, 4. The *Argus* is Wesleyan’s school newspaper.

⁷⁵ McAllester read the poem because Jimersen’s English was halting. Jimersen spoke Seneca (Onondawaga).

I'm hap- py to be here to - night, sing- ing to you, to you stu- dents
 here, Wes- ley - an. I'm so hap- py, hap- py to be here to-
 night, sing- ing to you, to you stu- dents here, Wes- ley - an.

Figure 3.1: Avery Jimersen, honoring song for Wesleyan University written for his residency at Wesleyan on February 22, 1974. Transcription by the author.

McAllester’s Native American Music concert and taught them how to dance the rabbit dance, drum a ladies dance song, and sing moccasin dance songs. Jimersen also recorded a rabbit dance and round dance to facilitate dance lessons for the audience, allowing him to demonstrate dance steps without simultaneously singing.

The participatory nature of the concert, though, evinced differences between student “cerebration” and Jimersen’s music. Jimersen had composed an honoring song for Wesleyan to thank the school for his invitation. Honoring songs are compositions written as part of important life occurrences and ceremonies.⁷⁶ He had taught the honoring song to the students as part of his course visit, and members of the class were then asked to perform it during the concert. The honoring song, transcribed in Figure 3.1, demonstrated many characteristics of ceremonial Seneca music, such as polymeter, descending melodic contour, pentatonic scale, and a short, repetitive formal structure.⁷⁷ Jimersen’s melody also incorporated Seneca vocal inflections, such as a decrease

⁷⁶ For a systematic overview of honor songs, see R.D. Theisz, “Acclamations and Accolades: Honor Songs in Lakota Society Today,” in *Sending their Voices: Essays on Lakota Musicology* (Kendall Park, NJ: Lakota Books, 1996), 7–19.

⁷⁷ This transcription is based on the version recorded by Jimersen prior to his visit for classroom instruction, which was not heard in the concert. Avery Jimersen, “An Evening of Social Dance Music,” World Music Archives, Wesleyan University, WA 2.2.50.

in vocal tension which created a descending swoop on the word “tonight,” indicated in my transcription as a downward sloping line.

Earlier in the concert, students had energetically sung and danced along with Jimersen. However, they seemed more apprehensive when performing the Wesleyan Honoring Song. Three students were asked to sing the song for the audience at the concert. They initially had difficulty finding an initial pitch, eventually starting on a G. The audience applauded once they reached the end, but one of the singers seemed at a loss as to what to do next, saying, “It repeats the same thing over again. It’s just the same.” While the student’s statement may partly arise from her discomfort at being on stage, her reaction also indicates two differences between university and indigenous culture: a discomfort with musical forms that emphasize repetition; and a purposing of music for aesthetic criticism rather than repeated performance as in honoring song ceremonies.⁷⁸ Since honoring songs are given as gifts to the family, in this case the Wesleyan University community, the recipients are supposed to repeat the song until it is learned and appreciated. McAllester goaded the student to do so, responding “but we can join in. Sing it again!” The students repeated the song, and the audience slowly joined in as well. For McAllester, students had to move past aesthetic cerebration to performative celebration to develop a respectful attitude toward the honoring song.

Though McAllester used deferent framing and student participation to avoid “Indian show” representations, the specter of such exhibitions was raised at the conclusion of Jimersen’s concert. Jimersen left the stage and returned wearing a buckskin outfit and elaborate headdress with eagle feathers. His costume was not Seneca, but rather powwow regalia derived from Plains tribes. McAllester addressed the costume change and its implications for the audience:

I think you’ve all noticed that Avery has undergone a transformation. He’s brought with him his Indian costume, and he thought he might as well wear it at some point in the evening, especially if

⁷⁸ For a contemporaneous example of the Western discomfort with repetition, stemming from Frankfurt School critiques of the culture industry, see Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985).

there's anyone here who'd want to take a picture after we're through (audience laughs). This is, of course, a Plains war bonnet, and the beadwork that he has is Plains beadwork too.... But everywhere across the country Indians of whatever tribe wear Western Indian style because that's what's expected. To be a real Indian you have to have a war bonnet. This is a particularly gorgeous one, I can tell you those are real eagle feathers.

McAllester mentioned the fact that the Plains Indian costume was a concession to the audience to make Jimersen's performance more easily recognizable as Indian. In line with recent Red Power critiques, McAllester mentioned the identity politics involved in wearing Plains costumes by noting that non-Native audiences only see costumed Indians as real. In doing so, he acknowledged that the stereotype of the "vanishing American" is needed for public intelligibility. Concerts could enable "playing Indian," performing Western primitivist fantasies rather than fostering cross-cultural understanding.⁷⁹ Yet, he trails off by acknowledging the aesthetic pull of his costume.

McAllester's introduction mirrored the complex politics of the powwow, intertribal gatherings held by Native American groups featuring public performances of ceremonial music and dances. Powwows are important outlets for expressing and affirming Native American culture; as Cathy Ellis and Mark Lassiter have argued, "Indian people from all walks of life view the powwow as a source of renewal, joy, strength and pride."⁸⁰ Powwows had originated as a way to subordinate the criminalization of traditional culture by the United States.⁸¹ Despite this resistant politics, the

⁷⁹ Rayna Green, "The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in Europe and America," *Folklore* 99, no. 1 (1988): 30–55; Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).

⁸⁰ Clyde Ellis and Luke Eric Lassiter, "Introduction," in *Powwow*, ed. Clyde Ellis, Luke Eric Lassiter, and Gary H. Dunham (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), vii.

⁸¹ For the linkage of powwows and political resistance, see Clyde Ellis, "The Sound of the Drum Will Revive Them and Make Them Happy," in *Powwow*, 11–16, 19. Political resistance had initially been associated in scholarship with "pan-Indianism," the move to a general indigenous identity. Vine Deloria lambasted pan-Indianism for ignoring the strong tribal roots of Native Americans. He averred that "pan-Indianism exists primarily in the mind of the beholder, as do all anthropological theories. Pan-Indianism implies that a man forgets his tribal background and fervently merges with other Indians to form 'Indianism.' Rubbish." Deloria, *Custer Died for Your Sins*, 246. Beginning in the early 1980s, some scholars began to assert that pan-Indianism was not a rejection of tribal identity, preferring the term "intertribal" to reinforce the tribal basis of powwows. See Gloria A. Young, "Powwow Power: Perspectives on Historic and Contemporary Intertribalism" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1981); and Thomas Kavanagh, "The Comanche Pow-wow: Pan-Indianism or Tribalism," *Haliksa'i: University of New Mexico Contributions to Anthropology* 1 (1982): 12–27. Scholars have also noted how powwows engage disunity, power, and the negotiation of difference along with indigenous unity. Mark Mattern, "The Powwow as a Public Arena for

damage wrought by assimilation and warfare translated aspects of the “white man’s Indian” depicted in Wild West Shows into central features of powwow style, such as Plains Indian costumes, Plains-style dancing, and grand entry processions.⁸² Since imposed and actual identity inextricably mixed in powwows, they could both celebrate indigenous culture and reinforce primitivist stereotypes.⁸³ If Jimersen’s powwow costume reflected “Indian show” stereotypes, it also more importantly held special, personal significance. Jimersen likely received the outfit as an honor, and the real eagle feathers pointed out by McAllester would have been a particularly special part of the costume. Wearing the costume also acted as a form of strategic essentialism for Jimersen, enabling him the cultural recognition and attention to educate Seneca music in a manner legible to his audience. Jimersen’s costume and McAllester’s commentary thus helped communicate the complex nesting of Jimersen’s identity between colonialist legacy and indigenous Seneca present.

The concern with authority in Jimersen’s concert was echoed in Charlotte Heth’s public concerts at UCLA held later in the 1970s. With funding from the NEA, the University of California, and the recently formed UCLA American Indian Center, Heth curated a series of videocassettes entitled “Interviews with American Indian Musicians.” The interviews were taped as part of her Sociology of American Indian Music course during the spring semesters of 1976 and 1977. Heth intended her project both for her class and the public, seeking “to provide opportunities for

Negotiating Unity and Diversity in American Indian Life,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 20, no. 4 (1996): 183–201; Ellis and Lassiter, “Introduction,” vii–xv.

⁸² L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883–1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 8. For more information on the origins of the powwow, see Tara Browner, “People and Histories,” in *Heartbeat of the People: Music and Dance of the Northern Pow-Wow* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 19–46; Clyde Ellis, *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003).

⁸³ Since powwows displayed a unified and distinct Native American identity based partially on Wild West Show inventions, powwows confirmed preconceptions of Euro-Americans raised on the “white man’s Indian.” Many white-based social movements such as the ‘60s counterculture and the 1980s new age movement co-opted the powwow in primitivist fantasies of Native American culture. For critiques of New Age co-options of Indian identity, see Ward Churchill, “Indians ‘R’ Us? Reflections on the ‘Men’s Movement,’” in *Indians Are Us? Cultural Genocide in Native North America* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1994), 207–72; and Lisa Aldred, “Dancing with Indians and Wolves: New Agers Tripping through Powwows,” in *Powwow*, 258–74.

interaction with and interviewing of performers about Indian musical traditions and norms” and also “to distribute the resulting edited videotapes and publications to Indian culture centers nationwide to increase awareness of American Indian traditional music.”⁸⁴ Following Heth’s scholarly interests, the series aimed to celebrate the music of ceremonial performers in order to exemplify the survival of Native American identity. Indigenous musicians demonstrated songs and dances and discussed their music and culture. After the interviews, the performers collaborated with Heth in editing the final circulated videos, ensuring their voice in their representation.⁸⁵ The videos sought to present Native perspectives on ceremonial music through both a focus on contemporary ceremonial practices and by airing differences in knowledge disclosure between indigenous and university culture.

Sam Yazzie Sr., a Navajo singer and medicine man from northeastern Arizona, came to UCLA as the series’ third guest on May 10, 1976. His performance would be released on videocassette in 1978 as *Sam Yazzie: Navajo Singer*.⁸⁶ Yazzie’s interview as edited for video connected ceremonial music with contemporary identity politics. He performed music from the Navajo Squaw Dance ceremony, including squaw dances, riding songs, old-fashioned squaw dances, skip dances, gift songs, and quitting songs, supplementing his singing with some dance demonstrations. Yazzie told students that the Squaw Dance ceremony occurred when a veteran returned to the reservation from the Armed Forces, reminding his audience of the complex politics of Indian veterans.⁸⁷ He

⁸⁴ Charlotte Frisbie, “Review-Essay: Interviews with Native American Musicians,” *Ethnomusicology* 25, no. 2 (May 1981): 365–66. The videos are still available for sale through the UCLA American Indian Studies Center.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 367: “The day after each set of tapes was completed, performers/speakers returned to Heth’s office and spent about half a day watching their own videotapes. Heth took notes during these screenings, documenting performers’ reactions, comments about what they left out, what they should have done, and so forth. This was done to ‘ensure the inclusion of the finest performances and the more culturally relevant selections in the edited material.’”

⁸⁶ *Sam Yazzie: Navajo Singer*, VHS, directed by Charlotte Heth (Hollywood: Ampac, 1978). Quotes from the video unless otherwise cited.

⁸⁷ When Sam Yazzie returned to UCLA with his son, Sam Jr., in 1977, the Yazzies mentioned that the three-day celebration cost \$6,000-\$7,000 (about \$25,000 today) for costumes, food, music, and other expenses, an especially steep figure given that many Navajos lived under the poverty line. *Navajo Traditional Music: Squaw Dance and*

also wove intertribal influences into his presentation. His drum was an Apache-style instrument that he acquired by winning a powwow singing competition in Mexico. He explained that he learned the skip dance from members of the Kiowa tribe from Oklahoma at an intertribal gathering in San Francisco. The skip dance featured a lower vocal range and chest voice singing style, indicating Yazzie's familiarity with a variety of tribal performance styles.⁸⁸

Yazzie's discussion of ceremonial music highlighted its role in modern life, aligning with Heth's research interests. Yet the interview became more contentious when he was asked questions by the audience about his songs. Their exchanges demonstrated the disconnection between the university culture of the audience and Yazzie's own approach to his repertoire. For example, one student asked Yazzie questions about song form:

Student: Mr. Yazzie, that was one complete song with four parts, or was that four different songs?

Yazzie: This one? It's supposed to be four, you know the first four, but I only did two.

Heth: He only sang two.

Student: Oh. Two, with two different parts?

Heth: Uh-huh, are you sure?

Yazzie: After the four quitting song, there would be about thirty or fifty. Then after they sing fifty, then it's riding songs all night long.

Student: And about the gift song, Was that two songs, or one song in two parts?

Yazzie: It's the same thing too, you have the same four. The four are the main ones, and then after those four, then you can go ahead and start singing the rest of the songs. Because, the quitting song, there's about sixty of them. There's more.

While the student asked about form (how many songs he sung in the interview, and into how many parts each song was divided), Yazzie answered through function (how many were sung during a ceremony). Yazzie's response demonstrated a division between the Western aesthetic criticism encouraged in the course and Navajo functionalism, one well known to ethnomusicologists of Native American music. As Alan Merriam wrote in his 1967 book *Ethnomusicology of the Flathead Indians*, "music is not conceptualized [by Flathead Indians] in...a theoretical framework of

Ribbon Dance, VHS, directed by Charlotte Heth (Los Angeles: UCLA American Indian Studies Center, 1978). Yazzie himself was an army veteran and volunteer police officer.

⁸⁸ Frisbie noted that the unedited transcript demonstrated how Yazzie "is versed in Sioux, Hopi, Kiowa, Zuni, Ute, Mescalero Apache, San Carlos Apache, and White River Apache music." Frisbie, "Review-Essay," 371.

philosophical import.... What is important to the Flathead is that a song, if personal, be efficacious, and if not personal, that it be the proper kind of song in the proper context.”⁸⁹ Despite substantial differences between Flathead and Navajo music, Merriam’s point that music cannot be extricated from function through aesthetic distance resonated with Yazzie’s answer.

Along with aesthetic concerns, differences in knowledge disclosure also arose during Yazzie’s interview. The purpose of the interview, to help a Western audience understand Navajo music, sought to disclose all information for the sake of cultural education. However, much Navajo music has ties to tribal customs, families, ceremonies, or yearly cycles. For Yazzie, divulging private information would have been inappropriate or dishonorable outside of its proper setting. During the interview, he resorted to what Mary Lawlor has called “displayed withholding,” the “practice of showing that something is not being shown and that this something marks the crucial difference which furnishes distinctly [tribal] styles of being and knowing.”⁹⁰ Yazzie’s resistance to disclosing information about song meanings arose numerous times in his interview:

Heth: I wanted to ask you the story behind that first quitting song that you sang.

Yazzie: The story behind the, uh...

Heth: I just happen to know that it has an interesting story, that’s all.

Yazzie: It’s not a meaning that...my great-grandfather said, if someone asks you that question, what’s that meaning, the words of that quitting song, if somebody asks you that question, he said, if they bring about twelve horses or two million dollars right away, go and tell them! [audience laughter]

Heth: I don’t have enough dollars, and I don’t know if I have any horses!

After the laughter subsided, he divulged that the lyrics translated to “I am leaving you now.” However, as texts in Navajo ceremonial song may only obliquely refer to the actual meaning, which requires deep immersion in tribal custom to understand, Yazzie was able to keep the song’s meaning

⁸⁹ Alan Merriam, *Ethnomusicology of the Flathead Indians* (New York: Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, 1967), 45–46.

⁹⁰ Mary Lawlor, *Public Native America: Tribal Self-Representations in Casinos, Museums, and Powwows* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 5.

secret.⁹¹ Later in the concert, Yazzie performed a song about a woman who left the reservation to go to Los Angeles to be with her lover. Although he explained the story behind the song, he replaced the words with vocables in performance. Heth noticed, saying that “he hasn’t forgotten the words,” but Yazzie refused to disclose them. Yazzie would have been dishonoring the owner of the song if he sung them publicly, regardless of whether his audience could understand Navajo. For him, maintaining relational promises demonstrated his respect for kinship than disclosure for the audience’s benefit.

Along with song texts and meanings, the appropriate time for performing or discussing particular genres proved contentious. After the quitting song discussion, a Navajo audience member asked Yazzie to play a moccasin game song. Yazzie laughed and replied to her in Navajo. He then hesitantly sang two moccasin game songs. He was asked how the moccasin game worked, but he responded with terse, vague descriptions of the dance. He then said that he refused to talk about the song or the game because “you’re not supposed to talk about [it] in summer.” He explained that moccasin game songs, ribbon dance songs, and Yebichai songs were only meant to be discussed or sung in winter. People who talked about it during the summer would be struck by lightning. Heth interjected, “That’s always the problem, you know, there are certain things that you can’t talk about in the summer and vice versa...and you can’t always arrange to have people talking about the thing when it’s okay. That’s the problem with recordings too, should you play a Yebichai recording in the summertime, you know, it’s a problem.”

⁹¹ Cf. David McAllester, “The War God’s Horse Song: An Exegesis in Native American Humanities,” in *Native American Music*, 1–21. Heth was aware of the differences of Navajo knowledge disclosure. In the description of Yazzie’s Ribbon Dance in the liner notes of *Songs of Earth, Water, Fire, and Sky*, she wrote that “the words to the song cannot be described wholly as meaningless syllables, a misnomer sometimes applied to vocables in Indian music. The singer knows the meaning behind the *Ribbon Dance* song but does not expose it to the public. Even the Navajo public will not readily define words, but the specialists and their apprentices know what they mean.” Charlotte Heth, Liner notes, *Songs of Earth, Water, Fire, and Sky: Music of San Juan Pueblo, Seneca, Northern Arapaho, Northern Plains, Creek, Yurok, Navajo, Cherokee, Southern Plains* (New World Records 80246-2, 1976), 11.

Ethnomusicologist Charlotte Frisbie's review of *Sam Yazzie: Navajo Singer* noted "that the number of questions and rephrased questions about composition and their high rate of failure underscore the fact that without giving full attention to the manner in which Navajos talk about composition, appropriate questions cannot be framed, ethnodiscourse cannot proceed, and understanding for non-Navajos cannot occur."⁹² Yet Heth's careful rephrasing indicates a desire to defer to Yazzie's perspective. If Frisbie considered this a "failure," doing so enabled the interview to air the irreconcilable tension between Navajo and Western educational perspectives on knowledge disclosure. By enacting this struggle, Heth used the university setting to equalize both value systems, attempting to undo the legacies of anthropological colonialism. She tried to grant Yazzie the cultural sovereignty to decide what to disclose, and the power to keep his views properly represented and withheld. In doing so, she intended *Sam Yazzie: Navajo Singer* to demonstrate how Navajo music was different but no less valuable or contemporary.

Speaking for Itself: *Songs of Earth, Fire, Water and Sky* (1976)

Heth and McAllester's respective concert curatorship demonstrated a shared commitment to present indigenous practitioners as cultural authorities. The concerts evinced disconnects between Western expectations and indigenous practices—the repetition of honoring song performance and the intertribalism of powwow culture in Jimerson's concert, and the functionalism and displayed withholding of Yazzie's performance—but used them as sites to demonstrate the cultural difference between Native America and American university. Yet, as previously mentioned, the two ethnomusicologists had different approaches toward understanding contemporary Native American music and critiquing their discipline. Heth in particular sought to reshape ceremonial music as contemporary rather than that of the "vanishing Indian" through releasing anthologies of Native American music. During the bicentennial year of 1976, the Rockefeller Foundation provided New

⁹² Frisbie, "Review-Essay," 381.

World Records with a grant to release a set of one hundred records documenting American music. This set was intended for libraries, archives, and public radio stations to educate the public about their musical heritage.⁹³ As part of this project, Heth was placed in charge of Native American recordings. Over the subsequent decade and a half, she collected fieldwork and released six anthologies.

In collecting and releasing these albums, she had three main concerns: to document contemporary identity; to assert aesthetic value; and to include indigenous perspectives. Each of these was intended as a critique of the long history of recording Native American music.

Ethnographers like Jesse Walter Fewkes and Densmore had recorded Native Americans since the turn of the twentieth century.⁹⁴ Recordings of course revolutionized ethnographic work by enabling the sonic preservation of music, but they could also encourage “vanishing American” stereotypes. Early recording was dominated by the potentiality of immortal preservation. Jonathan Sterne has argued that “if there was a defining figure in early accounts of sound recording, it was the possibility of preserving the voice beyond the death of the speaker.”⁹⁵ Ethnographic recordings were valued for the ability to document ceremonial music before the repertoire’s assumed extinction. For example, the *Music of the American Indian* series, a ten-LP collection of Indian music collected by Columbia anthropologist Willard Rhodes, was compiled and released by the Library of Congress in 1954 as “a living monument and memorial to the American Indian.”⁹⁶

Heth’s belief in the aesthetic value of ceremonial music countered the primitivist assumptions of mid-century ethnomusicology which considered Indian LPs anthropological rather than artistic documents. Alan Merriam’s 1953 LP *Songs and Dances of the Flathead Indians*, a landmark

⁹³ William Ivey, “Record Reviews,” *Western Folklore* 36, no. 3 (1977): 269.

⁹⁴ Fewkes’ recording of Passamaquoddy music in Maine in 1890 is the earliest extant ethnographic recording.

⁹⁵ Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 287.

⁹⁶ Willard Rhodes, *Music of the American Indian* (Library of Congress Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division AFS L42, 1954), back cover.

ethnomusicological document, was released not for considerations of musical quality but for its documentary importance. In a letter to Merriam, Folkways editor Harold Courlander wrote that “while it is...in some ways not as interesting musically as other collections, we feel that we have a job to do in a documentary way. I think we might be able to put out an album of these recordings if we put considerable emphasis on the accompanying background material.”⁹⁷ Merriam responded in kind that “the music is not highly varied, but it is strictly the only Flathead collection...I feel it should be made available.”⁹⁸ Merriam and Courlander’s correspondence represents the belief that Native American music lacked artistic merit and required anthropological purpose for educational interest.

Recordings had also framed Native American music through the cultural hierarchies, stereotypes, and sympathies of American culture rather than envoicing indigenous perspectives. In 1948, Folkways Records released *Music of the Sioux and the Navajo*, an album of fieldwork collected by Willard Rhodes. The LP included ceremonial songs which were lauded as “authentic Indian music” which “are thoroughly Indian and not Indian music as made over for commercial exploitation.”⁹⁹ Yet the liner notes and musical selections in *Music of the Sioux and the Navajo* demonstrated how deeply stereotypes infiltrated educational initiatives. Rhodes’ liner notes described the Sioux “with his trailing war-bonnet of brilliant feathers, fringed buckskin leggings and shirt, and bow and arrow....His classic profile with its hawk-like nose, so accurately reproduced on the buffalo nickel of our currency, conceals beneath its dignified exterior a warmth of spirit and richness of feeling and

⁹⁷ Howard Courlander, letter to Alan Merriam, April 2, 1953, Alan Merriam Folder, Moses and Francis Asch Collection, Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage.

⁹⁸ Alan Merriam, letter to Howard Courlander, April 12, 1953, Alan Merriam Folder, Moses and Francis Asch Collection, Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage. Merriam was anthropologically trained and remained a proponent of discussing music as a medium to understand cultural structures, rather than engaging with musical quality. See Alan Merriam, “Discussion and Definition of the Field,” *Ethnomusicology* 4, no. 1 (1960): 107–14; idem., *The Anthropology of Music*; idem., “Ethnomusicology Revisited,” *Ethnomusicology* 13, no. 2 (May 1969): 213–29.

⁹⁹ Willard W. Beatty, letter to Moe Asch, August 20, 1947, *Music of the Sioux and the Navajo* Folder, Moses and Francis Asch Collection, Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage.

thought.”¹⁰⁰ Despite the inclusion of such stereotypes, Rhodes also included ceremonial genres of more contemporary origin: the rabbit dance, a love song using the English word “Dearie” and adopting the Western two-step; an Omaha Dance whose lyrics reference World War II; and a Sun Dance formerly outlawed by the Office of Indian Affairs. Rhodes’ album thus documents a contradictory attitude, one contributing to the epistemology of Indians as primitive peoples “ill-prepared” for the twentieth century while also trying to represent aspects of Native American music that challenged these dominant perspectives.¹⁰¹

If Rhodes’ album demonstrates some sympathy and recognition of modern traditional music, recordings of Native American music remained by and large documentarian, dominated by Western perspectives, and oriented around “vanishing American” conceptions. In order to reshape the aims of recording Native American music, Heth released her first record in 1976, which she titled *Songs of Earth, Water, Fire and Sky: Music of the American Indian: San Juan Pueblo, Seneca, Northern Arapaho, Northern Plains, Creek, Yurok, Navajo, Cherokee, Southern Plains*. As indicated by the lengthy title, the album surveyed a variety of tribal styles and situated them within their individual contexts. By listing different song topics, she emphasized the variety of tribal traditions encompassed within ceremonial indigenous music.¹⁰² Heth used the album’s liner notes and repertoire choices to assert indigenous perspectives by stressing the intrinsic aesthetic value of Native American music and connecting this aesthetic power to the sovereignty of an indigenous culture resistant to American assimilation.

¹⁰⁰ Willard Rhodes, Liner notes, *Music of the Sioux and the Navajo* (Folkways FW04401, 1949), 2.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰² Each subsequent album would instead focus on a single tribe or geographic location: *Songs of Love, Luck, Animals and Magic: Music of the Yurok and Totola Indians* (New World 80297, 1977); *Oku Shareh: Turtle Dance Songs of the San Juan Pueblo* (New World 80301, 1979); *Songs and Dances of the Eastern Indians from Medicine Spring & Allegany* (New World 80337, 1985); *Powwow Songs: Music of the Plains Indians* (New World 80343, 1986); and *Navajo Songs from Canyon De Chelly* (New World 80406, 1990).

In the liner notes, Heth claimed that the value of indigenous music stemmed from its origins in pre-contact tribal culture.¹⁰³ Traditional music carried the whole history of Native American culture: “The first Americans, the American Indians, have for centuries valued music as an integral part of their lives. Creation narratives, migration stories, magic formulas, and ancient ceremonial practices tell of music” (2). Heth’s framing of ceremonial music asserted a distinct, continuous traditional cultural practice. She then detailed how Americans had failed to respect the music’s indigenous importance, claiming that its aesthetics had been ignored because whites had tried to assimilate it into their own cultural hierarchies and preconceptions rather than attending to its indigenous importance. She quoted an excerpt from George Washington’s diary caricaturing a dancer “Jump[ing] about [the] Ring in a most comical Manner,” which she countered by asserting that “what he and other early writers did not appreciate was the significance these dances held for the people performing them” (2–3). She then connected Washington’s account with those of turn-of-the-century academics, implicitly claiming that little progress toward musical understanding had been made in the intervening centuries. She immediately countered this perspective by stressing the music’s aesthetic primacy for native practitioners rather than American scholars:

The importance of American Indian music is found not in its impact on modern scholarship and composition but in the traditions and values it expresses to and for the Indian people. This oral tradition has survived solely because the music was too important to be allowed to die. The emphasis in this recording is on musical value: the music of the first Americans can speak for itself (3).

Heth insisted that the music survived because of its aesthetic power, one as diverse as the variety of indigenous peoples in America. Her repertoire choices feature music from across the continent, from the Seneca in southwest New York to the Creek in Oklahoma and the Yurok in the northern coast of California. Heth included a variety of different ceremonial styles and performance sites to demonstrate the diversity of American Indian music. The Southern Plains Oklahoma two-step was recorded at a powwow north of Tulsa. A Northern Plains rabbit dance was sung by the Los

¹⁰³ Heth, Liner notes, *Songs of Earth, Water, Fire and Sky*. Further citations in text.

Angeles Northern Singers and featured flirtatious lyrics in English (“Hey sweetheart, I always think of you/ I wonder if you are alone tonight/ I wonder if you are thinking of me”) (7). A Yurok Women’s Brush Dance song even documented a rare example of polyphony, with women singing over a low gurgling drone sung by men.

Heth’s citation of pre-contact indigeneity and her inclusion of a variety of ceremonial styles framed the album as a corrective to prior academic perspectives. As an ethnomusicologist, though, she necessarily engaged academic perspectives when her liner notes turned toward song description. She intended her descriptions to reflect indigenous musical understanding. For example, she credited all participants in the recordings, including singers, drummers, shell-shakers in the Creek Gar Dance, and dancers in the Seneca Alligator Dance and Yurok Women’s Brush Dance (5, 8, 9–10). Even though these performers were not necessarily heard on the record, Heth’s credits acknowledged the inextricable nature of music and dance in ceremonial performance.¹⁰⁴ Yet the liner notes also focused on historical and analytical perspectives. She extensively discussed musical features, such as form, scale, singing technique, and instruments, through employing detailed theoretical analysis. For example, she described the Creek Gar Dance as follows:

The *Gar Dance* has a characteristic seven-beat pattern, three plus four, occurring four or eight times, followed by a refrain. When the lexical words are used, the leader’s pattern increases to four beats, the chorus remains the same, and the result is an eight-beat pattern. In the refrain the leader-chorus pattern becomes two plus two, followed by responsorial shouts. The melodic contour is continuously undulating. The unison introduction is based on a pentatonic scale, while the rest of the song is tetratonic. The dancers wear the same costumes as those of a *Stomp Dance*. The *Gar Dance* is one of several animal dances that may be performed to add variety to an evening of stomp dancing (9).

The academic flavor of this description is, of course, far removed from indigenous musical discourses, mirroring the Western perspectives that Heth had wanted to counter. Heth recognized that such description was necessary to make the LP legible as a scholarly document and an

¹⁰⁴ Lakota Sioux musician Severt Young Bear wrote that “[song] and dance can’t really be separated. Even though I’ll talk about one or the other, they’re always connected. We never dance without singing and we rarely sing without dancing.” Severt Young Bear and R.D. Theisz, *Standing in the Light: A Lakota Way of Seeing* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 38.

authoritative educational source. Heth therefore sought to reconcile her scholarly and Cherokee identities by juxtaposing academic language with contemporary political sources. Following the song descriptions, Heth included a bibliography and discography of Native American music which listed sources by Densmore, Merriam, McAllester, and Nettl, among others (15–16). On the back cover, Heth then appended a timeline of Native American colonialism titled “Indian and White Man 1768-1964.” Heth listed broken treaties, injurious acts, changes to indigenous sovereignty, and massacres of Native Americans from the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 to the Termination Acts of the 1950s.¹⁰⁵ (Notably, the final two events on the timeline were reparative measures taken by the United States government, indicating positive changes wrought by Red Power activism.) Heth added a lengthy bibliography of books detailing the American colonization of indigenous peoples, from scholarly texts like Wilcomb Washburn’s *The Indian in America* and Harold Driver’s *Indians of North America* to activist books such as Deloria’s *Custer Died for Your Sins*, Brown’s *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, and Alvin Josephy’s *Red Power: The American Indians’ Fight for Freedom* (17–18).

The use of the politics of indigeneity to bookend academic description tried to reassociate Native American ceremonial music with contemporaneous identity politics and implicitly critique the universality of American scholarly description. *Songs of Earth, Water, Fire and Sky* did not document a vanishing repertoire, but sampled a variety of vibrant ceremonial musics that demonstrate the survival of an American Indian indigeneity formed before European contact and presumed to outlast the injustices of colonialism. Heth’s sole inclusion of traditional music, though, could be seen as replicating academic cultural hierarchies between authentic and mass culture. If *Songs of Earth, Water, Fire and Sky* was intended to more overtly include indigenous points of view than the “White Man’s Indian” stereotypes found in prior ethnomusicological albums, the album

¹⁰⁵ The Treaty of Fort Stanwix ceded Iroquois territory south of the Ohio and Susquehanna Rivers to British colonists in Pennsylvania. It marked the first inroad into the Appalachians by British colonists and paved the way for the territorialization of the Midwest in the subsequent decades.

similarly avoided Anglo music. David McAllester critiqued this omission in a review published in *Ethnomusicology*:

Though all of the music is contemporary, there is something of the “Indian mystique” about the album. The nine examples are all like the music one might have heard in 1850, though the notes do indicate that several of the songs have changed their function over the years. But we do not learn that Country and Western songs, like Powwow songs, are the great favorites, nowadays, and that there are dozens of both kinds of Indian singing groups.¹⁰⁶

His argument reflects his research on Native American popular music discussed in the following section, and ignores the larger impetus from New World Records to solely document traditional musics. However, it questions whether an album claiming to document “Music of the American Indian” that only includes traditional music could avoid “vanishing American” stereotypes. McAllester believed that placing the burden of Native American identity on traditional music was anachronistic and unfortunately reflected the Othering of Native American culture that McAllester termed the “Indian mystique.” He noted that Anglo music could more directly connect with the politics of Heth’s liner notes:

On the back cover there is a list of historical events which includes some of the atrocities and land confiscations suffered by the Indians since 1768 (a most valuable reminder), but in the recorded examples we do not hear any of the many contemporary songs which reflect with irony, bitterness and despair this tragic aspect of their history. ‘Traditional’ Indian music is an important part of Indian life, to be sure, but let us hope that the second album reflects a wider spectrum of their present-day scene.”¹⁰⁷

McAllester’s “New Indian Music” (1976)

Heth declined to take McAllester’s advice, and her subsequent albums continued to use ceremonial music to assert the indigeneity of Native America. Her subsequent anthology, *Songs of Love, Luck, Animals and Magic: Music of the Yurok and Tolowa Indians* (1978) documented the music of two rarely recorded northern California nations who were almost completely eliminated by white

¹⁰⁶ David P. McAllester, “Review: *Songs of Earth, Fire, Water, and Sky*,” *Ethnomusicology* 21, no. 3 (1977): 523–24.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 524.

settlers.¹⁰⁸ As such, the album viscerally linked the continued performance of ceremonial music with ethnic survival. In asserting the aesthetic power of a differentiated, surviving music, Heth's LPs sought to demonstrate cultural sovereignty and musical indigeneity through ceremonial music. McAllester's research would instead turn to "the many contemporary songs" of Anglo music.

By the 1970s, Anglo music had become an increasingly central part of indigenous community life. Like their American counterparts, Native Americans listened to the radio, played guitar, and formed bands. During the 1950s and 1960s, genres like country and western, rock, gospel, jazz, and chicken scratch (a combination of mariachi and rock) were popular within Native American communities.¹⁰⁹ Some American Indian bands were indistinguishable from United States groups; the all-Native American group Redbone, for example, reached the Billboard Top 10 in 1974 with the funk-rock song "Come and Get Your Love." Other artists like the Cree folksinger Buffy Sainte-Marie and Sioux country artist Floyd Red Crow Westerman more explicitly incorporated Red Power activism and Western popular music. Sainte-Marie became famous in the 1960s for protest songs such as "Universal Soldier" and "My Country 'Tis of Thy People You're Dying." Westerman's 1970 country-rock album *Custer Died for Your Sins*, named after Vine Deloria's book, included a song "Here Come the Anthros" which echoed Deloria's scathing denunciation of anthropology:

And the anthros still keep coming like death and taxes to our land;
To study their feathered freaks with funded money in their hand.
Like a Sunday at the zoo, their cameras click away,
Taking notes and tape recordings of all the animals at play.¹¹⁰

"Here Comes the Anthros" uses standard country and western tropes, such as lap steel, acoustic guitar, and shuffle rhythm. The low baritone chorus melody, transcribed in Figure 3.2, fits over an idiomatic I-IV-V chord progression. The combination of country music and activist lyrics

¹⁰⁸ Both tribes had estimated populations in the many thousands prior to white contact, but by 1910 the Tolowa population was only 121 and the Yuroks 688. Both had regained substantial population by 1970. Charlotte Heth, Liner Notes, *Songs of Love, Luck, Animals, and Magic*, 4.

¹⁰⁹ Samuels, *Putting a Song on Top of It*, 96–122.

¹¹⁰ Floyd Westerman, "Here Comes the Anthros," *Custer Died for Your Sins* (Perception Records PLP 5, 1975).

D A D A

Here come the an - thros, they hav - en't passed a - way,

D A E A

Here come the an - thros, on a - no - ther ho - li - day.

Figure 3.2: Floyd Westerman, “Here Come the Anthros,” chorus melody and chords

reflected the musical and political worlds of Native American life. Other songs, like Waterman’s “B.I.A,” Redbone’s “We Were All Wounded at Wounded Knee,” and XIT’s “War Cry” more explicitly incorporated signifiers of Native American music into rock textures, utilizing pulsing drums, descending monophonic melodies, melismatic vocables, and indigenous languages.

In one sense, expressing Native American identity through Westernized popular music similarly contested and reaffirmed United States colonialist legacies. Anglo music could be seen as both demonstrating how Native Americans actively participated in contemporary life and reflecting the residues colonialist power dynamics. As indicated in the scholarship of Merriam and Ware cited earlier, though, the prevalence of Anglo music increasingly demanded scholarly attention as a means of actively expressing identity rather than passively acquiescing to Westernized forms. McAllester had begun to be interested by Anglo music in the late 1960s. He recalled that “I was becoming increasingly aware that the ceremonial music I was studying was known primarily to the Navajo intellectuals and philosophers and that even the popular songs of the Squaw Dance were no longer the dominant music in Navajo culture.”¹¹¹ In 1970, he acted as consultant and wrote an introductory essay for an educational reader entitled *American Indians Today: A Search for Identity*. The text discussed

¹¹¹ McAllester, “Autobiographical Sketch,” 213.

the problems of Indian education, Red Power radicalism, poverty, and the devastation wrought by the Termination Acts. Notably, Buffy Sainte-Marie was the only musician discussed in the text.¹¹²

McAllester began his research project on Anglo music in 1975, after completing the aforementioned autobiography of Frank Mitchell. During the summer of 1976, he received an NEH grant to conduct field research in Native American communities across the United States. He travelled to urban centers like Albuquerque, Los Angeles, and Chicago, and the reservation towns in the Navajo Nation of northeastern Arizona, listening to “Indian protest singers, urban folksingers, [and] Country and Western bands.”¹¹³ As he wrote in his NEH application, “scholarly study needs to be made of the new music that is now being heard on the Indian reservations and in Indian urban communities.”¹¹⁴ His research, which extended to a sabbatical leave in spring 1977, sought to explore how Anglo-based popular music forms such as country & western, gospel, and rock could express contemporary American Indian identity. He collected newspaper clippings of rock bands, listened to radio broadcasts of Indian-oriented stations in Gallup and Albuquerque, and interviewed the owners of Indian House and Canyon Records, two prominent Native-owned record labels. He “found that Country and Western music was the great favorite with radio listeners and that Indian Rock and Gospel were well established. Indian protest music was another element that had grown up, especially among urban Indians.”¹¹⁵ McAllester believed that protest music asserted Native American indigeneity by “conveying a message to the Indian world, and the world in general, concerning the special values in Indian perspectives.”¹¹⁶

¹¹² David P. McAllester, “The Many Faces of the American Indian,” in *American Indians Today: A Search for Identity*, ed. Charles L. Cutler (Middletown, CT: American Education Publications, 1970), 4; and Joseph Marfuggi, “A New Spirit: Buffy Sainte-Marie: Indian and Proud,” in *ibid.*, 38–41.

¹¹³ David P. McAllester, “Application for a Summer Stipend for 1976,” c. 1975. Bruno Nettl Papers, Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ McAllester, “Autobiographical Sketch,” 213.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

The first fruits of his research were borne in a paper presented at the 1976 Society for Ethnomusicology annual meeting in Philadelphia entitled “The New Indian Music.” Delivered in the midst of his initial research, the paper more speculatively examined how Native Americans used Anglo music for indigenous cultural and political expression “in their own way, which includes a strong element of traditional and new Native American form and content.”¹¹⁷ He then explored the interconnection of these two musical “elements” in more depth in his 1982 article “New Perspectives on Native American Music,” published in *Perspectives of New Music*. The article analyzed how lyrics and sonic signifiers of ceremonial music could assert Native American identity within a variety of Anglo musical genres, including protest rock, country & western, chicken scratch, powwow music, gospel, jazz, and even modernist composition.¹¹⁸ McAllester discussed a number of songs that combined popular music with markers of traditional music such as indigenous language lyrics, vocables, and melodic and rhythmic features, including Jim Pepper’s “Witchi-Tai-To,” a jazz-rock song whose lyrics merged English words and traditional vocables.

“New Perspectives on Native American Music” also extensively discussed protest music. The article opened by quoting Floyd Waterman’s “B.I.A.” (Bureau of Indian Affairs), a song demanding independence from United States stewardship (B.I.A., you can’t change me, don’t you try/We don’t want your Whiteman’s rules no more/We can live our own way, weya, ha-ya-ya!). The song contained aspects of ceremonial music, such as a descending monophonic melody, pulsing drum accompaniment, and cadential vocables, interconnecting ceremonial forms with the country of “Here Comes the Anthros.” McAllester concluded by asserting that the respectful study of Anglo music has been enriched by “a new respect for the Native point of view on the part of folklorists,

¹¹⁷ David P. McAllester, “The New Indian Music,” October 1, 1976, David McAllester Papers, Special Collections and Archives, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT, USA. His panel was chaired by Charlotte Heth.

¹¹⁸ David P. McAllester, “New Perspectives in Native American Music,” *Perspectives of New Music* 20, nos. 1–2 (1981–1982): 433–46.

anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, and even some small part of the general public. Three hundred years of Indian resistance have finally begun to teach the Anglo world a new perspective, too.”¹¹⁹

More than just the musical analysis of Anglo music, though, McAllester developed his research project into a broader reconsideration of the traditionalist biases of ethnomusicology. During the late 1970s, scholars including Nazir Jairazbhoy and Bruno Nettl had critiqued the discipline’s single-minded focus on traditional musics in opposition to forms influenced by Western popular music. Nettl claimed that ethnomusicologists “have done their part to keep change at arm’s length—to stave off death, as it were—and restore a measure of vitality through the antibiotic-injections of festivals and government-sponsored authenticity and through the intensive-care activities of collecting-projects and national archives.”¹²⁰ Much like the folksong club members of Chapter 2, ethnomusicologists were influenced by university cultural hierarchies to celebrate ceremonial forms more than the societies they studied, becoming agents of cultural change through their institutional power.¹²¹ McAllester used his research to critique the ethnomusicological blindness to the cultural power of Westernized musical forms. He presented this argument in the Charles Seeger Lecture at the 1978 Annual Society for Ethnomusicology meeting, which was published in *Ethnomusicology* in 1979 as “The Astonished Ethno-Muse.”¹²²

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 441.

¹²⁰ Bruno Nettl, “Persian Classical Music in Tehran: The Processes of Change,” in *Eight Urban Music Cultures: Tradition and Change*, ed. Bruno Nettl (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 147.

¹²¹ As Nazir Jairazbhoy wrote, “the ethnomusicologist who seeks out older musical forms, by that very act provides a justification for their continued existence. Onlookers are impressed by the fact that a scholar should travel such long distances to study these often dying elements of their culture and are sometimes moved, either overtly or covertly, to reassess their own framework of values in this light....Some ethnomusicologists have tended to look down upon the results of acculturation and even innovation and have been known to express their distaste in the presence of performers.” Nazir A. Jairazbhoy, “Music in Western Rajasthan: Stability and Change,” *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 9 (1977): 56–57. Similarly, Mantle Hood recounted a personal anecdote of the prestige his scholarly presence bestowed to a performance of Sundanese traditional music in *The Ethnomusicologist* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1982), 358–370. See also Kenneth A. Gourlay, “Towards a Reassessment of the Ethnomusicologist’s Role in Research,” *Ethnomusicology* 22, no. 1 (1978): 1–35; and idem., “Towards a Humanizing Ethnomusicology,” *Ethnomusicology* 26, no. 3 (1982): 411–20.

¹²² David P. McAllester, “The Astonished Ethno-Muse,” *Ethnomusicology* 23, no. 2 (1979): 179–89. Further citations in text.

The titular “ethno-muse” refers to what he called “the spirit of ethnomusicology” (179), the force which willed scholars to study non-Western music. The “ethno-muse” had been invested in the exploration, analysis and preservation of discrete traditional musical forms. The beginnings of the discipline in the 1950s marked the “Discovery” period of ethnomusicology, when the ethno-muse established its spirit. By the 1970s, this heady optimism had given way to “Inexorable Consequences,” the reevaluation of cultural values (181). The traditionalist disposition of the ethno-muse led scholars to forget that “the process of music is the process of change and the assimilation of new ideas. And of course most of these new ideas are really old ones retrimmed, reshaped, recombined, refurbished, represented, reproduced and finally reified” (182). McAllester challenged the assumption of “cultural grey-out” at the hands of popular music by Alan Lomax and others.¹²³ The ethno-muse is astonished that, after reifying music through analysis, preservation, and ascertaining cultural value, she “finds thousands at her side,” to quote Emerson.¹²⁴

The belief in a rigid, traditional music and dismissal of the democratizing power of popular music directly stemmed from ethnomusicology’s privileged place within colonialist power structures. McAllester wryly noted that “for the ethno-muse to be astonished she has to have been born yesterday, in a Euro-American family under elite circumstances” (182). Himself the product of upper-class, Northeastern privilege, he confessed the blindness wrought on his scholarship by the ethno-muse, admitting that “about 20 years after all Navajos were aware of it, I began to realize that the ceremonial music I was studying, though still vital and functioning in the culture, was not the music that fills the airwaves in the Navajo Nation and in the many thousands of Navajo homes...It is not the music one reads about in the *Navajo Times*” (182). Though ceremonial music retained an

¹²³ Cf. Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 161–62.

¹²⁴ Ralph W. Emerson, “Ode, Inscribed to William D. Channing,” Emerson Central, September 3, 2009, accessed March 11, 2013, http://www.emersoncentral.com/poems/ode_inscribed_to_william_h_channing.htm. While Emerson’s ode marks the source of McAllester’s title, it also refers to Ralph Duenney’s 1957 book *The Astonished Muse*, which describes the democratizing potential of popular culture.

important function in Navajo culture, it was far from the only way that Navajos musically expressed their contemporary indigeneity. He had found, after everyone else, that “United States pop music has become a part of American Indian culture. But I do not see that culture as dying.” (188) Rather, Native Americans were adopting new musical strategies to themselves revitalize their own culture. All Native American musical practices, not simply the Blessingway or Enemy Way ceremonies, could help them understand their contemporary identity. Respectfully understanding how those forms functioned in contemporary life could act as ethnomusicology’s “tool for survival,” to invoke Moretti from Chapter 1,

McAllester’s argument in “The Astonished Ethno-Muse” preceded the increased interest in syncretic forms in ethnomusicological research over the 1980s, and as such predates the critiques of celebratory hybridity discussed in Chapter 5. He does not consider, for example, how the dynamics of “retrimming, reshaping, and recombining” have themselves been constituted by colonialist inequalities. Yet McAllester asserted the potential power of popular music to express indigeneity in order to contest the dominant cultural hierarchies of ethnomusicological research. Music does not have to be Othered to be meaningful; as he claimed, “we are so captivated by the panpipes in the hawthorns that we hardly hear the music on the TV show in the living-room” (183). The television, the country and western band, and the Coke cans in the kitchen can express the survival of a contemporary indigenous identity differently, and perhaps more relevantly, than ceremonial forms. By allowing Anglo music to also contest the ontologies of academic study, McAllester acknowledged that they can assert the cultural sovereignty formerly delimited to ceremonial forms, enabling a more complex perspective of contemporary Native American life.

Conclusion

David McAllester and Charlotte Heth sought to use recordings, concerts, and research as ways to humanely educate the public about the complexities, tensions, differences, and paradoxes of

contemporary Native American identity. Their scholarly activity effectively sought to dialogue diplomatically with practitioners of distinct cultures. Through spotlighting differences in knowledge disclosure, performance and identity in concerts by Avery Jimersen and Sam Yazzie, politicizing ceremonial music in *Songs of Earth, Fire, Water, and Sky*, and celebrating the potentialities of “The New Indian Music,” McAllester and Heth attempted to allow the complexities of both contemporary Native American identity and contemporary academic identity to engage in reciprocal communication. They both critiqued and engaged *Bildung*, examining its legacy of preservationist protectionism that had effaced Native American cultural ontologies and refashioning it through dialoguing with indigenous perspectives.

McAllester and Heth contended with anthropology’s deep complicity in legislative and cultural colonization, challenges wrought by Native American identity politics, and university cultural hierarchies. As academics, though, they remained beholden to the ontologies of university culture, causing inevitable gaps in understanding between their perspectives and those of their subjects. Yet their work enabled a more equal examination of the identity politics of both Native American traditional musicians and university ethnomusicologists forged through their different “interpretations of their common history with its own perspective, historical sense, emotions, and traditions,” as Edward Said described the culture of imperialism.¹²⁵ Native Americans performed the complex web of identity politics—Indian, tribal, individual, traditional, modern, Westernized, colonized—and Heth and McAllester performed theirs—colonizers, radicals, scholars, theorists, curators, teachers, Cherokees, New Englanders. If Heth, McAllester, Jimersen, and the Yazzies could not escape the complex legacies of their collective past, their performances and scholarly

¹²⁵ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993), 11. R.D. Theisz has criticized the use of Said and Clifford in theorizing Native American culture, claiming that using their theories silences indigenous perspectives, in essence mirroring the processes of cultural imperialism that Said and Clifford contest. R.D. Theisz, “Putting Things in Order: The Discourse of Tradition,” in *Powwow*, 85.

works illuminated how the study of Native American music could seek to assert cultural sovereignty through tension and dialogue in order to cultivate a more ethical understanding of indigeneity.

Chapter 4: *Bildung* Scenes: College Rock in Athens, Georgia

Tom Cheek (lead singer, Kilkenny Cats): You can get away with it here, everybody's used to the idea. You go to some places where I don't think anyone is allowed to do what they want to do. And here people are open about it you know? I just came here to get some schooling, but I had always wanted to be in a band. Here you can do it.

Sean O'Brien (bassist, Kilkenny Cats): Local bands can make a little bit of money here...local bands can make some money without being a big national band, which is real good for the scene, which is real good for the bands.

Cheek: You know, bands like R.E.M. and B-52s have made it, in this town, very realistic to believe that you can actually do it, you can actually get in a band and go someplace. And that really helps, like to give me something to believe in, because for a while I thought, a rock band, what a pipe dream. And right now we're nothing, but we're trying, and that's all that counts. And you have to believe in it before you can actually do it. And that was the hardest thing, but once I believed I was ten times better.

-in *Athens, GA: Inside/Out* (1987)¹

A tractor plows a field on a sweaty summer day. A bicyclist on Broad Street speeds down the hill away from downtown, past the factory and over the Oconee River to the ramshackle houses on the east side of town. A painter finishes an impressionistic rendition of College Street as students walk up the road's slight incline into the bookstores and clubs tucked behind the trees. Freshmen skateboard past houses in student neighborhoods worn from maximum partying, minimal care, and the hot summer sun. An art professor displays massive abstract paintings drenched in deep reds and oranges, art he claims is influenced by the beauty of the South. Four young men drum on buckets and playground fixtures. A lanky singer with a shock of pink highlights in his hair mumbles about friends of his who can smell ants. An old minister sits in a house outside of town surrounded by sculptures fashioned from garbage and a fence dotted with strange tinfoil creations. A poet recites an enigmatic poem called "I broke my saw" in a bluesy drawl. A band performs in a dark bar, the lead singer ecstatically shrieking lyrics like "I had a guitar, but it changed into a tree!" as a single suspender-clad man gyrates wildly in front on an open dance floor.

Bands, bohemians, bars, and the brick facades of Broad Street; such are the scenes of Athens, Georgia depicted in the opening montage of *Athens, GA: Inside/Out*, a documentary about the Athens music scene released in February 1987. During the 1980s, Athens became nationally

¹ *Athens, GA: Inside/Out*, DVD, directed by Tony Gayton (1987; Oaks, PA: MDV Visual, 2003), 1:02:00.

famous as the center of a new genre of post-punk music called “college rock.” The genre’s name stemmed from bands’ associations with college towns and college radio stations. Athens in particular spawned a number of important college rock bands, including R.E.M., the B-52s, Pylon, and Love Tractor. By the mid-1980s, the town housed a bustling scene replete with bars, concert venues, endless streams of bands, and a reputation for eccentricity, liberality and musical vitality strange for a small city in the deeply conservative Piedmont Southeast. Many asked, in the words of a promotional blurb for the documentary, “how is it that the little Southern town of Athens, Georgia, has produced so many groundbreaking musicians?”²

The documentary tried to answer this question by depicting a unique amalgamation of landscapes and creative artists who, by force of individuality, intuitive skill, and happenstance, produced a utopian community devoted to artistic expression rather than commercial gain. One important institution, however, remains unseen in the film: the University of Georgia. The camera often looks north across Broad Street to the central business district or east and west to student living areas, but the fences, small quads, and Greek revival architecture of the university south of Broad are never shown. If the genre is called “college rock,” though, shouldn’t the genre’s music, communities, and landscapes have *something* to do with the college? Just as the University of Georgia was absent from the opening of *Athens, GA: Inside/Out*, though, so too have scholars working on college rock scenes neglected to cast their eye towards the university. Despite the scholarly attention given to 1980s alternative rock scenes, these studies have mirrored the film by situating popular musicians exclusively within college towns, leaving the “gown” hermetically sealed from popular music scenes. Of course, the divisions between colleges and college rock are readily apparent: college rock scenes thrived in locations downtown rather than on campus, college radio broadcasts were heard in the community, not the classroom, and rock music was scarcely part of university curricula

² “Athens, GA: Inside/Out,” Netflix, accessed December 23, 2012, http://movies.netflix.com/WiMovie/Athens_GA_Inside_Out/60033502.

during the 1980s. The question remains, though, why did college rock become so associated with colleges to the extent that the institution became imprinted onto the genre name itself? And how does the term “college” come to signify alternative rock music?

Through an examination of the college rock scene in Athens, Georgia, this chapter examines the dispositional connection between liberal arts culture and 1980s alternative rock music. The institutional power of universities within their college towns, like the University of Georgia in Athens, allows the liberal arts disposition that values disinterested criticism over utilitarian knowledge to impact extracurricular activities. I argue that this disposition encourages musicians to pursue rock as a form of self-expression, valuing its critical purpose over its commercial worth. Yet the tension between disinterested and utilitarian study manifests itself in the complex negotiation over rock music’s purpose: as a form of self-development, or as a career. These tensions arose in college town media and institutions like newsletters, clubs, and radio stations that similarly negotiated artistic expression and commercial gain. Success in college rock scenes like Athens stemmed not from actualized alternativeness or political resistance, but through pursuing self-development while maintaining enough commercial success to sustain the endeavor.

This chapter opens by examining how collegiate dispositions and geographies have helped to form college rock scenes. Using theories of Pierre Bourdieu and geographer Brent Gumprecht, I show how college town infrastructure combines the fields of cultural production and business in a manner similar to the college itself. I argue that the university’s dispositional power combines with the specific geography of the college town to encourage liberal arts missions like cultural criticism and self-development to become guiding ideals within off-campus rock scenes. I then discuss the formation of the Athens rock music scene from its 1970s origins to its rise in national prominence after the success of R.E.M. in the mid-1980s, showing how the cultural geography of the town influenced the scene’s formation. As a result, scene discourses reflected aspects of university culture

like criticism, self-expression, autonomy, and the tense undercurrent of an ethically ambiguous necessity of financial gain.

The remainder of the chapter explores how these aspects shaped three facets of the Athens music scene. Articles about the scene in both local magazines like *Tasty World* and national publications like the *New York Times* and *People* examined the ideological and sonic dimensions of the scene's identity. I analyze the "Athens sound" ascribed to the scene through two songs by seminal Athens groups, Pylon's "Cool" and R.E.M.'s "Wolves, Lower." Broadcasts of local music by WUOG, the campus radio station, aligned the station and scene with an ideology of alternativeness opposed to mainstream music. The show *Fridays Only* provided a space for bands to frame their relationship to the community and its ideals through interviews. Lastly, the documentary *Athens, GA: Inside/Out* depicts the fraught negotiation between music as self-expression and music for commercial necessity. By tying the institutions, discourses, and economies of college rock to university culture, this chapter asserts that the university is not simply adjacent to downtown college rock scenes, but rather helps to generate the cultural dispositions of alternative music practices understood as college rock.

Theorizing the College Rock Scene

Following the punk explosion of the late 1970s, rock communities began flourishing in large cities and college towns across the United States. Scholars since the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham have extensively studied these emergent rock communities.³ The most fruitful theory of rock communities has been the concept of "scene," a fluid term developed by Barry Shank and Will Straw which describes a group of people focused on

³ Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, ed., *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

popular music-making.⁴ 1980s rock scene scholarship has debated whether the relationship between community and geography in music scenes is primarily local or translocal, a term implying a connected network of separate locations. On one hand, Barry Shank has theorized scenes as bounded geographical entities with unique musical activities which produce meaningful identities through their particular emplacement. On the other hand, Will Straw understood scenes as local articulations of a primarily translocal flow of musicians, genres, and performance venues.⁵ The concept of a scene in both formulations, however, generally presupposes an unequal relationship between the local and translocal which associates locality with independence and community and translocality with impersonality and commodification. This discursive politics of local authenticity and translocal commercialism is certainly echoed by Athens scene participants. However, I want to posit a more complex relationship between locality and translocality that considers the translocal influence of the *university*, shaped by local features, in order to theorize how rock scenes became *college* rock scenes.

⁴ This chapter is not interested in the long-standing debate over whether alternative musical communities are “scenes” or “subcultures.” I am not staking a claim whether the fluidity of scenes or the differentiations of subcultures most appropriately reflects the politics of the Athens scene; I use scene mostly because the term “Athens Music Scene” is most frequently used when describing the community. Center of Contemporary Cultural Studies scholarship used the term “subculture” rather than scene for alternative music communities. In their formulation, subcultures are “smaller, more localized and differentiated structures, within one or other of the larger cultural networks.” John Clarke, et al., “Subcultures, Cultures and Class: A Theoretical Overview,” in *Resistance through Rituals*, 10–13. Though CCCS scholars construed culture as a contingent process, they also posited a static differentiation between dominant forms and resistant factions. Critiques of their work soon arose which question the strict distinctions assumed between cultures and subcultures. For an example of an early critique, see Gary Clarke, “Defending Ski-Jumpers: A Critique of Theories of Youth Subcultures,” in *On Record: Rock, Pop and the Written Word*, ed. Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin (New York: Routledge, 1990), 81–96. A more complete critique of concepts linking popular music and youth culture is found in David Hesmondhalgh, “Subcultures, Scenes or Tribes? None of the Above,” *Journal of Youth Studies* 8, no. 1 (2005): 21–40. The term “subculture” may not be accurate for more recent popular music cultures, and it may overestimate the homological relationship individuals have to politics of differentiation. However, these politics are prevalent within 1980s music discourses, especially in Athens, and they lead to individuals professing a sense of autonomy from a dominant culture. The term “scene” may underestimate the force of these politics, but it does access the inherent translocality of the Athens scene, and the complex relationship between locality and translocality found in scene discourses.

⁵ Barry Shank, *Dissonant Identities: The Rock ‘n’ Roll Scene in Austin, Texas* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1994); Will Straw, “Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change: Communities and Scenes in Popular Music,” *Cultural Studies* 5, no. 3 (1991): 368–88; idem., “Scenes and Sensibilities,” *Public* 22/23 (2002): 245–57, accessed September 26, 2011, <http://strawresearch.mcgill.ca/StrawPublicScenes.pdf>.

Recalling the theorization of universities from Chapter 1, one of the purposes of American university education is to instill a disposition toward critical study opposed to utilitarian purpose. This tension has been noted as a framing ideological facet of college rock scenes, but its resonance with the liberal arts has not been acknowledged. Barry Shank's study of the 1980s rock 'n' roll scene in Austin, for example, frames scene activity through "the productive contestation between...two forces: the fierce desire to remake oneself through musical practice, and the equally powerful struggle to affirm the value of that practice in the complexly structured late-capitalist marketplace."⁶ In Pierre Bourdieu's terms, Shank's contestation marks a battleground between two "systematically inverted" fields: the field of cultural production, which trades in cultural capital, and the field of business, which trades in economic capital. For Bourdieu, cultural capital is predicated on its opposition to commercial gain; indeed, art "proves its claim to authenticity by its disinterestedness."⁷

Despite the contestation of these two economies that Shank locates in college rock scenes, they do not simply divide bands that are resolutely "art" from those who are "commercial." Rather, the ideal for the college rock scene—as it is in university education—is the ability to foreground cultural capital while maintaining the requisite commercial capital to sustain and reproduce stature within the cultural economy. Some commercial success or financial backing is necessary since, as Bourdieu notes, "there are economic conditions for the indifference to economy which induces a pursuit of the riskiest positions in the intellectual and artistic avant-garde, and also for the capacity to remain there over a long period without any economic compensation."⁸ The field of cultural production requires financial security as it opposes commercial gain to personal development.

⁶ Shank, *Dissonant Identities*, x. Shank theorizes the transformational power through psychoanalytic theory as a momentary production of the Lacanian Real rather than the *Bildung* sense of self-actualization. Shank rightly argues that the actualized self is inextricable from the performed self, but I argue that *Bildung* more acutely accesses the ideology encouraging particular music framed as higher culture to have transformational properties.

⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, "The Field of Cultural Production, or: the Economic World Reversed" in *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 40.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Since colleges wield substantial power within their respective communities, the collegiate cultural disposition becomes dominant and attracts members of local communities to value self-expression over profit. The relationship becomes obscured, though, because as students acquire cultural capital, the collegiate disposition produces a predilection toward autonomy which effaces the institution which gave rise to it. Bourdieu writes that “in the most perfectly autonomous sector of the field of cultural production...the economy of practices is based...on a systematic inversion of the fundamental principles of all ordinary economies: that of business...that of power...and even that of institutionalized cultural authority.”⁹ College rock thus becomes an elite field not only opposed to the business field but also autonomous from the university. One side effect of the ideological linkage between “college” and “college rock” is therefore the erasure of the college as an apparent influence. Despite this seeming autonomy, the college shapes the binaries between artistry and commercialization, self-development and mimicry, and local alternative culture and translocal mass culture found in college rock scenes. Liberal arts culture provides the critical tools for acquiring cultural (or in Sarah Thornton’s term, “subcultural”) capital within these communities.¹⁰

College rock scenes thus reflect the complex negotiation between cultural and business economies found in liberal arts culture. This ideological tension is enhanced by the university’s influence on American college towns. Geographer Blake Gumprecht has theorized the cultural geography of college towns, three aspects of which are germane for understanding its influence for the Athens college rock scene. First, college towns host a transient population with relatively heterogeneous, cosmopolitan backgrounds from outside their surrounding areas. Since college students come from geographically diverse areas, college towns have translocal networks with other cities and music scenes. In towns like Athens that feature flagship public universities, the selectivity

⁹ Ibid., 39.

¹⁰ Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures: Music, Media, and Subcultural Capital* (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1996).

of admissions and hiring processes produces a culturally diverse yet privileged populace. Second, college towns are unconventional places with high degrees of liberal culture. While Gumprecht notes that “unconventionality” is not easily quantifiable, he uses factors like voting Green or biking to work to indicate that college towns attract a liberal, bourgeois population with a predilection toward community involvement and aesthetic culture, two facets needed to form music scenes.¹¹

Third, the population of a college town creates and sustains a commercial district with businesses that try to merge the field of cultural production with the business field. Gumprecht cites a number of businesses which proliferate in college towns more than non-college towns of similar size: “coffeehouses, bookstores, . . . bicycle shops, record stores, copy shops, ethnic restaurants . . . movie theaters that show independent and foreign films, art galleries, tattoo parlors, shops that specialize in the cultural kitsch of the 1960s . . . health food stores[,] vegetarian restaurants, and bars.”¹² Such businesses cheaply foster the exploration of sophisticated taste, providing institutional infrastructure for the pursuit of cultural capital in college rock scenes.¹³ In his critique of independent music, David Hesmondhalgh has argued that such infrastructure reinforces capitalism rather than offering an actual alternative because its businesses operate under the same basic market principles.¹⁴ To dismiss college town infrastructure as simply capitalist, though, ignores how college towns promote institutions that embody the same tension between cultural and economic production *found in the colleges themselves*. Returning to Bourdieu’s theories, the college town is disposed toward a robust field of cultural production and as such fosters infrastructure which

¹¹ Blake Gumprecht, *The American College Town* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 12–15.

¹² Blake Gumprecht, “The American College Town,” *Cultural Geography* 93, no. 1 (2003): 64.

¹³ Gumprecht’s geographical model can be used to mediate Bourdieu’s theory, which prioritizes the dispositional work of art fields, and Howard Becker’s “art world,” which stresses art’s production through a community of labor. Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982). Despite their different orientations, Bourdieu’s and Becker’s theories dovetail in their belief that “fields” or “worlds” exist relationally. Bourdieu compares his methodology with Becker’s in “The Field of Cultural Production,” 34–35.

¹⁴ David Hesmondhalgh, “Indie: The Institutional Politics and Aesthetics of a Popular Music Genre,” *Cultural Studies* 13, no. 1 (1999): 34–61.

enables this disposition to be sustained. College towns are thus forged at the same nexus of disinterested taste and capitalist necessities as the universities they abut.

Despite this dispositional connection, many scholars have asserted the separation of “gown” culture and “town” culture. This divide has underestimated the dispositional power of university within college rock scenes, misreading the dispositional autonomy of local communities as institutional autonomy. Gumprecht himself falls into this trap when he argues that self-awakening happens in college towns rather than classrooms: “the college years are widely acknowledged as a time of individual awakening, but too often what happens in the classroom is given exclusive credit for this....Often the experiences that trigger such life changes occur not on campus but in the nightclubs, coffeehouses, and student apartments so characteristic of college towns.”¹⁵ He specifically cited Athens’ music scene as an example of this extracurricular activity. Though rock music was not taught at the University of Georgia when the scene formed in the late 1970s, the disposition toward criticism and self-development central to liberal arts education wielded significant dispositional power over the Athens community and music scene.¹⁶ The college itself stretches outside of the classroom, creating an institutional and economic framework wherein participants pursued rock music at the nexus of self-expression and commerce.

Athens as Institutional and Dispositional Geography

The town of Athens sits about sixty miles west of Atlanta on bluffs overlooking the Oconee River. In 1785, the site was selected for the University of Georgia, the first state-chartered institution in the United States. The town, then county land with a few straggling farms, was christened

¹⁵ Gumprecht, “The American College Town,” 65–66.

¹⁶ Historical records of classes only go back to 1999, but the university did not report any popular music courses in Mark Gordon and Jack Nachbar’s listings of popular music courses during the 1970s. Mark Gordon and Jack Nachbar, *Currents of Warm Life: Popular Culture in American Higher Education* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1980).

“Athens” to evoke a sensibility of classical learning.¹⁷ Over the subsequent two and a quarter centuries, the university has blossomed from a one-house college to a sprawling university complete with research centers, Division I sports, and nearly 35,000 students. Most pertinent to this study, Athens has become famous for its popular music scene which birthed numerous bands who achieved international renown. Athens’ music scene has not only become a central part of the downtown business district, but the tourist industry, town historical markers, and even official University of Georgia visitor’s guides.¹⁸

Since the middle of the twentieth century, Athens had been home to many country, rockabilly, and southern rock bands typical of the southeast United States. In the late 1970s, punk and new wave catalyzed a new Athens scene by offering a DIY attitude and leftist anti-establishment politics.¹⁹ The B-52s, a quintet of five University of Georgia students, are credited with originating the new scene. Contrary to the heavy, masculine, country-oriented groups dominating Athens, the B-52s were campy, danceable, and queer.²⁰ The band draped itself in a collage of mid-century kitsch, from Cindy Wilson and Kate Pearson’s bouffant wigs to lyrical and sonic references to sci-fi and beach movies.²¹ According to Theo Cateforis, the band created a “delightfully bizarre musical world unburdened by rock’s pretensions and its continuing concern with concealing its commodity

¹⁷ “UGA by the Numbers,” University of Georgia Office of Public Affairs, last modified July 2012, accessed September 14, 2011, <http://www.uga.edu/profile/facts>.

¹⁸ “Talking About the Passion,” *University of Georgia Visitor’s Guide* 3 (2010–11): 28–29. This guide was given to me as part of a packet of information about the university upon my arrival for a period of research in summer 2011. Athens music is the subject of a number of official and unofficial tourist guides. In 1998, the Athens Welcome Center in collaboration with *Flagpole Magazine* assembled the “Athens Music History Walking Tour,” a list of twenty-eight sites from Athens’ 1980s heyday for tourists to visit. “Athens Music History Walking Tour,” Athens Welcome Center, accessed October 29, 2012, http://www.Athenswelcomecenter.com/images/Athens_Music_History_Walking_Tour.pdf. The tour is frequently led by Paul Butchart, formerly a member of 1980’s Athens group The Side Effects.

¹⁹ For example, future R.E.M. guitarist Peter Buck attended the Sex Pistols’ first show in the United States, on January 5, 1978 in Atlanta. Tony Fletcher, *Remarks: The Story of R.E.M.* (London: Omnibus, 1989), 10.

²⁰ The group was comprised of two women and three men who had each at one time been drag queens. The drag history of the B-52s is recounted in Rodger Lyle Brown, *Party Out of Bounds: The B-52s, R.E.M., and the Kids Who Rocked Athens, Georgia* (New York: Penguin, 1991).

²¹ “B-52” is a slang term for a bouffant wig.

status.”²² In 1978, the group released “Rock Lobster” on DB Records, a local record label owned by a friend of the band. A gender-bending take on 1960s beach party movie soundtracks, the single unexpectedly received national attention and led to a major-label deal with Warner Brothers.²³ After their first album took off, the B-52s moved to New York and rarely returned to Athens. The group’s artistic and commercial success, though, piqued national interest in the town’s post-punk scene.

A number of art student groups followed in the B-52s’ wake. Pylon, a quartet of art students who debuted at a student party in May 1979, overlaid a fast rhythm section with Gang of Four-like guitar attacks and Vanessa Briscoe’s screaming vocal stabs. With Fred Schneider’s help, Pylon secured gigs in New York City and a single on DB Records, “Cool/Dub,” which received international acclaim. Pylon’s success immediately following the B-52s, combined with the two bands’ shared origin, brought further notoriety to the small southern city. A 1981 interview with Pylon in *New York Rocker* opened by exclaiming, “there must be something about Athens, Georgia; it seems to breed eclectics.”²⁴ More post-punk bands soon formed in Athens. The Method Actors, a guitar and drums duo, garnered a heavy British following. Love Tractor propelled instrumental rock to a fawning *New York Times* review and an RCA record contract.²⁵ Other groups like Limbo District, Rum Jungle, and the Tone Tones achieved local critical success to bolster the national perception of the Athens scene.

If Pylon and B-52 brought Athens to the attention of the New York underground press, the city became a household name through the rise of R.E.M., a quartet comprising vocalist Michael Stipe, guitarist Peter Buck, bassist Mike Mills, and drummer Bill Berry. Berry, Mills, and Stipe were Georgia students, while Buck worked at Wuxtry’s, a local record store. They debuted at a party in

²² Theo Cateforis, *Are We Not New Wave? Modern Pop at the Turn of the 1980s* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011): 115.

²³ Cateforis analyzes “Rock Lobster” in *Ibid.*, 117–21.

²⁴ Karen Moline, “Pylon: Temporary Rock,” *New York Rocker*, March 1981, 15.

²⁵ Jon Pareles, “Folk-Rock: Love-Tractor,” *New York Times*, September 13, 1983, C15.

1980 at Buck and Stipe's house, a converted Episcopal Church.²⁶ The band initially performed 1960s pop covers, but soon began performing energetic, enigmatic originals featuring a tight, driving rhythm and inscrutable vocals.²⁷ The band's debut EP, *Chronic Town*, also released on DB Records, generated national critical attention. Their first full-length album, 1983's *Murmur*, released on I.R.S. Records, became the Number 1 record in the esteemed *Pazz and Jop* poll.²⁸ The album was played on such heavy rotation on college radio that, for musicologist Nicholas Rubin, *Murmur* marks the birth of the genre of college rock.²⁹ According to Holly Kruse, R.E.M. changed Athens from an eclectic out-of-the way town to, "in college rock discourse, the prototypical college music 'scene.'"³⁰

In the early 1980s, the Athens scene had received attention in national publications like the *Washington Post*, *SPIN*, and *The New York Times*.³¹ The January 17, 1983 issue of *People* spotlighted Athens in an article on new popular music scenes. The article featured a full-page photograph of approximately forty people from numerous bands, including Love Tractor, Limbo District, Pylon, Is/Ought Gap, Oh-OK, Art in the Dark, Kilkenny Cats, and Squalls, sprawled out in strange costumes on the Clarke Monument in the middle of Broad Street.³² Athens developed a national reputation for artistic creativity and eccentricity; Gumprecht calls it a "paradise for misfits."³³

²⁶ Fletcher, *Remarks*, 5.

²⁷ R.E.M.'s initial repertoire met with some resistance within the Athens scene because of its difference from the austere no wave music of Pylon or the bizarre cabaret-pop sensibilities of Limbo District. As one biographer wrote, "Athens had put itself on the map by virtue of art-rock and intriguingly original dance-pop, and every time R.E.M. went into Tyrone's and struck up such familiar rock 'n' roll anthems as 'Hippy Hippy Shake,' ... they lowered the standards." Fletcher, *Remarks*, 26. See also Brown, *Party out of Bounds*, 175-76.

²⁸ I.R.S. Records was an independent subsidiary of Warner Brothers.

²⁹ Nicholas Rubin, "Signing On: College Radio and the Popular Music Industry 1977-1983" (PhD diss, University of Virginia, 2010).

³⁰ Holly Kruse, *Site and Sound: Understanding Independent Music Scenes* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 19.

³¹ Art Harris, "O Little Town of Rock 'n' Roll," *Washington Post*, August 29, 1984, B1; Mike Mills, "Our Town," *SPIN*, July 1985, 21-23; Robert Palmer, "Regional Bands in National Spotlight," *New York Times*, November 6, 1981, C16.

³² Carl Arrington, Chet Flippo, and Eric Levin, "Is Rock Dead?" *People*, January 17, 1983, 53. Thanks to Mike Richmond (seated second from the right in the bottom row, holding a banjo) for identification.

³³ Gumprecht, *The American College Town*, 189-226. Gumprecht borrowed the phrase from Mark Maynard, "Pylon: Sounds, Utterances and Everything..." *Crimewave USA* 14 (2003). Accessed April 11, 2013. <http://pylon.pyrzqzgl.com/pyloncw14.html>.

Critics struggled to explain why this rock scene erupted in Athens, whose closest comparable cities—Macon, Augusta, Columbia—were hardly havens of alternative rock music. Author Rodger Lyle Brown, who wrote a history of the scene, attributed its success to magical happenstance: “The reason Athens, Georgia saw the birth of the most notable American rock scene of the 1980s wasn’t because of the red clay, the water, or the sweat. It wasn’t the cheap rent, the art school, or the availability of beer and LSD. It was simply the dynamic of exceptional coincidence.”³⁴ Reflecting on R.E.M.’s *Murmur*, critic J. Niimi posited a mythic connection between the band and the kudzu-infested landscape of northeastern Georgia depicted on the album’s cover, linking the band’s seeming folk aesthetic with the picture’s sepia-tone “pastoral” image.³⁵ Niimi’s poetic metaphor reflects a standard critical trope when discussing Athens bands: connecting musical activity to a landscape idealized as outside the transnational music industry. It reflects Holly Kruse’s observation that “because of Athens’ distance from the media centers of New York and Los Angeles, the town and the bands associated with it enabled a discourse that linked college music identity and authenticity with locality.”³⁶ For example, *People* cheered the scene’s charming eccentricity, “bohemian attitude,” and quaint desire for artistic rather than critical success. One musician was quoted as saying “no one has his eye on vast success.” The circulation of Athens music was likened to Johnny Appleseed and folk transmission rather than the music industry: “William Orten

³⁴ Brown, *Party Out of Bounds*, 218. The author reiterated this stance in Rodger Lyle Brown, “Dance This Dusty Mess Around,” *Creative Loafing* February 13, 2002, accessed September 14, 2011, <http://m.clatl.com/gyrobases/dance-this-dusty-mess-around/Content?oid=1235626>.

³⁵ J. Niimi, *Murmur* (New York: Continuum, 2005), 66–67: the cover “stands in relief against the sharp, facile, forward-looking graphic aesthetics that characterized much of mass media culture in the 1980s. The photo’s sepia tint is the rustic tone of Civil War photography, and the draping mass of kudzu in the center of the picture resembles a crumbling medieval ruin from a nineteenth-century pastoral.” Fred Everett Maus critiques the heteronormativity of the folk mode of R.E.M.’s reception reflected in Niimi’s statement in “Intimacy and Distance: On Stipe’s Queerness,” *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 18, no. 2 (2006): 191–92.

³⁶ Kruse, *Site and Sound*, 20.

Carlton...loads his trunk with Athens discs when he drives to...conventions. Stopping at record stores en route, 'Ort' sells his wares a few at a time like a rock 'n' roll Johnny Appleseed."³⁷

Obviously, Athens's rise to national prominence did not stem from its geographic distance from New York, folk transmission, vinyl plants, or sheer coincidence. Rather, the ideological, geographical, and commercial aspects of the college town are the fundamental prerequisites for Athens to develop a college music scene. Despite Brown's claims, the two most obvious reasons why the Athens scene formed were in fact the "cheap rent" and the "art school." Athens enabled bands to rather easily acquire the requisite financial capital to maintain a disposition toward the field of cultural production. In general, the student population at the University of Georgia had built-in economic privilege and cosmopolitan connections. As the state's flagship university, the University of Georgia attracts a number of students from the region's privileged economic backgrounds. As Gumprecht has noted, the university is much closer to a major metropolitan area (Atlanta) than other southern college towns, enabling easier translocal connections to other affluent urban areas.³⁸

The relative cheapness of living in Athens further enabled the cultivation of cultural capital. Gumprecht noted that Athens' inexpensive accommodations "made it possible for young people...to live, cheaply, work sporadically, and have plenty of time to create."³⁹ According to Mike Richmond, his band Love Tractor could fetch \$3,000 for playing at a fraternity house, while his rent payment near downtown was only \$37 a month.⁴⁰ Musicians could more easily concentrate on cultural capital because their economic needs were easily met. Kate Ingram, a staff member at DB Records, celebrated the town's ability to foster self-expression through freedom from financial worry in a 1981 *New York Times* article: "in Athens...there's a university community that's interested

³⁷ Arrington, Flippo, and Levin, "Is Rock Dead," 54. See also Love Tractor's genre identity as "Folk-Rock" in *New York Times*; and Simon Frith, "The Magic that Can Set You Free: The Ideology of the Folk and the Myth of the Rock Community," *Popular Music* 1 (1981): 159–68.

³⁸ Gumprecht, *American College Town*, 30.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 204.

⁴⁰ Mike Richmond, interview with author, Athens, GA, August 24, 2011.

in original music. Remember, these bands are getting good reviews, but they aren't selling a lot of records.... If they lived in New York, they would have to work outside music just to pay the rent.”⁴¹

Along with the city's cheap rent, the art school helped form a liberal oasis within a deeply conservative state and region. While the conservatism of the southeast needs little explanation, the University of Georgia also prominently featured conservative aspects. For example, the 90,000-seat Sanford Stadium sits squarely in the center of campus, its stands towering over the student union. Football so dominates campus life that the library closes for home games. Greek life is a major part of extracurricular activity, with the west side of campus dominated by Fraternity Row along Milledge Avenue. As Richmond told me, “the campus is geared toward frats and football. Athens is an isolated college town, and there's nothing for arty kids to do.”⁴² If “frats and football” dominated campus culture, the University of Georgia also boasted the Lamar School of Art, one of the preeminent art programs in the south. Athens attracted many art students, many of whom cared little for sports or Greek life.

The divide between liberal art students and the university's conservative elements was further entrenched by the geography of the University of Georgia's campus (see Figure 4.1). Sara Cohen has argued for the importance of “material musical environments” in the geography of musical practice, arguing that the daily paths of participants produce “bubbles” of musical activity in particular locations.⁴³ The art department was housed in the Old Library Building (now the Administration building) on the quad abutting Broad Street, the thoroughfare which divides the campus and downtown.⁴⁴ Many art students lived off campus in residential areas either northwest of downtown near Barber Street and Prince Street or east down Broad across the Oconee. The

⁴¹ Palmer, “Regional Bands in National Spotlight,” C16.

⁴² Richmond, interview with author.

⁴³ Sara Cohen, “Bubbles, Tracks, Borders and Lines: Mapping Music and Urban Landscape,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 137, no. 1 (2012): 135–70.

⁴⁴ “History: Art at the University of Georgia,” University of Georgia Lamar Dodd School of Art, accessed December 23, 2012, <http://art.uga.edu/about/history/>.

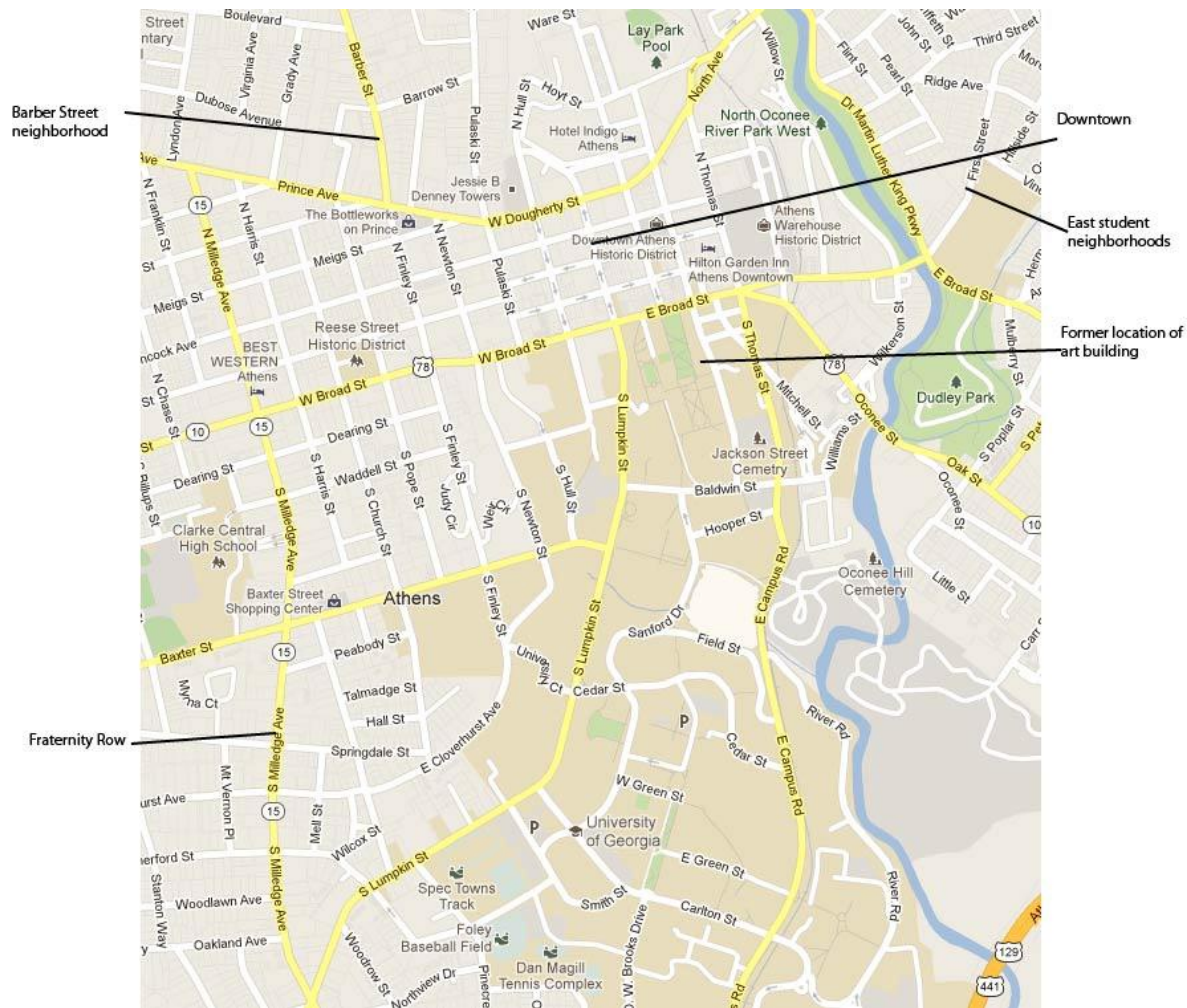


Figure 4.1: Map of Athens, Georgia downtown and campus areas. Downtown and art student living area is to north, while fraternity row is on the bottom left.

downtown area was thus situated directly between home and school for art students, enabling them easy access to the business district. By contrast, Greek life was centered on Milledge Avenue to the south and west of campus. This population thus frequented other commercial districts, such as the Five Points area at the intersection of Milledge and Lumpkin.

Art students therefore formed a liberal enclave north of campus centered in downtown that provided infrastructure for music venues to flourish. Simon Frith and Howard Horne have noted that many British art school students like John Lennon, Keith Richards, and Pete Townsend later

turned to rock in 1960s Britain.⁴⁵ Despite the differences between British and American institutions, art students at Georgia similarly took to rock as a form of performance art after the interventions of new wave and punk. Early bands like the B-52s, Pylon and Limbo District comprised of art students described their music as “making art with instruments.”⁴⁶ This area soon became a musical hub that attracted like-minded artistic individuals from across the southeast. These geographic and financial factors, more than sheer coincidence, enabled Athens to develop the leading college rock scene of the 1980s.

The Athens Scene and the Athens Sound

The formation of the music scene in Athens during the mid-1980s led critics and musicians to use the city as a descriptor of musical activity, writing about “Athens bands” the “Athens scene,” or the “Athens sound.” Critical discourses in music frequently seek to examine the “synergy between landscapes earthly and musical,” in Holly Watkins’ terms, seeking to connect sounds, cultures, and histories associated with particular places.⁴⁷ The adjectival “Athens” did not simply denote shared geographic origin, but signified an identity based on the relationship between musical practice and the city.⁴⁸ As demonstrated in the previous section, the foremost meaning ascribed to the Athens scene was that of an autonomous place oriented toward self-expression instead of commercial gain. This meaning created a stance of local authenticity that disparaged translocal influence. “Athens” signified the scene’s critical values, tastes, and sounds: the celebration of bands able to match the ideal ideological position between the fields of cultural production and business; the canonization of these bands as an elite, local culture opposed to mainstream music; and the association of general musical characteristics of canonic bands with the scene’s musical identity.

⁴⁵ Simon Frith and Howard Horne, *Art into Pop* (New York: Methuen, 1987).

⁴⁶ Michael Lachowski, in Gayton, dir., *Athens, GA: Inside/Out*, 1:10:30.

⁴⁷ Holly Watkins, “Musical Ecologies of Place and Placelessness,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, no. 2 (2011): 404; see also 406, “This field of associations [between musical sounds and geographic ecologies] is not simply physiological but cultural and historical.”

⁴⁸ For further studies connecting college rock and identity, see Shank, *Dissonant Identities*; and Holly Kruse, “Subcultural Identity in Alternative Music Culture,” *Popular Music* 12, no. 1 (1993): 33–41.

If national outlets like *People* and the *New York Times* had conceived the Athens scene through an opposition to commercial success, this perception was echoed by the local press as well. In the first issue of *Tasty World*, a mid-1980s Athens-based zine, William Orten “Ort” Carlton (the Johnny Appleseed figure in the *People* feature cited earlier) similarly celebrated Athens for its ideals of musical self-expression:

Q: Athens is home to a thriving local “scene” that is somewhat indigenous to the area. In other areas of the country, are there “local scenes” like ours, and does this carry over to other types of music as well?

A: I’m glad I asked that question. Most major towns and larger cities have “music scenes” something like ours, although here more people seem into making music for art’s sake (as an extension of artistic creativity) or for the music’s own sake, as opposed to having the real intention of making money with their music. I really think that none of the Athens acts I’m aware of are “in it for the money.” (I don’t see members of R.E.M. driving Cadillacs, although [drummer] Bill Berry has a great 1960 Fairlane. Get him to show it to you sometime. This is the best example I can think of to illustrate my point....Not very many of us are greedy here.) In many other cities with a lot of local bands and places for them to play, people are motivated by money more than by the desire to do something important for themselves for their own consummate satisfaction. This is what’s wrong with radio and records today: too much emphasis on the money end, and not enough on the importance of doing something that will last.⁴⁹

Ort differentiated Athens from other towns because its bands are “making music for...music’s own sake, as opposed to having the real intention of making money with their music.” Mirroring the *Bildung* mission of liberal arts education, music making becomes an act of self-expression where “to do something important for themselves for their own consummate satisfaction” is its own end. In doing so, Athens musicians pursued a higher calling of self-cultivation. This elevated Athens while debasing the scenes of “most major towns and larger cities” through their supposed commercialism.

Clumping together other locations and associating them with the music industry made Athens a community of alternative culture opposed to the national music industry. In describing Athens as a “somewhat indigenous” musical utopia, though, Ort stressed local authenticity while glossing over translocal influences. This chapter has stressed the translocal importance of university

⁴⁹ William “Ort” Orten Carlton, “Answers to Questions that Haven’t Been Answered Yet,” *Tasty World* 1 (n.d. [c. August 1984]): 12.

culture in cultivating particular ideologies within the city. Of course, the Athens music scene also formed due to the migration of university students to the town; almost no band members had actually grown up in Athens.⁵⁰ The scene also would not have garnered attention without the national fame of R.E.M. and the B-52s.

If this translocal success enabled the scene to project an ideology of anti-commercialism, though, it also proved the scene's commercial viability. As Sara Cohen writes, "linking rock musicians and their products to authentic local settings has tended to suit a strategic promotion of local authenticity by music and media corporations that is designed to boost the sale of records whilst at the same time obscuring the commercial transaction involved."⁵¹ Indeed, the scene greatly expanded during the mid-1980s as bands moved in from southern cities like Nashville, Atlanta, Decatur, and Chapel Hill. These bands sought to capitalize on Athens' reputation for combining eccentricity and commercial success. For some, the infiltration of outside bands and the resultant expansion and formalization in the mid-1980s marked the formation of the "Athens Scene," and thereby the end of the initial organic community. Rodger Lyle Brown's history of the Athens scene, for example, declared R.E.M.'s *Murmur* the end of the original scene. Brown mapped the division between utopia and paradise lost onto the division between organic, homegrown bands—those formed by University of Georgia art students like R.E.M., Pylon, Love Tractor, and the B-52's—and non-students who came to Athens after its commercial viability had been proven.⁵² "Athens" thus began to signify both an anti-commercial ideal and the influence of commercial forces.

⁵⁰ While I did not conduct an exhaustive study of band member origins, David Beebe of Mercyland was the only Athens-born musician I encountered during my research.

⁵¹ Sara Cohen, *Decline, Renewal, and the City in Popular Music Culture: Beyond the Beatles* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 54.

⁵² Brown, *Party Out of Bounds*, 206-211. Brown especially criticized guitarist Matthew Sweet, who came to Athens to score a major label deal and move out as soon as possible. The *Washington Post* article cited earlier noted the criticism over his quick rise to success. Interestingly, Matthew Sweet *did* enroll at the University of Georgia, but he essentially came to follow in R.E.M.'s footsteps rather than to take school seriously. Likewise, not all of the groups in the *People* shoot were student-based; the Squalls were local workers who had just moved from different parts of the country.

In another *Tasty World* article from 1984, author Debi Atkinson associated the Athens scene with this sense of commercialism and formality seen as distinct from the original community:

For years it has been denied, hotly at times, that there is such a thing as an “Athens Music Scene.” Locals were not impressed by being written up in *People* magazine. There was Athens music, yes, certainly, beginning with the B[-52]’s back in 1977. But to call a casual collection of club regulars and party gatherers, “a scene.” Well, the term seemed pretentious, formal and fake.” But now, trendies abound in Athens. It’s too late to argue about semantics. The Athens Music Scene has become a reality. And even the anti-trendies are old-wave.⁵³

Atkinson divided current practices from the initial community of bands, using “scene” as a capitalized outsider term from the perspective of an insider musical community. The original musical community thumbed its nose at the transnational commercial establishment (here *People Magazine*) by stressing its informal, unpretentious practices. Her manner of distinction remarkably resembled that of Leavis’s minority culture described in Chapter 2 (even if her tone does not); she posited a certain canon as elite culture, nostalgically reminisced for the time when that culture dominated Athens life, construed the present as mass culture (trendies) run amok, and promoted elite culture as a fortress against mass culture. This attitude is apparent in her review of a local R.E.M. concert which yearned for their previous identity as a local Athens band:

R.E.M.’s Fox [theater] show made me very happy... That Fox Theater is sure a pretty place. But they let too many people in there. And all the chairs get in the way. I guess old fans are the hardest to please. They get arthritic and grouchy—like me. The IRS party after the show was the pits, really sick. Bright lights and no music. Jeez. The poor band had to sign autographs and all the other Athenians I saw there were ready to get the formalities over with and start jukin’. We drank the open bar dry of beer real quick and that made it easier for all to escape down to 688 [an Atlanta club which frequently booked Athens groups] where Final Frontier and Art in the Dark [two local Athens bands] were playing. Maybe we’ll get to see R.E.M. again soon, at some place where ushers won’t get in the way of dance steps. I would love it if R.E.M. showed up onstage at the old 40-Watt some quiet evening.⁵⁴

R.E.M.’s authenticity came from their performances in front of small audiences in Athens, and their corruption from their ties to the music industry. Both Brown and Atkinson asserted a Leavisite fall-from-Eden motif whereby the modern scene becomes a commercialized generation of “trendies.”

⁵³ Debi Atkinson, “Getting Out,” *Tasty World* 2 (October 1984): 5.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

“Athens” thus began to signify a battleground between two contradictory economies, the heroic local artists and the villainous music industry. Participants and critics like Atkinson thus ascribed cultural capital to “Athens” through canonizing influential bands from the early years of the Athens scene. The B-52s, Pylon, Limbo District, Method Actors, Love Tractor, and R.E.M. were frequently cited as authentic “Athens bands” because they had formed prior to the mid-1980s onslaught of media coverage and were seen to have successfully negotiated the tension between cultural and business economies crucial to the undergirding ideologies of the scene. After the scene’s rise and apparent fall from grace, later Athens bands attempted to succeed within the scene by establishing both an ideological and sonic affinity with these forebears.

The ideological connection Athens bands tried to forge with canonic groups entailed similarly navigating the tension between self-expression and commercial viability. Yet bands became legible to these ideologies and identity formations not simply by assuming an ideological stance, but also through their music. In other words, being received as an “Athens band” required sounding like other bands in some way. John Street has cautioned that the connection between place and musical practice inherently serves commercial purposes, writing that “it is true that different cities, like different countries, make different noises. The question is whether these differences signify musically, whether they do more than reflect the circumstances in which the music was made.... These supply interesting details, but do they become part of what the music means? After all, to see the music as expressing the experience of a place may be to confuse record business hype and journalistic extravagance with reality.”⁵⁵ Like Kruse, Street noted that a concept like the “Athens sound” may be mere marketing, an association Atkinson made when she connected the “Athens

⁵⁵ John Street, “(Dis)Located? Rhetoric, Politics, Meaning and the Locality,” in *Popular Music: Style and Identity*, ed. Will Straw et al (Montreal: Centre for Research on Canadian Cultural Industries and Institutions, 1995), 255; quoted in Cohen, *Decline, Renewal, and the City*, 54. The paradigmatic connection between industry hype and location is the Seattle grunge scene of the early 1990s; see *Hype!*, VHS, directed by Doug Pray (New York: Lions Gate, 1996).

Music Scene” to “trendies.” Yet Street’s comment is concerned with whether different cities actually produce different sounds. There is obviously no ontologically unique “Athens sound,” but the pervasive association of the city with a particular music genre implies a particular identity reflected by sound.

Atkinson and Ort’s statements demonstrate that the “Athens sound” became defined through a process of canonization and critical differentiation. A group of artists that acquired cultural and financial capital in a manner reflecting the place’s particular ideologies becomes a canon of influence for later artists. Musical characteristics of these artists perceived as distinct from mainstream artists become cited as characteristics unique to musicians from that particular place. This does not mean that these features are homologically linked with place or reflect actual differentiation, since sound itself cannot directly signify location, but that sounds articulate with critical discourses through their association with particular groups canonized in a given scene. Mike Redmond, drummer of Love Tractor, cited three musical factors that were a “common denominator” of canonic Athens bands: quirkiness, amateurism, and danceability.⁵⁶ Converted into more analytically precise terminology, the Athens sound can be located through timbral differentiation, simple guitar riffs, and rhythmic propulsion.⁵⁷ Two songs which exemplify the musical characteristics Redmond associates with Athens bands are Pylon’s “Cool,” released as a single in 1979, and R.E.M.’s “Wolves, Lower” from their 1982 debut EP *Chronic Town*.⁵⁸

Pylon’s image was heavily influenced by the industrial minimalism of sculptures like Richard Serra. Their name was short and industrial, and the album cover for *Gyrate* featured a two-by-two square of crudely drawn pictures of cones in reference to the repetition of minimalism. Their song

⁵⁶ Redmond, interview with author.

⁵⁷ The orientation of these characteristics to performance art and intuitive individuality marks one reason why music students at the University of Georgia were mostly absent from the scene.

⁵⁸ I chose “Wolves, Lower” because *Chronic Town* was more overly connected with Athens than the more famous *Murmur*, which was mostly recorded in North Carolina.

names were terse— “Cool,” “Dub,” “Beep,” “Volume”—and their lyrics were repeated bursts of vague, fragmentary phrases. They recalled that in their first show the audience “just stared at us,” but the band soon became one of the most popular in Athens and performed in New York City.⁵⁹ R.E.M.’s music is considerably less discordant than Pylon’s, but the band also shared Richmond’s characterization of Athens music as minimalist and danceable. Like Pylon, the band had ties to the University of Georgia art department. Lead singer Michael Stipe had been an art student, and art professor Jim Herbert directed many of the band’s early music videos.⁶⁰ R.E.M.’s art background had less overt influence on their music than Pylon’s, but they shared the band’s interest in simple riffs, fast beats, and, most famously, inscrutable lyrics. After the band began performing original songs, Stipe changed his vocal style to “largely indiscernible lyrics and guttural diction with only lip service to consonants.” In doing so, he “discovered the power of mystery,” creating art through abstracting his lyrical subjects.⁶¹ Fred Maus has noted that “critics and fans have admired the enigmatic quality that Stipe contributes,” whose power “comes partly from his lyrics and his way of performing him.... The important communication is somehow in the voice itself, bypassing the meanings of the words.”⁶²

“Quirkiness” is difficult to quantify, but here I draw on my research on later indie rock to argue that timbre produced individualized sonic difference from mainstream artists.⁶³ In particular, Pylon and R.E.M. used guitar and vocal timbre to differentiate themselves from the southern rock and country bands then prominent in the city. The guitars in Pylon’s “Cool” are comparatively distorted and messy, characteristics augmented by the band’s sloppy performing. Pylon’s vocalist,

⁵⁹ Vanessa Briscoe Hay, in Gayton, dir., *Athens, GA: Inside/Out*, 1:10:48.

⁶⁰ Herbert most famously directed the MTV staple “It’s the End of the World as We Know It (And I Feel Fine)” from *Document* (1987). He also directed “Left of Reckoning,” a twenty-minute long music video featuring six songs from *Reckoning* (1984).

⁶¹ Fletcher, *Remarks*, 31.

⁶² Maus, “Intimacy and Distance,” 195–196.

⁶³ David Blake, “Timbre as Differentiation in Indie Music,” *Music Theory Online* 18, no. 2 (2012).

Vanessa Ellison, alternates between an unsettling lower, chest voice sound at the beginnings of verses to a high, bracing yell at the end of vocal lines and chorus. If “Cool” offers jagged, rough timbres, the resonance of R.E.M.’s Rickenbacker guitar instead resembles 1960s groups like the Byrds. The band uses a texture similar to such artists, including Stipe’s lead vocals, background vocals during the chorus, lead guitar, bass, and drums. During the chorus, the background voices are just a split second off alignment, combining technical imperfection and bright consonance in a manner reflecting 1960s garage bands. Stipe murmurs the lyrics to “Wolves, Lower,” creating a sense of a mystery enhanced by the inscrutability of the words that can be deduced (“suspicion yourself, suspicion yourself, don’t get caught” in the verse, “house in order” in the chorus). Fred Maus has cited the song as an example of the trope of privacy found in a number of early R.E.M. songs. He connects Stipe’s lyrics and singing style to argue that the song enacts a sense of denotative obfuscation, a strategy which marks both an aesthetic difference from mainstream rock and a refusal to reveal Stipe’s ambiguous sexuality.⁶⁴

This timbral “quirkiness” is intensified through the groups’ lack of technical prowess. As Pylon bassist Michael Lachowski noted in an interview, “I’m not really a musician.”⁶⁵ “Cool” features elementary guitar techniques. The chords in the introduction are straight D and C barre chords, under which the bass line plays a D-E-C-D motion. The verse riff (transcribed in Figure 4.2), doubled by Ellison’s vocal line, alternates 10-12 positions up the middle strings over the same bass riff (D-E-C-D). The harmonies bear little connection to with the D-E-C-D bass line, but the

⁶⁴ Maus, “Intimacy and Distance.” Maus describes the song’s usage in Kirk Read’s autobiography *How I Learned to Snap* to accompany Read’s first homosexual encounter, noting the track “seemed to offer Read the perfect soundtrack for the secret exploration of desires that neither he nor his adult boyfriend was yet prepared to name. In this scene, Read seems to enact literally the fearful pursuit of privacy in early R.E.M. songs, and its possible association with secret sexual pleasures.” Fred Everett Maus, “Three Songs about Privacy, by R.E.M.,” *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 22, no. 1 (2010): 24. Read’s use of R.E.M. is reminiscent of author and music critic Clifford Chase’s experience with the B-52’s debut album, which he associated with the growing self-awareness of his queer sexuality during his final year of undergraduate studies at the University of California-Santa Cruz. Clifford Chase, “Am I Getting Warmer? The B-52s: *The B-52s*,” in *Heavy Rotation: Twenty Writers on the Albums that Changed Their Lives*, ed. Peter Terzian (New York: Harper Perennial, 2009), 142–71.

⁶⁵ David Pierce, “The Tasty World Interview: Michael Lachowski,” *Tasty World* 2 (October 1984): 29.

The musical score for the beginning of the verse of "Cool" by Pylon is presented in four staves. The top staff is for the Voice, showing a melodic line with lyrics: "Pu-u-u-u-ure form! re-e-e-e-eal gone!". The second staff is the Electric Guitar melody, which is mostly chordal. The third staff shows the Electric Guitar fingerings for the lead line, with fret numbers 10, 12, and 13 indicated. The bottom staff is the Bass Guitar, which plays a steady eighth-note pattern.

Figure 4.2: Pylon, “Cool,” beginning of verse 1

vocal line ends on the chordal fifth A above the chorus D. The riffs are more gestural, fitting simple picking patterns and intuitive trajectories. Even with this relative simplicity, Ellison had wryly noted that “the single at that point was a lot better than we were.”⁶⁶ One can hear ample evidence on the recording: the slightly missed C chord in the beginning riff; the disjunctures between the unison lead guitar and voice in the chorus; the guitar solo abandoned halfway through for a repeated discordant F natural; and Ellison’s accidental entrance in the first part of the solo. Yet these mistakes positively signal the band’s fidelity to punk amateurism.

Like the musicians in Pylon, R.E.M. guitarist Peter Buck could only play a few chords at the time of the band’s formation. The guitar parts of “Wolves, Lower,” like those of “Cool,” are also relatively simple picking patterns and standard guitar chords. For example, Buck’s verse guitar riff (transcribed in Figure 4.3) is a sequential pattern two frets apart with an open E string which, when it resolves to B major, shifts the 9-8 fret position from the G-B-E strings to the D-G-B strings. The pattern moves fretwise, but creates passing tones and appoggiaturas around the basic chord to create

⁶⁶ Moline, “Pylon: Temporary Rock,” 16. Bassist Cameron Crowe immediately concurred, and Lachowski added, “that used to be our major worry – wondering if people would like the single – which we thought was good – and then they’d come to see us and be disappointed in...our stage show.”

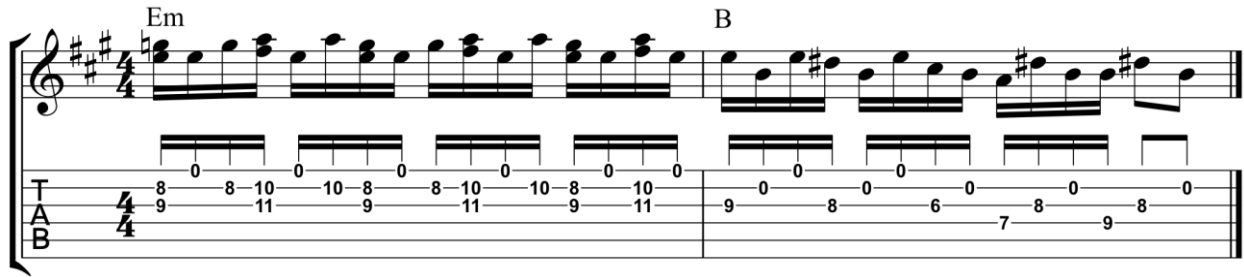


Figure 4.3: R.E.M., “Wolves, Lower,” verse guitar part

melodic interest. The oscillation between E minor and B major in the verse moves in the chorus to A major, D major, and G major, three basic guitar chords. The change from the verse chords to the chorus shifts the tonal center from B to A and produces a different guitar texture, effectively using contrast to develop the song’s form.

Finally, rhythmic propulsion was undoubtedly crucial to Athens music. Bands performed frequently in house parties and downtown clubs north of campus, and as a result Athens music was oriented toward the energy of punk dancing. Bands therefore had a solid rhythmic foundation with a fast, clearly delineated rock beat. “Cool,” for example, opens with a steady eighth-note bass line repeating a low D and accenting the backbeat, over which the drum marks out an up-tempo rock beat. The lead guitar enters, shredding simple D and C chords. As the riff builds, the placement of the guitar chords changes to introduce more syncopation, propelling the song forward. In comparison, R.E.M.’s music was more rhythmically complex than Pylon’s. While Peter Buck was a guitar neophyte, drummer Bill Berry and bassist Mike Mills had been in groups together for a number of years before R.E.M. formed. “Wolves, Lower” thus features a wide variety of fast rock beats. In the verse, for example, Berry holds back his snare attacks on the E minor chord before resolving to a rock beat under the B chord. The bridge then intensifies with rapid hi-hat sixteenths before resolving to a syncopated rock beat in the chorus. In both songs, a strong, fast, and demarcated beat reflects the song’s intended performance milieu.

Through timbral differentiation, simple guitar techniques, and rhythmic propulsion, Pylon and R.E.M.'s music reflect punk's "passionate amateurism," in Caroline O'Meara's words.⁶⁷ Pylon's sound, combined with their industrial, minimalist branding, evidenced the sensibility of self-expression through artistically-oriented rock music central to Athens music. Likewise, the lyrical guardedness in "Wolves, Lower" aligned with the song's danceable energy to create a sound which individualistically resonated with characteristics of Athens bands. R.E.M.'s lyrical and sexual ambiguity, combined with the band's fast beat, tight rhythm section, and '60's pop-derived hooks, created a sound at once enabling critical discussion and commercial interest.⁶⁸ The music of both artists thus influenced the sounds and critical standards that would define later Athens groups.

Bands following in their wake tried to mimic their sound, and by extension their perceived ideology, by reflecting sonic characteristics while also asserting their own individuality. For example, the band Dreams So Real, which originally formed at Clemson University in South Carolina, came to Athens performing '60s covers and psychedelic-tinged originals. The band at once received "inevitable comparisons to...R.E.M." and "was showered with accolades depicting them as the new Athens sound."⁶⁹ The band acknowledged the similarity to R.E.M., but noted that "what makes us different from R.E.M. is the warmer, more distorted sound."⁷⁰ By positioning themselves as extending from a canonic band in a distinct manner, Dreams So Real attempted to demonstrate the dominant ideology of self-expression and gain cultural capital.

In contrast, bands which were viewed as simply mimicking other Athens bands without expanding the scene's sound were devalued for failing to develop a sense of individuality. A review

⁶⁷ Caroline O'Meara, "The Raincoats: Breaking Down Punk Rock's Masculinities," *Popular Music* 22, no. 3 (2003): 299.

⁶⁸ Nathan Hesselink notes that rhythmic ambiguity can lead to critical debate in "Radiohead's 'Pyramid Song': Ambiguity, Rhythm, and Participation," *Music Theory Online* 19, no. 1 (2013). One can extend Hesselink's argument to other parameters like vocal delivery and timbre which are more apropos for R.E.M.

⁶⁹ "Dreams So Real," *Tasty World* 1 (n.d. [c. August 1984]): 15.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

of the Kilkenny Cats' album *Hands Down*, for example, critiqued the band for sounding too much like R.E.M.: "Kilkenny Cats...put their R.E.M. influences to good use on the A-side of a 1984 single...where singer Tom Cheek's highly derivative mumbling was interspersed with a buzzy guitar melody.... Even [*Hands Down*'s] prettiest moment, "Morning Song," is simply R.E.M.'s "Gardening at Night" twelve hours later."⁷¹ Bands attempted to engage with the sound of canonic groups through navigating autonomy and homage in order to align themselves with the disposition of critical self-expression. By doing so, they not only claimed their space within the Athens scene, but naturalized and reproduced cultural ideologies stemming from the university's influence.

Broadcasting the Scene: WUOG

The tensions between art and commerce in the "Athens" scene were extensively discussed in print, but no medium was more central to the genre of college rock in the public imagination than college radio. According to Nicholas Rubin, the term "college radio" became associated during the 1980s with a "distinct format corresponding to a homologous musical genre, 'college rock.'"⁷² Through broadcasting college rock, college radio intended to provide an alternative to commercial radio stations. As a DJ at WNYU asserted in *Rolling Stone*, "I think [college radio stations] have an *obligation* to be an alternative."⁷³ Though the politics of "college radio" became associated with alternative rock, cultural theorist Tim Wall has argued that the medium's "discourses of alternativeness" stem from its origins in the 1920s.⁷⁴ During this decade, colleges experimented with the then-new technology as a way to bring fine culture to local populations. For example, WHA, the University of Wisconsin radio station, broadcast campus classical music concerts and lectures

⁷¹ Karen Shoemer, "Review of Kilkenny Cats, *Hands Down* and *Hammer*," *Trouser Press* n.d., accessed December 23, 2012, http://www.trouserpress.com/entry.php?a=kilkenny_cats. See also Jon Harrison, "Songs of the Day: April 25–30," *Little Hits* (blog), April 25, 2005, accessed December 23, 2012, http://www.littlehits.com/archives/2005_04_24_index.html: "[The Kilkenny Cats] debut 45 was so obviously influenced by REM as to be comical." The R.E.M. song "Gardening at Night" originally appeared on *Chronic Town* along with "Wolves, Lower."

⁷² Nicholas Rubin, "Signing On," 180.

⁷³ Steve Pond, "College Radio's Brave New Wave," *Rolling Stone* September 29, 1983, 88.

⁷⁴ Tim Wall, "Finding an Alternative: Music Programming in US College Radio," *The Radio Journal – International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media* 5, no. 1 (2007): 35–54.

ranging from practical agricultural techniques to liberal arts lectures. University broadcasters felt these programs would provide cultural uplift for residents above the nascent popular music recording industry. The station's broadcast chief insisted that "the air is overcrowded every night with jazz and other worthless material, and it would be quite beneath the dignity of the University to add to it."⁷⁵ College radio stations thus have had a long history of airing programming intended to nurture a sense of intellectual self-development elevated above commercially-oriented fare.⁷⁶

During the 1970s, however, the object of college radio's "discourses of alternativeness" shifted drastically from classical music and campus happenings to progressive rock. The change was catalyzed by the rise of freeform radio stations which broadcast without set programming in urban centers around the country. These stations soon focused on progressive rock and deep album cuts which did not fit on singles-oriented AM radio. As a format which lent itself to loose program schedules, minimal broadcasting skills, and diverse music selections, freeform radio was soon adopted by college stations. The rise of punk in the late 1970s politicized the freeform format, connecting its amateurism with DIY aesthetics and radical politics. At the same time, commercial radio stations became more conservative due to industry and financial pressures. Formerly freeform stations transitioned into "AOR" stations which replicated the top-40 AM station format by repeatedly playing certain progressive rock artists, creating what is now considered "classic rock" radio. College radio stations largely retained the freeform format during this time and used it to assert its alternativeness to mainstream pop and rock radio. As these stations were usually located on

⁷⁵ Quoted in Derek Vaillant, "'Your Voice Came In Last Night...But I Thought It Sounded a Little Scared': Rural Radio Listening and 'Talking Back' during the Progressive Era in Wisconsin, 1920–1932," in *The Radio Reader: Essays in the Cultural History of Radio*, edited by Michele Hilmes and Jason Loviglio (New York: Routledge, 2002), 64.

⁷⁶ During the first half of the 1920s, only 7% of radio broadcasts were made by for-profit stations. Wall, "Finding an Alternative," 36. However, the later part of the 1920s brought the development and success of commercial radio, marginalizing noncommercial efforts and paving the way for major networks like NBC, CBS, and ABC. By the mid-1930s, only 1/3 of the college radio stations operating a decade earlier remained on the air. Legislation protecting noncommercial stations did not arrive until the end of World War II. Susan Smulyan, *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting, 1920–1934* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994).

the lowest FM bands, college radio stations began to consider themselves “left of the dial” to highlight their liberal politics and anti-commercial bent.⁷⁷

College radio stations staked their claim to alternativeness through playing different rock music than their commercial competitors. Most importantly, stations broadcasted music from their local scenes, helping create a symbiotic relationship between radio station and rock community. However, college stations were not entirely outside of commercial concerns. On an operational level, stations had to serve both alternative rock fans and the larger campus community.⁷⁸ Freeform radio blocks were programmed alongside more professionally organized programming that provided essential work experience for broadcasting majors.⁷⁹ As the 1980s progressed, though, new commercial pressures emerged as college radio stations became seen as breeding grounds for new artists. Major labels that invested in punk and new wave bands ignored by commercial radio stations realized that college radio stations served as the primary outlet for these new styles. In 1980, two articles in *Billboard* noted that college radio was a “vital element in breaking new rock/jazz acts.”⁸⁰ Features in *Rolling Stone*, the *New York Times*, and *USA Today* highlighted both the willingness of college radio broadcasts to play new, innovative rock music and the importance of these stations in

⁷⁷ Phrase used in Gina Arnold, “College Rock: ‘Left of the Dial,’” in *The Rock History Reader*, ed. Theo Cateforis (New York: Routledge, 2012), 199–204. Cf. also James Tobin, “Left of the Dial: 40 Years of Alternative Programming at WCBN-FM,” *University of Michigan Today*, January 16, 2013, accessed March 21, 2013, <http://michigantoday.umich.edu/2013/01/story.php?id=8521>. In 1945, the FCC allocated the lowest twenty FM channels, from 87.9 MHz to 91.9, exclusively for nonprofit broadcasters such as National Public Radio and university stations. Samuel J. Sauls, *The Culture of American College Radio* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 2000), 11.

⁷⁸ Samuel Sauls argued that college radio was intended as a “reflection of the current climate on the campus.” However, Nicholas Rubin noted that college radio stations were usually an “oasis” for music geeks, nerds, and social outcasts who sought an alternative institution more open to their musical tastes and passions. Samuel J. Sauls, “College Radio,” paper presented at the Popular Culture Association/American Culture Association National Conference, Philadelphia, PA, April 14, 1995; Rubin, “Signing On,” 204.

⁷⁹For example, the WUOG Fall 1973 program guide, written one year after the station’s formation, proudly noted that “13 former WUOG staff personnel are now professional broadcasters working in commercial stations around the country.” *WUOG 90.5 FM Stereo Program Guide for the University of Georgia’s Student Station, Fall 1973*, WUOG FM, 1973.

⁸⁰Joseph C. Regis, “Dropouts from College Radio,” *Billboard*, November 15, 1980, 18; Richard M. Nusser, “College Radio Energizes New Act Exposure,” *Billboard*, December 6, 1980, 1, 16. Incidentally, major labels had slashed their college promotions budgets in 1979-1980 because they felt their freeform format failed to translate to record sales.

presaging future commercial success.⁸¹ *College Music Journal* (later shortened to *CMJ*) and *Rolling Stone* listed charts tracking the most popular songs on college radio.⁸²

College radio thus became enmeshed in the contradiction between art and commerce found in college rock scenes. The freeform format and punk attitude used alternative rock to assert the medium's alternativeness, but the development of *CMJ* and *Rolling Stone* charts and the resulting attention given to college stations by major labels stressed the medium's commercial viability.⁸³ While stations staked their difference on broadcasting local music, stations were also part of a translocal commercial industry which could in fact help propel local groups into the national spotlight. Stations thus had to balance their commercial viability with their anti-commercial politics. Like their scenes, college radio broadcasts combined the fields of cultural production and business by celebrating self-expression while maintaining enough financial capital to empower this position. Former college radio DJ Gina Arnold expressed how broadcasters sought to combine ethics and commercial success:

The geekiest, most unpopular nerds at the college decide to barricade themselves into a closet and start a gonzo radio station, alienating their more popular peers and professors by blaring out noisome, underproduced garage rock featuring the F word and worse. But the radio station struggles on, the geeks grow up and prosper, and *voilà!*, the records they've been playing—by U2, the Cure, R.E.M.—go platinum! The deejays get hired to positions of influence by major record companies! The airwaves have been won back by the righteous, and rock 'n' roll will rule again.⁸⁴

The tension between alternativeness and commercialism through programming rock music was found at WUOG, the campus radio station of the University of Georgia. Debuting on October 16, 1972, the station balanced a top-40 format intended to give broadcasting majors experience with

⁸¹ Pond, "College Radio's Brave New Wave," 85–86, 88; Jon Pareles, "College Radio, New Outlet for the Newest Music," *New York Times*, December 29, 1987, C18; Ed Ward, "Back to School Cool," *Mother Jones* 13, no. 7 (September 1988): 47; Edna Gunderson, "College Radio Explores Radio's Flip Side," *USA Today*, February 27, 1989, 5D.

⁸² See Rubin, "Signing On," 82–86. *Rolling Stone* began publishing college rock charts in its January 8, 1987 issue.

⁸³ *CMJ* itself even acknowledged that their charts caused "too many college radio stations began to sound alike; indeed, college radio music is something of a format and a genre unto itself today." Jeff Tamarkin, "Bobby Haber: Ten Years After," in *CMJ 10: The First Decade, 1979–1989* (Albertson, NY: College Media Inc., 1989), 181. Bobby Haber was the founder of *CMJ* and former music director at WBNS at Brandeis University.

⁸⁴ Arnold, "College Rock: 'Left of the Dial,'" 199.

“culturally uplifting” programming like classical music, jazz, and profiles of faculty members.⁸⁵ By the mid-1980s, though, freeform progressive rock had overtaken nearly the entire schedule. Classical music was completely erased from the station, while jazz and folk were mostly relegated to Sunday.⁸⁶ Concurrent with the turn toward rock music, the station developed a sense of punk attitude and a sensibility of anti-commercialism. As a 1977 article in the *Athens Banner-Herald* described the station: “evolving from a top-40 monophonic radio station into a progressive broadcast outlet, WUOG is now ‘an alternative to homogenized commercial radio.’”⁸⁷ The station’s rebellious image was enhanced by its closure by school officials for two months in 1981 for on-air drug use, obscenities and too much “esoteric music,” allying WUOG with the punk politics of the town’s nascent music scene.⁸⁸ WUOG extensively played local music, especially beginning in the early 1980s. *Tasty World* praised WUOG for its “long and glorious history of supporting independent music....The station is singlehandedly [*sic*] responsible for the early success of many local bands who received airplay that was essential to their identification with the masses.”⁸⁹

⁸⁵ “University Station on the Air in Fall,” *Athens Banner-Herald*, September 1972, n.p. Exact date of the station’s debut from Phil Sanderlin, “Campus Station 90.5 FM Celebrates 10th Year On Air,” *Athens Observer*, October 14, 1982, 4B. The station was initially oriented towards collegiate happenings, marked by “Georgia Profiles,” a “program dedicated to saluting outstanding faculty members,” and the Student Government Association reports: and classical and jazz music. New music was relegated to a show called “Tracking,” airing during the marginal Monday and Tuesday midnight timeslot. *WUOG 90.5 FM Stereo Program Guide, Fall 1973*.

⁸⁶ *WUOG 90.5 FM Stereo Program Guide, Fall 1973*; *WUOG 90.5 FM Stereo Program Guide for the University of Georgia’s Student Station, Fall 1987*, WUOG FM, 1987.

⁸⁷ Cecil Bentley, “Happy Birthday WUOG,” *Athens Banner-Herald*, October 23, 1977, n.p.

⁸⁸ The radio station general manager complained that the radio station was not tuned in to student interests, stating that “the people in programming...never tried to find out what somebody at a frat house, or a person eating at Bolton Hall or somebody down by Legion Pool might want to hear. We are not eliminating any of the esoteric music. We’re just programming it proportionally to the interest in it that exists out there.” DJs, however, complained that “this does not mean WUOG is bound to play whatever type of music the majority of the student body would like to hear.” The battle over the radio station boiled down to a division between an educative sort of music which was played by a small elite without regard to public interest against programming determined by utility for community listeners. Phil Sanderlin, “The Struggle for WUOG,” *Athens Observer*, February 19, 1981, 1. See also “Concerned about WUOG,” *Athens Observer*, February 26, 1981, a letter to the editor protesting the shutdown with thirty signatures, including the president of Atlanta Air Syndicate, the news manager of Georgia Radio News Network, and representatives from other southern college rock stations. This example demonstrates the tension between the college radio station as the voice of the campus, in Sauls’ formation, or as the voice of particular “alternative” constituents in Rubin’s point of view discussed in footnote 78.

⁸⁹ David Hannon Pierce, “Music Media: Insiders and Outsiders,” *Tasty World* 2 (October 1984): 5. WUOG proved instrumental in the formation of R.E.M. The group was formed when Michael Stipe and Peter Dinklage were introduced

As the *Tasty World* quote indicated, WUOG was instrumental in the commercial success of local artists and the college rock movement in general. A *Billboard* article in 1980 cited WUOG as an important college radio station for burgeoning new wave artists' record sales.⁹⁰ By 1985, the station had been profiled in national outlets like *Rolling Stone*, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, and *Spin Magazine*.⁹¹ In publicizing these features in their own newsletter, WUOG cited quotes highlighting the station's difference from other radio stations, noting that "*The Chronicle*...quoted the motto at WUOG to be, 'if you can hear it on any other station in town, you can't hear it on our station.'⁹² In the *Rolling Stone* article, though, a former program director noted that alternativeness need not be opposed to commercial success by claiming, "it doesn't bother me to play the same songs that AOR plays.... The role of non-commercial radio is simply to expose the best new music out."⁹³

The combination of alternativeness and commercial success is borne out in repertoire. The top five albums performed on the station during the summer of 1984 were all commercially successful new wave artists: Echo and the Bunnymen, R.E.M., Psychedelic Furs, Violent Femmes, and Joe Jackson. However, the station also broadcast a variety of local artists, including "Oh-OK, Art in the Dark, Love Tractor, Buzz of Delight, Fashionbattery, Mystery Date, Squalls, [and] Tragic Dancers."⁹⁴ Broadcasting nationally-known artists enabled the station's legibility in translocal college rock discourses and asserted that these artists could be models for local groups. Local artists allowed the station to position itself as a prominent medium for the scene, one helping to foster the ideal position between cultural and business economies.

to Bill Berry and Mike Mills by Kathleen O'Brien, a WUOG DJ and member of the off-and-on group Wuoggerz, made up of WUOG DJ's. Their debut show occurred for her birthday party as well.

⁹⁰ Nusser, "College Radio Energizes New Act Exposure," 16. Phillip Campbell also noted that record label A&R reps found WUOG to be the station with the most "impact," meaning correlation to record sales, in the southeast in "The Other Side of Southern Radio," *Tasty World* 9 (September 1985): 8.

⁹¹ "90.5 FM Receives National Attention," *Airwaves: The Bi-Annual Newsletter of 90.5 FM* 3, no 1 (Summer/Fall 1985): 2.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ "Earwax Music Poll," *Tasty World* 1 (August 1984): 18.

An advertisement broadcast in 1987 for *Sound of the City*, a program devoted to local music, further exemplified how WUOG conceived of its role in the Athens scene.⁹⁵ The show spotlighted new local bands while also playing music from the scene's storied past decade. The ad used signifiers of the Athens scene to promote the music's—and by extension, the station's—orientation toward self-expression:

If you think that the Athens music scene means one thing, well, *I'm sorry* [from R.E.M., "South Central Rain"].

[cuts to chorus of Mercyland's "Vomit Clown"] The Athens music scene is changing, and 90.5 FM has the show to help you change with it. It's called "Sound of the City," and airs every Wednesday from 5:30 to 6:30 PM.

"Sound of the City" offers music from Athens' past such as Limbo District, Rum Jungle, Pylon, and Oh-OK to name a few. You can also hear music from the present including the Primates, Bar-B-Q Killers, Time Toy, Mercyland, Porn Orchard, and many more. Interviews with local bands are also featured, and best of all, [cuts to Porn Orchard, "Way to Change the Way You Feel"] "Sound of the City" is all request. So let 90.5 FM be *the way to change the way you feel* [from Porn Orchard song, repeats 2x]."

"Sound of the City," Wednesday nights from 5:30 to 6:30 PM on Athens' Best Alternative, 90.5 FM. [fades out with Limbo District, "Those Devil Eyes"]⁹⁶

The commercial opened by referencing the Athens scene and hinted at its formalization per Atkinson's earlier quote. WUOG rejected a reductionist stereotype of the scene, though, instead highlighting both a classic canon of artists and an active, present-day scene. These choices were reflected in the use of R.E.M. and Mercyland, an up-and-coming artist. The merger of past and present continued in the show's repertoire, which listed canonic Athens bands like Pylon and Limbo District as well as then-current favorites like Time Toy, Mercyland, and Porn Orchard. The advertisement concluded by asserting that listening to local music could promote a sense of self-development, using the chorus of Porn Orchard's song "Way to Change the Way You Feel." The choice of this song insinuated the cultural value of local music differentiated from translocal

⁹⁵ The title perhaps reflects Charlie Gillett's *The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock and Roll* (London: Souvenir Press, 1983), the first history of rock music and a book then popular among college students.

⁹⁶ *Sound of the City* advertisement, WUOG FM 90.5., March 13, 1987, Walter J. Brown Archives, University of Georgia.

commercial influence. A group like Porn Orchard, whose name precluded major label success, exemplified this pursuit of self-expression, becoming themselves a model for future bands.

Programming and discussing the scene became a way for WUOG to position itself as an institution fostering the particular disposition between alternative and business economies mirroring the infrastructure of the college town produced by the university itself. While slogans and advertisements projected ideologies of alternativeness, the station also used interviews with bands to evince critical aspects of university culture. *Friday's Only*, a half-hour show broadcast on Friday evenings throughout the 1980s, was the primary show devoted to the local scene.⁹⁷ The show featured interviews with prominent Athens bands along with record reviews, movie reviews, and weekend concert listings. The show was initially billed as the "Athens weekend entertainment show," but as Athens's national profile grew, the show was advertised as "featuring interviews with nationally-known bands as well as record and movie reviews."⁹⁸ *Friday's Only* interviews demonstrate two ways that bands positioned themselves within the college rock scene: participation in an anti-commercial, utopian community devoted to artistic self-expression; or autonomy from a homogenized conception of the scene itself.

Bands which promoted their allegiance to the scene asserted a natural, playful attitude which rejected commercial aspirations in favor of personal and community development. One band that manifested these characteristics was the Squalls, a quintet formed in 1982 comprised of local workers in their thirties who had moved to Athens to work in factories. The group prized itself on its unique appearance, collective music-making (band members frequently switched instruments), and community organizing initiatives like the Human Rights Festival. An article in *Red & Black*, the

⁹⁷ The show occupying a half hour time slots at various points between 5:00 and 8:00 PM. The first time the show is found in a program guide is Fall 1981, and it appears throughout the 1980s except for the 1982-83 school year and the Fall 1988 semester.

⁹⁸ *WUOG 90.5 FM Stereo Program Guide for the University of Georgia's Student Station, Spring/Summer 1985*, WUOG FM, 1985; *WUOG 90.5 FM Stereo Program Guide for the University of Georgia's Student Station, Fall 1987*.

University of Georgia student newspaper, described their quirky appearance, noting “the bassist looks/dresses like an accountant and always smokes a pipe, while the guitarist has a strong resemblance to John Lennon.”⁹⁹ Despite their age, the band’s quirky stage presence, individuality, and liberal politics dovetailed with Athens scene ideals. One review called them “Athens’ least trendy and most sincere band.”¹⁰⁰ Another praised the group for “not following the irrelevant fashions of the trendy set. Instead, the Squalls have pursued their own course, growing steadily as tunemeisters and musicians.”¹⁰¹ A concert review remarked, “Squalls’ keen sense of fun was not lost on the audience, many of whom were soon dancing. The fact that the band was on floor level with the audience rather than on a raised stage helped them to establish friendly, easy rapport.”¹⁰²

The Squalls appeared twice on *Friday’s Only*, on May 13, 1983 and January 13, 1984.¹⁰³ In their interviews, the band strongly associated itself with the quirky, danceable, and amateurish sensibility central to Athens scene ideals. Lead singer Ken Starrett described the band’s music as “dancing music, original, Athens music” and claimed they were “influenced by the local Athens scene.” He enjoyed being part of the scene because the scene fostered self-development, with “bands in baby stages making quantum leaps.” Aligning the Squalls and the scene’s orientation toward the field of cultural production, Starrett viewed their band as a hobby seeking self-development rather than commercial gains. When asked about their future plans, he responded, “we have no long-range goals of getting famous or anything like that. The important thing is getting better and improving. Our live performance is really the main thing, while the record pales by comparison. Squalls is a party band, we’re there to have a good time, most people who come have a

⁹⁹ J. Eddy Ellison, “Squalls Cry Pop,” *Red & Black* September 30, 1982, 5.

¹⁰⁰ “After Hours,” *Red & Black* June 28, 1984, 7.

¹⁰¹ Chris DeBarr, “The Squalls,” *Tasty World* 4 (February 1985), 10.

¹⁰² Sylvia Colwell, “Bluebird Offers an Alternative to Old Athens Nightclubs,” *Red & Black* February 12, 1982, 9.

¹⁰³ Squalls, interview by Sonya Dias, *Friday’s Only*, May 13, 1983. WUOG FM 90.5. Walter J. Brown Archives, University of Georgia; Squalls, interview by Jodi Crider, *Friday’s Only*, January 13, 1984. WUOG FM 90.5. Walter J. Brown Archives, University of Georgia. All quotes in this paragraph from them unless otherwise noted.

good time.” The group dismissed a mention in the New York press, stating that “it wasn’t really a big article- just drop it.”¹⁰⁴ Through the interview, Squalls stressed the band’s interest in musical self-expression outside of commercial concern.

While Squalls aligned themselves and their community with self-expression, other bands asserted autonomy from the “Athens scene.” Guadalcanal Diary, a trio hailing from the Atlanta suburb of Marietta, exemplified this disposition. Led by Murray Attaway, the band formed in 1983 and performed frequently in Atlanta and Athens. The band’s first EP, *Watusi Rodeo*, received critical acclaim. The title track’s video received MTV airplay and was voted the third-best music video of the year by the American Film Institute. The group’s first album, *Walking in the Shadow of the Big Man* was well received locally in 1984, considered on par with R.E.M.’s more famous *Reckoning*.¹⁰⁵ The album led to a major label deal with Elektra Records, for whom the group released three albums before breaking up in 1989.

Like Squalls, Guadalcanal Diary foregrounded a sensibility of artistic self-expression. In a *Tasty World* feature, author Hugh Foley lauded the group’s artistry: “making the rent payment on time is not something that infiltrates their music.... The band’s lyricists...as a principle avoid those types of songs.”¹⁰⁶ In their *Friday’s Only* interview on November 2, 1984, though, the band discussed their desire for commercial success through self-expression.¹⁰⁷ They discussed the making of their first LP, and highlighted that the album was recorded by the same DB Records that catapulted the B-52s and R.E.M. to commercial success. The band acknowledged their individuality by stating that “the producer just produced the album, he doesn’t produce us, we have freedom to write,” but DB

¹⁰⁴ In the interview, host Sonya Dias stated the article was published in the *New York Times*, but the band does not come up in a search of the newspaper’s archives. It may have been an article in another New York newspaper.

¹⁰⁵ “The Red and Black’s Best and Worst Picks of Last Year,” *Red and Black* February 1, 1985, 6. Guadalcanal Diary and R.E.M. tied for third-best local release of the year and honorable mention for best local band. Earlier in 1984, the band had won a prestigious opening gig for British new wave group Psychedelic Furs at Legion Field on campus.

¹⁰⁶ Hugh Foley, “Guadalcanal Diary,” *Tasty World* 3 (December 1984): 18.

¹⁰⁷ Guadalcanal Diary, interview with Kathy Schemeria, November 2, 1984, *Friday’s Only*, WUOG FM 90.5, Walter J. Brown Archives, University of Georgia.

was chosen because the “producer helps the sound sell to a mass audience, hopefully.... We’re hoping to make some money out of the deal!” They rejected being called an Athens band, stressing their connections around the south and their Marietta origins. When asked by the host if they consider themselves an Athens-based band, Attaway responded that “no, no we’ve never lived in Athens in my life. We’re commuters. John lives in Athens. I live in Dunwoody [an Atlanta suburb near Marietta]. We’re a Marietta-based band. We’re sorta cosmopolitan.”¹⁰⁸ By highlighting their geographic distance from Athens, and positively associating translocality with cosmopolitanism instead of commercialism, Guadalcanal Diary dismissed the community lauded by the Squalls through asserting its provinciality. However, their desire for individuality and commercial success, combined with a disposition toward autonomy, precisely mirrored the dominant tensions of Athens scene ideology.

Interviews with both Guadalcanal Diary and Squalls demonstrate different ways that college rock ideologies were manifested by bands on WUOG. Squalls embraced the scene for its anti-commercial aspirations, while Guadalcanal Diary projected a sense of autonomy that was paradoxically central to the scene’s governing ideologies. By broadcasting these viewpoints, WUOG identified itself with the local Athens scene, cementing its own claims to alternativeness by connecting itself to collegiate ideologies. The station positioned local music as oriented toward self-expression, enabling the station to construe listening to local music as an avenue for listener self-development.

¹⁰⁸ This stance was echoed in a cover feature on the band for *Red & Black*, the University of Georgia student newspaper: “It its travels, Guadalcanal Diary has noticed that the recent international attention given to area bands has become a mixed blessing.” Michael Koenig, “Guadalcanal Diary: Marietta Band Hits New High,” *Red & Black* November 6, 1985, 1. Lead guitarist Jeff Walls similarly resisted the homologization of southern rock with Athens bands in an interview with *Guitar Magazine*: “we’re constantly pointing out to people that Ray Charles, Otis Redding, James Brown, and Little Richard are all from Georgia, too. Everybody acts like Athens is the first thing ever to happen to Georgia.” Murray Attaway cited Richard and Charles as influences “but not [Athens band] Let’s Active.” “Guadalcanal Diary: Twangy Guitars and Tribal Rhythms from Georgia,” *Guitar Magazine* December 1986, accessed December 23, 2012, <http://www.guadalcanaldiary.com/GuadGuitar.html>.

Athens, GA: Inside Out

The fame of the Athens rock scene led to the filming of a documentary, *Athens, GA: Inside/Out*. Filmed in 1986 and released in February 1987, the movie was written and directed by Hollywood screenwriter Tony Gayton with assistance from members of R.E.M. and James Herbert.¹⁰⁹ The documentary aimed to explore the characteristics of Athens that had fostered both the scene's development and promoted a sense of commitment to musical self-expression. As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the video echoed Brown and Niimi by appealing to the elements of its Southern landscape, as if booze, barbeque and Baptists magically coalesced to produce alternative rock. The back cover of the DVD claimed that "this film paints Athens as a magical artistic environment where bands are not in competition, but co-exist in harmony and share the ideals of the land."¹¹⁰

Throughout the movie, the city of Athens is manifested both musically and ideologically in the music of Athens bands, a connection forged in the film's opening montage discussed at the beginning of this chapter.¹¹¹ For filmmakers, the city primarily enabled a scene premised on alternativeness from commercial success. Writing in the *New York Times*, critic Janet Maslin described the film as reflecting "a uniformly easygoing attitude toward mainstream success" and "an appreciation for the friendly and comforting cultural atmosphere of Athens, and for the energy and eccentricity that have put the place on the map."¹¹² Despite the seemingly superficial hagiography of these reviews, and the aforementioned avoidance of the college in the film's geography, *Athens, GA: Inside/Out* in fact reflects the complex politics of the scene as generated from the university. The

¹⁰⁹ Gayton, dir., *Athens, GA: Inside/Out*. Quotes from the film in this section cited in text.

¹¹⁰ DVD back cover.

¹¹¹ The beginning of Love Tractor's instrumental "Fun to Be Happy" also overlays a montage of Athens scenes, implying the city's influence on the song.

¹¹² Janet Maslin, "Athens, GA, On Rock Bands," *New York Times* May 29, 1987, C14.

documentary enacts the tension between artistic self-expression and commerce central to the scene, presenting the *Bildung* mission of self-development as the ideal disposition for bands to develop.

Following the opening montage, the movie transitions to interviews celebrating the Athens scene's ability to cultivate individuality. In describing the scene, James Herbert stated that "in this town, right here, one of the reasons we have a lot of creative-type things going on—a lot of music, a lot of painting, a lot of poetry—is that people are not thinking about taking it to New York, or productions...but the sense of the practice of doing it, of the making, and the dignity...and the fun of the making" (5:25). In a scene that starts at the sixty-three minute mark, Ort echoed his *Tasty World* manifesto by asserting the inherent authenticity of the local scene against the commercialism of other places: "the groups who have come out of Athens have done it by their own personal honesty. They haven't tried to impress anyone with anything other than being themselves."

Ort's statement was backed up by the Kilkenny Cats, who added, "originality wins over professionalism," the Bar-B-Q Killers, who stated that "a bad attitude doesn't pervade here," and the Squalls, who praised the scene by saying, "if you are doing something original, you will have an audience of people who will appreciate it." Peter Buck, the guitarist of R.E.M., claimed that the friendly vibe of Athens made the city feel more comfortable than New York: "I mean, why [move to New York]? This place has got everything I want, it's got nice weather, nice people, good record stores, great barbeque. I don't see what a big city has to offer, you know, and it's more professional.... Here, I like the idea that I know the people, that I can go downtown and I can see my friends, I bump into people in bands like Love Tractor, and that we're not fighting each other, trying to cut each other's throats for a date at a big club" (44:51). Buck's perceived ability to navigate commercial success and Athens pride especially validated the movie's assertion of the scene's utopian, communal aspects.

The video related the scene to the early canon of Athens bands, the B-52s, Limbo District, and R.E.M. The B-52s, who are introduced by Ort as the progenitors of the scene, talked about the spontaneity and informality of their success. Kate Pierson recalled one of her friends screaming, “I can’t believe this is happening in Athens, Georgia!” (10:30) The B-52s influenced a number of groups to flourish through energy and idiosyncrasy rather than technique. The Bar-B-Q Killers mentioned that “we didn’t know how to play when we started out.... We’re actually fairly competent within our own framework. Let’s just say we’re not [Led] Zeppelin” (15:21). Love Tractor, an all-instrumental group, intuited their style because “everybody was trying to express themselves through their instrument” (48:31) and celebrated how “it doesn’t matter what you sound like if they could dance to you” (49:45). In these statements, bands themselves internalized and expressed an ideology of autonomy, amateurship, and individuality which demonstrated fidelity to the musical characteristics that made the Athens community unique.

Athens bands strove toward self-expression and musical individuality based on a group of successful artists, but the pursuit prompted commercial concerns. The difficulty of negotiating these two economies was evident in interviews with Michael Lachowski and Vanessa Briscoe of Pylon at the seventy-minute mark. The band was introduced with locals breathlessly fawning over the group (Peter Buck had earlier called them “one of the greatest bands in the world” (43:27)) intercut with sped-up black and white live footage of the band that accentuated the band’s intense live energy. The band had parlayed this energy to gigs in New York and Britain, making them idols for new bands in the scene, but the band had since broken up. Lachowski and Briscoe recalled feeling overwhelmed by the pressures that arose with the band’s commercial success: “We had a booking agent who called us up working real hard...and got us opening dates for U2.... The story with that was that we weren’t too excited about the idea. We opened up a couple of dates, they were pretty

good and everything, but it was the wrong crowd for us. Nothing exciting, nothing exciting happened at all. Then we had a big falling out with our agent over that one.”

After Lachowski detailed Pylon’s breakup, Briscoe entered, saying that “the premise in starting this band was that we were going to do it as long as it was fun.” Lachowski continued by stating, “a lot of fans and record company people were trying to pressure us into doing more work, more time in the road, more time in studio, and everyone thought it was time for us to make the big career move.” Briscoe agreed, saying that “it didn’t seem like there was anywhere to go...and we just decided to quit while we were having a good time.” In stressing fun in opposition to opening for U2, she claimed an allegiance to performing simply for self-exploration rather than under careerist pressures. Other interviews with the band had similarly opposed fun and commerce; in *Tasty World*, Lachowski had stated that “that’s the key to the excitement in the Athens scene, the bands have that fun in mind, instead of success. Because we always did.”¹¹³ The band’s responses indicated that they clearly felt allied with the cultural economy, on the autonomous pole of avant-garde art rather than commercialism. However, the result was disenfranchisement from commercial gains and, ultimately, dissolution of the band as a way to achieve the requisite level of cultural and economic capital.

Lachowski and Briscoe were ambivalent about their decision. Lachowski mused, “do I miss it? Yeah, sure.” Gayton then cut to Briscoe, who disagreed: “not really. I had a real good time...but I never planned on being a musician.” Lachowski admitted the current precarious financial state of band members: “all of us are working odd jobs to get by. I’m working at a bike shop, I’m manager of the bike shop.” Briscoe, who “works at a Xerox shop and the bike shop,” felt alienated from the band. She noted that “when I hear the songs my band used to play on the radio, it just feels pretty odd. I don’t really recognize my own voice.” Pylon sounded a cautionary tale: even a band who achieved the international success desired by many young Athens bands could not balance artistic

¹¹³ Pierce, “Tasty World Interview: Michael Lachowski,” 26. Pierce responded, “I know you did.”

self-expression and commercial requirements. It was simply easier for band members to leave the scene and separate their artistic interests from commercial gain rather than maneuver the tensions between self-expression and financial necessity. For Pylon, resolving the tensions of the liberal arts cultural disposition proved impossible.

The concluding section of the movie reinforced the difficulty of negotiating disinterested performance and commercial gain. Bryan Cook, the lead singer of Time Toy said plainly that “I’d like this to be my job, I’d like to make a career out of it” (1:15:40), but “I thought things happened a lot faster than they really do, but you have to be patient.” (1:14:25). Love Tractor noted that “we’ve got to have a half-time job” (1:15:23). Diana Torell, keyboardist for Squalls, lamented that “no matter what point you are at, you’re always in the middle” (1:08:16), noting that the reconciliation of fun and financial success might be impossible.¹¹⁴ The bands noted the difficulty of maintaining commercial success while retaining cultural integrity, and felt at a loss as how to pursue it further.

Perhaps no moment in *Athens, GA: Inside/Out* encapsulated the impetus for success through *Bildung* in the Athens scene better than an interview with the Kilkenny Cats transcribed in the opening epigraph of this chapter. Lead singer Tom Cheek praised the Athens scene for enabling self-expression, as he could “do what [he] wants to do” in a place where “people are open about it.” Athens fostered both a field of cultural production and the requisite financial security in order to pursue it; as bassist Sean O’Brien noted, “local bands can make a little bit of money here.” They believed that other bands like the B-52s and R.E.M. had negotiated artistic and commercial success in achieving national fame. Because of their success, Cheek could “believe that he can actually...get in a band and go someplace,” or in other words, make a career in music that foregrounded self-expression rather than crass commercialism. They hadn’t achieved success yet—Cheek describes the

¹¹⁴ Not every band was engaged with the idea that rock music cultivated self-development. Laura Carter, lead singer of the Bar-B-Q Killers, exclaimed in the same section of the film that “we’d rather drink beer, do LSD, and smoke pot, hell yeah! This town has been good to us.”

band as “nothing”—but subscribing to a belief in self-expression had made him “ten times better.” Self-improvement was a lofty aim that they had reached, but the specter of financial gain loomed close.

The film resolved the tension with a montage of the artists depicted in the film accompanied by R.E.M. covering the Everly Brothers’ “All I Have to Do Is Dream.” On one level, the return to 1950s rock resonated with Athens groups’ interest in simplicity and danceability. Sublimating the process of realizing success to “dreaming,” though, appropriately completed the *Bildung* narrative: it indicated autonomy from the institutional and economic pressures that bands have to navigate, but also stressed the sheer lack of an obvious, simple solution to the tension between music for self-expression or financial gain. Yet the choice of R.E.M. to sing the song assisted the film’s optimistic view that the scene could help bands reach financial success without sacrificing self-expression. In the documentary, R.E.M. was depicted as a quirky Athens group much like Time Toy or Squalls. Michael Stipe danced around making Popeye noises, Peter Buck was interviewed on his porch while drinking beer and wearing ironic matching pajamas, and the band performed a song with their signature inscrutable lyrics, “Swan Swan H,” in a bare chapel. According to the film, R.E.M.’s combination of individuality and commercial success could inspire newer bands as well.

Of course, bands themselves knew that one path toward possibly making it was through appearing in this film and enacting the right mix of individuality and creative engagement with Athens forebears. What better way to make it than through appearing in a nationally released documentary about a hip scene, celebrating one’s own self-expression in a demo tape circulated around the country? Soon after the documentary was filmed, R.E.M. signed a multi-million dollar contract with major label Warner Brothers. Their subsequent album, *Document*, featured radio and MTV hits “The One I Love” and “It’s the End of the World as We Know It (And I Feel Fine).”

Pylon briefly reunited in 1988 after the film's release.¹¹⁵ Yet for the lesser-known groups, their participation was more curse than blessing. Tony Fletcher, a biographer of R.E.M., wrote that "*Athens, GA – Inside/Out* should have been a cause for celebration – acknowledgement by Hollywood of a city like no other – but it brought out a competitiveness unimaginable five years previous. Jim Herbert... recalls how it 'caused so much antagonism: bands that didn't get in, bands that feel they didn't get shown the way they thought they were going to get shown.'"¹¹⁶ Indeed, the documentary's ties to the transnational film industry meant that band appearances could actually lower their cultural capital within the scene as well.¹¹⁷ An advertisement for a Kilkenny Cats show in October 1987 snarkily described the band as a "prominent local band. At least they must be since they're on 'Athens – Inside/Out.'" [*sic*] Besides, all the bow heads show up to see them. So they must be hip. If you can wade through the trendies, though, the music's pretty good."¹¹⁸ The misogynistic reference to "bow heads" and the evocation of "trendies" indicated that the commercial baggage of the film converted the Kilkenny Cats into a marketable commodity external to their identity as an authentic Athens group.¹¹⁹

Despite the movie's national exposure, the local bands depicted in the film ultimately failed to follow R.E.M. in translating individuality to financial success. Squalls petered out in 1989, while The Kilkenny Cats and Flat Duo Jets folded unceremoniously in the early 1990s. Time Toy did not

¹¹⁵ The B-52s also returned to prominence two years later with their album *Cosmic Thing*, which contained the massive hit "Love Shack" and "Deadbeat Club," a song about the band's days in Athens. However, their success had little to do with their appearance in the documentary or association with the Athens scene.

¹¹⁶ Fletcher, *Remarks*, 85. One point of particular contention was the prominent role of Michael Stipe in creating the film's narrative. Stipe featured prominently and included figures that none of the musicians had known, and he helped select the local bands that were chosen. Despite Buck's praises of the city in the film, R.E.M. stopped participating in the Athens scene after the national success of *Murmur* in 1983. Then again, R.E.M. had the critical and financial power to create a nationally-distributed documentary, and they remained a model for how to merge cultural and economic success for later Athens groups.

¹¹⁷ Although this chapter has critiqued the association between translocality and commercialism, one example of their interlocking was a contest held by MTV celebrating the release of *Athens, GA: Inside/Out*, in which "the lucky winner, Angela Strachan of Brookline Mass., was treated to two nights of live music at the Uptown Lounge and a private tour of the city. Strachan said she entered the contest because she liked the music of Athens." Bonnie Garber, "The Scene, It Is A-Changing," *UGAZine* 3 (Winter 1990), 7.

¹¹⁸ "After Hours," *Red and Black* October 23, 1987, 7.

¹¹⁹ The quote also underscores the masculinity of 1980s underground rock scenes further discussed in Chapter 5.

even last through 1987, disbanding in June. An elegy for the band's breakup in the student newspaper *Red & Black* serves as a fitting summary of the agony of balancing the virtues of self-development with the necessities of financial profit:

Time Toy disbanded a week ago.... Time Toy was the best band Athens has ever seen. Their jumpy dissonant brand of pop was reminiscent of nothing else. Their influences were undetectable. Songs moved in leaps, going a million different directions at once....The real crime is that Time Toy left nothing to posterity. An album has been finished for over a year without even a hint of being released. DRG [a local record label] doesn't have the money. Other labels have nibbled, but none have bit. The movie 'Athens GA- Inside/Out' was supposed to be their big break but turned into a lark. The frustration of constantly being on the edge must have been unbearable.... Time Toy was killed by its own talent....Like a rhinoceros on a tightrope, the band was doomed to failure.¹²⁰

Conclusion

Of course, not all Athens bands were doomed to failure. Since the late 1980s, a number of alternative rock bands who called Athens home have achieved national success and critical acclaim.¹²¹ Even the 1980s bands that didn't quite achieve international success have seen continued success in revivals. Pylon's debut was reissued by Armageddon Records in 2008, and its music was received as "pogo-able, full-on jams, every scraped string ahead of (the mainstream version of) its time."¹²² Squalls and the Flat Duo Jets have reunited and still perform locally. The soundtrack and DVD of *Athens, GA: Inside/Out* were rereleased on Omnivore Records in 2012, which cited the album as a "remarkable piece of music history."¹²³ The film even spawned a spin-off in 2009, *Atlanta, GA: Inside Out*, which focused on the Atlanta scene surrounding indie groups Deerhunter and Atlas Sound. Despite the scene's inherent tensions, the 1980s scene is still revered as an era of

¹²⁰ John McMahon, "Time Toy Missed Lots," *Red and Black* June 5, 1987, 10.

¹²¹ Indie artists from Athens include Vic Chestnutt, the Elephant 6 Collective of Neutral Milk Hotel, Olivia Tremor Control, and the Apples in Stereo, and Kindercore Records bands like Of Montreal. The town also spawned more mainstream successes like jam band Widespread Panic, hip-hop artists DJ Danger Mouse and Bubba Sparxxx, and country group the Drive-By Truckers.

¹²² William Bowers, Review of Pylon: *Gyrate Plus*, *Pitchfork*, November 28, 2007, accessed December 23, 2012, <http://pitchfork.com/reviews/albums/10924-gyrate-plus/>. Pylon has since reunited and continues to play concerts, even after the recent death of guitarist Randy Bewley, Blake Gumprecht profiled Lachowski in *The American College Town*, 203–210.

¹²³ "Athens, Ga – Inside/Out," Omnivore Records, 2012, accessed December 23, 2012, <http://omnivorererecordings.com/artists/Athens-ga-insideout/>

artistic self-expression. The scene as depicted in the documentary became a “magical time” era for later writers.¹²⁴ A review of the film’s re-release nostalgically pined that, “with many of the places and people in the film now gone, the Athens of this time has also ceased to exist. But in a metaphoric sense, this Athens has also disappeared. The kind of community that existed there in 1987 doesn’t seem to occur naturally anymore or without quickly being franchized [*sic*] and packaged. In that sense, this film is even more precious as it captured something that may never occur again.”¹²⁵

The success of the 1980s Athens college rock scene may continue to seem “magical” for critics, but it was not due to the water, kudzu, or coincidence. The reason for the scene’s success is in fact in the genre name: it is predicated on the college, on the translation of ideologies generated by the sprawling campus just south across Broad Street from downtown. The college encourages a liberal arts disposition which encourages self-development through exposure to culture, one that exists in tension with the financial necessities of capitalism. Through the university’s power in the community and connection to cosmopolitan culture, this disposition is then translated into a desire to use rock music as a tool for self-expression rather than commercial gain. The college then encourages the formation of a commercial district with businesses that combine the fields of cultural production and business, thus enabling such dispositions to foster.

Athens’ particular success comes first from characteristics common to American university education, and then from local factors such as the school’s art department, student connections to cosmopolitan centers, and the relative ease in which musicians can meet the basic financial requirements to sustain an artistic disposition. This encouraged bands to pursue self-expression through rock music, but also brought about the tensions inherent in balancing individuality and

¹²⁴ Garber, “The Scene it is A-Changing,” 7.

¹²⁵ Stephen Slaybaugh, “Past Perfect: *Athens, Ga – Inside Out*,” Agit Reader, accessed December 23, 2012, <http://www.agitreader.com/perfect/Athens-ga-inside-out.html>.

careerist demands. As demonstrated in local zine articles, WUOG broadcasts, and *Athens, GA: Inside Out*, bands engaged this tension in a number of ways: some through allegiance to the scene, some through autonomy, some by achieving national success, others by failing at it. The Athens scene was defined not through homological connections between music and an idealized landscape. Rather, the community reflected its specific ideological and institutional landscape, the college town, which enabled participants to access the ideologies of their milieu, their collegiate *Bildung*, through rock music.

Chapter 5: *Bildung* Omnivores: Inclusive Taste and Higher Education in Vampire Weekend and Dirty Projectors

If people could look at our...albums as a *bildungsroman*, I'd be O.K. with that.

-Ezra Koenig, Vampire Weekend¹

I moved to New York in 2005. I did finish my studies at Yale. I thought I was leaving for a while because I hated it.

(Q: What did you hate about it?)

I hated the attitude, I'm super into *learning* and stuff like that. Just the feeling of that at the school, is just kinda gross.

(Q: What does it emphasize instead?)

Instead of a noble and clear pursuit of knowledge? The same shit that college anywhere is about, or academia.

Specifically, I wanted to study painting and music together. You come up to a certain point where you can learn about the history and the technique, but you can't really teach the thing itself.

-Dave Longstreth, Dirty Projectors²

A three-tiered, gold and pearl-encrusted chandelier hangs over the barely visible heads of partygoers on the front cover of Vampire Weekend's 2008 debut album, *Vampire Weekend*. The chandelier hangs in St. Anthony's Hall, a venue on Manhattan's Upper West Side that houses an exclusive Columbia University literary society. As evidenced by their album cover, Vampire Weekend, an indie rock band comprised of Columbia alumni, made little effort to hide their Ivy League credentials. Titles including "Mansard Roof," "Oxford Comma," and "Campus," songs featuring copious amounts of strings and harpsichord sounds, and lyrics like "you spilled kefir on your keffiyeh" foregrounded the band's intellectual proclivities. While the above aspects perhaps resonated with the band's chandeliered background, the album dabbled in punk and African popular music, two genres far removed from Upper West Side salons. What is this obviously bourgeois band doing writing songs called "A-Punk" or "Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa"?

The belief that "indie rockers are supposed to be grubby proles, not graduates of Columbia University," as one critic put it, assumes that writing indie rock inflected with Afro-pop and punk

¹ Jon Pareles, "Setting their Sights on Wider Vistas," *New York Times* May 12, 2013, AR17. The quote refers to the progression of the band's three albums, which Koenig compares to Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited*, but it can also be applied to the band's debut album.

² Dave Longstreth, interview with Andy Beta, June 22, 2009, <http://andybetablog.blogspot.com/2009/06/dirty-projectors-interview.html>.

transgresses the expectations of Vampire Weekend's educational background.³ As Ivy League graduates, they ought to be social elites whose musical worlds have little to do with indie rock, much less punk or Afro-pop. This claim supposes that prestigious education correlates with highbrow taste, that is, an exclusive disposition towards high art forms. Band members should have learned to appreciate opera and avant-garde art, while leaving King Sunny Adé and the Clash alone. Playing these styles in the marble halls and chandeliered salons of their campus ignores, and even reestablishes, the band's own social privilege. As this dissertation has shown, though, the expanding relationship between popular music and university culture has increasingly rendered highbrow taste anachronistic as a means for understanding how education correlates into musical dispositions. Even at elite Ivy League institutions, punk and Afro-pop can contribute to self-development.

Through the music and discourse of Vampire Weekend and the Dirty Projectors, a Yale-educated indie rock band, this chapter examines how indie rock bands have applied university culture through inclusive, rather than exclusive, tastes. I draw on omnivore theory, a sociological theory introduced by Richard Peterson which correlates taste, class and education through openness to appreciating a variety of musical genres. Both bands engage a vast array of musical genres in their oeuvres, so much so that they have both been described as "omnivores" by critics.⁴ Yet omnivory does not simply indicate an aggregative desire to consume and appreciate everything. Through

³ Jessica Hopper, "Appropriation, Vacation: Vampire Weekend's Bougie Afropop Beach Boogie," *Chicago Reader*, January 28, 2010, <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/vampire-weekend-contra-review-indie-rock-appropriation-ezra-koenig/Content?oid=1358299>.

⁴ For example, Josh Eells of *Rolling Stone* writes of Vampire Weekend's Rostam Batmanglij, "His tastes are omnivorous: one minute he'll be gushing about Tchaikovsky's '1812 Overture,' [*sic*] the next he'll declare [1990's punk-ska band] Sublime's *40 oz. to Freedom* 'fucking awesome.'" Josh Eells, "The Semi-Charmed Life of Vampire Weekend," *Rolling Stone* February 4, 2010, <http://www.rollingstone.com/music/news/the-semi-charmed-life-of-vampire-weekend-20100204>. An article about the Dirty Projectors in *City Paper*, a local Baltimore arts paper, was titled "The Omnivore's Dilemma," whose subheading read, "Dirty Projector David Longstreth takes it one song—and countless genres—at a time." The article concluded that the band's music was "the work of an artist who can't help finding inspiration everywhere, from MTV to existentialism. 'I love learning to respond to new shit all the time,' says [David] Longstreth, having just moments earlier professed an appreciation for the Auto-Tune stylings of [rapper] T-Pain." Judy Berman, "The Omnivore's Dilemma," *City Paper* June 3, 2009, <http://www2.citypaper.com/music/story.asp?id=18158>. Neither article references the sociological theory discussed in this chapter.

focusing on both groups' respective usages of four genres—indie rock, art music, African popular music, and punk—this chapter employs omnivore theory to understand how bands mediate and reflect their collegiate education through dispositions of taste. Omnivore theory suggests an expected relationship between genre preferences, class, and education which, I show, is shared in the music of both Vampire Weekend and Dirty Projectors. However, different strategies of demonstrating inclusiveness can reflect contrasting stances towards the bands' respective educational background and different means of self-development.

This chapter opens by introducing omnivore theory, describing how its taste paradigm reflects new conceptions of university culture within the contemporary multiversity. Inclusiveness rejects the concept of highbrow taste as theorized by Bourdieu in favor of multicultural appreciation, as it entrenches a *petit bourgeois* stance that retains class-based distinctions. I then introduce Vampire Weekend and the Dirty Projectors, and examine how omnivore theory explains how their class and educational background might shape their inclusive tastes. Both bands are predisposed toward performing indie music and appreciating African popular music, while remaining distant from the highbrow associations of classical music and the lowbrow sounds of punk music. This hypothesis is borne out through analyses of three songs from Vampire Weekend's 2008 eponymous debut album, "A-Punk," "Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa," and "M79"; and two from Dirty Projectors' 2007 album *Rise Above*, "What I See" and "Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie."

Despite their shared taste paradigm, the two bands offer contrasting approaches to omnivorosity that represent opposite conceptions of their educational experiences. Vampire Weekend use the juxtaposition of classed elements and Afro-pop to critically examine larger questions of socioeconomic inequality within a globalized world, engaging with and directly applying the *Bildung* impetus of their education. The Dirty Projectors instead foreground a creative, intuitive incorporation of disparate musical styles in an attempt to generate new dialogues outside of

institutional influence, transforming the *Bildung* impetus in new ways. Through these examples, I show how omnivory ultimately acts as a twenty-first century medium for expressing and negotiating the central tensions of *Bildung* between self-realization and social acquiescence.

From Bourgeois Highbrow to Petit Bourgeois Omnivore

As Ivy League institutions of colonial origins, Columbia and Yale have long been associated with America's socioeconomic elite. The school's prestige, competitiveness, and influence in contemporary society have granted the schools significant cultural power in the United States. This power is reflected in the landscapes of both campuses, which grant significant power of place to elite culture. The university libraries of both schools, which architecture historian Dale Allen Gyure has described as the metaphorical "heart of the university," exemplify the emplacement of high culture.⁵ The Columbia University academic village, built to mimic the University of Virginia, is flanked on the north and south by the two major libraries: the Low Library, set imperiously up the hill on the north side, its rotunda, columns, and steps bathing the quad in Classical architecture; and the Butler Library, columned in back of a hedge-lined pathway and inscribed with the canon of Greco-Roman literature listed chronologically from Homer to Vergil. Yale's Sterling Library towers over the central quad with its high Gothic arches and large towers in mimicry of the Kings' College chapel, while the blocky Beinecke Library to the north demonstrates the austere functionalism of mid-century modernist architecture.

Campus landscape architects believed that "the more susceptible the student is to aesthetic impressions and to his material surroundings, the more readily will his character and taste react to his material and artistic environment...and the more firmly grounded his taste."⁶ The libraries central to the architectural geography of Columbia and Yale conspicuously feature the emplacement

⁵ Dale Allen Gyure, "The Heart of the University: A History of the Library as an Architectural Symbol of American Higher Education," *Winterthur Portfolio* 42, no. 2-3 (2008): 119.

⁶ Quoted in *Ibid.*

of high art culture. Culture and knowledge are framed through landscapes designed to encourage highbrow tastes. Their prominence today exemplifies the seeming permanence of Arnoldian cultural preservation and hierarchization historically central to the university's knowledge production, a disposition which is to influence the tastes of the schools' graduates. In *Distinction*, Bourdieu demonstrated how class and higher education work to legitimize taste through institutionally-regulated cultural differences: "the official differences produced by academic classifications tend to produce (or reinforce) real differences by inducing in the classified individuals a collectively recognized and supported belief in the differences, thus producing behaviors that are intended to bring real being into line with official being."⁷ Following Bourdieu, the socioeconomic power and highbrow landscape of Columbia and Yale's knowledge production is thus intended to discipline students into a highbrow taste paradigm given cultural power through its exclusion of lowbrow forms.⁸

Bourdieu's work insightfully illustrates how judgments of taste derive from the sociocultural power of class and education. However, the temporal distance of his studies, derived from sociological investigations of 1970s French academe, merits a reevaluation of their applicability for taste production in the twenty-first-century American university.⁹ Chapter 1 delineated the drastic growth of universities and popular culture during the mid-twentieth century that effectively destabilized an exclusive referent of liberal arts culture. The concept of the exclusively highbrow

⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 25.

⁸ The cover of the English translation of Bourdieu's *Homo Academicus* features an illumination of a meeting of doctors at the University of Paris taken from a medieval manuscript held at the Bibliotheque Nationale. The image of cloistered, robed, disciplined white men reading manuscripts, themselves a closed form of knowledge, has obvious resonances with the concept of exclusionary legitimate tastes discussed in Bourdieu's works. Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, trans. Peter Collier (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988).

⁹ Michèle Lamont has argued that French culture is more striated than American culture, producing a significant difference between Bourdieu's study of academia and the American university. Michèle Lamont, *Money, Morals and Manners: The Culture of the French and the American Upper-Middle Class* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

aesthete whose tastes completely rejected mass culture was nearly extinct by the 1960s.¹⁰ Since the 1990s, sociological scholarship has largely refuted the correlation between education and highbrow taste. Higher education instead correlates to an *inclusive* taste predisposed toward appreciating a diverse range of music. Sociologists Richard Peterson and Albert Simkus used the term “omnivore” to label this new inclusive paradigm:

Elite taste is no longer defined as an expressed appreciation of the high art forms (and a moral disdain or bemused tolerance for all other aesthetic expressions). Now it is being redefined as an appreciation of the aesthetics of every distinctive form along with an appreciation of the high arts. Because status is gained by knowing about and participating in (that is to say, by consuming) all forms, the term *omnivore* seems appropriate.¹¹

Like Bourdieu’s highbrows, omnivores maintain a distinctive elite taste produced by education and class. However, Bourdieu’s paradigm of “snobs” versus “slobs” changes to “omnivores” against “univores,” with taste hierarchies demarcated through demonstrating inclusiveness in listening preferences.¹² Inclusiveness has been theorized as an accumulation of genres appreciated, a deliberate crossing of established cultural spheres, or an individuated reordering of both preferences and dislikes outside of standard cultural hierarchies.¹³ Regardless of theorization, the most crucial aspect of omnivorous taste is the display of what sociologist Michele

¹⁰ Harold L. Wilensky, “Mass Society and Mass Culture: Independence or Interdependence,” *American Sociological Review* 29, no. 2 (1964): 173–97. See also Susan Sontag, “One Culture and the New Sensibility,” in *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (New York: Picador, 2001), 293–304.

¹¹ Richard A. Peterson and Albert Simkus, “How Musical Tastes Mark Occupational Status Groups,” in *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*, ed. Michèle Lamont and Marcel Fournier (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 169. Paul DiMaggio had previously hypothesized that upward social mobility stems from appreciating an increasing diversity of genres rather than exclusively accruing specific forms of cultural capital, but Peterson’s work marks the first systematic examination of omnivorousness. Paul DiMaggio, “Classification in Art,” *American Sociological Review* 52, no. 4 (1987): 440–55.

¹² For the change from highbrow to omnivore, see Richard A. Peterson, “The Rise and Fall of Highbrow Snobbery as a Status Marker,” *Poetics* 25 (1997): 81–84; and Jordi López-Sintas and Tally Katz-Gerro, “From Exclusive to Inclusive Elitists and Further: Twenty Years of Omnivorousness and Cultural Diversity in Arts Participation in the USA,” *Poetics* 33 (2005): 299–319.

¹³ The accumulative definition can be seen in Richard A. Peterson and Roger M. Kern, “Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore,” *American Sociological Review* 61, no. 5 (October 1996): 900–907; crossing of cultural hierarchies in Koen van Eijck and John Lievens, “Cultural Omnivorousness as a Combination of Highbrow, Pop, and Folk Elements: The Relation between Taste Patterns and Attitudes Concerning Social Integration,” *Poetics* 36 (2008): 217–42; and individual preferences and dislikes in Alan Wade, David Wright, and Modesto Gayo-Cal, “The Omnivorous Orientation in the UK,” *Poetics* 36 (2008): 148–65.

Ollivier has called the “rhetoric of openness to cultural diversity” through musical preferences.¹⁴ Omnivores thus perceive and validate their inclusiveness as a way to counter the multifaceted discriminations—especially those based on race, gender, nation, and cultural hierarchy—of highbrow taste.

Despite its rhetoric of postmodern inclusivity, omnivore theory does not posit that listeners relativistically embrace all music. Sociologists Tak Wing Chan and John H. Goldthorpe have demonstrated that omnivores project tolerance but discreetly maintain distinctions.¹⁵ As an elite taste form, omnivores produce distinctions through class-based dislikes just like their highbrow counterparts.¹⁶ Sociologist Bethany Bryson argues that omnivores most overtly distance themselves from intraracial, lower-class music. Bryson therefore questions the supposed openness of omnivorous listeners, claiming that “cultural tolerance should not be conceptualized as an indiscriminate tendency to be nonexclusive, but as a reordering of group boundaries that trades race for class.”¹⁷ Whereas the Athens college rock musicians in Chapter 4 traded in what Sarah Thornton called “subcultural capital,” Bryson argues that omnivores trade in “multicultural capital,” which she calls a “social prestige afforded by familiarity with a range of cultural styles that is both broad and predictably exclusive.”¹⁸ Multicultural capital entails both a demonstration of inclusive breadth through cross-cultural appreciation and a concomitant and entrenched intraracial exclusion toward

¹⁴ Michèle Ollivier, “Modes of Openness to Cultural Diversity: Humanist, Populist, Practical, and Indifferent,” *Poetics* 36 (2008): 122.

¹⁵ Tak Wing Chan and John H. Goldthorpe, “Social Stratification and Cultural Consumption: Music in England,” *European Sociological Review* 23 (2007): 3.

¹⁶ The reliance of omnivore theory on Bourdieu’s work has led some sociologists to argue that omnivore theory simply offers his theory in new guises. See Douglas B. Holt, “Distinction in America? Recovering Bourdieu’s Theory of Tastes from its Critics,” *Poetics* 25 (1997): 93–120; Philippe Coulangeon and Yannick Lemel, “Is ‘Distinction’ Really Outdated? Questioning the Meaning of the Omnivorization of Musical Taste in Contemporary France,” *Poetics* 35 (2007): 93–111; and Will Atkinson, “The Context and Genesis of Musical Tastes: Omnivorousness Debunked, Bourdieu Buttressed,” *Poetics* 39, no. 3 (2011): 169–86. Derek B. Scott also rejected omnivore theory for its similarity to Bourdieu in “Other Mainstreams: Light Music and Easy Listening, 1920–70,” in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 333–34.

¹⁷ Bethany Bryson, “‘Anything But Heavy Metal’: Symbolic Exclusion and Musical Dislikes,” *American Sociological Review* 61, no. 5 (October 1996): 895.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 888.

genres outside the class paradigm of omnivory. Omnivores thus both reject genres associated with lower class listening (i.e. Top 40, country-pop, nu-metal); and those redolent of exclusionary taste paradigms (i.e. pops, Baroque radio). By distinguishing from both lower-class and highbrow listeners, omnivores position themselves rhetorically and socioeconomically as *petit bourgeois*.¹⁹

The *petit bourgeois* class orientation and the importance of multicultural capital exemplifies how changes in the twenty-first century multiversity have reshaped the contours of legitimate taste. This dissertation has traced the increased influence of the university in contemporary society and the increased attention to popular and non-Western culture within the university. Students also have access to an unprecedented amount of music through the Internet, much of it shared via peer-to-peer networks and social media. Omnivory seeks to negotiate the university's exclusive past and its variegated, technologized present. It maintains the critical disposition central to the university's liberal arts mission, transferring them to new fields as they become articulated into its institutional purview. Richard Peterson and Roger Kern have argued that omnivores primarily appreciate new genres via intellectualization: "[omnivores] appreciate and critique [some genre] in the light of some knowledge of the genre, its great performers, and links to other cultural forms, lowbrow and highbrow."²⁰ Chan and Goldthorpe similarly view omnivorous taste as a new form of "self-realization little constrained by conventional ideas of cultural levels."²¹ Omnivory is thus a practical application of a disposition derived from a multicultural turn in higher education that has both broadened the amount of potentially legitimate culture and maintained class-based cultural distinctions.

¹⁹ Koen Van Eijck, "Social Differentiation in Musical Taste Patterns," *Social Forces* 79 (2001): 1178.

²⁰ Peterson and Kern, "Changing Highbrow Taste," 904.

²¹ Chan and Goldthorpe, "Social Stratification and Cultural Consumption," 14. Other sociologists have argued that omnivores reject the *Bildungsideal* of culture by replacing critical depth with the breadth of cultural diversity. Koen van Eijck, "Richard A. Peterson and the Culture of Consumption," *Poetics* 28 (2000): 209; idem., "Social Differentiation in Musical Taste Patterns," 1181, Alan Wade, David Wright, and Modesto Gayo-Cal, "Understanding Cultural Omnivorousness: Or, the Myth of the Cultural Omnivore," *Cultural Sociology* 1 (2007): 160. As this chapter will demonstrate, I believe that omnivorousness diffuses criticality rather than removing it.

Omnivore theory has been deeply scrutinized within cultural sociology over the past two decades, but it has received scant attention within music scholarship.²² Musicologists who have engaged with the theory have usually used it in passing to describe what are perceived to be tolerant listening practices.²³ Eric Drott has recently critiqued inclusive listening for its associations with privileged forms of tolerance and cosmopolitanism, but rejected omnivore theory as “simplistic and in many respects pernicious.”²⁴ For Drott, the concept’s “perniciousness” derives from how omnivores maintain and submerge class privilege through discreet distinctions.²⁵ While Drott aptly uncovers the exclusionary undertones of omnivorous tolerance, he ignores how omnivores can use inclusive listening as an ethical impulse. Given the multicultural turn in the contemporary university, omnivory can be a way to apply self-development to the globalized, postmodern cultural variety found in university study. The correlation of omnivory with *Bildung* thus produces a complex politics of listening both reproducing and challenging dominant socioeconomic paradigms. Examining how the tensions of inclusion reflect those of the university can make omnivore theory a rich medium for exploring the strategies and purposes of academic judgments of taste.

²² In addition to the sources cited in this chapter, Richard A. Peterson cites an extensive list of studies in “Problems in Comparative Research: The Example of Omnivorousness,” *Poetics* 33 (2005): 261. The theory has recently entered the popular press with a feature in the *New York Times Sunday Review*. Shamus Khan, “The New Elitists,” *New York Times*, July 8, 2012, 6L. Yet sociologist Brian Longhurst has lamented the lack of consideration of Peterson’s omnivore/univore thesis in popular music scholarship. See Brian Longhurst, “Review: *Cultures of Popular Music* by Andy Bennett and *Understanding Popular Music, Second Edition* by Roy Shuker,” *Popular Music* 22, no. 1 (2003): 115–16.

²³ For example, see George H. Lewis, “Lap Dancer or Hillbilly Deluxe? The Cultural Constructions of Modern Country Music,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 31, no. 3 (1997): 169; Daniel Party, “*Placer culpable*: Shame and Nostalgia in the Chilean 1990s *Balada* Revival,” *Latin American Music Review* 30, no. 1 (2009): 69–98.

²⁴ Eric Drott, “What Inclusiveness Excludes,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65, no. 3 (2012): 827.

²⁵ Specifically, Drott takes issue with the striation of omnivores and univores, which he critiques by “taking into account the fact that engagement with diverse cultural practices may be observed across social groups, irrespective of occupational category, educational attainment, ethnicity, or gender.” *Ibid.*, 827. Drott’s argument here constructs two fallacies. First, he produces an absolute division between highbrow omnivores and lowbrow univores, which in sociological literature is construed as simply a correlation between socioeconomic privilege and omnivorous disposition. Second, in seeking to envoice the univores, he does so by ascribing omnivorous aspects (engagement with diverse cultural practices) to lower class listeners. Yet lower class listenership correlates with exclusive, local relationships with culture that reflect a lower socioeconomic and educational position with reduced affluence and mobility. For discussions of univorous taste, see Bethany Bryson, “What About the Univores? Musical Dislikes and Group-Based Identity Construction among Americans with Low Levels of Education,” *Poetics* 25, nos. 2–3 (1997): 141–53; and Ollivier, “Modes of Openness,” 138–41.

Far from being a “simplistic” quantitative variable of taste preferences, in Drott’s terms, omnivore theory can enable a musicological understanding of how inclusive tastes balance openness and exclusion, race and class, and political resistance and social acquiescence. Translating omnivore theory into a musicological context, however, requires reorienting two methodological aspects derived from its sociological origins. First, theorists often reduce diverse music styles to homologous genre categories that semiotically represent different positions within normative cultural hierarchies, removing variables in order to isolate correlations. Will Atkinson has argued that the large breadth of music encompassed with genre choices—e.g. “classical,” “pop/rock”—render the results nearly meaningless.²⁶ However, musicologists are attuned to both broader social perceptions of musical classifications and fervent battles over taste within genres.²⁷ A musicological omnivore theory must instead scrutinize the impact of both genre semiotics as well as differences within genres. If on one level genre inclusions and exclusions can be predicted based on class, race, and educational factors, the politics of taste for different listeners of the same genres can be greatly individualized.

Second, sociologists have predominantly studied omnivory through questions about listening preferences. While this methodology seeks to quantitatively isolate and measure taste through consumption, it has the side effect of limiting the means by which omnivores express inclusion. Recent musicological studies have instead retheorized listening as an active part of musical performance from cognitive, cultural, and textual perspectives.²⁸ Moreover, as Georgina Born has noted, listenership is not a fixed role separate from that of composer and performer, but a fluid

²⁶ Atkinson, “Context and Genesis of Musical Tastes,” 171. One reason for such broad genre names is that many studies use data taken from national cultural surveys which use those terms.

²⁷ Heavy metal, to take the genre Bryson associates with univorous listening, contains variegated styles and subgenres with heated taste battles spanning different socioeconomic groups. In addition, the genre is deeply influenced by Baroque music. Robert Walser, *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1993).

²⁸ A range of methodologies and sources are discussed in Ian Cross, “Listening as Covert Performance,” *Journal of the Royal Musicological Association* 135, no. S1 (2010): 67–77; and Georgina Born, “Listening, Mediation, Event: Anthropological and Sociological Perspectives,” *Journal of the Royal Musicological Association* 135, no. S1 (2010): 79–89. Cf. also Antoine Hennion, “Those Things That Hold Us Together: Taste and Sociology,” *Cultural Sociology* 1, no. 1 (March 2007): 97–114.

position taken by all musical agents.²⁹ Musicologists can thus combine musical and discursive analysis to unearth how musicians themselves perform inclusion through what Ollivier called “modes of openness.” Omnivory is not solely indexed by collections of genre preferences, but the rhetoric and ethical dispositions asserted in all varieties of musical engagement, including songwriting, composition, listening and critical discourse.

A musicological omnivore theory thus connects musical analysis with discursively expressed taste preferences. These tastes are examined via both broadly understood socioeconomic and educational genre associations and the ethics individually attributed to inclusion. Returning to the correlation between omnivory and higher education, liberal arts culture becomes an important aspect of the discursive politics and ethical claims of inclusiveness. Rather than the highbrow tastes historically attributed to university students, omnivores use new forms of genre inclusion as a means for self-development. This chapter thus turns to how the music of Vampire Weekend and Dirty Projectors engages with the *Bildung* impetus of omnivorous taste. Both groups share a privileged class and educational position which place them firmly within the socioeconomic stratum of omnivores.³⁰ Reflecting their omnivory, the music of both bands also uses a similar constellation of genres, enabling a comparative analysis of the different politics of omnivorous taste.

Omnivory and Higher Education: Vampire Weekend and Dirty Projectors

Vampire Weekend is comprised of lead singer and guitarist Ezra Koenig, keyboardist Rostam Batmanglij, bassist Chris Baio, and drummer Chris Tomson. Koenig, Tomson, and Baio hail from well-off New York suburbs, while Batmanglij’s parents were renowned Iranian chefs who

²⁹ Born, “Listening, Mediation, Event,” 82–83.

³⁰ Both groups have known each other for a long time. Koenig praised the Dirty Projectors’ 2003 album *The Glad Fact* for the e-zine *Dusted*. Ezra Koenig, “Review: Dirty Projectors, *The Glad Fact*,” *Dusted* December 15, 2003, <http://www.dustedmagazine.com/reviews/1012>. A year later, Koenig played saxophone and percussion with the Dirty Projectors while touring India, and Batmanglij also briefly joined the group on flute. The two were also heard on the Dirty Projectors’ *New Attitude* EP released in 2006. Dirty Projectors, “Members,” *MySpace*, accessed September 4, 2011, <http://www.myspace.com/dirtyprojectors>. The groups remain close; Longstreth appears in Vampire Weekend’s music video for “Diane Young,” released in June 2013.

immigrated to Washington, DC.³¹ The band formed at Columbia in 2006, taking their name from a self-produced pseudo-horror film about vampires invading Cape Cod.³² They released their first recording, “Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa,” to a MySpace page and used social media to relentlessly promote themselves. The band was soon signed to XL Recordings, a prominent British indie label, which released their eponymous debut album in 2008.³³ Singles from the album, especially “A-Punk” and “Oxford Comma,” became YouTube hits, and their following albums *Contra* (2010) and *Modern Vampires of the City* (2013) have both topped the Billboard charts.

Dirty Projectors are the project of guitarist, vocalist and songwriter Dave Longstreth. Longstreth, who grew up near New Haven as “a child of back-to-the-earth 1960s intellectuals,” began using the name “Dirty Projectors” in 2000, his freshman year at Yale, for his extracurricular recording projects.³⁴ He dropped out of college to pursue this project, recruiting band members and releasing albums beginning in 2003. (The band’s membership has changed repeatedly, but the group at the time of *Rise Above* included guitarist and vocalist Amber Coffman, keyboardist and vocalist Angel Deradoorian, and drummer Brian McOmber.) He later returned to Yale and graduated in 2005. The same year, he released *The Getty Address*, an opera critiquing American cultural homogenization whose protagonist was named Don Henley, after the former Eagle. Two years later, Longstreth followed *The Getty Address* with an equally ambitious project, *Rise Above*, a cover album of Black Flag’s landmark 1981 hardcore release *Damaged*. Though selling a fraction of albums as Vampire Weekend, Dirty Projectors’ two subsequent albums, *Bitte Orca* (2009) and *Swing Lo Magellan*

³¹ Koenig was raised in Glen Ridge, New Jersey, and Chris Baio in Bronxville. Batmanglij’s parentage is reminiscent of Bourdieu’s double meaning of “taste” in *Distinction* that music and food most clearly delineate class boundaries.

³² The song “Wolcott” on their debut album explicitly references this film project.

³³ XL Recordings is the current home of artists like Radiohead, Beck, Sigur Ros, and Adele.

³⁴ Ben Sisario, “The Experimental, Led by the Obsessive,” *New York Times Sunday Magazine* June 7, 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/07/arts/music/07sisa.html>.

(2012) have garnered extensive critical accolades.³⁵ In 2010, *The Getty Address* was performed with Alarm Will Sound at prestigious venues like Lincoln Center, the Los Angeles Philharmonic and the Barbican.³⁶

Though their most recent albums have eclipsed their earlier work in critical and financial success, this chapter focuses on *Vampire Weekend* and *Rise Above* for two reasons. First, both albums were written and released soon after their college years. The members of Vampire Weekend graduated in 2006 and 2007, while Longstreth graduated in 2005. The temporal closeness between collegiate experience and songwriting makes the influence of education more marked on these albums. Second, both albums engage with the same four genres—indie rock, Afro-pop, classical, and punk—and combine them in different ways. The different socioeconomic associations of these genres offer a multifaceted examination of inclusiveness.

Two of the genres found on *Vampire Weekend* and *Rise Above*, classical music and indie rock, are predominantly associated with the upper classes. Indie rock, defined as rock music opposed in some way to mainstream rock, marks a continuation of the college rock discussed in Chapter 4. As such, indie rock shares an affinity with university culture. The genre also matches the *petit bourgeois* class position of the omnivore through its privileged rejection of *bourgeois* taste. Media scholar Michael Z. Newman defined indie culture as primarily “a taste culture perpetuating the privilege of a social elite of upscale consumers,” albeit “contradictory... insofar as it counters and implicitly

³⁵ The Dirty Projectors’ best-selling album, *Bitte Orca*, had sold just over 85,000 copies as of March 2012. Jason Lipshutz, “Listen: Dirty Projectors Unveil New Single, ‘Gun Has No Trigger,’” *Billboard.com*, March 30, 2012, <http://www.billboard.com/articles/news/498680/listen-dirty-projectors-unveil-new-track-gun-has-no-trigger>. By contrast, Vampire Weekend’s two later albums both sold over 100,000 copies in their first week alone.

³⁶ These performances are discussed in Elizabeth K. Keenan, “Indie Values, Symphonic Spaces: High Art, Low Art, and the ‘New’ Audience,” paper presented at the Musicology and the Present conference, Portland, OR, April 20, 2013. Her paper frames their concerts through omnivore theory.

criticizes hegemonic mass culture, desiring to be an authentic alternative to it.”³⁷ Indie’s discourses of alternativeness, like those of omnivory, simultaneously sustain and reject its own elitism.

The influence of classical music is unsurprising given both Longstreth and Batmanglij’s formal training in composition at their respective universities. Batmanglij received a B.A. in music from Columbia, where he “developed a love for classical masters such as Bach, Beethoven, and Tchaikovsky.”³⁸ Longstreth also received a B.A. in music where “he learned a great deal about orchestration and harmonic theory, and by the time he graduated he’d pulled together the knowledge and experience that would lead to the Dirty Projectors.”³⁹ However, the association of classical music with bourgeois culture means that classical would be included with other genres rather than exclusively employed. Neither Longstreth nor Batmanglij demonstrate any ties with the more famously highbrow modernist legacies of each program’s music departments. Batmanglij mostly uses common-practice-period conceptions of orchestration, harmonic progressions, and textural contrast. Longstreth’s music culls instead from twentieth-century influences, using non-triadic harmonies, free rhythms, and unusual instrumental colors.

The other two genres, African popular music and punk, are seen to originate from lower class positions, but they have long been discussed in music scholarship. African popular music is perhaps the paradigmatic genre for the ethics of omnivorous taste. Afro-pop entered elite Western listening patterns beginning the 1970s, as artists like David Byrne, Peter Gabriel, and Paul Simon began incorporating African sounds into their music and non-Western music LPs and cassettes

³⁷ Michael Z. Newman, “Indie Culture: In Pursuit of the Authentic Autonomous Alternative.” *Cinema Journal* 48, no. 3 (Spring 2009): 17. Newman specifically discusses independent films, but his claim that indie is a privileged aesthetic differentiated by taste patterns can be adapted for indie music. For the interdependence between indie’s discourses of alternativeness and social privilege, see also David Hesmondhalgh, “Indie: The Institutional Politics and Aesthetics of a Popular Music Genre,” *Cultural Studies* 13, no. 1 (1999): 34–69; and Ryan Hibbett, “What Is Indie Rock,” *Popular Music and Society* 28, no. 1 (February 2005): 55–77.

³⁸ Jennifer Preissel, “Vampire Weekend Strives for Cohesive Sound,” *Columbia College Today*, May/June 2007, http://www.college.columbia.edu/cct_archive/may_jun07/updates3.php.

³⁹ Gaby Wood, “Is This the Cleverest Band in Rock,” *Guardian Observer* June 6, 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2009/jun/07/dave-longstreth>.

began flourishing in Western markets as part of the “world music” market. Though comprised of a large variety of genres and styles, Afro-pop has been homogenized by Western audiences through becoming “actively partitioned from those [musical forms] of the West,” per Steven Feld.⁴⁰ Recalling Bryson’s corollary that omnivores trade race for class, the genre’s racial and socioeconomic otherness would encourage appreciation to signal the “multicultural capital” of appreciating different genres.

Punk offers a complex class position that complicates omnivorous taste.⁴¹ According to punk scholarship, the genre in its original form only lasted for two years, following the rise and fall of the Sex Pistols.⁴² Despite its short life, scholars like Dick Hebdige and Dave Laing have argued that its continued cultural power derives from its temporary ideological linkage between working class rebellion and avant-garde aesthetics.⁴³ For Laing, punk has both working-class elements like accessible musical language and aggressive distortion, which he calls its “substance,” and avant-garde facets, the “spirit” “whose ambition had been to subvert or undo the conventions of the popular music mainstream.”⁴⁴ Punk’s 1970s origins are crucial for understanding the genre’s political stakes, but listeners of Vampire Weekend and Dirty Projectors’ age and class position likely first encountered punk through 1990s pop-punk groups like Blink-182 and Sublime. Recalling Bryson’s thesis about class-based dislikes and the associations of omnivory with higher education, punk’s

⁴⁰ Steven Feld, “A Sweet Lullaby for World Music,” *Public Culture* 12, no. 1 (2000): 147.

⁴¹ Punk does not appear as a genre in any studies using omnivore theory that I have consulted. Regardless of punk’s appearance as a genre, omnivore theory generally assigns unified cultural levels to genres to isolate taste as a variable. Such methods would preclude punk from having a complicated class position.

⁴² David Hesmondhalgh, “Post-Punk’s Attempt to Democratise the Music Industry: The Success and Failure of Rough Trade,” *Popular Music* 16, no. 3 (October 1997): 255. Hesmondhalgh cites Dave Laing’s *One Chord Wonders: Power and Meaning in Punk Rock* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1985), Griel Marcus, *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), and Jon Savage, *England’s Dreaming: Anarchy, the Sex Pistols, Punk Rock, and Beyond* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1992), all canonic texts in punk scholarship, as exemplifying this tendency.

⁴³ Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (New York: Routledge, 1979); Laing, *One Chord Wonders*.

⁴⁴ Laing, *One Chord Wonders*, 108.

working-class musical substance and juvenile associations would be distasteful, while its avant-garde spirit would be an attractive ethos.

To summarize the assumptions of genre inclusion and exclusion in the tastes of omnivores like Vampire Weekend and the Dirty Projectors: indie rock fits most snugly with the *petit bourgeois* position of omnivores, while the importance of multicultural capital makes African popular music an attractive, appreciated genre. In contrast, the highbrow class position of classical music and the lowbrow connotations of punk diverge from an omnivorous disposition. Yet the learned techniques of classical music and the political ethos of punk connect with the class position of omnivorous taste, enabling their inclusion. The analyses of Vampire Weekend's "A-Punk," "Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa," and "M79," and Dirty Projectors' "What I See" and "Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie" that follow bear out the "predictable" tastes of omnivore theory. These songs prominently feature indie rock and evoke Afro-pop, while showcasing classical techniques and punk spirits. Yet inclusiveness enables widely different ethical claims based on contrasting allegiances to the university education giving rise to such dispositions. Vampire Weekend's semiotic juxtapositions of different genres reflect critical debate over class and racial difference, while Dirty Projectors' hybrid forms reject university study and instead mirror the technological remediation of globalized music.

Vampire Weekend, "A-Punk," "Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa," and "M79"

"The name of this band is Vampire Weekend. We are specialists in the following styles: 'Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa,' 'Upper West Side Soweto,' 'Campus,' and 'Oxford Comma Riddim.'"⁴⁵ Vampire Weekend defined themselves in this way on their MySpace page in 2006. The hypothetical genres combine white, bourgeois signifiers with Afro-diasporic references. For example, the Upper West Side signifies the wealthy co-ops and uptown culture bounded by Lincoln Center and Columbia. Soweto, a Johannesburg shantytown district known for its oppressive poverty under

⁴⁵ Vampire Weekend, MySpace page, February 18, 2007, accessed via Internet Archive June 27, 2011, www.myspace.com/vampireweekend.

apartheid, refers to the South Africa *mbaqanga* and *isacathamaya* artists heard on the 1985 compilation album *The Indestructible Beat of Soweto* and, subsequently, Paul Simon's 1987 landmark *Graceland*. These juxtapositions of bourgeois and Afro-diasporic seem like uncritical, privileged declarations of omnivorous tastes.⁴⁶ Yet such juxtapositions reflect a prominent songwriting feature heard on *Vampire Weekend*. Just like their supposed genres, the album juxtaposes disparate signifiers of high and low to scrutinize the disjunctures and connections between the two. This strategy is demonstrated in three consecutive songs on the album: "A-Punk," "Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa," and "M79."

"A-Punk," the third song on *Vampire Weekend*, combines punk with bourgeois signifiers. Musically, the song uses formal juxtaposition to contrast the two. The verse exemplifies the punk side of the equation. Koenig plays a simple V-IV-I ringing guitar lick whose punchy harmonies are buttressed by a pulsing bass line and an eighth-note backbeat drum pattern at 180 bpm. The group omits Batmanglij's keyboards for a more punk-like guitar/bass/drums instrumentation. Koenig sings in an aggressive pinched tone, quickly spitting out the words with little concern for exact pitch and pronunciation. After the verse ends, though, the music suddenly shifts away from punk. The tempo is halved, and Batmanglij enters prominently with a mellotron-like keyboard sound. The harmonic rhythm drastically slows down, moving from quick bursts of V-IV-I to a sustained, majestic I-IV⁶⁴-I progression produced by rising thirds over a pedal point in the bass. (A comparison of verse and chorus riffs is found in Figure 5.1). Koenig's line becomes more melodic and his diction clearer, singing the punk exhortation "say OH" at the end of each chorus line. In the second iteration of the chorus, a flute line enters to accentuate the classical sound.

The video for "A-Punk" mirrors the music's combination of punk and classical by incorporating the DIY aesthetic and energy of punk with preppy fashion. Taking place in an empty

⁴⁶ For this reason, Koenig has later regretted the naming of these genres thusly. Eells, "Semi-Charmed Life."

The image displays a musical score for Vampire Weekend's "A-Punk," divided into Verse (top) and Chorus (bottom) sections. The score is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The instruments and parts are as follows:

- Electric Guitar:** Verse features a rhythmic pattern of eighth-note chords. Chorus features a similar pattern with a more pronounced bass line.
- Electric Bass:** Verse features a simple eighth-note bass line. Chorus features a more complex eighth-note bass line.
- Drum Set:** Verse features a simple eighth-note drum pattern. Chorus features a more complex eighth-note drum pattern.
- Voice:** Verse lyrics: "Look out - side at the rain - coats_ com - ing, say Oh!". Chorus lyrics: "Oh!".
- Organ:** Verse features a simple eighth-note organ line. Chorus features a more complex eighth-note organ line.
- Bass Guitar:** Verse features a simple eighth-note bass line. Chorus features a more complex eighth-note bass line.
- Drum Set (Chorus):** Features a complex eighth-note drum pattern with accents.

Figure 5.1: Vampire Weekend, "A-Punk," Verse (top) and chorus (bottom)



Figure 5.2: Vampire Weekend, "A-Punk," video screenshot

warehouse room with white walls and a concrete floor, the video was shot in one continuous take from one camera angle.⁴⁷ Unusually, the band lip-synced to a slowed-down version of the song, and

⁴⁷ The video from "A-Punk" riffs off an early YouTube viral video, OK Go's "Here It Goes Again." That song's video was also shot in one continuous take with one camera angle in a cheaply-adorned studio. The four members of the group performed a choreographed routine on eight symmetrically placed treadmills running in opposite directions. (The treadmills were set up in a 4x2 rectangle perpendicular to the camera. The front and third pair face to the left, forcing motion right, while the second and back pair face to the right, forcing motion left. This creates symmetrical motion, stylized running in place, and moves manipulating their ability to travel both ways, like slalom

the footage was then sped up back to the song's actual speed. The resulting effect created a herky-jerky motion where the band members seem to imbue regularly timed movements with frenetic energy. The basic choreography and camerawork foregrounds a DIY aesthetic, while the camera frame manipulation creates a sense of punk energy. At the same time, the band's fashion choices are deliberately preppy. The band enters wearing pastel cardigans (shown in Figure 5.2), which are shed in the second verse for polo shirts with partly popped collars. The combination of high-class fashion and punk energy visually represents the song's own semiotic juxtapositions.

The following song, "Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa," shifts to a different juxtaposition between African popular music and bourgeois privilege. The title alliteratively combines "kwassa kwassa," a Congolese genre derived from *rumba* and *soukous* popular in the 1980s, with Cape Cod, the summer vacation destination of wealthy northeasterners.⁴⁸ The song, which shares its name with a genre listed on the band's MySpace page, references African popular music through the instrumental accompaniment and bourgeois summering through the lyrics. The verse riff, shown in Figure 5.3, is a lightly syncopated scalar descent in D major that grooves in with the bass and drums. The guitar sound features short attacks and a noticeable lack of discernible distortion, producing a clean and bright sound resembling sub-Saharan styles like *soukous* or *salegy*.⁴⁹ The bass and drums

effects or circling around one another by jumping from treadmill to treadmill.) The group creatively used symmetry and treadmill motion to execute a simple, seemingly cheap video that proved incredibly popular for audiences and other bands, winning a Grammy award.

⁴⁸ Artists like Pepe Kalle and Kanda Bongo Man began using the term *kwassa kwassa* to describe their versions of *soukous*. Pepe Kalle released an album called *Kwassa Kwassa* in 1988. *Soukous* is broadly defined as any rumba-based popular music genre from Congo from the 1970s to the 1990s. The terms "soukous" and "kwassa kwassa" are used frequently in discussions about Congolese pop music but with little precision as to their actual meaning. For a broad overview of soukous and kwassa kwassa, see Gary Stewart, "Soukous Chic: Kanda Bongo Man," in *Breakout: Profiles in African Rhythm* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 7–15.

⁴⁹ Koenig had actually been listening to salegy, in particular the compilation *Madigaikara Two: Current Popular Music of Madagascar* when writing "Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa." Jack Shankly, "Vampire Weekend Interviewed," *Transparent*, January 18, 2008, accessed September 4, 2011, <http://www.transparentblog.com/blog/211/vampire-weekend-interviewed>. Malagasy music attracted Koenig because "it was very minimalist, with really clean guitar sounds. That was definitely inspiring to us when the band started." For Koenig, salegy "uses Western rock instruments but does something very different and exciting with them." Aidin Vaziri, "Vampire Weekend's Risky Sound," *San Francisco Chronicle* March 16, 2008, http://articles.sfgate.com/2008-03-16/entertainment/17166873_1_watch-paul-simon-african-music-simon-garfunkel. Koenig's privileged outsider status can be seen as

Figure 5.3: Vampire Weekend, “Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa,” verse riff

Figure 5.4: Vampire Weekend, “Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa,” chorus

answer the guitar riff with three accented notes, creating the call and response effect of much Afro-pop. The textural airiness is accompanied by a harmonic and melodic brightness. Later in the verse, a second guitar line harmonizes a third above to produce a sweet, bright sound.⁵⁰ The harmonic progression stays on I-IV-V, mimicking the bright patterns of *salegy* and *soukous*. Later in the song’s bridge, Koenig vocalizes over a slow I-IV-I progression to mimic the scating of jazz-influenced Afro-pop.

If the music mirrors “kwassa kwassa,” the lyrics describe “Cape Cod.” The verse discusses a young girl in the world of high fashion (Louis Vuitton) and upper-class summers (“with your mother on a sandy lawn”). As the song progresses, though, the world music influence infiltrates the lyrics.

Koenig references “the colors of Benetton,” the controversial clothing brand whose advertisements

collapsing the sounds of Malagasy music, like the accordions of *salegy*, with the interlocking guitars of *kwassa kwassa*. However, Koenig also recognizes that both his Malagasy pop cassette and *kwassa kwassa* are trans-African popular music genres created by similar syncretic processes. Andrew Kaye discussed the trans-African influences of Malagasy popular music in “Review: *Madigaiskara Two: Current Popular Music of Madagascar*,” *Ethnomusicology* 36, no. 2 (1992): 297–99. They share many musical factors: polyrhythmic grooves; bright, predominantly major harmonic progressions; clean guitar sounds; and sharp articulations which produce a lithe, airy texture. They also occupy a similar place in the politics of globalized inequality that Vampire Weekend wanted to explore.

⁵⁰ The second guitar plays a fourth above the A in the first measure to retain the D major harmony.

prominently featured signifiers of multicultural global culture.⁵¹ The chorus begins by addressing the girl but unsettling her neat, clean lifestyle (“Is your bed made? Is your sweater on?”). Underneath, the music shifts to an ascending guitar riff that retains the IV-V-I progression but hastens the harmonic rhythm. The second half of the chorus, however, shifts attention from the girl back to world music, as Koenig sings, “it feels so unnatural, Peter Gabriel too” (see Figure 5.4). Under the first half of the line, the groove stops and a ii chord is strummed. The sudden shift to minor and evocation of Peter Gabriel may offer a reflective moment on the combination of “Cape Cod” and “Kwassa Kwassa” implicit in world music.

After the Afro-pop of “Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa,” “M79” abruptly shifts to the stately world of the high Baroque. The instrumentation includes classical instruments like violin, cello, and a harpsichord sound mimicked by Batmanglij’s keyboard.⁵² The opening instrumental section, transcribed in Figure 5.5, uses not just the timbral resources of the high baroque, but compositional techniques as well. The eight-bar phrase is neatly divided into two halves, with the antecedent phrase a two-measure riff that repeats twice. The lilting violin melody has parallel bass motion moving in tenths during the consequent sections of the phrase. After reaching vi in measure 6, the violin plays a descending scale running two octaves to a low G before rising via ascending thirds to a leading tone high F# which signals the V-I resolution to follow. Batmanglij plays an obbligato harpsichord part comprised of arpeggiated second-inversion triads until the final two measures, when the bass and keyboard oscillate between V and IV chords. The harmonic progression of the bridge is classical

⁵¹ The controversial Benetton ads are discussed in Henry A. Giroux, “Consuming Social Change: The ‘United Colors of Benetton,’” *Cultural Critique* 26 (1993–94): 5–32.

⁵² Batmanglij also used the harpsichord sound at the coda of “Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa,” using a black harpsichord to “perform” it at the end of the song’s music video.

Figure 5.5: Vampire Weekend, “M79,” instrumental riff

in nature, using a I-V₅⁶-vi stepwise progression and an unexpected V-ii cadence to outline a large-scale circle of fifths vi-ii-V-I progression.⁵³

Due to its classical references and textural complexity, “M79” most overtly demonstrates the techniques learned by Batmanglij in his music courses. The lyrics of “M79” also emplace the song in

⁵³ Further distancing the band from the Baroque is the lack of “harpichord” continuo in the left hand and the parallel fifths between V and IV between harpsichord and bass in measures 7–8.

the band's Upper West Side origins. The title refers to the crosstown bus that travels through Central Park between the Upper West and Upper East Sides of Manhattan. Lyrics reference the cabs ("pollination yellow") and rickshaws ("coronation rickshaw grab") crossing the park alongside the bus. However, the Upper West Side is not just columned buildings. A steady rock backbeat and thumping electric bass lightly underpin the classical melody, propelling the song forward through verse/chorus form. The classical and the pop enmesh in the architecture of both the Upper West Side and "M79," situating the song within the omnivory of the band's Columbia milieu.

Omnivory as Critical Juxtaposition

Each of the three songs discussed from *Vampire Weekend* depicts some aspect of bourgeois culture that also appears in the band's public image. "A-Punk" dabbled in the high fashion frequently worn by band members, including J. Crew, Polo, and Ralph Lauren. One of their first gigs at Columbia, for example, was a yacht-themed party at St. Anthony's Hall where fellow students wore captain's hats.⁵⁴ The references to summering in "Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa" similarly presented the group in a moneyed light, an association not limited to this song. The video for "Mansard Roof" depicted the quartet yachting from the ritzy Raritan Yacht Club through the Narrows into Manhattan. Another single, "Oxford Comma," complained about people overly obsessed with other's wealth. A review of the song in *Pitchfork* smirked that "there's nothing more moneyed than having the luxury to find money tacky."⁵⁵ Lastly, the use of classical techniques such as proper voice leading, circle-of-fifths harmonic progressions, and late-Baroque string lines as found in "M79" clinched the perception of the group as highbrows. As indie rockers who

⁵⁴ Preissel, "Vampire Weekend Strives."

⁵⁵ Nitsuh Abebe, "Review: Vampire Weekend, *Vampire Weekend*," *Pitchfork*, January 28, 2008, <http://pitchfork.com/reviews/albums/11058-vampire-weekend/>. Many songs on *Contra*, including "Aristocrat," "Diplomat's Son," and "Run" also discuss moneyed subjects.

foreground rather than submerge their privilege, the band appeared to be, in the words of a *New York Times* feature, “Dapper, Privileged and Unapologetic.”⁵⁶

The band’s bourgeois associations framed the critical reception of “A-Punk.” A British blog mused that “we like to see posh people falling over, baring their arses, muttering darkly about lost empire—stuff like that. So when this lot come along with their nice sweaters and *Dead Poets Society* air of ruling classes on the lark and they have the nerve to actually be any good, well, it boils one’s piss something rotten.”⁵⁷ Another review noted that “a cool organ breeze and a shifting drum beat save the day, prohibiting too much snark from being slung at their *New York Times*-featured... Columbia University, golden boy asses.”⁵⁸ For these writers, punk is supposed to be the music of the “dirty proletariat” or the “daring avant-garde,” in Dave Laing’s words, not four Columbia University grads in pastel cardigans who, two songs later, seem to compose a symphonic paean to the Upper West Side.⁵⁹

“A-Punk” and “M79” sound quite different, but reflect complementary methods of arriving at the *petit bourgeois* class position of omnivory. The band retains the energy of punk in “A-Punk,” but use signifiers of upper-class privilege like polos and pastel cardigans that keep direct, declassed musical signifiers such as distortion and messiness at bay.⁶⁰ In “M79,” the band is careful to include rock along with the overt classical references. Batmanglij stated in a 2007 interview that “I am interested in the way classical music and pop music can intersect.”⁶¹ “M79” does not replicate an

⁵⁶ Jon Caramanica, “Dapper, Privileged, and Unapologetic,” *New York Times* January 15, 2010, C1.

⁵⁷ Alex Denney, “Vampire Weekend – A-Punk,” *Drowned in Sound* February 25, 2008, <http://drownedinsound.com/releases/12897/reviews/2975921>.

⁵⁸ Jeff Klingman, “Track Review: Vampire Weekend ‘A-Punk,’” *Prefixmag* June 28, 2007, <http://www.prefixmag.com/news/track-review-vampire-weekend-a-punk/10845>.

⁵⁹ Laing, *One Chord Wonders*, 108.

⁶⁰ This theme was intensified in the band’s video for “Holiday” off *Contra*. The band wore full classical attire, including powdered wigs and faces, ruffled shirts, and breeches, while doing “punk” things in Los Angeles, like partying, skateboarding, and tagging.

⁶¹ Preissel, “Vampire Weekend Strives.”

18th-century concerto grosso, but applies techniques and timbres learned at Columbia to the band's 21st-century milieu of rock music.

The resistance to classical and punk exclusivities in “M79” and “A-Punk” act as dialectical means of demonstrating omnivorous inclusion. Turning back to the band's mock subgenres, though, the combination of African popular music and bourgeois signifiers has been the band's most obvious medium of omnivory. “Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa” is far from the only track in the band's repertoire incorporating Afro-pop: “Mansard Roof” and “Oxford Comma” feature the piping organ sounds of township jive, while “One (Blake's Got a New Face)” features the band mimicking the *bindewho* chants heard on the Ba-Benzélé pygmy recordings which have become notoriously prominent in world music discourses of appropriation.⁶² In an early interview, Koenig described Vampire Weekend's sound as “African preppy” and cited Ladysmith Black Mambazo and Fela Kuti as influences.⁶³ Critics scrutinized the ethics of “African preppy” by understanding how the group's “Cape Cod” background and image could justify their “Kwassa Kwassa” evocations. In an interview, Koenig noted that “because we favor certain ways of dressing and don't shy away from using obscure words and we went to Columbia University, people have put all the elements together and prejudged us as privileged white kids, even using the word ‘Wasp’... Those things, juxtaposed with our interest in world music, have made it very easy for people to raise the flag of colonialism or imperialism.”⁶⁴

A blog debate between two indie music critics, Jessica Hopper and Nitsuh Abebe, exemplified the critical reception to the band's use of Afro-pop. In a blog post for the *Chicago Reader*, Hopper argued that Vampire Weekend's class and educational background *a priori* exoticizes

⁶² Cf. Steven Feld, “Pygmy POP: A Genealogy of Schizophonic Mimesis,” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 28 (1996): 1–35.

⁶³ Preissel, “Vampire Weekend Strive.”

⁶⁴ Paul Lester, “Vampire Weekend: ‘They’re Attacking a Version of Us that Doesn’t Exist,’” *The Guardian* January 7, 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2010/jan/07/vampire-weekend-contra>. Three-quarters of the band (Koenig, Batmanglij, and Biao) come from non-Protestant backgrounds.

Afropop. She asserted that the particular problem of “a mostly white American band dipping into traditionally black sounds...comes down to class.”⁶⁵ The band’s bourgeois signifiers try to distance themselves from privilege just as their songs and tastes are a direct result of their privileged status. Responding to Hopper’s post, Abebe argued that Hopper’s position simply critiques Vampire Weekend for being privileged Columbia graduates. Abebe defends the band because, in his opinion, their music “deploys class signifiers to describe [the experience of class]...and is forthright and curious about the fact that they’re class signifiers.”⁶⁶ Abebe acknowledges that the semiotic play evident in the title “Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa” might be a way to think through and critique issues of colonization, privilege, and aesthetic interest in the music of Others.

Hopper and Abebe’s positions reflect ethnomusicological debates over 1980s world music anchored by the poles of what Steven Feld called “anxiety” and “celebration.”⁶⁷ The anxious side, reflected in Hopper’s point, stresses how interchanges between Western and non-Western music ineluctably reinforce unequal power structures through their circulation within a socioeconomic structure advantageous to Western interests. From this perspective, Vampire Weekend will always represent Cape Cod rather than kwassa kwassa. The celebratory pole believes that world music hybrids can create new forms with the potential to subvert established orders by bringing greater

⁶⁵ Hopper, “Appropriation, Vacation.” The phrase “a mostly white American band dipping” was struck through and replaced with “An American band without any black members that dips.” An editor’s note was added, saying “this sentence has been changed to better reflect the author’s original intent, which was simply to point out that no one in Vampire Weekend shares a culture with the African and Caribbean musicians who have inspired the group.” I retain the original statement in my discussion because it betrays some uncomfortable homologies between race and class expressed in Hopper’s position.

⁶⁶ Nitsuh Abebe, “The Rules of the Game: A Fuller Thought on J. Hopper and Vampire Weekend,” *a grammar*, January 29, 2010, <http://agrammar.tumblr.com/post/359990238/the-rules-of-the-game-a-fuller-thought-on-j-hopper>. For Abebe, Hopper’s hypocrisy manifests itself most evidently in her categorization of Rostam Batmanglij, a first-generation Persian immigrant, as “functionally white” because he is “well-educated, seemed middle-class (at least), was relatively light-skinned, and played arch keyboard lines for an indie band.” Batmanglij’s background, as a classically-trained musician and son of a Persian cooking authority, trades in the two most significant aspects of bourgeois taste, according to Bourdieu. To Abebe, though, bourgeois does not equal white. Abebe vitriolically castigates Hopper for this essentialization in another blogpost, “Jessica Hopper Should Be Sort of Ashamed of Herself, In My Opinion,” *a grammar*, January 28, 2010, <http://agrammar.tumblr.com/post/358471178/jessica-hopper-should-be-sort-of-ashamed-of-herself-in>.

⁶⁷ Feld, “A Sweet Lullaby.”

awareness to global inequality. In this view, Vampire Weekend can critically, purposefully engage kwassa kwassa to understand their Cape Cod background. The multitude of comparisons between Vampire Weekend and Paul Simon, whose *Graceland* marked the *sine qua non* of world music scholarship, further underlines the importance of this epistemology for the band's reception.⁶⁸

If the demographic connections between New Yorkers with penchants for African popular music seem obvious, one problem with making such a comparison is that Vampire Weekend does not directly collaborate with world music artists. Afro-pop enters their music through performance style, timbre, and/or lyrical evocation. This change does not render the world music ethical debate moot; Feld argued that influence is a dangerous "level at which [non-Western musics and artists] can be continually manipulated for export and recirculation, in their made-over forms."⁶⁹ Influence instead shifts the attention from the economics of collaboration in world music discourse toward the ethics of taste mediated through Vampire Weekend's Columbia education. Omnivory encouraged by their university education predisposed the band to appreciate world music. Reflecting *Bildung*, their omnivorous disposition construes African popular music as a means of opening up questions about one's place within global culture. A song like "Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa" neither simply demonstrates the potentialities of new forms of genre hybridity nor uncritically reinforces global power structures. Rather, it offers an example of applied *Bildung*.

⁶⁸ Bret McCabe, "A New York State of Graceland," *New York Sun* January 29, 2008, <http://www.nysun.com/arts/new-york-state-of-graceland/70337>. See also Lester, "Vampire Weekend: 'They're Attacking,'" and Pete Freedman, "Vampire Weekend Backlash at SXSW," *Dallas Observer* March 21, 2008, <http://www.dallasobserver.com/2008-03-20/music/vampire-weekend-backlash-at-sxsw/>. Koenig acknowledged that "[Graceland] is a good album. But people sometimes make it sound like we set out to make another version of Graceland. Which, when you actually listen to our album, doesn't make that much sense." Natalie Nichols, "No, They Don't Want to Drink Your Buzz," *Los Angeles Times* March 20, 2008, <http://articles.latimes.com/2008/mar/20/entertainment/et-vampire20/>. For the ethnomusicological debate over *Graceland*, see Steven Feld, "Notes on World Beat," *Public Culture* 1, no. 1 (1988): 31–37; Charles Hamm, "Graceland Revisited," *Popular Music* 8, no. 3 (1989): 299–304; Louise Mientjes, "Paul Simon's Graceland, South Africa, and the Mediation of Musical Meaning," *Ethnomusicology* 34, no. 1 (1990): 37–74; George Lipsitz, "Strategic Anti-Essentialism in Popular Music," in *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism and the Poetics of Place* (New York: Verso, 1994), 56–61; and Veit Erlmann, "Hero on the Pop Chart: Paul Simon and the Aesthetics of World Music," in *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 179–98.

⁶⁹ Feld, "Notes on World Beat," 37.

Vampire Weekend's interests in world music explicitly drew on band members' experiences during their studies. They took courses with Steven Feld while he taught at Columbia, where they would have confronted his theories on world music.⁷⁰ Chris Tomson also worked at WKCR, the campus radio station, where "there was a great African show, and a really incredible library of stuff you could take and listen to in your room."⁷¹ Ezra Koenig in particular immersed himself in courses which examined inequalities in the global fashion and music industries. He took two courses, "Imperialism and the Cryptographic Imagination," and "Plagiarism, Parody, and Postcolonialism," where, in his words, he learned how "relationships between imperial powers and colonized peoples could involve lots of codes."⁷² Koenig transferred these interests into a broader awareness of how western clothes reflected the histories of their colonial others. He recalled that "around the time the band started, I became very interested in the connection between preppy American fashion and Victorian imperialism. For instance: where does the word 'khaki' come from? It's Urdu. Where does 'seersucker' come from? Hindi-slash-Persian. Madras prints? They're from India. Blazers? They were a British naval uniform."⁷³ Koenig infused his interests in music, fashion, and colonialism into his senior writing project, a collection of short stories written around the same time Vampire Weekend formed. This collection he titled "Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa."

According to a *New Yorker* article, the stories "involve clothes, music, and some wistful evocation of a calm, privileged world that is shaken by realizations about grim historical realities in places like Africa."⁷⁴ The title story of the collection "recalls a trip that Jennifer and her mother took to Cape Cod" during the late 1980s. Jennifer, like Koenig, is an Ivy League student (she attends Cornell), who is the product of a bourgeois background and globalized economy: "she is wearing

⁷⁰ Aaron Fox, personal communication, April 1, 2012. Feld taught at Columbia from 2003 to 2005.

⁷¹ Eells, "Semi-Charmed Life."

⁷² Lizzie Widdicombe, "School of Rock: Vampire Weekend Goes West," *New Yorker* January 4, 2010, 33.

⁷³ Eells, "Semi-Charmed Life." Koenig felt a strong kinship to Ralph Lauren, who grew up as the son of Russian Jewish parents in the same Bronx neighborhood as Koenig's father, who is also Jewish.

⁷⁴ Widdicombe, "School of Rock," 33

khaki shorts and a wide-brimmed hat like an old-time safari wife. You are dressed in the United Colors of Benetton. It is 1988.”⁷⁵ The trip’s soundtrack is, of course, *Graceland*. Koenig demonstrates his awareness of class issues by linking Jennifer’s consumption of Benetton and *Graceland* with the imperialist image of the safari wife. Despite this criticism, Koenig doesn’t condemn Jennifer nor distance himself from her privilege.⁷⁶ Rather, he uses the contradiction of fashion, summering, and world music to examine how colonial Others seep into bourgeois life.

The title “Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa,” like “Upper West Side Soweto,” seems at first glance uncritical, but the title encapsulates the story’s intention to scrutinize how world music relates to bourgeois life. Cape Cod is not meant to appropriate kwassa kwassa; rather, kwassa kwassa is intended to unsettle Cape Cod. In an interview, Chris Tomson declared that “‘Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa’ is... not a celebration of a certain kind of lifestyle...it's a critique.”⁷⁷ Given the depth of engagement with the relationship between bourgeois life and colonialism in the story and subsequent song, “Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa” offers a mission statement on how Vampire Weekend reflect upon postcolonial music and fashion. The Afro-pop evocations like bright timbres and crisp guitar attacks seem semiotically juxtaposed to the lyrics describing a pseudo-autobiographical child of privilege. Yet the Afro-pop is never really separate from the bourgeois West. The girl listens to *Graceland* in the story’s car ride, and wears Louis Vuitton over a *saiegy* beat. The combination climaxes at the unsettling pause on ii under the line “it feels so unnatural.” This lyric and musical setting grasps the tension Koenig explored in his studies: both Afro-pop and Cape Cod are implicated in the other’s unequal position. For Koenig, the song’s critique arises through the

⁷⁵ Ibid., The band hearkens to the story’s setting in the video for “Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa,” which contains numerous signifiers of 1980s culture—*Pretty in Pink*, the Smiths—crossed with a Cape Cod beach party.

⁷⁶ The story actually discusses Jennifer’s mother’s battle with cancer, placing fashion and world music as frames for a *Bildungsroman*-esque narrative.

⁷⁷ Gareth Grundy, “Vampire Weekend: An Ivy League Hero Is Something to Be,” *Guardian Observer* February 27, 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2010/feb/28/vampire-weekend-feature>.

realization that the social inequality in global culture implicit in Afro-pop is not “natural,” but the result of the intersections between culture and colonialism.

The uses of classical and punk in “M79” and “A-Punk” help Vampire Weekend assert the *petit bourgeois* class position of the omnivore. Then, by combining Afro-pop and indie rock in “Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa,” Vampire Weekend examines the ethics of their own tastes. The song engages and admits the group’s own complicity in the untidy politics of global flows in the wake of colonialism and, through reflection upon their background, enables a critical examination of larger questions of socioeconomic inequality. Rather than passing judgment, “Cape Cod Kwassa Kwassa” presents a juxtaposition of colonized and colonizer, one intended to open up space for *Bildung* which critically examines, but doesn’t resolve, the band’s place within the contemporary globalization of culture.

Dirty Projectors, “What I See” and “Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie”

“[Don] Henley wanders further into the Wilderness – so much further that West becomes East. He fills giddy and slack to have been totally loosed from old moorings, so he tunes down his guitar a fifth.”⁷⁸ So reads the libretto of the Dirty Projectors’ 2005 album *The Getty Address* at the seventh song, “Ponds and Puddles.” Begun while Longstreth attended Yale, the album is a chamber opera that compares the commercialization and homogenization of American landscapes with the fall of the Aztec Empire. The songs merge operatic conceits, *musique concrète*-like remixing of acoustic instruments, dissonant vocal polyphony, and Asian instruments. For example, “Ponds and Puddles” opens following the libretto with a pentatonic, free rhythmic riff played on a guitar tuned down a fifth to mimic the slack, metallic sound of the Japanese *koto*. Underneath the riff, Longstreth adds a groove comprised of cowbells, breathy shakuhachi keyboard sounds, and clicking noises meant to

⁷⁸ Quoted in Jon Pareles, “Indie-Rock on a Quest, with Woodwinds, Brass and Strings,” *New York Times* February 22, 2010, www.nytimes.com/2010/02/22/arts/music/22dirty.html.

resemble cicadas. This sound world then transitions into a flute duet with quartal harmonies over an electronic drumbeat.

The wildly divergent cultural worlds on the album as a whole, from the Aztecs to Don Henley to *koto*, seem to reflect the libretto's sense of becoming "totally loosed from old moorings." Critics of the album noted the free association between divergent genres. A *Pitchfork* review noted that the album "isn't just opera with a little thump for flavor—Longstreth comes at modern R&B, just as he does folk and classical, with a deep appreciation and an outsider's flair."⁷⁹ Another stated plainly that "Longstreth has obviously absorbed a variety of music in his days."⁸⁰ This eclecticism obviates a connection with omnivore theory, but in a much different way than that of Vampire Weekend. If Vampire Weekend used juxtaposition to explore how their own subject positions and tastes were formed by those moorings, the Dirty Projectors incorporate disparate musical genres in an individualized, seemingly intuitive manner that seeks to burst the moorings apart.

Nowhere is this strategy more sustained and focused than in the band's follow-up to *The Getty Address*, *Rise Above*. Released in 2007, *Rise Above* is ostensibly a cover album of Black Flag's seminal 1981 hardcore album *Damaged*. However, *Rise Above* does not offer a faithful recreation of *Damaged*, a deflection signified in the retitling of Longstreth's effort after the album's most famous track.⁸¹ He described the album as "my attempt to rewrite Black Flag's album *Damaged* from memory—not listening to the music or looking up the words on the Internet, just trying to access the memory crystals stored from when I loved it back in middle school."⁸² He considered the result not "an album of covers or an homage per se, but as an original creative act....I relied on memory

⁷⁹ Jason Crock, "Review: Dirty Projectors, *The Getty Address*," *Pitchfork*, April 10, 2005, <http://pitchfork.com/reviews/albums/2536-the-getty-address>.

⁸⁰ Keith Kawaii, "Review: Dirty Projectors, *The Getty Address*," *Tiny Mix Tapes*, accessed July 2, 2013, <http://www.tinymixtapes.com/music-review/dirty-projectors-getty-address>.

⁸¹ The track order of *Rise Above* is also substantially different from *Damaged*, and omits two tracks from the original release: "TV Party" and *Damaged II*."

⁸² Steven Saweda, "Dirty Projectors on Dead Oceans," *The Stranger* February 23, 2007, http://lineout.thestranger.com/2007/02/dirty_projectors_rise_above_with_dead_oc.

and intuition mostly.”⁸³ *Damaged* essentially functions as source material for Longstreth’s recompositions. Lyrics are rearranged and omitted to fit into cover versions that scarcely resemble the original songs.

According to critic Michael Azerrad, Black Flag’s album is “perhaps the key hardcore document. It boiled over with rage on several fronts...all against a savage, brutal backdrop that welded apoplectic punk rock to the anomie of dark Seventies metal like Black Sabbath.”⁸⁴ *Damaged* mined explosive lyrics (e.g. “I want to live, I wish I was dead” on “What I See”) through heavily distorted guitars, fast bass and drum rhythm section, and intense screaming vocals. By contrast, the dominant genre heard on *Rise Above* is African popular music. Some songs retain the heavy distortion of hardcore, like the coda of “Thirsty and Miserable,” the repeated power chords in the chorus and coda of “Spray Paint the Walls,” and Longstreth’s angst-fueled vocals in “Police Story.” Art music also occasionally enters, like in the violin and viola duet opening “No More” and the dissonant flute trio acting as stylized sirens throughout “Police Story.” Yet the prominence of elements of West African pop music—bright guitar timbres, hocketing, and “polyrhythmic arrangements and precision”—are evident throughout the album.⁸⁵

The opening song, “What I See,” demonstrates the relationship between punk, art music, and West African popular music on *Rise Above*. (A table summarizing the song’s form is found in Figure 5.6.) The song opens with a groove featuring sprightly guitar, triangles, toms, and responsorial vocals similar to a King Sunny Adé highlife track. Longstreth sings the chorus in a rhythmically free manner as Coffman and Deradoorian parrot the words in lockstep with the groove. After a brief, slow *a cappella* vocal interlude, the following verse and chorus continue over

⁸³ Sean Moeller, “Have You Seen the New Red? It’s Like Nothin’ You’ve Ever Seen,” *Daytrotter* May 7, 2007, <http://www.daytrotter.com/dt/dirty-projectors-concert/20030095-110629.html>.

⁸⁴ Michael Azerrad, *Our Band Could Be Your Life: Scenes from the American Indie Underground* (Boston: Little and Brown, 2001), 33.

⁸⁵ Mike Powell, “Review: Dirty Projectors, *Rise Above*,” *Pitchfork* September 7, 2007, <http://pitchfork.com/reviews/albums/10577-rise-above>.

the highlife groove. At the end of the second chorus, the song fades into a more distorted bridge whose guitar feedback and vocal yelps seemingly breach the language of hardcore. The guitar feedback instead transitions into a slow, dissonant wind ensemble which underpins the third verse. As the verse progresses, shades of the opening highlife groove reemerge before fully returning over the final chorus. The coda echoes the distortion of the bridge, but the bright guitar timbres mitigate against too much aggression. Hardcore and classical are necessary elements of “What I See,” but the genres remain bracketed by Afro-pop.

The dominance of Afro-pop in *Rise Above* over the hardcore of *Damaged* is further demonstrated by the seventh song on the album, “Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie.” After an introductory vocalise, the song begins with a sunny guitar solo in F major in the left channel and an f-F alternating guitar pattern marking the beat in the right channel. As in “What I See,” Longstreth uses bright guitar timbres, lazily uptempo beat, and free rhythmic play against a strong metrical demarcation to imitate highlife. Coffman and Deradoorian enter on the chorus, singing the words “Gimme, gimme gimme gimme some more, don’t ask, don’t ask, don’t ask what for” in a diatonic sweep outlining an F9 harmony (see Figure 5.7). The vocals end with a rhythmically complex vocal flourish that elides the beat.⁸⁶ Around the vocals, the guitar skips around the beat, maintaining a clipped, spaced style with a bright timbre evoking the jazz refractions of King Sunny Adé.⁸⁷ This breezy section is interrupted by a thunderous, industrial drum break which might seem to herald Black Flag’s aggression, but it instead leads to a three-part homophonic setting of the chorus which continues the highlife groove.

⁸⁶ On the recording, this beat is slightly elongated to fit the quintuplet. Longstreth’s music is filled with sections that elongate beats to fit complex beat divisions; for example, see the openings of “Two Doves” or “Cannibal Resource” on *Bitte Orca*.

⁸⁷ Ben Sisario described such figures as “sinuous West African-influenced guitar lines” in “The Experimental, Led by the Obsessive.”

Time Section	Genre evoked
0:00 Intro	highlife
0:21 Chorus	highlife
0:42 A cappella tag	?
0:56 Verse 1	highlife
1:10 Chorus	highlife
1:30 Bridge	hardcore
2:00 Instrumental section	art music
2:20 Verse 2	art music --> highlife (2:36)
2:46 Chorus	highlife
3:14 Coda	highlife/hardcore

Figure 5.6: Dirty Projectors, “What I See,” form chart

Voice

Gim - me, gim - me gim - me gim - me some more,

Voice

Don't ask, don't ask, don't ask what for,

Figure 5.7: Dirty Projectors, “Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie,” chorus 1 vocal flourish

Voice

Fmaj7 C9/F

Figure 5.8: Dirty Projectors, “Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie,” hocket

Bb5 Ab5

Gim-mie gim-mie gim- mie! Gim-mie some more!...

Bb5 Ab5

Gim-mie gim-mie gim- mie! Don't ask what for!

Figure 5.9: Black Flag, “Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie,” chorus

After the chorus, Coffman and Deradoorian sing in hocket with one another, alternating every sixteenth note. (The first two measures are transcribed in Figure 5.8). The hocket features an open, short, breathy tone and diatonic pitch elements that mimics the vocal timbres and polyrhythmic interplay heard in pygmy recordings. The use of pedal points and constant perfect fourth intervals simplify repetition and chord shifting, enabling Coffman and Deradoorian to recreate the hocket in performance. The guitar shifts from a clipped timbre to a strummed, reverberant sound marking the beat to highlight the sixteenth-note texture and sustain the jazzy harmonies. The hocketing texture continues underneath Longstreth's flid, melismatic vocals during the first verse before returning to the homophonic chorus. This chorus is followed by a new setting of the chorus text based on a more insistent, metrically demarcated version of the flourish in Figure 5.7. Sustained vocal aahs louden the mix, breaching the intensity of hardcore. Instead, the climax returns to a restatement of the hocket. Another verse and chorus follow before the coda, a phased guitar solo that derives from the song's clipped guitar acrobatics.

The sunny opening groove, the hocketing, and relaxed tempo of the Dirty Projectors' version of "Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie," overwhelm Black Flag's original with the sounds of Afro-pop. The distance between cover and source could scarcely be further. The original song has a muscular, basic form, blasting through six choruses and four verses in a minute and forty-two seconds. Black Flag's music eschewed instrumental sections and complex forms for straightforward formal structures and exceptionally short song lengths, and this track is no exception. The lyrics have a very basic four-line structure with an ABCB rhyme scheme in the verse and ABAB in the chorus. The text mixes "persecution and bravado," in Michael Azerrad's terms, with "a particularly virulent strain of self-lacerating angst."⁸⁸ Singer Henry Rollins spits out the lyrics in a barely-pitched yell over heavy, repeating Bb and Ab power chords. (Figure 5.9 shows the chorus "melody.")

⁸⁸ Azerrad, *Our Band Could Be Your Life*, 33.

Black Flag, <i>Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie</i>	Dirty Projectors, <i>Gimme Gimme Gimme</i>
Time Section	Time Section
0:00 Drum intro	0:00 Intro (pt. 1)
0:04 Chorus	0:06 Intro (pt. 2)
0:12 Verse 1	0:47 Prechorus (Chorus B)
0:22 Chorus	1:01 Chorus
0:31 Verse 2	1:20 Bridge
0:42 Chorus	1:42 Verse 1
0:51 Verse 3	2:07 Chorus
1:02 Chorus	2:27 Chorus B
1:10 Drum intro	2:45 Bridge
1:17 Chorus	3:09 Verse 2
1:26 Verse 1	3:30 Transition
1:36 Chorus	3:49 Chorus (2x)
	4:28 Outro

Figure 5.10: Comparative form chart, Black Flag, “Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie” and Dirty Projectors, “Gimme Gimme Gimme”

Rollins’ line is entirely syllabic in eighth notes, and each line begins the eighth note pattern on the third beat of the measure. He stays around F, the fifth of Bb, with a sneer on the last word that bends the monotone melody toward Eb.⁸⁹ The chorus phrase acts as a pickup to the hypermetric phrase, so that the final “gimme” arrives on the beat. This causes an added measure to be appended to the end of the verse, creating large-scale syncopation that adds forward momentum to an already fast, aggressive song.

The form chart in Figure 5.10 distills the differences between Black Flag’s and Dirty Projectors’ versions. Longstreth expands Black Flag’s original from a taut two minutes to over five.⁹⁰ The first verse doesn’t even begin until 1:42, nearly the *total* length of Black Flag’s song. The breezy *allegro ma non troppo* setting by Dirty Projectors greatly expands the lengths of verses and choruses from Black Flag’s violent *presto*. The Dirty Projectors’ cover reduces the amount of verses and

⁸⁹ The first and penultimate choruses differ in texture and hypermeter from the transcribed chorus. They remove the power chords, instead featuring Rollins over a taut, martial drum beat. During these choruses, Rollins’s lyrics square with the metric structure—his words “Gimme Gimme Gimme” begins on the first beat of the four bar hypermeter, and each subsequent phrase follows this pattern. Ginn was attuned to rhythm and groove, and this subtle rhythmic shift helps create a brief pause around the musical assault of the rest of the song. *Ibid.*, 32–33.

⁹⁰ This trend runs through the whole album. Black Flag’s *Damaged* clocks in at just under 35 minutes for fifteen songs; *Rise Above* is four songs shorter but ten minutes longer.

choruses, but includes two different chorus settings, a lengthy instrumental introduction and coda, and two bridges, greatly increasing the number of unique musical sections within the song. The oscillation between verse and chorus in Black Flag's "Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie" is subsumed in the Dirty Projectors' version under a more complex formal structure based on evoking the textural and instrumental evocations of African pop genres half a world away from that of hardcore.

Omnivory as Remediated Incorporation

By replacing hardcore with West African popular music, *Rise Above* epitomizes Bethany Bryson's corollary that omnivores trade highbrow racial othering for classist othering.⁹¹ As a Yale-educated musician, Longstreth would be predisposed to appreciate West African music, but repelled from the punishingly homogeneous distortion, basic formal structures, and simplistic lyrics of hardcore. Longstreth kept his distance from hardcore through conceiving of *Rise Above* as a refraction of *Damaged* and associating the original with his juvenile tastes. His statement in the previous section that he "loved it back in middle school" associated the album with his teenage past kept at arm's length through the fuzzy conduit of "memory crystals." *Damaged* was undeniably important during Longstreth's formative years, but he had developed more elevated tastes by the time of *Rise Above*. The album occasionally references hardcore, but the evocations are quickly quelled, whether through a highlife groove in "Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie" or dissonant wind music in "What I See."

The omnivore thesis explains why *Rise Above* distances hardcore in favor of Afro-pop and art music. Unlike the members of Vampire Weekend, though, Longstreth resists connecting his preferences to his Ivy League pedigree. Longstreth has repeatedly downplayed the university's role in shaping his musical outlook. A *New York Times* article claimed he "is something of an

⁹¹ The two most famous members of Black Flag, Greg Ginn and Henry Rollins, were both upper-class; Ginn studied economics at UCLA, and Rollins grew up in an affluent neighborhood of Washington, DC. However, many of the aspirations and audiences of hardcore were resolutely working-class.

autodidact.”⁹² He admitted, “I guess you could say I was classically trained. . . . I studied music at Yale, but I actually didn’t really enjoy my time at Yale a whole lot, and I left for a while.”⁹³ Per an interview with *The Guardian*, Longstreth disliked Yale because “they were interested in ‘preserving old things, establishing canons,’ whereas he was interested in making new things.”⁹⁴ Longstreth equated higher education with inculcation into restrictive highbrow tastes.

Longstreth’s distaste for academia, however, does not translate into anti-intellectualism. Ben Sisario noted that “in a few minutes of conversation he drops calculated references to Monteverdi and James Joyce.”⁹⁵ He has frequently cited prestigious composers and literary artists as influences. In another interview, he claimed that “I like music and art and literature that posits its own world. Wagner, William Blake, or Coltrane, or *Ulysses*, something that is an entire world.”⁹⁶ Moreover, he agrees with the liberal arts mission of self-discovery through musical engagement. Returning to *The Getty Address*, Longstreth described the main character, Don Henley, as “definitely *not* [Henley]—he is based more on my brother Jake, Hernán Cortes and also Stephen Dedalus from James Joyce’s book *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*.”⁹⁷ Each character signifies exploration: Jake, Dave’s older brother, introduced him to much new music; Cortes was the infamous *conquistador* of the Aztec Empire, and Dedalus undergoes his own *Bildung* process enabled by, but distrustful of, his schooling. Following Dedalus, Longstreth associates Yale with highbrow tastes and limited specializations that hindered rather than contributed to his education.

⁹² Sisario, “The Experimental, Led by the Obsessive.”

⁹³ “Dirty Projectors: A Polarizing Sound at the Fringes of Pop,” *NPR*, July 14, 2012, <http://www.npr.org/2012/07/14/156744167/dirty-projectors-a-polarizing-sound-at-the-fringes-of-pop>.

⁹⁴ Wood, “Is This the Cleverest Band?”

⁹⁵ Sisario, “The Experimental, Led by the Obsessive.”

⁹⁶ Longstreth, interview with Beta.

⁹⁷ David Longstreth, letter to Don Henley, January 3, 2005, <http://www.thegettyaddress.com/henley.html>. Emphasis his. The character’s name came from Henley’s critique of Clear Channel’s homogenization of FM radio, which Longstreth likened to the homogenization of American landscapes that he explored in the opera.

Afro-pop marks a prominent arena for expressing his autodidactic omnivory. Ezra Koenig cited Longstreth's "deep reverence for and knowledge of African guitar music" in an interview.⁹⁸ Critics have repeatedly commented on the band's inclusion of Afro-pop, calling their music "Afro-math-rock,"⁹⁹ "Afro-indie,"¹⁰⁰ "Afropop indie,"¹⁰¹ and "[a combination of] avant-garde pop, scratchy African-inspired melodies, and bumping R&B beats."¹⁰² In an interview, Longstreth described his interest in Afropop as flowing from a larger interest in hybridized African and African-American music: "To me it started with being just sort of like, Motown shit, and into some of the early James Brown shit. And then there's that Brian Eno essay about the return of these Americanized African music to Africa, in music like Fela Kuti. I guess that's where I began, and I quickly ran through a whole bunch of those Nonesuch and the Okura discs, more like ethnomusicological folk musics. And then there's that book by John Chernoff, *African Rhythm and African Sensibility*."¹⁰³ Like Vampire Weekend, Dirty Projectors view African music as inextricably bound up with its Western counterparts. However, Longstreth uses this *a priori* cultural hybridity as license for his own production of hybrid forms intended to resist "preserving old things" and "establishing canons."

In another interview, Longstreth "contextualized the international music/American 'independent' music relationship" not through "sanitation, domestication, and theft, but proper deconstruction, abstraction, and creative misreading."¹⁰⁴ His quote celebrates the possibilities of combining and reinterpreting the relationship between Western and African forms to produce new

⁹⁸ Shankly, "Vampire Weekend Interviewed."

⁹⁹ Aaron Leitko, "Review: Dirty Projectors, 'Emblem of the World,'" *Pitchfork* January 21, 2010, <http://pitchfork.com/reviews/tracks/11724-emblem-of-the-world>.

¹⁰⁰ Ben Sisario, "When Indie-Rock Genres Seem to Outnumber the Bands," *New York Times* December 31, 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/03/arts/music/03indie.html>.

¹⁰¹ "Pitchfork Taking a Survey, Lists Current Music Trends (in the Trends You Wish Would Go Away Category)," *Brooklyn Vegan* December 3, 2009, accessed November 21, 2011, http://www.brooklynvegan.com/archives/2009/12/pitchfork_takin.html.

¹⁰² "Event: Devo," *The Onion A.V. Club* March 16, 2011, <http://www.avclub.com/chicago/events/devo-and-dirty-projectors,189946/>.

¹⁰³ Chris Dahlen, "Interview: Dirty Projectors," *Pitchfork*, July 6, 2009, <http://pitchfork.com/features/interviews/7665-dirty-projectors>. I have not been able to locate the Brian Eno essay that Longstreth cites.

¹⁰⁴ Longstreth, interview with Beta.

musical combinations. He seeks to move past the anxious and celebratory discourses of world music toward a new paradigm that ethnomusicologist David Novak has termed “World Music 2.0.” Novak defines World Music 2.0 as a new conception of world music that uses new distribution channels to enable new repackagings of sounds for politically and institutionally subversive means. World Music 2.0 is premised on “remediation,” the rechanneling and repurposing of non-Western forms in order to “create new media, but also new subjects of mediated culture.”¹⁰⁵ Novak argues that World Music 2.0 dovetails an interest in non-Western music with a punk DIY aesthetic that seeks to overcome institutional logics as an ethical stance against both entrenched music industry copyright systems and academic ethnography.

The combination of indie anti-mainstream politics, punk DIY aesthetics, and non-Western popular musics encapsulated in World Music 2.0 is useful for understanding the politics of taste Dirty Projectors seek in *Rise Above*. Longstreth uses West African music through the logics of alternative networks of global music flows rather than the poles of the world music debate. When questioned about his use of Afro-pop, Longstreth retorted, “do we need to trot out the politically correct post-colonial guilt thing in dutiful recreation of the *Graceland* debate? Probably not.”¹⁰⁶ Borrowing from Eric Lott and Bob Dylan, he has asserted that his use of world music is “a different model than the *Graceland* love and theft way.”¹⁰⁷ Vampire Weekend wanted distance from *Graceland* because its collaborative compositional process was irrelevant to them, but acknowledged the influence of “the *Graceland* debate” in their conception of Afro-pop. Longstreth also indicates his awareness of the debate, but signals irrelevance through disinterest. Instead, he uses West African pop as a means of invoking punk’s intuitive ideological affront towards institutional logics.

¹⁰⁵ David Novak, “The Sublime Frequencies of New Old Media,” *Public Culture* 23, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 605.

¹⁰⁶ Scott Indrisek, “Indie Rock Dreams of Africa: The Dirty Projectors,” *Rhapsody* January 28, 2008, accessed November 21, 2011, <http://blog.rhapsody.com/2008/01/indie-rock-dreams-of-africa-the-dirty-projectors.html>.

¹⁰⁷ Longstreth, interview with Beta. However, Koenig noted in an interview that Longstreth bought a cassette of *Graceland* during their 2004 India tour. Michael Rabinowitz, “Vampire Weekend: Interview with Ezra Koenig,” *REAX*, February 1, 2008, http://reaxmusic.com/tiki-read_article.php?articleId=50409.

Following the hypotheses of omnivore theory, little on *Rise Above*, or any other part of the Dirty Projectors' oeuvre, sounds like punk music. Despite this sonic distance, Longstreth has invoked Laing's punk "spirit" as compositional ethos in interviews. He claimed that, despite his academic composition background, "the one thing I've kept most with me from when I was obsessed with [Olympia punk and indie label] K Records in high school and college is to maintain the spirit of an amateur, someone who is doing it for a love rather than out of a sense of expertise. The idea that music is free, that it's not the province of some technician, be it Milton Babbitt or Jimmy Page."¹⁰⁸ Longstreth acknowledged the importance of his Yale background, but, drawing on his rejection of higher education, posited himself as an intuitive amateur opposed to academic specialization or technical virtuosity. Instead of overwhelming punk with Afro-pop on *Rise Above*, Longstreth intends the genres to share a common politics.

Longstreth has professed his admiration for the aesthetic vision of Black Flag. The band's leader, Greg Ginn, lacked formal training, instead becoming inspired to form a band after hearing the spitfire energy of New York City punk groups like the Ramones.¹⁰⁹ In DIY fashion, he taught himself guitar, formed a band, created his own record company, SST Records, and self-distributed the group's early EPs. If Longstreth may have found the songs on *Damaged* too juvenile, he felt a strong ideological connection to Ginn. Ginn was notorious for his intense work ethic and focused aesthetic, and the group rehearsed eight hours a day, six or seven days a week. Ginn maintained control throughout the recording process by demanding particular sounds, insisting on perfection, and producing and self-distributing the group's albums.¹¹⁰ Longstreth idolized Ginn as a visionary able to express an intuitive aesthetic discipline. When writing *Rise Above*, Longstreth claimed that he

¹⁰⁸ Sisario, "The Experimental, Led By the Obsessive."

¹⁰⁹ Azerrad, *Our Band Could Be Your Life*, 16.

¹¹⁰ Henry Rollins recalls the intensity of Black Flag's rehearsals in *We Owe You Nothing: Punk Planet: The Collected Interviews*, ed. Daniel Silver (New York: Akashic Books, 2001), 88–89.

was deeply interested in “Ginn’s vision....I would’ve loved to be there with [Ginn] in that kind of moment, responding to it.”¹¹¹

Following Ginn, Longstreth similarly conceived of the early Dirty Projectors albums as manifestations of a unified aesthetic, marshaling disparate influences into thematic wholes. *Rise Above* most directly follows Ginn’s vision. Longstreth wrote the full album in only a couple of days, using different Black Flag songs to mine the connections between punk and West African pop. He then insisted on punishing rehearsal schedules where the band, newly reforming at the time, only practiced those songs.¹¹² Singer Amber Coffman remembered interminable rehearsals with Longstreth where she was “in the basement of this house in Bed-Stuy with Dave and a metronome for hours and hours.”¹¹³ Grasping the aesthetic of *Rise Above* required complete immersion in Longstreth’s vision so that the polyrhythmic attacks and grooves of African pop music and unusual formal structures became as intuitive, direct, and expressive as Black Flag’s fast tempi and power chords.

The combination of intuition and discipline through Afro-pop and punk is borne out in “What I See” and “Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie.” Both songs’ forms almost hyperactively shift between disparate musical worlds. In “Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie,” the opening vocal melisma has little to do with the rest of the song, the middle chorus expands into vocal aahs, and the opening and closing instrumental sections drift with little concern for time. The middle of “What I See”

¹¹¹ Longstreth, interview with Beta. Longstreth’s interest in Ginn is directly counterposed to his distaste for frontman Henry Rollins. Rollins joined the group in 1980, after the band’s first EP releases. Rollins parlayed his career as Black Flag’s frontman into the leader of his own group, the Rollins Band, and has since made a name for himself on national TV and MTV. Since the band’s breakup, Ginn and Rollins have barely spoken. Ginn dismissed Rollins’ accomplishments in an interview, claiming that “the band reached the peak of its popularity with [former singer] Dez [Cadena]. He was people’s favorite singer and connected most with an audience....I would rather be rid of [Rollins].” Rollins himself mixed feelings of awe with feelings of not being wanted: “It was Greg Ginn’s band. I was the fourth singer and I never felt like that much of a legitimate member. I was the frontman, that’s all I ever was. Those guys wrote a lot of lyrics and I was the mouthpiece.” Silver, ed., *We Owe You Nothing*, 81, 88. Longstreth claimed that he was “completely *uninterested* in Rollins. Rollins is a figurehead.” His statement is in reference to Rollins responding positively to *Rise Above*, while Ginn didn’t comment.

¹¹² Saweda, “Dirty Projectors on Dead Oceans.”

¹¹³ Sisero, “The Experimental, Led By the Obsessive.”

transitions from heavily distorted guitar to dissonant flutes to a highlife groove within thirty seconds like a DJ sampling between different records. In both songs, the vocals fly over the various sections with seemingly little care for metrical exactitude. Yet the clipped guitar rhythms, complex drum fills, and vocal hocketing require immense practice. The snatches of East African guitar, brief hardcore bursts, and art music seem at first glance incongruous, but the disjunctures between the two produce larger structural motion through tempo changes and textural transformations that demonstrate exceptional attention to form.

Rise Above thus masks formal ingenuity and technical precision under an informal, seemingly intuitive patina through dialoguing the sunny grooves of Ghana with the industrial distortion of Southern California. The technical prowess and compositional ability he learned at Yale are subsumed under a punk discipline. In an interview at the University of Minnesota about the compositional techniques used in the band's oeuvre, Longstreth discussed his interest in hocketing as Coffman and Deradoorian demonstrated the technique as heard in "Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie." He mentioned the technique's origins in medieval French polyphony, which he uneasily called "monk music" to distance himself from his music history survey courses. Instead, he focused on its use in African music "where there's just a lot of sharing of musical parts...to create a larger fabric, and that's an idea I got super into."¹¹⁴ The vocal timbres, staccato attacks, and exact alternation in "Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie" are meant to invoke Ba-Benzélé pygmies more than the *Hoquetus David*. For Longstreth, his Nonesuch listening was more meaningful than his music history survey.

Reminiscing about *Rise Above*, Longstreth felt that "an originating idea for the album was the old truism that an indie rock band is only as good as its record collection. One thing that annoyed

¹¹⁴ David Longstreth, interview with James Everest, University of Minnesota Whole Music Club, March 5, 2009, accessed September 5, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iDUTNUof-Mg>. In another interview, though, he said that "One of the ideas with Dirty Projectors is just to look a little bit more widely and see if there's a through-line between, you know, the music of Hildegard [von Bingen] and the music of the Beach Boys," admitting that "he became familiar with Hildegard's music during his Yale studies. "Dirty Projectors: A Polarizing Sound."

me about *Rise Above* in hindsight was how I had unwittingly played into that, pitting West African guitar music against Black Flag.”¹¹⁵ Longstreth’s combination reflects his omnivorous background, retaining the spirit of Black Flag’s original, but obliterating its soundworld in favor of West African guitar timbres, pygmy pop hockets, and complex rhythmic flourishes. If *Rise Above* manifests larger socioeconomic patterns of taste, Longstreth’s invocation of his personal library tries to place the album in the personal taste politics of his musical upbringing. His statement is reminiscent of Walter Benjamin’s statement that personal libraries are less collections than visible signs of collecting.¹¹⁶ *Rise Above* tries to mirror how Fela Kuti and King Sunny Adé cassettes lie next to Black Flag CDs with cracked cases and scratched backs in Longstreth’s collection.

This intuitive, messy combination offers an ideological linkage between punk and Afro-pop premised on compositional intuition and technical discipline which subverts institutional and intellectual logics *a la* World Music 2.0. Longstreth’s Yale education dictates the omnivorous taste that produces the musical networks of *Rise Above*. However, the album seeks to reject the intellectual discourses which have developed around Afro-pop and hardcore through the “distortions” of memory, incorporation, and intuition.¹¹⁷ Through this rejection, he remains committed to self-discipline, “getting into learning” through remediating his library. Afro-pop and indie rock are ways for him to understand his tastes and balance compositional learnedness and punk ethos. Amber Coffman, for her part, believed that Longstreth “pushes you beyond where you thought you could go.... But at the end of it you are realizing a new level of capability within yourself.”¹¹⁸ *Rise Above* equates self-development through challenging and expanding one’s possibilities.

¹¹⁵ Longstreth, interview with Beta.

¹¹⁶ Walter Benjamin, “Unpacking My Library: A Talk about Book Collecting,” in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1969), 59–68.

¹¹⁷ Novak, “Sublime Frequencies,” *passim*.

¹¹⁸ Sisario, “The Experimental, Led By the Obsessive.”

Conclusion: The Omnivore's Dilemma

Michael Pollan's 2007 book *The Omnivore's Dilemma* discussed the complex politics of gustatory taste in contemporary America. His title derives from psychologist Paul Rozin's theory of the same name that posits that the condition of omnivory, the ability and biological need to eat a variety of foods, creates significant problems of choice. Omnivory is undeniably important for the human condition: scientists believe it has greatly contributed to our enlarged brains, our ability to adapt to different environments, and even the development of culture.¹¹⁹ Through this last turn, omnivory enables taste to turn from biological necessity to an aesthetic act. However, the act of judgment brings difficulty: "the surfeit of choice brings with it a lot of stress and leads to a kind of Manichaeian view of food, a division of nature into The Good Things to Eat, and The Bad."¹²⁰ With an overwhelming variety of available potential options (especially after the discoveries of cooking, agriculture, and transportation), omnivores must spend significant time thinking about not just what to eat, but the ethics of eating, or not eating, that which is available.

If biology has produced the gustatory omnivore, technology has produced the musical omnivore. Vampire Weekend and Dirty Projectors have come of age when globalization and the Internet have made a staggering amount of music available for consumption. As the last case study of this dissertation, the bands also live in a time when much of this music can be seen to be good to consume. In fact, the "Manichaeian" division between good and bad correlated to highbrow and lowbrow musics is seen as a passé relic of earlier times. My analyses of Vampire Weekend's *Vampire Weekend* and Dirty Projectors' *Rise Above* have demonstrated the prominence of omnivory among educated indie rock groups through their use of indie rock, classical, punk, and Afro-pop. Vampire Weekend's "A-Punk" combines punk, classical, and pastel sweaters, while "Cape Cod Kwassa

¹¹⁹ Paul Rozin, "The Selection of Food by Rats, Humans, and Other Animals," *Advances in the Study of Behavior* 6 (1976): 21–76; idem, "Food is Fundamental, Fun, Frightening, and Far-Reaching," *Social Research* 66, no. 1 (1999): 9–30.

¹²⁰ Michael Pollan, *The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 4.

Kwassa” merges Afro-pop and bourgeois summering, followed by the high Baroque sounds of “M79.” Likewise, Dirty Projectors’ “What I See” and “Gimmie Gimmie Gimmie” foreground Afro-pop with touches of punk and twentieth-century classical flourishes in covering Black Flag’s hardcore classic *Damaged*. These tastes, like those of food, are mediated through culture, the *petit bourgeois* class position of their university education. As a result, both bands are comfortable with indie rock, willing to demonstrate their appreciation for Afro-pop, and using classical and punk while maintaining their distance from their distastefully high and low aspects, respectively.

Yet as in food, the anxiety of choice in music necessitates an ethics of consumption: is what the bands want to taste good for them? When consuming music ineluctably implicates the legacies of colonialism and the resultant inequality of global culture, how can omnivory possibly produce an ethical form of self-betterment? Given the tension of university culture between self-fulfillment and social acquiescence, the omnivore’s dilemma resolves to an ethical problem; that developing the self through diverse musical tastes circulating via an unequal culture ultimately inures the self to that inequality.

Vampire Weekend insist that their music critiques global inequalities through admitting and questioning their privilege. Though the band has been praised for their forthrightness, the group does try to distance themselves from their own privilege. Koenig “remembers feeling that he had ‘less than other people’ growing up in a ‘pretty modest home on a street with its fair share of big houses.’”¹²¹ Koenig’s statement asserts a middle-class background distanced from his *bourgeois* neighbors but fails to acknowledge that far more are below him than above on the class spectrum. Longstreth seeks to marshal eclecticism in new, intuitive ways that remove *Bildung* from the disciplinary divides of the liberal arts. The band has been praised for its genre hybridity and eclectic experimental songwriting, rarely attracting the same class- and education-based critiques as Vampire

¹²¹ Lester, “Vampire Weekend: They’re Attacking.”

Weekend. Elizabeth Keenan has argued, though, that Longstreth's rhetoric of unified, intuitive aesthetic guided by punk and an autodidactic intellectualism reinscribes a traditionally masculinized self-image of mastery and genius reflective in a regressive attitude toward gender endemic to his hardcore influences and reflected in his music.¹²²

For both groups, inclusive taste provides a means for the band to strive to understand their world and acquiesce to their own privilege. Rather than attributing this ultimate acquiescence to a willful ignorance of class concerns on the bands' part, though, it is more appropriate to recognize that the cultivation of omnivorous taste ultimately relies on the same class distinctions underpinning liberal arts culture that defined highbrow taste. The further distinctions are interrogated through omnivory, the more the taste paradigm can prove ethical and progressive. For this reason, if Vampire Weekend's semiotic juxtapositions appear more conservative and labored than Dirty Projectors' hybrid forms, their music may exemplify how universities encourage an ethics of criticism as a way to navigate the omnivore's dilemma.

¹²² Elizabeth K. Keenan, "Hipster Values: The High Art Discourses and White Masculine Mastery in the Music of the Dirty Projectors," paper presented at the International Association for Popular Music, US Chapter, Annual Conference, Loyola University, New Orleans, LA, April 11, 2010. This can be heard in "What I See" and "Gimmie Gimie Gimie," whose treatment of Coffman and Deradoorian as instruments producing his vision exemplifies the downsides of stressing intuition over self-reflection. For gender-based critiques of the genius concept, see Caroline Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990); Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana: Illinois University Press, 1993).

Epilogue: The Rhetoric of Crisis and Elite Popular Music

We must stop talking about dominance and purity and begin thinking about transformations.

-Lawrence Levine¹

Through four case studies, this dissertation has explored how the American university has contributed to the production of elite popular music, non-mainstream music whose form of differentiation through an intellectualization based on the liberal arts concepts of *Bildung* and criticism. Each chapter has been grounded by tensions of self-identity and the representation of Others within musical practices that reflect the inherent tensions of liberal arts education between universality and privilege, disinterest and utility, resistance and acquiescence. I argue, perhaps surprisingly, that practitioners of elite popular music are striving for an ethical response through understanding, if not resolving, these tensions through the medium of musical practice. Foregrounding the potential ethicality of elite popular music deliberately counteracts the discourses surrounding two concepts in this dissertation: the opposition between elite music and popular music; and the fate of the liberal arts in the contemporary university. This epilogue claims that the study of elite popular music can intercede in both popular music scholarship and university studies on two fronts. First, further study of higher education in popular music studies can enable a more nuanced understanding of popular music's intellectual and political stakes. Second, examining how university culture is diffracted and disseminated through popular music complicates critiques bemoaning the fall of American higher education.

In popular musicology, the phrase “elite popular music” appears to be incongruous, if not politically regressive. Sociologist Shamus Khan has noted that “with few exceptions, scholars have tended to code ‘elite’ as the mark of a social problem.... In general, elites and illegitimacy (or

¹ Lawrence Levine, *The Opening of the American Mind: Canons, Culture, and History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 160.

unjustness or problems) tend to be tightly coupled.”² Likewise, popular music scholarship has viewed “elite” as a negative word connoting a hegemonic, inauthentic, and coopting social group. Part of this distinction stems from the legacies of British cultural studies, which homologized popular music with working- or middle-class positions in opposition to highbrow culture associated with the upper-class. Within this scholarly tradition, popular music could be a force for removing the cultural and socioeconomic hegemony of the elite class.³ Popular music that achieves “elite” status in a sense becomes a highbrow classical form betraying its “authentic” working-class origins.⁴

Since higher education and elitism are closely connected, the impact of education on American popular music has scarcely been discussed.⁵ Media scholar Devon Powers has recently explored the resonances between academic and popular criticism in the beginnings of 1960s rock journalism at the *Village Voice*. She argues that the music criticism of Richard Goldstein and Robert Christgau “are obvious in their commitment to theory, scholarship, and philosophical critique,” blurring the boundaries between scholarly and public writing.⁶ If Powers notes that academia has seeped into popular music through criticism, she instead associates rock critics with public

² Shamus Khan, “The Sociology of Elites,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 38 (2012): 364.

³ Cf. Stuart Hall, “Notes on Deconstructing the Popular” in *People’s History and Socialist Theory*, ed. Raphael Samuel (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 239: “Popular culture is one of the sites where [the] struggle for and against a culture of the powerful is engaged: it is also the stake to be won or lost in that struggle. It is the arena of consent and resistance. It is partly where hegemony arises, and where it is secured. It is not a sphere where socialism, a socialist culture—already fully formed—might be simply ‘expressed.’ But it is one of the places where socialism might be constituted. That is why ‘popular culture’ matters. Otherwise, to tell you the truth, I don’t give a damn about it.”

⁴ For example, Justin A. Williams’s study of jazz rap argued that the genre served to produce an elite form of hip-hop rather than returning jazz to its African-American urban origins. Justin A. Williams, “The Construction of Jazz Rap as High Art in Hip-Hop Music,” *Journal of Musicology* 27, no. 4 (2010): 435–459.

⁵ Simon Frith has described connections between education and popular music in a British context. *Sound Effects* discussed the taste patterns of “sixth-formers,” teens tracked into A-level study to pursue university education, coming to similar conclusions as Riesman’s minority listeners. His *Art into Pop* also used the observation that many British art rock artists (i.e. the Beatles, the Who, the Yardbirds, Pink Floyd) attended art school to argue the admixture of education and rock warranted a more complex relationship between “high” and “low” cultural forms. However, neither “sixth formers” nor art schools are easily translatable into an American context. Simon Frith, *Sound Effects* (New York: Pantheon, 1981); Simon Frith and Howard Horne, *Art into Pop* (New York: Methuen, 1987).

⁶ Devon Powers, *Writing the Record: The Village Voice and the Birth of Rock Criticism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 7. She also notes that many popular music scholars such as Simon Frith, Eric Weisbard, Griel Marcus, and even herself began their careers as critics before moving into academia.

intellectual or bohemian traditions. She correlates changes in public intellectualism with the growing consideration of popular culture in academia, but considers academe and public intellectualism resolutely separate fields.⁷ In doing so, she replicates the trenchant division discussed at the opening of this dissertation between an insular ivory tower and a public popular music.

This dissertation diverts from Powers' work by stressing how the university generates dispositions that are given force through the social power of both institutions and their constituents. By understanding the university on a dispositional level, rather than a strictly institutional one, scholars can better develop how intellectual currents produce the possibilities and limitations of the cultural politics of popular music. This study has credited liberal arts education with four generative functions within popular music discourses and practices: the means of intellectually differentiating certain styles from mainstream forms; the development of musical canons through criticism; the search for meaning in musical practice based on self-development; and a politics circumscribed by the tension between resistance and social acquiescence. Due to the legacies of cultural studies, not to mention Adornoian sociology, these cultural aspects of popular music have been conventionally explained through economics. Instead, this dissertation reframes both the production and reproduction of the cultural epistemologies and intellectual facets of popular music in the light of university education. The concept of elite popular music engages the search for musical quality, authenticity, and critical understanding central to the cultural meanings of American popular music, as it signals how they have been shaped by the inequalities of capitalism and colonialism.

Through the lens of university studies, though, the assertion that the liberal arts can hold cultural and dispositional weight in contemporary institutions seems hopelessly naïve. University studies has been dominated by what Joan Scott has called the "rhetoric of crisis in higher

⁷ Devon Powers, "Rock Criticism's Public Intellectuals," *Popular Music and Society* 33, no. 4 (2010): 533–48.

education.”⁸ Given the complexity of the multiversity, the jeremiads launched against the university have been inconsistent and contradictory. Yet the multitude of critics from across the political spectrum seem to agree that the liberal arts have been diminished by various forces threatening to overwhelm its guiding missions of criticism and self-development.

Conservative critics have accused multiculturalism and postmodernism of teaching political correctness rather than critical depth. These conservative critics believed the new interest in multicultural studies and popular culture attacked canonic culture, rather than using “the great books” as a means of intellectual self-development. They warned of the cultural eradication of American higher education at the hands of deconstruction and feminist theory.⁹ Leftist critiques have instead blamed a corporatized institutional structure that prized organizational efficiency over critical development. For these critics, the university serves corporate interests like sponsored research, market-based internal analytics, bureaucratization, and for-profit curricular initiatives that marginalize critical growth and cultural examination in its institutional mission.¹⁰ For example, Bill Readings’s *The University in Ruins* argued that the corporatization of the university has resulted in “the replacement of culture by the discourse of excellence.”¹¹ By “excellence,” he refers to a self-serving

⁸ Joan Scott, “The Rhetoric of Crisis in Higher Education,” in *Higher Education Under Fire: Politics, Economics, and the Crisis of the Humanities*, ed. Michael Bérubé and Cary Nelson (New York: Routledge, 1995), 293–303.

⁹ Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today’s Students* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987); Charles Sykes, *Profscam: Professors and the Demise of Higher Education* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 1988) Dinesh D’Souza, *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus* (New York: Free Press, 1991); Richard Bernstein, *Dictatorship of Virtue: Multiculturalism and the Battle for America’s Future* (New York: Vintage, 1995); George Roche, *The Fall of the Ivory Tower: Government Funding, Corruption, and the Bankrupting of American Higher Education* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 1995);

¹⁰ Lawrence Soley, *Leasing the Ivory Tower: The Corporate Takeover of Academia* (Boston: South End Press, 1999); Henry Giroux, *Beyond the Corporate University: Culture and Pedagogy in the New Millennium* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001); Jennifer Washburn, *University Inc.: The Corporate Corruption of American Higher Education* (New York: Basic, 2006); Marc Bousquet, *How the University Works: Higher Education and the Low-Wage Nation* (New York: New York University Press, 2008); Gaye Tuchman, *Wannabe U: Inside the Corporate University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Richard Arum and Josipa Roksa, *Academically Adrift: Limited Learning on College Campuses* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

¹¹ Bill Readings, *The University in Ruins* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 150.

nonreferential value of operational goodness that universities use to define their central mission in the absence of a dominant cultural center.¹²

The concept of elite popular music counters the cultural and institutional assumptions of both arguments. The case studies in this dissertation have demonstrated the transfer of critical thinking to new cultural forms, expanding the reach of the liberal arts. For example, Allan Bloom's controversial 1987 book *The Closing of the American Mind* had castigated all forms of popular culture, including rock music, a genre that supposedly "ruins the imagination of young people and makes it very difficult for them to have a passionate relationship to the art and thought that are the substance of liberal education."¹³ In the same year that Bloom published his screed, though, Athens bands like the Kilkenny Cats, Squalls, and Time Toy had described their musical ventures through self-development and critical reflection in *Athens, GA: Inside/Out*, the documentary discussed in Chapter 4. For college rock bands, rock music in fact enabled a "passionate relationship" to the ethics of liberal arts education, just through different, more modern means than the traditionally curricular forms of high culture. On the other side, this dissertation has argued that the American university has always been caught between its utilitarian and critical purposes. Elite popular music acknowledges the influence of both facets in the formation of cultural power and critical dispositions. Without utilitarian ends, the university would have significantly less socioeconomic and cultural reach. Likewise, without disinterested goals, students would have little recourse to criticism or the ethics of self-development in their leisure activities.

Elite popular music does not result from either the "closing of the American mind" or the "university of excellence." Rather, it comes from the permanence of university ideals originating in

¹² During the 2011-12 school year, in the midst of my dissertation research, my university controversially instituted an "Academic Excellence Fee." Following almost exactly Readings's conception of excellence as nonreferential, the fee was levied "to provide financial resources necessary for maintaining quality academic and student success programs" without specifying either the standards of quality or the programs to be funded. "Broad Based Fees," Stony Brook University, <http://www.stonybrook.edu/bursar/tuition/fees/> (accessed August 15, 2013).

¹³ Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind*, 79.

the Enlightenment transformed by actual institutional changes enabling the consideration of popular culture within its critical purview. In making this claim, this dissertation follows historian Lawrence Levine's argument in his contrarily titled 1994 book *The Opening of the American Mind* that multiculturalism and popular culture studies have in fact contributed to a richer scholarly understanding of American culture:

The historical pattern of American higher education... has been toward increasing openness, greater inclusiveness, expanded choice, the study of the modern as well as the ancient, a concentration on American, African, and Asian as well as European culture. These have not been inventions of our own time.... This pattern has been the result of fundamental changes in the nature and composition of our society and has emanated from continuous encounters with those who have held a more fixed, Eurocentric, past-oriented, hierarchical conception of education.¹⁴

Levine's text argues that universities have always had a cultural mission, but the precise meaning of that culture has always been in flux. Turning to this chapter's epigraph, Levine counters the notion that university culture is "pure," distilled of historical context, or hegemonically imposed from above. Instead, universities and their cultures are transforming through social, political, ethnic, and cultural changes. Elite popular music offers a potent avenue to examine the cultural ramifications of the intersections between universities, technologies, and modernities, a relationship in continual transformation since the founding of the modern American university in the late nineteenth-century.

Countering conservative critiques, elite popular music also perpetuates an intellectual form of liberal politics that reflects the cultural politics of the liberal arts. While the "liberal" in the liberal arts refers to the Enlightenment belief in free, individual thought, Michael Bérubé has argued it also signals a particular type of political liberalism: "the university is one of the last remaining areas in American dominated by liberals—and dominated by a most curious kind of liberal, namely, liberal intellectuals who are committed both to substantive and procedural liberalism, to a form of

¹⁴ Levine, *The Opening of the American Mind*, 170.

pluralism and reasoned debate that does not always culminate in liberal conclusions.”¹⁵ Readings similarly believed the solution to the university of excellence to be the “university of dissensus,” a community unified not through a central, universalized canon, but a dialogue committed to sharing ideas between irreconcilably different perspectives. In Readings’ formulation, the university “would have to be understood on the model of dependency rather than emancipation.”¹⁶ For Bérubé and Readings, a liberal form of the liberal arts requires an equal debate that engages pluralist perspectives. Meaningful discussion can only happen when different perspectives are dependent on, rather than emancipated from, one another in equal dialogue.

The history of elite popular music detailed in this dissertation has demonstrated a commitment to this “substantive and procedural” liberalism. For example, Chapter 2 described newsletter articles exploring how college students should respect folk music given the genre’s inherent class distinctions. Archie Green, faculty advisor of the University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club, believed the organization could be an exercise in democracy.¹⁷ David McAllester and Charlotte Heth sought to use curatorship and scholarship for diplomatic dialogue and respect of indigenous difference in Chapter 3. The college rock scene at the University of Georgia in Chapter 4 was fraught with discussions over the ideals of the Athens community and the meanings of the Athens sound. Bands prized the ideal of self-development in dialogue with an established canon of forebears to create their niche within the scene.

These case studies demonstrate a reflective, rather than activist, liberal politics that mirror Joan Scott’s concept of academic theory in “The Rhetoric of Crisis in Higher Education.” Critiquing both leftist and rightist attacks on disinterested scholarship, or “theory,” she argues that theory offers a way to examine crises through “readings that map relations of power and the operations of

¹⁵ Michael Bérubé, *What’s Liberal about the Liberal Arts? Classroom Politics and “Bias” in Higher Education* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006), 24.

¹⁶ Readings, *The University in Ruins*, 190.

¹⁷ Judith McCulloh, interview with author, Champaign, IL, April 14, 2012.

knowledge and difference that sustain them. These readings call into question the closed terms of any debate, by asking how oppositional positions get stabilized in relation to one another and then preclude our imagining anything beyond them....Such reading is not itself a politics, nor does it claim to be one, but it does open the imaginative possibilities for new kinds of political thinking.”¹⁸

Scott’s claim about theory is reflected in the political ethics of elite popular music: it uses an academic disposition aloof from direct political engagement to examine the difficult paradoxes between self and society through musical practice, but in doing so it seeks to enable new musical political potentialities for the future. Elite popular music does not effect substantial socioeconomic change; indeed it often implicitly accepts and reifies the inequalities of its present. However, it can act as a leading indicator for the future intellectual politics within given genres.

So what politics are foreseen by the indie musicians in Chapter 5 whose music reflects the contemporary university? If elite popular music counters critiques claiming a diminished liberal arts center, one aspect of left critiques raises significant concern: the institutional and cultural influence of neoliberalism. David Harvey defined neoliberalism as “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade.”¹⁹ Far from being simply an economic theory, Harvey argues it has “become hegemonic as a mode of discourse. It has pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point where it has become incorporated into the common sense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world.”²⁰ Specifically, neoliberalism heralds a shift from social to individual responsibility, prizing entrepreneurship as the paragon of efficiency and liberty and collectivism as inefficient and corruptive.

¹⁸ Scott, “The Rhetoric of Crisis,” 302.

¹⁹ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

Institutionally, critics like Marc Bousquet have derided neoliberalist economics for diminishing unionization, faculty governance, and tenure lines in the name of organizational flexibility and competitiveness.²¹ Culturally, the neoliberalist turn can be examined through, paradoxically, the multiculturalist turn in university studies. Seamus Khan has noted that neoliberalism has transformed the elite class by increasing diversity while expanding inequality: “on the one hand, we have a more diverse elite.... Yet although there seems to have been an elite opening, on average the student bodies at schools are richer than they once were and elites have a greater and greater share of the national wealth.”²² The multicultural university may be committed to diversity, but it has become more economically exclusive.²³ This class exclusivity can produce what literary scholar Jodi Malamed has called “neoliberalist multiculturalism,” an ethnic inclusiveness that “legitimizes” racial privilege by conceiving the state as enabling individual freedom and agency while simultaneously “obfuscating” the mechanisms which produce systemic inequality.²⁴ Malamed’s theory of “neoliberalist multiculturalism” describes the fate of multiculturalism in the “university of excellence,” where non-referential definitions of quality obscure how universities discreetly perpetuate class, and indeed racial, inequality.

More toward the politics of taste of Chapter 5, omnivory, defined as the engagement with a multicultural musical soundscape, can be a tool for either liberal or neoliberal ends. The former evaluates diverse genres through a critical, historical understanding of institutional political legacies, while the latter rethinks cultural relationships solely through individual intellectual effort. The bands

²¹ Bousquet, *How the University Works*.

²² Khan, “The Sociology of Elites,” 373.

²³ As this epilogue was being written, a study published by Georgetown University asserted in its title that American higher education “reinforces the intergenerational reproduction of white racial privilege.” Minorities have been increasingly tracked into for-profit or open access schools, which offer less prestigious degrees that incur increased debts and decreased upward mobility. Anthony P. Carnevale and Jeff Strohl, *Separate and Unequal: How Higher Education Reinforces the Intergenerational Reproduction of White Racial Privilege* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce, 2013), <http://www9.georgetown.edu/grad/gppi/hpi/cew/pdfs/Separate&Unequal.FR.pdf>.

²⁴ Jodi Malamed, “The Spirit of Neoliberalism: From Racial Liberalism to Neoliberal Multiculturalism,” *Social Text* 24, no. 4 (2006): 1–24.

discussed in Chapter 5, Vampire Weekend and Dirty Projectors, can exemplify these respective modes of multiculturalism. Dirty Projectors' *Rise Above* appears at first glance more progressive, seeking to “undo cultural moorings” and “move past debates” for an intuitive reimagining of Dave Longstreth's musical milieu. *Vampire Weekend* seems instead to laboriously juxtapose Afro-pop and bourgeois signifiers, retracing the *Graceland* debate and drawing attention to their classed selves. Yet *Rise Above* raises the danger of neoliberalist musical entrepreneurship, foregrounding individual creativity while dismissing the colonialist residues and self-privilege of his musical activities. Longstreth seeks to diminish criticality for individuality, and in doing so rejects “reasoned debate” for an entrepreneurial politics of taste. *Vampire Weekend* positions itself within an intellectual discourse, and pits both bourgeois West and Afro-pop East in debate to examine the ethics and legacies of postcolonial globalized culture. In Readings's terms, Vampire Weekend offer dependency—on class, on colonialism, on education—while the Dirty Projectors offer instead emancipation, evacuating consideration of their own privilege and thus diminishing potential for critical reflection.

It is through such dependency on overriding sociocultural structures and a commitment to the creation of meaning through critical debate and theory that elite popular music can have a vital political function. If the “elite” of popular music have a wholly negative tint, it can use its cultural privilege to interrogate sociopolitical problems through encouraging critical dissensus. Nuancing the study of elite popular music recognizes that the university has a formative role in fostering the intellectual comprehension of popular music. This role should be analyzed neither through an uncritical homogenization of elite publics nor the “rhetoric of crisis in higher education,” but through both the transformations in American cultural politics and the enduring tensions of the liberal arts. Recognizing the benefits and limits of elite popular music through the university can in

turn continue to ensure popular musicology, itself a form of elite popular music discourse, acts as a tool for liberal dialogue and dissensus rather than neoliberal excellence.

This commitment to dialogue in popular musicology will continue to be crucial as elite popular music continues to transform. Most recently, the increasing connections between hip-hop, EDM, and liberal arts culture have been reshaping the soundscape of elite popular music. Both genres have become objects of university study, with a wide range of courses, articles, and monographs. They have “independent” factions which have accreted critical discourses signifying non-mainstream stances, and have become prevalent in the soundscape of university campuses. Many indie hip-hop artists have come from elite universities, like Das Racist from Wesleyan and Talib Kweli from NYU, while DJs have increasingly toured college campuses.²⁵ Campus organizations such as the student-run UCLA Hip Hop Congress or the Hip-Hop Education program at NYU’s Steinhardt School have advocated the critical study of hip-hop and interfaced performers with academia.²⁶ Much like the folksong clubs in Chapter 2, UCLA and NYU’s active hip-hop scenes are geographically proximate to underprivileged sites of traditional hip-hop culture like South Central L.A. and the south Bronx.

Hip-hop and EDM will likely serve as the next avenues for elite popular music, while new technologies, especially smartphones and laptops, and neoliberal economics will likely mark the next stakes. Examining the academicization of these genres, though, does not signal the end of their political potentiality. In fact, such a position unintentionally accedes to neoliberalist discourse by prizing individual agency at the cost of institutional benefit. Rather, acknowledging the influence of

²⁵ Jarrad Saffren, “Bringing down the House: Electronic Dance Music Rises as Premiere Soundtrack for College Concerts, Parties” *Daily Orange* October 3, 2012, <http://dailyorange.com/2012/10/bringing-down-the-house-electronic-dance-music-rises-as-premiere-soundtrack-for-college-concerts-parties/>. The *Daily Orange* is the student newspaper of Syracuse University.

²⁶ “Hip Hop Congress,” *UCLA Cultural Affairs Commission*, <http://www.culturalaffairsla.com/series/hip-hop-congress/> (accessed August 23, 2013); “Hip-Hop Education,” *New York University*, <http://steinhardt.nyu.edu/metrocenter/hiphopeducation/> (accessed August 24, 2013).

higher education in popular music recognizes the simple fact that, for the foreseeable future, millions of American students will continue to attend the university. Some of these students will cultivate critical thinking skills through their studies and apply them to their popular music interests and activities. They will attempt to use critical reflection and the ethics of self-development to understand and elevate hip-hop, EDM, and whatever genres may come after as a means of comprehending their society and themselves. Connecting them to the cultural dispositions of the university will help understand the ethics, possibilities, and limitations of their enterprises.

Bibliography

Interviews

Hickerson, Joseph C. Wheaton, Maryland, January 9, 2011.

McCulloh, Judith. Champaign, Illinois, April 12, 2012.

Richmond, Mike. Athens, Georgia, August 24, 2011.

Rosenberg, Neil V. Stony Brook, New York, and St. John's, Newfoundland, February 18, 2011.

Sayers, Robert. Washington, DC, December 22, 2010.

Sources

Abebe, Nitsuh. "Jessica Hopper Should Be Sort of Ashamed of Herself, In My Opinion." *a grammar*, January 28, 2010. <http://agrammar.tumblr.com/post/358471178/jessica-hopper-should-be-sort-of-ashamed-of-herself-in>.

———. "Review: Vampire Weekend, *Vampire Weekend*." *Pitchfork*, January 28, 2008. <http://pitchfork.com/reviews/albums/11058-vampire-weekend/>.

———. "The Rules of the Game: A Fuller Thought on J. Hopper and Vampire Weekend." *a grammar*, January 29, 2010. <http://agrammar.tumblr.com/post/359990238/the-rules-of-the-game-a-fuller-thought-on-j-hopper>.

Abrahams, Roger D. "Representative Man: Richard Dorson, Americanist." *Journal of Folklore Research* 26, no. 1 (1989): 27–34.

"Acclaimed Coast to Coast." *Autobarp* 4, no. 4 (March 16, 1964): 11.

Adams, Dick. "In Defense of the Kingston Trio." *Autobarp* 1, no. 4 (May 19, 1961): 24.

———. Liner Notes. *PG&MS: Philo Glee & Mandoline Society*. University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Records CFC 101, 1962.

———. "Our First Record: CFC 101." *Autobarp* 3, no. 1 (October 15, 1962): 6–10.

Adams, R. [Dick?]. "P.G.M.S. Review." *Autobarp* 3, no. 3 (February 8, 1963): 19.

Adorno, Theodor. "Reconciliation under Duress." Translated by Rodney Livingstone. In Ernst Bloch, et al., *Aesthetics and Politics*. 151–76. London: New Left Books, 1977.

"After Hours." *Red & Black*, June 28, 1984, 7.

"After Hours." *Red & Black*, October 23, 1987, 7.

- Aldred, Lisa. "Dancing with Indians and Wolves: New Agers Tripping through Powwows." In *Powwow*, edited by Clyde Ellis, Luke Eric Lassiter, and Gary H. Dunham. 258–74. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C. "Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma." In Jeffrey C. Alexander, et al., *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. 1–30. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Allen, Jont. Letter to Mayne Smith. n.d. [c. January 1964]. Folder #1415, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Allen, Ray. *Gone to the Country: The New Lost City Ramblers and the Folk Music Revival*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010.
- Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)." In *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, translated by Ben Brewster. 121–76. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970.
- American Folk Music and its World Origins Seminar Pamphlet, Columbia University, 1954. Library of Congress Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Pete Seeger Folder.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- apRoberts, Ruth. *Arnold and God*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Arnheim, Rudolf. *Film as Art*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957.
- . "Introduction." In *Film Essays and Criticism*, translated by Brenda Benthien. 3–7. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997.
- Arnold, Gina. "College Rock: 'Left of the Dial.'" In *The Rock History Reader*, edited by Theo Cateforis. 199–204. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Arnold, Matthew. *Culture and Anarchy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.
- . "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time." In *Essays in Criticism: First Series*. 1–41. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1903.
- . "The Literary Influence of Academies." In *Essays in Criticism: First Series*. 42–79. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1903.
- Arrington, Carl, Chet Flippo, and Eric Levin. "Is Rock Dead?" *People*, January 17, 1983, 50–54.
- "Arts Announcements," *Wesleyan Argus*, February 22, 1974, 4.

- Arum, Richard, and Josipa Roksa. *Academically Adrift: Limited Learning on College Campuses*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Athens, GA: Inside/Out*. DVD. Directed by Tony Gayton. Oaks, PA: MDV Visual, 2003.
- “Athens, GA: Inside/Out.” Netflix. Accessed December 23, 2012, http://movies.netflix.com/WiMovie/Athens_GA_Inside_Out/60033502.
- “Athens, Ga – Inside/Out.” Omnivore Records. Accessed December 23, 2012. <http://omnivorerecordings.com/artists/athens-ga-insideout/>.
- “Athens Music History Walking Tour.” Athens Welcome Center. Accessed October 29, 2012. http://www.athenswelcomecenter.com/images/Athens_Music_History_Walking_Tour.pdf.
- Atkinson, Debi. “Getting Out.” *Tasty World* 2 (October 1984): 5.
- Atkinson, Will. “The Context and Genesis of Musical Tastes: Omnivorosity Debunked, Bourdieu Buttressed.” *Poetics* 39, no. 3 (2011): 169–86.
- Attali, Jacques. *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985.
- Azerrad, Michael. *Our Band Could Be Your Life: Scenes from the American Indie Underground*. Boston: Little and Brown, 2001.
- Babbitt, Milton. “Who Cares if You Listen.” In *Strunk’s Source Readings in Music History*, edited by Leo Treitler and Oliver Strunk. 1305–11. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998.
- Bahti, Timothy. “Histories of the University: Kant and Humboldt.” *MLN* 102, no. 3 (April 1987): 437–60.
- Baker, Joseph. “The Victorian Chronology of Our Liberal Education.” *Journal of Higher Education* 18, no. 8 (1947): 407–17, 446.
- Bataille, Gretchen M. and Charles L.P. Silet, eds. *The Pretend Indians: Images of Native Americans in the Movies*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1980.
- Battersby, Caroline. *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990.
- Beatty, Willard W. Letter to Moe Asch. August 20, 1947. *Music of the Sioux and the Navajo* Folder, Moses and Francis Asch Collection, Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage.
- Becker, Bill. “As It Was in the Beginning.” *Autoharp* 4, no. 4 (March 16, 1964): 5–7.

- . “Current Status Report: Hell-Bound Train, CFC 301.” May 14, 1963. Folder #1424, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Becker, Howard S. *Art Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Bendix, Regina. *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997.
- Benjamin, Walter. “Unpacking My Library: A Talk about Book Collecting.” In *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn. 59–68. New York: Schocken, 2007.
- . “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.” In *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn. 217–51. New York: Schocken, 2007.
- Bentley, Cecil. “Happy Birthday WUOG.” *Athens Banner-Herald*, October 23, 1977, n.p.
- Berkhofer, Robert F. “The Political Context of a New Indian History.” *Pacific Historical Review* 40, no. 3 (August 1971): 357–82.
- . *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. New York: Knopf, 1978.
- Berman, Judy. “The Omnivore’s Dilemma.” *City Paper*, June 3, 2009. <http://www2.citypaper.com/music/story.asp?id=18158>.
- Bernstein, Richard. *Dictatorship of Virtue: Multiculturalism and the Battle for America’s Future*. New York: Vintage, 1995.
- Bertilsson, Margareta. “From University to Comprehensive Higher Education: On the Widening Gap between ‘Lehre und Leben.’” *Higher Education* 24, no. 3 (October 1992): 333–49.
- Bérubé, Michael. *What’s Liberal About the Liberal Arts? Classroom Politics and “Bias” in Higher Education*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2006.
- “Bibliography: Frances Densmore.” *Ethnomusicology* 1, no. 7 (1956): 13–29.
- Biolsi, Thomas. “The Anthropological Construction of ‘Indians’: Haviland Scudder Mekeel and the Search for the Primitive in Lakota Country.” In *Indians and Anthropologists: Vine Deloria, Jr., and the Critique of Anthropology*, edited by Thomas Biolsi and Larry J. Zimmerman. 133–59. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997.
- , and Larry J. Zimmerman. “Introduction: What’s Changed, What Hasn’t.” In *Indians and Anthropologists: Vine Deloria, Jr., and the Critique of Anthropology*, edited by Thomas Biolsi and Larry J. Zimmerman. 3–23. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997.

- Bird, S. Elizabeth. "Savage Desires: The Gendered Construction of the American Indian in Popular Media." In *Selling the Indian: Commercializing and Appropriating American Indian Cultures*, edited by Carter Jones Meyer and Diana Royer. 62–98. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001.
- Blake, David. "Timbre as Differentiation in Indie Music." *Music Theory Online* 18, no. 2 (2012).
- Bloom, Allan. *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987.
- Bluestein, Gene. *Poplore: Folk and Pop in American Culture*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994.
- Bok, Derek. *Beyond the Ivory Tower: Social Responsibilities of the Modern University*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Born, Georgina. "Listening, Mediation, Event: Anthropological and Sociological Perspectives." *Journal of the Royal Musicological Association* 135, no. S1 (2010): 79–89.
- Botkin, Benjamin A. "The Folksong Revival: Cult or Culture." Lecture delivered for the University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club, Champaign, Illinois, November 12, 1963. University of Illinois, Archives of Traditional Music 65-046-F, Indiana University.
- . "Little Magazines of the Folksong Revival." *New York Folklore Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (March 1963): 62–66.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- . "The Field of Cultural Production, or: the Economic World Reversed." In *The Field of Cultural Production*, edited by Randal Johnson. 29–73. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- . *Homo Academicus*, translated by Peter Collier. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1984.
- , and Jean-Claude Passeron. *The Inheritors: French Students and their Relation to Culture*, translated by Richard Nice. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- . *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*, translated by Richard Nice. London: Sage, 1990.
- Bousquet, Marc. *How the University Works: Higher Education and the Low-Wage Nation*. New York: New York University Press, 2008.
- Bowers, William. Review of Pylon: *Gyrate Plus*. *Pitchfork*, November 28, 2007. Accessed December 23, 2012. <http://pitchfork.com/reviews/albums/10924-gyrate-plus/>.
- Brandon, William. *The American Heritage Book of Indians*. New York: Dell, 1964.

- “Broad Based Fees.” Stony Brook University. Accessed August 15, 2013.
<http://www.stonybrook.edu/bursar/tuition/fees/>.
- Brown, Dee. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Wilson, 1971.
- Brown, Rodger Lyle. “Dance This Dusty Mess Around.” *Creative Loafing*, February 13, 2002. Accessed September 14, 2011. <http://m.clatl.com/gyrobase/dance-this-dusty-mess-around/Content?oid=1235626>.
- . *Party Out of Bounds: The B-52s, R.E.M., and the Kids Who Rocked Athens, Georgia*. New York: Penguin, 1991.
- Browner, Tara. “People and Histories.” In *Heartbeat of the People: Music and Dance of the Northern Pow-Wow*. 19–46. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002.
- Bryson, Bethany. “‘Anything But Heavy Metal’: Symbolic Exclusion and Musical Dislikes.” *American Sociological Review* 61, no. 5 (October 1996): 884–99.
- . “What About the Univores? Musical Dislikes and Group-Based Identity Construction among Americans with Low Levels of Education.” *Poetics* 25, nos. 2–3 (1997): 141–53.
- Burns, Sean. *Archie Green: The Making of a Working Class Hero*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011.
- Burton, Bryan. *Moving within the Circle: Contemporary Native American Music and Dance*. New York: World Music Press, 1993.
- Campbell, Phillip. “The Other Side of Southern Radio.” *Tasty World* 9 (September 1985): 8.
- Cantwell, Robert. “When We Were Good: Class and Culture in the Folk Revival.” In *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined*, edited by Neil V. Rosenberg, 35–60. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- Caramanica, Jon. “Dapper, Privileged, and Unapologetic.” *New York Times*, January 15, 2010. C1.
- Carlton, William “Ort” Orten. “Answers to Questions that Haven’t Been Answered Yet.” *Tasty World* 1 (August 1984): 12.
- Carnevale, Anthony P., and Jeff Strohl. *Separate and Unequal: How Higher Education Reinforces the Intergenerational Reproduction of White Racial Privilege*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce, 2013. <http://www9.georgetown.edu/grad/gppi/hpi/cew/pdfs/Separate&Unequal.FR.pdf>.
- Carr, Helen. *Inventing the American Primitive: Politics, Gender, and the Representation of Native American Literary Traditions, 1789–1936*. New York: New York University Press, 1996.

- Cateforis, Theo. *Are We Not New Wave? Modern Pop at the Turn of the 1980s*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011.
- Chan, Tak Wing, and John H. Goldthorpe. "Social Stratification and Cultural Consumption: Music in England." *European Sociological Review* 23 (2007): 1–19.
- Chase, Clifford. "Am I Getting Warmer? The B-52s: *The B-52s*." In *Heavy Rotation: Twenty Writers on the Albums that Changed Their Lives*, edited by Peter Terzian. 142–71. New York: Harper Perennial, 2009.
- Child, Francis James. *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. New York: Folklore Press, 1957.
- Churchill, Ward. "Indians 'R' Us? Reflections on the 'Men's Movement.'" In *Indians Are Us? Cultural Genocide in Native North America*. 207–72. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1994.
- , and Glenn T. Morris. "Indian Laws and Cases." In *The State of Native North America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, edited by M. Annette Jaimes. 13–21. Boston: South End Press, 1992.
- Citron, Marcia. *Gender and the Musical Canon*. Urbana: Illinois University Press, 1993.
- Clark, Thomas D. *Indiana University: Midwestern Pioneer, Vol. IV: Historical Documents since 1816*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970.
- Clarke, Gary. "Defending Ski-Jumpers: A Critique of Theories of Youth Subcultures." In *On Record: Rock, Pop and the Written Word*, edited by Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin. 81–96. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Clarke, John, et al. "Subcultures, Cultures and Class: A Theoretical Overview." In *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, edited by Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson. 9–73. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Clifford, James. "Identity in Mashpee." In *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. 277–345. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- . *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Cocalis, Susan. "The Transformation of *Bildung* from an Image to an Ideal." *Monatshefte* 70, no. 4 (Winter 1978): 399–414.
- Cohen, Arthur M. *The Shaping of American Higher Education: Emergence and Growth of the Contemporary System*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1998.
- Cohen, Ronald D. *A History of Folk Music Festivals in the United States: Feasts of Musical Celebrations*. Latham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2008.

- . *Rainbow Quest: The Folk Music Revival and American Society, 1940–1970*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.
- Cohen, Sara. “Bubbles, Tracks, Borders and Lines: Mapping Music and Urban Landscape.” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 137, no. 1 (2012): 135–70.
- . *Decline, Renewal, and the City in Popular Music Culture: Beyond the Beatles*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007.
- . *Rock Culture in Liverpool: Popular Music in the Making*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Colwell, Sylvia. “Bluebird Offers an Alternative to Old Athens Nightclubs.” *Red & Black*, February 12, 1982, 9.
- “Concerned about WUOG.” *Athens Observer*, February 26, 1981, n.p.
- Cook-Lynn, Elizabeth. *A Separate Country: Postcoloniality and American Indian Nations*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2012.
- Coulangeon, Philippe, and Yannick Lemel. “Is ‘Distinction’ Really Outdated? Questioning the Meaning of the Omnivorization of Musical Taste in Contemporary France.” *Poetics* 35 (2007): 93–111.
- Courlander, Howard. Letter to Alan Merriam. April 2, 1953. Alan Merriam Folder, Moses and Francis Asch Collection, Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage.
- “Cowboy to Sing Here,” *Champaign-Urbana Courier*, December 12, 1964, 20.
- Crock, Jason. “Review: Dirty Projectors, *The Getty Address*.” *Pitchfork*, April 10, 2005. <http://pitchfork.com/reviews/albums/2536-the-getty-address>.
- Cross, Ian. “Listening as Covert Performance.” *Journal of the Royal Musicological Association* 135, no. S1 (2010): 67–77.
- Dahlen, Chris. “Interview: Dirty Projectors.” *Pitchfork*, July 6, 2009. <http://pitchfork.com/features/interviews/7665-dirty-projectors>.
- DeBarr, Chris. “The Squalls,” *Tasty World* 4 (February 1985): 10.
- Delong, Clifford C. Agreement between University of Illinois Concert and Entertainment Board and Campus Folksong Club. n.d. Folder #1408, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Deloria, Philip J. *Indians in Unexpected Places*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004.
- . *Playing Indian*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.

- Deloria, Vine. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988.
- Denney, Alex. "Vampire Weekend – A-Punk." *Drowned in Sound*, February 25, 2008. <http://drownedinsound.com/releases/12897/reviews/2975921>.
- Denning, Michael. *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Verso, 2011.
- . "The End of Mass Culture." In *Culture in the Age of Three Worlds*. 97–120. New York: Verso, 2004.
- Derrida, Jacques. "Mochlos; or, the Conflict of the Faculties," translated by Richard Rand and Amy Wygant. In *Logomachia: The Conflict of the Faculties*, edited by Richard Rand. 1–34. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.
- Diehl, Carl. *Americans and German Scholarship, 1770-1870*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978.
- Dilworth, Leah. *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 1997.
- DiMaggio, Paul. "Classification in Art." *American Sociological Review* 52, no. 4 (1987): 440–55.
- Dippie, Brian. *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982.
- Dirty Projectors. "Members." *MySpace*. Accessed September 4, 2011. <http://www.myspace.com/dirtyprojectors>.
- "Dirty Projectors: A Polarizing Sound at the Fringes of Pop." *NPR*, July 14, 2012. <http://www.npr.org/2012/07/14/156744167/dirty-projectors-a-polarizing-sound-at-the-fringes-of-pop>.
- Dorson, Richard. "The American Folklore Scene, 1963." *Folklore* 74, no. 3 (1963): 433–49.
- . "Folklore, Academe, and the Marketplace." In *Folklore and Fakelore: Essays toward a Discipline of Folk Studies*, 1–29. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- . "A Theory of American Folklore." *Journal of American Folklore* 72, no. 285 (1959): 197–215.
- Downs, Olin, and Elie Siegmeister. *A Treasury of American Song*. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1943.
- "Dreams So Real." *Tasty World* 1 (August 1984): 15, 23.
- Drott, Eric. "What Inclusiveness Excludes." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65, no. 3 (2012): 825–29.

- D'Souza, Dinesh. *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus*. New York: Free Press, 1991.
- "Earwax Music Poll," *Tasty World* 1 (August 1984): 18.
- Ebert, Roger. "UI's Philo Glee and Mandolin Society Boosts Folk Singing." *Champaign News-Gazette*, April 25, 1962, 26.
- Eells, Josh. "The Semi-Charmed Life of Vampire Weekend." *Rolling Stone*, February 4, 2010. <http://www.rollingstone.com/music/news/the-semi-charmed-life-of-vampire-weekend-20100204>.
- Eliot, Charles W. *Educational Reform*. New York: Arno Press, 1969.
- Ellis, Clyde. *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003.
- . "The Sound of the Drum Will Revive Them and Make Them Happy." In *Powwow*, edited by Clyde Ellis, Luke Eric Lassiter, and Gary H. Dunham. 3–25. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.
- , and Luke Eric Lassiter. "Introduction." In *Powwow*, edited by Clyde Ellis, Luke Eric Lassiter, and Gary H. Dunham. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.
- Ellison, J. Eddy. "Squalls Cry Pop." *Red & Black*, September 30, 1982, 5.
- Elon, Amos. *The Pity of it All: A History of the Jews in Germany, 1743–1933*. New York: Metropolitan, 2002.
- Emerson, Ralph W. "Ode, Inscribed to William D. Channing." Emerson Central. September 3, 2009. Accessed March 11, 2013. http://www.emersoncentral.com/poems/ode_inscribed_to_william_h_channing.htm.
- Erlmann, Veit. "Hero on the Pop Chart: Paul Simon and the Aesthetics of World Music." In *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West*. 179–98. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Evans-Pritchard, Edward E. *Theories of Primitive Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.
- "Event: Devo," *The Onion A.V. Club* March 16, 2011. <http://www.avclub.com/chicago/events/devo-and-dirty-projectors,189946/>.
- Fallon, Daniel. *The German University: A Heroic Ideal in Conflict with the Modern World*. Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1980.
- Fear-Segal, Jacqueline. *White Man's Club: Schools, Race and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.

- Feld, Steven. "Notes on World Beat." *Public Culture* 1, no. 1 (Fall 1988): 31–37.
- . "Pygmy POP: A Genealogy of Schizophonic Mimesis." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 28 (1996): 1–35.
- . "A Sweet Lullaby for World Music." *Public Culture* 12, no. 1 (2000): 145–71.
- Fenelon, James V., and Dorothy LeBeau. "Four Directions for Indian Education: Curriculum Models for Lakota/ Dakota Teaching and Learning." In *Indigenous Education & Empowerment: International Perspectives*, edited by Ismael Abu-Saad and Duane Champagne. 21–56. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 2006.
- Filene, Benjamin. *Romancing the Folk: Public Memory and American Roots Music*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- Fink, Robert. "Elvis Everywhere: Musicology and Popular Music Studies at the Twilight of the Canon." *American Music* 16, no. 2 (1999): 135–79.
- . Personal communication. April 20, 2013.
- Finnegan, Ruth. *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town*. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 2007.
- Fletcher, Tony. *Remarks: The Story of R.E.M.* London: Omnibus, 1989.
- Flexner, Abraham. "The Idea of a Modern University." In *Universities: American, English, German*. 19–46. New York: Teachers College Press, 1967.
- . *Universities: American, English, German*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1967.
- Foley, Hugh. "Guadalcanal Diary." *Tasty World* 3 (December 1984): 18, 28.
- "Folk Music from the Library of Congress." *Autobarp* 2, no. 6 (November 3, 1961): 5.
- "Folk Singers Will Seek Sponsorship." *Indiana Daily Student*, August 3, 1962, 4.
- "Folk Song Guide." *IUFC Newsletter* 1, no. 4 (ca. February 7, 1963): 3.
- "Folk-Music is Basic Part of Life," *Champaign-Urbana Courier*, February 16, 1964, G1-G3, G8.
- "Folkkniks: Fact or Fancy?" *Autobarp* 2, no. 1 (October 6, 1961): 6.
- "Folksingers Record Due for Release." *Champaign-Urbana Courier*, May 8, 1962.
- "Folksong Club Plans Instrument Lessons." *Indiana Daily Student*, November 6, 1962, 2.
- "Folksong Club to Seek Senate Approval Thursday." *Indiana Daily Student*, October 10, 1962, 6.

- Folksong Festival at Columbia University Advertisement. 1953. Library of Congress Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Pete Seeger Folder.
- Foreman, Thom. Presale Announcement. *Blue Yodel* 3, no. 4 (April 5, 1965), 13.
- Fox, Aaron. Personal communication. April 1, 2012.
- Freedman, Pete. "Vampire Weekend Backlash at SXSW." *Dallas Observer*, March 21, 2008.
<http://www.dallasobserver.com/2008-03-20/music/vampire-weekend-backlash-at-sxsw/>.
- Frisbie, Charlotte. "Review-Essay: Interviews with Native American Musicians." *Ethnomusicology* 25, no. 2 (May 1981): 365–81.
- Frith, Simon. "The Magic that Can Set You Free: The Ideology of the Folk and the Myth of the Rock Community." *Popular Music* 1 (1981): 159–68.
- . *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock 'n' Roll*. New York: Pantheon, 1981.
- , ed. *World Music, Politics, and Social Change: Papers from the International Association for the Study of Popular Music*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1989.
- , and Howard Horne. *Art into Pop*. New York: Methuen, 1987.
- Garber, Bonnie. "The Scene, It Is A-Changing." *UGAZine* 3 (Winter 1990), 4–8.
- Garofalo, Reebee. "From Music Publishing to MP3: Music and Industry in the Twentieth Century." *American Music* 17, no. 3 (Autumn 1999): 318–54.
- Garrouette, Eva. *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Geertz, Clifford. "From the Native's Point of View': On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding." In *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology*. 55–71. New York: Basic, 1983.
- . "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture." In *The Interpretation of Cultures*. 3–30. New York: Basic, 1973.
- Geiger, Roger L., with Julie Ann Bubolz. "College as it Was in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." In *The American University in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Roger L. Geiger. 80–90. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2000.
- Gelbart, Matthew. *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music': Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Gendron, Bernard. *From Montmartre to the Mudd Club: Popular Music and the Avant-Garde*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

- Gillett, Charlie. *The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock and Roll*. London: Souvenir Press, 1983.
- Gilman, Daniel Coit. *The Launching of a University and Other Papers: A Sheaf of Remembrances*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1906.
- . *University Problems in the United States*. New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1969.
- Giroux, Henry A. *Beyond the Corporate University: Culture and Pedagogy in the New Millennium*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.
- . “Consuming Social Change: The ‘United Colors of Benetton.’” *Cultural Critique* 26 (1993–94): 5–32.
- Goodey, Brian R. “Some Features of the English Folk-Music Scene.” *IUFC Newsletter* 2, no. 2 (November 1963): 5–7.
- . “Some Thoughts on the Rise in Popularity of Folk Music in Britain.” *Autobar* 24 (March 20, 1965): 8–16.
- Gordon, Mark and Jack Nachbar. *Currents of Warm Life: Popular Culture in American Higher Education*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1980.
- Gorman, Paul R. “Social Scientists and ‘Deviant’ Entertainments.” In *Left Intellectuals and Popular Culture in Twentieth-Century America*. 83–107. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- Gottlieb, Lou. Letter to Archie Green. January 19, 1956. Folder #135, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Gourlay, Kenneth A. “Towards a Humanizing Ethnomusicology.” *Ethnomusicology* 26, no. 3 (1982): 411–20.
- . “Towards a Reassessment of the Ethnomusicologist’s Role in Research,” *Ethnomusicology* 22, no. 1 (1978): 1–35.
- Green, Archie. “The Campus Folksong Club: A Glimpse at the Past.” In *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined*, edited by Neil V. Rosenberg, 61–72. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- . “Campus Report: University of Illinois.” *Hootenanny* 1, no. 2 (March 1964): 23–24, 63–64.
- . “Folksong on Campus.” *Autobar* 1, no. 1 (April 7, 1961): 3.
- . “Folksong Record Reissues: Alternative Approaches.” *Autobar* 2, no. 6 (May 4, 1962): 12–13.

- . “Hillbilly Music: Source and Symbol.” *Journal of American Folklore* 78, no. 309 (1965): 204–28.
- . “Hillbilly Music: Source and Symbol.” Lecture, Campus Folksong Club, Urbana, IL, April 18, 1963, Archives of Traditional Music 65-127-F, Indiana University.
- . Letter to Kenneth Goldstein. November 13, 1961. Folder #1409, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- . Letter to MacEdward Leach. November 13, 1961. Folder #211, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- . Liner notes to *PG&MS: Philo Glee & Mandoline Society*. University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Records CFC 101, 1962.
- . Preface to Glenn Ohrlin, *The Hell-Bound Train: A Cowboy Songbook*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973.
- Green, Marty. “Frank Proffitt: The Man and his Songs.” *IUFC Newsletter* 1, no. 5 (c. March 1963): 2.
- . “The New Folk Music Magazine- A Review.” *IUFC Newsletter* 2, no. 3 (January 1964): 5.
- . “New Lost City Ramblers Concert Review.” *IUFC Newsletter* 2, no. 2 (November 1963): 2.
- Green, Rayna. “The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture.” *Massachusetts Review* 16, no. 4 (1975): 698–714.
- . “The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in Europe and America.” *Folklore* 99, no. 1 (1988): 30–55.
- Greenberg, Clement. “Avant-Garde and Kitsch.” In *Art and Culture: Critical Essays*. 3–21. Boston: Beacon Press, 1963.
- “Greenfields of Illinois’ Reviews.” *Autobarp* 4, no. 3 (February 3, 1964): 12.
- Gregory, John Milton. “The Inaugural Address of Regent John Milton Gregory.” In *Some Founding Papers of the University of Illinois*, edited by Richard A. Hatch. 99–113. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968.
- Grinde, Donald A. “Taking the Indian out of the Indian: U.S. Policies of Ethnocide through Education.” *Wicazo Sa Review* 19, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 25–32.
- Grobsmith, Elizabeth S. “Growing Up on Deloria: The Impact of His Work on a New Generation of Anthropologists.” In *Indians and Anthropologists: Vine Deloria, Jr., and the Critique of*

- Anthropology*, edited by Thomas Biolsi and Larry J. Zimmerman. 35–49. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997.
- Grundy, Gareth. “Vampire Weekend: An Ivy League Hero Is Something to Be.” *Guardian Observer*, February 27, 2010. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2010/feb/28/vampire-weekend-feature>.
- Guadalcanal Diary. Interview with Kathy Schemeria. *Friday’s Only*, November 2, 1984. WUOG FM 90.5. Walter J. Brown Archives, University of Georgia.
- “Guadalcanal Diary: Twangy Guitars and Tribal Rhythms from Georgia.” *Guitar Magazine*, December 1986. Accessed December 23, 2012. <http://www.guadalcanaldiary.com/GuadGuitar.html>.
- Gumprecht, Blake. “The American College Town.” *Cultural Geography* 93, no. 1 (2003): 51–80.
- . *The American College Town*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008.
- Gunderson, Edna. “College Radio Explores Radio’s Flip Side.” *USA Today*, February 27, 1989, 5D.
- Gyure, Dale Allen. “The Heart of the University: A History of the Library as an Architectural Symbol of American Higher Education.” *Winterthur Portfolio* 42, no. 2–3 (2008): 107–32.
- Ha-Cohen, Ruth. *The Music Libel Against the Jews*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Hall, Stuart. “Notes on Deconstructing the Popular.” In *People’s History and Socialist Theory*, edited by Raphael Samuel. 227–240. London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.
- , and Tony Jefferson, eds. *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Hamm, Charles. “Graceland Revisited.” *Popular Music* 8, no. 3 (October 1989): 299–304.
- . “Modernist Narratives and Popular Music.” In *Putting Popular Music in its Place*. 1–40. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Hampton, V. J. Letter to Richard P. Kanar. March 3, 1961. Folder #1404, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Harrah-Conforth, Jeanne. “Dorson and the Indiana University Folklore Program: Oral Histories.” *Western Folklore* 48, no. 4 (October 1989): 342.
- Harris, Art. “O Little Town of Rock ‘n’ Roll.” *Washington Post*, August 29, 1984, B1.
- Harrison, Jon. “Songs of the Day: April 25–30.” *Little Hits*, April 25, 2005. Accessed December 23, 2012. http://www.littlehits.com/archives/2005_04_24_index.html.

- Hart, James Morgan. "James Morgan Hart Compares the German University and the American College during the 1860's." In *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, edited by Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith. 569–83. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- "The Harvard Report on General Education, 1945." In *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, edited by Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith. 956–69. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Hebdige, Dick. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, vol. 1, translated by T.M. Knox. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.
- Hennion, Antoine. "Those Things That Hold Us Together: Taste and Sociology." *Cultural Sociology* 1, no. 1 (March 2007): 97–114.
- Herder, Johann Gottfried von. *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*, translated by T. Churchill. London: Luke Hansard for J. Johnson, 1803.
- Hesmondhalgh, David. "Indie: The Institutional Politics and Aesthetics of a Popular Music Genre." *Cultural Studies* 13, no. 1 (1999): 34–61.
- . "Post-Punk's Attempt to Democratise the Music Industry: The Success and Failure of Rough Trade." *Popular Music* 16, no. 3 (October 1997): 255–74.
- . "Subcultures, Scenes or Tribes? None of the Above." *Journal of Youth Studies* 8, no. 1 (2005): 21–40.
- Hesselink, Nathan. "Radiohead's 'Pyramid Song': Ambiguity, Rhythm, and Participation." *Music Theory Online* 19, no. 1 (2013).
- Heth, Charlotte. "Introduction." In *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology, Volume 3, No. 2: Native American Music*, edited by Charlotte Heth. Los Angeles: University of California-Los Angeles Department of Music, 1980.
- . Liner notes, *Songs of Earth, Water, Fire, and Sky: Music of the American Indian*. New World Records 80246-2, 1976.
- . Liner Notes, *Songs of Love, Luck, Animals and Magic: Music of the Yurok and Totola Indians*. New World 80297, 1977.
- . *Navajo Songs from Canyon De Chelly*. New World 80406, 1990.
- . *Oku Shareh: Turtle Dance Songs of the San Juan Pueblo*. New World 80301, 1979.

- . *Powwow Songs: Music of the Plains Indians*. New World 80343, 1986.
- , ed. *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology, Volume 3, No. 2: Native American Music*. Los Angeles: University of California-Los Angeles Department of Music, 1980.
- . *Songs and Dances of the Eastern Indians from Medicine Spring & Allegany*. New World 80337, 1985.
- . *Songs of Love, Luck, Animals and Magic: Music of the Yurok and Totola Indians*. New World 80297, 1977.
- . “The Stomp Dance Music of the Oklahoma Cherokee: A Study of Contemporary Practice with Special Reference to the Illinois District Council Ground.” Ph.D. diss., University of California-Los Angeles, 1975.
- . “Update on Indian Music: Contemporary Trends.” In *Sharing a Heritage: American Indian Arts*, edited by Charlotte Heth. 89–100. Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Center, University of California-Los Angeles, 1984.
- Hibbett, Ryan. “What is Indie Rock.” *Popular Music and Society* 28, no. 1 (2005): 55–77.
- Hickerson, Joseph C. Letter to Robert Haslun. October 2, 1996. Library of Congress Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Oberlin College Folder.
- . “News from Indiana.” *Caravan* 9 (April 1958): 4.
- “Hip Hop Congress.” *UCLA Cultural Affairs Commission*. Accessed August 23, 2013. <http://www.culturalaffairsla.com/series/hip-hop-congress/>.
- “Hip-Hop Education.” New York University. Accessed August 24, 2013. <http://steinhardt.nyu.edu/metrocenter/hiphopeducation/>.
- Hirshfelder, Arlene B., ed. *American Indian Stereotypes in the World of Children: A Reader and Bibliography*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1982.
- “History: Art at the University of Georgia.” University of Georgia Lamar Dodd School of Art. Accessed December 23, 2012. <http://art.uga.edu/about/history/>.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. “Introduction: Inventing Traditions.” In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. 1–14. New York: Canto, 1983.
- Hockenhull, Jim. Interview by Annie Paprocki. University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Oral History Project. March 5, 2010. Accessed February 15, 2011. http://www.library.illinois.edu/edx/folklore/transcripts/Jim_Hockenhull_Interview_Transcript-8-19-10.pdf.
- Hoffman, Frank A. “About that Club Record...” *Blue Yodel* 3, no. 4 (April 5, 1965): 7–10.

- . “Pre-1935 Recordings Reissued on LP.” *IUFC Newsletter* 2, no. 4 (February 1964): 3–6.
- Hofstadter, Richard, and Wilson Smith, eds. *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Holt, Douglas B. “Distinction in America? Recovering Bourdieu’s Theory of Tastes from its Critics.” *Poetics* 25 (1997): 93–120.
- Hood, Mantle. “The Challenge of Bi-Musicality.” *Ethnomusicology* 4, no. 2 (1960): 55–59.
- . *The Ethnomusicologist*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1982.
- . “Music, the Unknown.” In *Musicology*, edited by Frank Ll. Harrison, Mantle Hood, and Claude V. Palisca. 215–327. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963.
- . “Training and Research Methods in Ethnomusicology.” *Ethnomusicology* 1, no. 11 (1957): 6–8.
- Hopper, Jessica. “Appropriation, Vacation: Vampire Weekend’s Bougie Afropop Beach Boogie.” *Chicago Reader*, January 28, 2010. <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/vampire-weekend-contrareview-indie-rock-appropriation-ezra-koenig/Content?oid=1358299>.
- Horkheimer, Max and Theodor Adorno. “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception.” In *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. 120–67. New York: Continuum, 1993.
- Huhndorf, Shari. *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von. “On the Spirit and the Organisational Framework of Intellectual Institutions in Berlin.” *Minerva* 8, no. 2 (April 1970): 242–50.
- Huyssen, Andreas. *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.
- Hype!* VHS. Directed by Doug Pray. New York: Lions Gate, 1996.
- Indiana University Department of English. “Indiana University Department of English: Graduate Courses in Folklore,” c. 1940. Library of Congress Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Indiana University Folder.
- Indiana University Department of Folklore. “Graduate Program in Folklore.” *Indiana University Bulletin* 46, no. 30 (December 1948): 3.
- Indiana University Folksong Club Executive Committee. “Letter to the Editor.” *IUFC Newsletter* 2, no. 4 (February 1964): 6.

- Indiana University Folksong Club. Flyer. c. October 10, 1962. Library of Congress Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Indiana University Folder.
- . Tapes for unreleased club record. c. 1965. Archives of Traditional Music 66-173-F, Indiana University.
- Indrisek, Scott. "Indie Rock Dreams of Africa: The Dirty Projectors." *Rhapsody*, January 28, 2008. Accessed November 21, 2011. <http://blog.rhapsody.com/2008/01/indie-rock-dreams-of-africa-the-dirty-projectors.html>.
- Ives, Burl, and Albert Hague. *The Burl Ives Songbook: American Song in Historical Perspective*. New York: Ballantine, 1953.
- Ivey, William. "Record Reviews." *Western Folklore* 36, no. 3 (1977): 269–73.
- Jackson, Bruce. "Folklore on Records: Folksingers and Finksongers." *Midwest Folklore* 13, no. 1 (1963): 59–60.
- Jacobs, Wilbur. "The White Man's Frontier in American History: The Impact upon Land and the Indian." In *Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier*. 19–30. New York: Scribner, 1972.
- Jaimes, M. Annette. "Sand Creek: The Morning After." In *The State of Native North America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, edited by M. Annette Jaimes. 1–12. Boston: South End Press, 1992.
- Jairazbhoy, Nazir A. "Music in Western Rajasthan: Stability and Change." *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 9 (1977): 50–66.
- Jameson, Frederic. "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture." *Social Text* 1 (1979): 130–48.
- Jimersen, Avery. "An Evening of Social Dance Music." World Music Archives, Wesleyan University, WA 2.2.50.
- , and David McAllester. "An Evening of Seneca Indian Music." World Music Hall, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT, February 22, 1974. World Music Archives, Wesleyan University.
- Johnson, Gerald T. "Folk Music Session at Society for Ethnomusicology Meeting." *Blue Yodel* 3, no. 2 (December 7, 1964): 5–6.
- Joiner, Michael. "Courses in Culture: The Acceptance of Music in the Late-Nineteenth Century American University." Ph.D. diss., University of California-Santa Barbara, 2013.
- Josephy, Alvin M. *The Indian Heritage of America*. New York: Knopf, 1968.
- . *Red Power: The American Indians' Fight for Freedom*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1971.

- Kahn, Ed. "Folk Song Discography." *Western Folklore* 22, no. 1 (January 1963): 73–76.
- . "Review of *Green Fields of Illinois*." *Western Folklore* 22 (October 1963): 294.
- Kant, Immanuel. *The Conflict of the Faculties*, translated by Mary J. Gregor. New York: Abaris, 1979.
- Kartomi, Margaret J. "The Processes and Results of Musical Culture Contact: A Discussion of Terminology and Concepts." *Ethnomusicology* 25, no. 2 (May 1981): 227–49.
- Kavanagh, Thomas. "The Comanche Pow-wow: Pan-Indianism or Tribalism." *Haliksa'i: University of New Mexico Contributions to Anthropology* 1 (1982): 12–27.
- Kawaii, Keith. "Review: Dirty Projectors, *The Getty Address*." *Tiny Mix Tapes*. Accessed July 2, 2013. <http://www.tinymixtapes.com/music-review/dirty-projectors-getty-address>.
- Kaye, Andrew. "Review: *Madigaiskara Two: Current Popular Music of Madagascar*." *Ethnomusicology* 36, no. 2 (1992): 297–99.
- Keenan, Elizabeth K. "Hipster Values: The High Art Discourses and White Masculine Mastery in the Music of the Dirty Projectors." Paper presented at the International Association for Popular Music, US Chapter, Annual Conference, Loyola University, New Orleans, Louisiana, April 11, 2010.
- . "Indie Values, Symphonic Spaces: High Art, Low Art, and the 'New' Audience." Paper presented at the Musicology and the Present conference, Portland, Oregon, April 20, 2013.
- Kerr, Clark. *The Uses of the University, With a Postscript—1972*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Khan, Shamus. "The New Elitists." *New York Times*, July 8, 2012, 6L.
- . "The Sociology of Elites." *Annual Review of Sociology* 38 (2012): 361–77.
- Kingman, Larry. "Philo's Facilitate." *Autobarp* 3, no. 2 (November 30, 1962): 6.
- Kingsbury, Henry. *Music, Talent, and Performance: A Conservatory Cultural System*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.
- Klingman, Jeff. "Track Review: Vampire Weekend 'A-Punk.'" *Prefixmag*, June 28, 2007. <http://www.prefixmag.com/news/track-review-vampire-weekend-a-punk/10845>.
- Klymasz, Robert B. "The Ukranian Folksong in Canada." *Blue Yodel* 3, no. 3 (March 1, 1965): 3–4.
- "Know any Folk Songs?" *Champaign-Urbana Courier*, March 21, 1963, 9.
- Koenig, Ezra. "Review: Dirty Projectors, *The Glad Fact*." *Dusted*, December 15, 2003. <http://www.dustedmagazine.com/reviews/1012>.

- Koenig, Michael. "Guadalcanal Diary: Marietta Band Hits New High." *Red & Black*, November 6, 1985, 1.
- Koenig, Robert. Minutes of the April 19, 1964 Executive Committee Meeting. Judith McCulloh personal collection.
- Kontje, Todd. *The German Bildungsroman: History of a Genre*. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1993.
- Kruse, Holly. *Site and Sound: Understanding Independent Music Scenes*. New York: Peter Lang, 2003.
- . "Subcultural Identity in Alternative Music Culture." *Popular Music* 12, no. 1 (1993): 33–41.
- Kunst, Jaap. *Ethnomusicology: A Study of its Nature, its Problems, Methods, and Representative Personalities to which is added a Bibliography*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959.
- Lacan, Jacques. *The Other Side of Psychoanalysis: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan Book XVII*, translated by Russell Grigg. New York: W.W. Norton, 2007.
- LaFrance, Ron. "Inside the Longhouse: Dances of the Haudenosaunee." In *Native American Dance: Ceremonies and Social Traditions*, edited by Charlotte Heth. 19–31. Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian, 1992.
- Laing, Dave. *One Chord Wonders: Power and Meaning in Punk Rock*. Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1985.
- Lamont, Michèle. *Money, Morals and Manners: The Culture of the French and the American Upper-Middle Class*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Lassiter, Luke E. *The Power of Kiowa Song: A Collaborative Ethnography*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998.
- Laughton, Bob. "The Bluegrass Banjo and Scruggs Style Picking." *Autoharp* 2, no. 6 (May 4, 1962): 7–9.
- Lawlor, Mary. *Public Native America: Tribal Self-Representations in Casinos, Museums, and Powwows*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006.
- Leavis, F. R. "The Idea of the University." In *Education and the University: A Sketch for an 'English School.'* 15–32. London: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- . "Mass Civilization and Minority Culture." In *Education and the University: A Sketch for an 'English School.'* 141–71. London: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Leitko, Aaron. "Review: Dirty Projectors, 'Emblem of the World.'" *Pitchfork*, January 21, 2010. <http://pitchfork.com/reviews/tracks/11724-emblem-of-the-world>.

- Lester, Paul. "Vampire Weekend: 'They're Attacking a Version of Us that Doesn't Exist.'" *The Guardian*, January 7, 2010. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2010/jan/07/vampire-weekend-contras>.
- Levine, Lawrence. *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- . *The Opening of the American Mind: Canons, Culture, and History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1994.
- Levine, Victoria Lindsey. Interview with Charlotte Heth. *SEM Newsletter* 47, no. 3 (2013): 1, 6.
- Lewis, George H. "Lap Dancer or Hillbilly Deluxe? The Cultural Constructions of Modern Country Music." *Journal of Popular Culture* 31, no. 3 (1997): 163–73.
- Library of Congress. Letter to Archie Green, August 22, 1962. Folder #1407, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Linn, Edward. "Eggheads with a Big Beat." *Saturday Evening Post*, December 16, 1961, 32–34.
- Lipshutz, Jason. "Listen: Dirty Projectors Unveil New Single, 'Gun Has No Trigger.'" *Billboard.com*, March 30, 2012. <http://www.billboard.com/articles/news/498680/listen-dirty-projectors-unveil-new-track-gun-has-no-trigger>.
- Lipsitz, George. "Strategic Anti-Essentialism in Popular Music." In *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism and the Poetics of Place*. 49–68. New York: Verso, 1994.
- Livingston, Tamara. "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory." *Ethnomusicology* 43, no. 1 (1999): 66–85.
- , Melinda Russell, Larry F. Ward, and Bruno Nettl, eds. *Community of Music: An Ethnographic Seminar in Champaign-Urbana*. Champaign: Elephant & Cat, 1993.
- Lomax, John. *Folk Song U.S.A.: The 111 Best American Ballads*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pierce, 1947.
- , Alan Lomax, and Ruth Crawford Seeger. *Our Singing Country: A Second Volume of American Ballads and Folk Songs*. New York: Macmillan, 1941.
- Longhurst, Brian. "Review: *Cultures of Popular Music* by Andy Bennett and *Understanding Popular Music, Second Edition* by Roy Shuker." *Popular Music* 22, no. 1 (2003): 109–16.
- Longstreth, David. Interview with Andy Beta. June 22, 2009. <http://andybetablog.blogspot.com/2009/06/dirty-projectors-interview.html>.
- . Interview with James Everest. University of Minnesota Whole Music Club, March 5, 2009. Accessed September 5, 2011. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iDUTNUof-Mg>.

- . Letter to Don Henley. January 3, 2005. <http://www.thegettyaddress.com/henley.html>.
- López-Sintas, Jordi, and Tally Katz-Gerro. "From Exclusive to Inclusive Elitists and Further: Twenty Years of Omnivorosity and Cultural Diversity in Arts Participation in the USA." *Poetics* 33 (2005): 299–319.
- Lorentz, David G. "History and Structure of Ragtime." *Blue Yodel* 3, no. 3 (March 1, 1965): 5–10.
- Lukas, Victor T. "The Carter Family Guitar Style." *Autobarp* 2, no. 4 (February 16, 1962): 6.
- . Interview by Tracie Wilson. University of Illinois Campus Folk Song Oral History Project. June 18, 2007. Accessed February 15, 2011. http://www.library.illinois.edu/edx/folklore/transcripts/Lucas_18062007.pdf.
- . Letter to Mike Bloomfield. January 20, 1965. Folder #1424, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Lynd, Robert S., and Helen Merrell Lynd. "Using Leisure." In *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture*. 225–312. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1929.
- MacDonald, Dwight. "A Theory of Popular Culture." *Diogenes* 1 (1953): 1–17.
- Maddox, Lucy. *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race, and Reform*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Mahoney, Dennis. "The Apprenticeship of the Reader: The Bildungsroman of the 'Age of Goethe.'" In *Reflection and Action: Essays on the Bildungsroman*, edited by James Hardin. 97–117. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.
- Marcus, Griel. *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Marfuggi, Joseph. "A New Spirit: Buffy Sainte-Marie: Indian and Proud." In *American Indians Today: A Search for Identity*, edited by Charles L. Cutler. 38–41. Middletown, CT: American Education Publications, 1970.
- Mark, Joan. *A Stranger in her Native Land: Alice Fletcher and the American Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988.
- Marsden, George. *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Maslin, Janet. "Athens, GA, On Rock Bands." *New York Times*, May 29, 1987, C14.
- Mattern, Mark. "The Powwow as a Public Arena for Negotiating Unity and Diversity in American Indian Life." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 20, no. 4 (1996): 183–201.

- Maus, Fred Everett. "Intimacy and Distance: On Stipe's Queerness." *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 18, no. 2 (2006): 191–214.
- . "Three Songs about Privacy, by R.E.M." *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 22, no. 1 (2010): 2–31.
- Mayfield, Lyle. "Impressions of Nashville." *Autobarp* 4, no. 3 (February 3, 1964): 19–20.
- . Interview by Tracie Wilson, University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Oral History Project. July 18, 2007. Accessed February 24, 2011. http://www.library.illinois.edu/edx/folklore/transcripts/Mayfield_18072007.pdf.
- . "Let's Play the Guitar." *Autobarp* 21 (October 7, 1964): 16–21.
- . Letter to Archie Green. March 25, 1969. Folder #235, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- . "Lyle Mayfield on Guitars and Guitar-Playing." *Autobarp* 4, no. 4 (March 16, 1964): 12–13.
- . Recordings and fieldwork documentation. Archives of Traditional Music, 64-018-F, 65-119-F, and 66-215-F, Indiana University.
- . "What Can You Expect from the Guitar?" *Autobarp* 4, no. 5 (April 30, 1964): 18–19.
- Maynard, Mark. "Pylon: Sounds, Utterances and Everything..." *Crimewave USA* 14 (2003). Accessed April 11, 2013. <http://pylon.pyrzqxgl.com/pyloncw14.html>.
- McAllester, David P. "Application for a Summer Stipend for 1976." c. 1975. Bruno Nettl Papers, Sousa Archives and Center for American Music, University of Illinois.
- . "The Astonished Ethno-Muse." *Ethnomusicology* 23, no. 2 (1979): 179–89.
- . "Autobiographical Sketch." In *Explorations in Ethnomusicology: Essays in Honor of David P. McAllester*, edited by Charlotte Frisbie. 201–15. Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1986.
- . "Cerebration or Celebration." *Current Musicology* 15 (1973): 95–97.
- . *Enemy Way Music: A Study of Social and Esthetic Values as Seen in Navaho Music*. Cambridge, MA: Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1954.
- . "Field Research among American Indians." Paper delivered at the Symposium on Ethnomusicology, University of Washington, March 8, 1963. Ethnomusicology Archive, University of Washington.
- . "The Many Faces of the American Indian." In *American Indians Today: A Search for Identity*, edited by Charles L. Cutler. 4–8. Middletown, CT: American Education Publications, 1970.

- . “The New Indian Music.” October 1, 1976. David McAllester Papers, Special Collections and Archives, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT, USA.
- . “New Perspectives in Native American Music,” *Perspectives of New Music* 20, nos. 1–2 (1981–1982): 433–46.
- . “Performances and Workshops.” In *Becoming Human through Music: The Wesleyan Symposium on the Perspectives of Social Anthropology in the Teaching and Learning of Music*, edited by David McAllester. 123–28. Reston, VA: Music Educators National Conference, 1985.
- . Review of *Songs of Earth, Fire, Water, and Sky*. *Ethnomusicology* 21, no. 3 (1977): 523–24.
- . Review of *Frances Densmore and American Indian Music: A Memorial Volume*. *American Anthropologist* 72, no. 1 (1970): 142–44.
- . “The War God’s Horse Song: An Exegesis in Native American Humanities,” In *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology, Volume 3, No. 2: Native American Music*, edited by Charlotte Heth. 1–21. Los Angeles: University of California-Los Angeles Department of Music, 1980.
- . “The Wesleyan Symposium.” In *Becoming Human through Music: The Wesleyan Symposium on the Perspectives of Social Anthropology in the Teaching and Learning of Music*, edited by David McAllester. 1–4. Reston, VA: Music Educators National Conference, 1985.
- , and Susan W. McAllester. *Hogans: Navajo Houses & House Songs*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1980.
- McCabe, Bret. “A New York State of Graceland.” *New York Sun*, January 29, 2008. <http://www.nysun.com/arts/new-york-state-of-graceland/70337>.
- McClary, Susan. “Terminal Prestige: The Case of Avant-Garde Music Composition.” *Cultural Critique* 12 (1989): 57–81.
- McCulloh, Judith. Interview by Tracie Wilson. University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Oral History Project. May 22, 2007. Accessed February 15, 2011. http://www.library.illinois.edu/edx/folklore/transcripts/mcculloh_22052007_.pdf.
- . Personal communication. November 13, 2013.
- . “Selected Bibliography of Illinois Folklore.” *Autoharp* 4, no. 4 (March 16, 1964): 23–31.
- McLellan, Charles E. *State, Society, and University in Germany, 1700–1914*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- McMahon, John. “Time Toy Missed Lots.” *Red and Black*, June 5, 1987, 10.
- McNally, Michael D. *Ojibwe Singers: Hymn, Grief, and a Native Culture in Motion*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

- McPhee, John. "Sibyl with Guitar." *Time*, November 23, 1962, 54–60.
- Medicine, Beatrice. "Higher Education: A New Arena for Native Americans." In *Learning to Be an Anthropologist and Remaining "Native:" Selected Writings*, edited by Beatrice Medicine and Sue- Ellen Jacobs. 83–90. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Melamed, Jodi. "The Spirit of Neoliberalism: From Racial Liberalism to Neoliberal Multiculturalism." *Social Text* 24, no. 4 (2006): 1–24.
- Merriam, Alan. *The Anthropology of Music*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1964.
- . "Discussion and Definition of the Field." *Ethnomusicology* 4, no. 1 (1960): 107–14.
- . *Ethnomusicology of the Flathead Indians*. New York: Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, 1967.
- . "Ethnomusicology Revisited." *Ethnomusicology* 13, no. 2 (May 1969): 213–29.
- . Letter to Howard Courlander. April 12, 1953. Alan Merriam folder, Moses and Francis Asch Collection, Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage.
- . Liner notes, *Songs and Dances of the Flathead Indians*. Folkways Records FW04445, 1953.
- . "The Use of Music in the Study of Acculturation." *American Anthropologist* 57, no. 1 (1955): 28–34.
- Mientjes, Louise. "Paul Simon's Graceland, South Africa, and the Mediation of Musical Meaning." *Ethnomusicology* 34, no. 1 (1990): 37–74.
- Mills, Mike. "Our Town." *SPIN* July 1985, 21–23.
- Mitchell, Frank. *Frank Mitchell: Blessingway Singer*, edited by Charlotte J. Frisbie and David P. McAllester. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1978.
- Mitchell, Glen. Letter to University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club. n.d.(c. 1963). Folder #1414, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Moeller, Sean. "Have You Seen the New Red? It's Like Nothin' You've Ever Seen." *Daytrotter*, May 7, 2007. <http://www.daytrotter.com/dt/dirty-projectors-concert/20030095-110629.html>.
- Moline, Karen. "Pylon: Temporary Rock." *New York Rocker*, March 1981, 15–17.
- Monod, David. "'Ev'rybody's Crazy 'bout the Doggone Blues': Creating the Country Blues in the Early Twentieth Century." *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 19, no. 2 (2007): 179–214.
- Moretti, Franco. *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture*. New York: Verso, 1988.

- Morison, Samuel Eliot. *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936.
- Moses, L. G. *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883–1933*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997.
- Mosse, George L. *German Jews beyond Judaism*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1985.
- Munday, Judi. Letter to Beverly Plummer. November 30, 1965. Folder 1428, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Murray, Jacqueline Shea. “Have They a Right? Nineteenth-Century Indian Dance Practices and Federal Policy.” In *The People Have Never Stopped Dancing: Native American Modern Dance Histories*. 29–52. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.
- Nandy, Ashis. *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- “Native American Music at UCLA.” *Ethnomusicology at UCLA* 4, no. 1 (Fall 1986): 1.
- Navajo Traditional Music: Squaw Dance and Ribbon Dance*. VHS. Directed by Charlotte Heth. Los Angeles: UCLA American Indian Studies Center, 1978.
- Nettl, Bruno. *Heartland Excursions: Ethnomusicological Reflections on Schools of Music*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995.
- . *Music in Primitive Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956.
- . *North American Indian Musical Styles*. Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1954.
- . “Persian Classical Music in Tehran: The Processes of Change.” In *Eight Urban Music Cultures: Tradition and Change*, edited by Bruno Nettl. 157–67. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978.
- . “Some Aspects of the History of World Music in the Twentieth Century: Questions, Problems, and Concepts.” *Ethnomusicology* 22, no. 1 (January 1978): 123–36.
- . *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005.
- . *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.
- . *The Western Impact on World Music: Change Adaptation, and Survival*. New York: Schirmer, 1985.
- “Nettle [*sic*] to Teach Here.” *Autobarp* 4, no. 5 (April 30, 1964): 26.

- “New Demand for Record: Favorable Review in *Times* for ‘Green Fields.’” *Champaign-Urbana Courier*, October 6, 1963, n.p.
- New Lost City Ramblers. Concert. October 27, 1962. University of Illinois, Archives of Traditional Music 65-127-F, Indiana University.
- . Concert. November 22, 1963. Indiana University, Archives of Traditional Music 66-139-F, Indiana University.
- . Interview with Emerson Klein. “Celebrity Interview,” WINL-TV, October 27(26?), 1962. Archives of Traditional Music 65-127-F, Indiana University.
- . Liner Notes. *Gone to the Country*. Folkways Records FA 2491, 1963.
- Newcomb, Jr., William W. *North American Indians: An Anthropological Perspective*. Pacific Palisades, CA: Goodyear Publishing, 1974.
- . “A Note on Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism.” *American Anthropologist* 57, no. 5 (October 1955): 1041–45.
- Newman, John Henry. *The Idea of a University*, edited by Frank M. Turner. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Newman, Michael Z. “Indie Culture: In Pursuit of the Authentic Autonomous Alternative.” *Cinema Journal* 48, no. 3 (2009): 16–34.
- Nichols, Natalie. “No, They Don’t Want to Drink Your Buzz.” *Los Angeles Times*, March 20, 2008. <http://articles.latimes.com/2008/mar/20/entertainment/et-vampire20>.
- Niimi, J. *Murmur*. New York: Continuum, 2005.
- “90.5 FM Receives National Attention.” *Airwaves: The Bi-Annual Newsletter of 90.5 FM* 3, no. 1 (Summer/Fall 1985): 2.
- Noriega, Jorge. “American Indian Education in the United States: Indoctrination for Subordination to Colonialism.” In *The State of Native North America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, edited by M. Annette Jaimes. 371–402. Boston: South End Press, 1992.
- Novak, David. “The Sublime Frequencies of New Old Media.” *Public Culture* 23, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 603–34.
- Nusser, Richard M. “College Radio Energizes New Act Exposure.” *Billboard*, December 6, 1980, 1, 16.
- O’Meara, Caroline. “The Raincoats: Breaking Down Punk Rock’s Masculinities.” *Popular Music* 22, no. 3 (2003): 299–313.

- Ollivier, Michèle. "Modes of Openness to Cultural Diversity: Humanist, Populist, Practical, and Indifferent." *Poetics* 36 (2008): 120–47.
- Oswalt, Wendell H. *This Land Was Theirs: A Study of the North American Indian*. New York: Wiley, 1966.
- Palmer, Robert. "Regional Bands in National Spotlight." *New York Times* November 6, 1981, C16.
- Pankake, Jon. "Jon Pankake." In *Wasn't That a Time: Firsthand Accounts of the Folk Revival*, edited by Ronald D. Cohen, 105–14. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1995.
- Pareles, Jon. "College Radio, New Outlet for the Newest Music." *New York Times*, December 29, 1987, C18.
- . "Folk-Rock: Love-Tractor." *New York Times*, September 13, 1983, C15.
- . "Indie-Rock on a Quest, with Woodwinds, Brass and Strings." *New York Times*, February 22, 2010. www.nytimes.com/2010/02/22/arts/music/22dirty.html.
- . "Setting their Sights on Wider Vistas." *New York Times*, May 12, 2013, AR17.
- Parezo, Nancy J., and Don D. Fowler. *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.
- Party, Daniel. "Placer culpable: Shame and Nostalgia in the Chilean 1990s *Balada* Revival." *Latin American Music Review* 30, no. 1 (2009): 69–98.
- Pearce, Roy Harvey. *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1967.
- Peles, Stephen. "'Any Theory is a Choice': Babbitt and the Post-War Reinvention of Music Theory." *Music Theory Spectrum* 34, no. 1 (2012): 22–24.
- Pelikan, Jaroslav. *The Idea of the University: A Reexamination*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Perlman, Ken. "Interview with Pete Seeger." *Banjo Newsletter* 27, no. 12 (October 2000): 24–28.
- Peterson, Richard A. *Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- . "Problems in Comparative Research: The Example of Omnivorousness." *Poetics* 33 (2005): 257–82.
- . "The Rise and Fall of Highbrow Snobbery as a Status Marker." *Poetics* 25 (1997): 75–92.
- . "Why 1955? Explaining the Advent of Rock Music." *Popular Music* 9, no. 1 (1990): 97–116.

- , and Albert Simkus. “How Musical Tastes Mark Occupational Status Groups.” In *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*, edited by Michèle Lamont and Marcel Fournier. 152–86. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- , and Roger M. Kern. “Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore.” *American Sociological Review* 61, no. 5 (October 1996): 900–907.
- Pfister, Joel. *Individuality Incorporated: Indians and the Multicultural Modern*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.
- “PG&MS Record Back In Print.” *Autobarp* 3, no. 2 (November 30, 1962): 1.
- Pierce, David Hannon. “Music Media: Insiders and Outsiders.” *Tasty World* 2 (October 1984): 5.
- . “The Tasty World Interview: Michael Lachowski.” *Tasty World* 2 (October 1984): 23, 29.
- Pisani, Michael. *Imagining Native America in Music*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005.
- “Pitchfork Taking a Survey, Lists Current Music Trends (in the Trends You Wish Would Go Away Category.” *Brooklyn Vegan*, December 3, 2009. Accessed November 21, 2011, http://www.brooklynvegan.com/archives/2009/12/pitchfork_takin.html.
- Plous, Fritz. “From the Editor’s Diary.” *Autobarp* 4, no. 4 (March 16, 1964): 15–17.
- . Interview by Tracie Wilson. University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Oral History Project. May 23, 2007. Accessed November 14, 2013. http://www.library.illinois.edu/sshel/specialcollections/folklore/transcripts/plous_23052007.pdf.
- . Liner Notes, *Green Fields of Illinois* (University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Records CFC 102, 1963).
- . “On the Road to the Southern Appalachians.” *Autobarp* 3, no. 1 (October 15, 1962): 15–16.
- . “Stoneman Family Provides Wide Appeal.” *Autobarp* 3, no. 5 (May 24, 1963): 2.
- . “Through the Appalachians with Jug and Fiddle,” *Autobarp* 3, no. 3 (February 8, 1963): 5–9.
- . “Through the Great Smokies with Jug and Fiddle.” *Autobarp* 3, no. 2 (November 30, 1962): 7–8.
- . “Why Another Record?” *Autobarp* 3, no. 4 (March 22, 1963): 9–11.
- Pollan, Michael. *The Omnivore’s Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals*. New York: Penguin, 2006.
- Pond, Steve. “College Radio’s Brave New Wave.” *Rolling Stone* September 29, 1983, 85–86, 88.
- Porter, Noah. “The New Criticism,” *New Englander* 29 (1870): 295–316.

- Powell, Mike. "Review: Dirty Projectors, *Rise Above*." *Pitchfork* September 7, 2007. <http://pitchfork.com/reviews/albums/10577-rise-above>.
- Powers, Devon. "Rock Criticism's Public Intellectuals." *Popular Music and Society* 33, no. 4 (2010): 533–48.
- . *Writing the Record: The Village Voice and the Birth of Rock Criticism*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013.
- Powers, William K. "Contemporary Oglala Music and Dance: Pan-Indianism versus Pan-Tetonism." *Ethnomusicology* 12, no. 3 (1968): 352–72.
- Preissel, Jennifer. "Vampire Weekend Strives for Cohesive Sound." *Columbia College Today*, May-June 2007. http://www.college.columbia.edu/cct_archive/may_jun07/updates3.php.
- Proffitt, Frank. Concert. March 22, 1964. University of Illinois, Archives of Traditional Music 65-047-F, Indiana University.
- . Concert. March 24, 1964. Indiana University, Archives of Traditional Music 66-137-F, Indiana University.
- "A Proposal for a Ph.D. Program in Ethnomusicology." November 24, 1963. David McAllester Papers. Special Collections and Archives, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT, USA.
- Prucha, Francis. *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reforms and the Indian, 1865–1900*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.
- Rabinowitz, Michael. "Vampire Weekend: Interview with Ezra Koenig." *REAX*, February 1, 2008. http://reaxmusic.com/tiki-read_article.php?articleId=50409.
- Radosh, Ron. "Problems of a College Folk Music Group." *Caravan* 13 (October–November 1958): 26–27.
- Readings, Bill. *The University in Ruins*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- "The Red and Black's Best and Worst Picks of Last Year," *Red and Black* February 1, 1985, 6.
- Redfield, Robert, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits. "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation." *American Anthropologist* 38, no. 1 (1936): 149–52.
- Regis, Joseph C. "Dropouts from College Radio." *Billboard*, November 15, 1980, 18.
- Reuss, Richard with Joanne C. Reuss. *American Folk Music and Left-Wing Politics*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2000.
- Revitt, Paul J. "The Institute of Ethnomusicology at UCLA." *College Music Symposium* 2 (1962): 39–49.

- Rhodes, Willard. "Acculturation in North American Indian Music." In *Acculturation in North American Indian Music: Proceedings and Selected Papers of the Twenty-ninth International Congress of Americanists*, edited by Sol Tax. 127–32. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952.
- . Liner notes, *Music of the Sioux and the Navajo*. Folkways FW04401, 1949.
- . *Music of the American Indian*. Library of Congress Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division AFS L42, 1954.
- Riesman, David. "Listening to Popular Music." *American Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (1950): 359–71.
- . *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.
- Roche, George. *The Fall of the Ivory Tower: Government Funding, Corruption, and the Bankrupting of American Higher Education*. Washington, DC: Regnery, 1995.
- Rose, Wendy. "The Great Pretenders: Further Reflections on Whitemanhood." In *The State of Native North America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, edited by M. Annette Jaimes. 403–21. Boston: South End Press, 1992.
- Rosenberg, Neil V. "Bloomington Folk Scene Notes Copy." Personal copy given to author.
- . "Introduction." In *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined*, edited by Neil V. Rosenberg. 1–25. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- . "Neil V. Rosenberg." In *Wasn't That a Time: Firsthand Accounts of the Folk Revival*, edited by Ronald D. Cohen, 71–78. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1995.
- Rozin, Paul. "Food is Fundamental, Fun, Frightening, and Far-Reaching." *Social Research* 66, no. 1 (1999): 9–30.
- . "The Selection of Food by Rats, Humans, and Other Animals." *Advances in the Study of Behavior* 6 (1976): 21–76.
- Rubin, Nicholas. "Signing On: College Radio and the Popular Music Industry 1977–1983." PhD diss, University of Virginia, 2010.
- Rudolph, Frederick. *The American College and University: A History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968.
- Rydell, Robert. *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Saffren, Jarrad. "Bringing Down the House: Electronic Dance Music Rises as Premiere Soundtrack for College Concerts, Parties." *Daily Orange*, October 3, 2012. <http://dailyorange.com/2012/10/bringing-down-the-house-electronic-dance-music-rises-as-premiere-soundtrack-for-college-concerts-parties/>.

- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Knopf, 1993.
- Sam Yazzi: Navajo Singer*. VHS. Directed by Charlotte Heth. Hollywood: Ampac, 1978.
- Sammons, Jeffrey L. "The Bildungsroman for Nonspecialists: An Attempt at a Clarification." In *Reflection and Action: Essays on the Bildungsroman*, edited by James Hardin. 26–45. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.
- Samuels, David. *Putting a Song on Top of It: Expression and Identity on the San Carlos Apache Reservation*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004.
- Sanderlin, Phil. "Campus Station 90.5 FM Celebrates 10th Year On Air," *Athens Observer*, October 14, 1982, 4B.
- . "The Struggle for WUOG." *Athens Observer*, February 19, 1981, 1, 6.
- Sauls, Samuel J. "College Radio." Paper presented at the Popular Culture Association/American Culture Association National Conference, Philadelphia, PA, April 14, 1995.
- . *The Culture of American College Radio*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 2000.
- Savage, Jon. *England's Dreaming: Anarchy, the Sex Pistols, Punk Rock, and Beyond*. New York: St. Martin's, 1992.
- Saweda, Steven. "Dirty Projectors on Dead Oceans." *The Stranger*, February 23, 2007.
http://lineout.thestranger.com/2007/02/dirty_projectors_rise_above_with_dead_oc.
- Scanlan, Thomas. "Folk Music vs. Folkum." *Minnesota Daily*, December 5, 1960: 5, 25.
- Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph. *On University Studies*, edited by Norbert Guterman, translated by E. S. Morgan. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1966.
- Schiller, Friedrich. *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*, translated by Reginald Snell. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1965.
- Schleiermacher, Friedrich. *Occasional Thoughts on Universities in the German Sense: With an Appendix Regarding a University Soon to be Established*, translated by Terrence N. Tice with Edwina Lawler. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2005.
- Scott, Derek B. "Other Mainstreams: Light Music and Easy Listening, 1920–70." In *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, edited by Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople. 307–335. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Scott, Joan. "The Rhetoric of Crisis in Higher Education." In *Higher Education Under Fire: Politics, Economics, and the Crisis of the Humanities*, edited by Michael Bérubé and Cary Nelson. 293–303. New York: Routledge, 1995.

- Seeger, Pete. "Thou Shalt Not Sing." In *It Did Happen Here: Recollections of Political Repression in America*, edited by Bud Schultz and Ruth Schultz. 13–24. Berkeley: University of California, 1989.
- Seeger, Ruth Crawford. *American Folksongs for Children in Home, School, and Nursery School: A Book for Children, Parents, and Teachers*. New York: Doubleday, 1948.
- Shank, Barry. *Dissonant Identities: The Rock 'n' Roll Scene in Austin, Texas*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1994.
- Shankly, Jack. "Vampire Weekend Interviewed." *Transparent*, January 18, 2008. Accessed September 4, 2011. <http://www.transparentblog.com/blog/211/vampire-weekend-interviewed>.
- Sharp, Cecil. *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, edited by Maud Karpeles. New York: Oxford University Press, 1952.
- Shelton, Robert. "Students Unearth Local Recording Project." *New York Times*, September 29, 1965, X15.
- Sherover, Ricky. "The Folksmiths: Eight Students Who Had Some Singing to Do." *Sing Out!* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1958): 17–21.
- Shiach, Morag. "A History of Changing Definitions of 'The Popular.'" In *Discourse on Popular Culture: Class, Gender and History in Cultural Analysis, 1730 to the Present*. 19–34. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1989.
- Shoemer, Karen. "Review of Kilkenny Cats, *Hands Down* and *Hammer*." *Trouser Press*, n.d. Accessed December 23, 2012. http://www.trouserpress.com/entry.php?a=kilkenny_cats.
- Silver, Daniel, ed. *We Owe You Nothing: Punk Planet: The Collected Interviews*. New York: Akashic Books, 2001.
- Sisario, Ben. "The Experimental, Led by the Obsessive." *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, June 7, 2009. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/07/arts/music/07sisa.html>.
- . "When Indie-Rock Genres Seem to Outnumber the Bands." *New York Times*, December 31, 2009. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/03/arts/music/03indie.html>.
- Slaybaugh, Stephen. "Past Perfect: *Athens, Ga – Inside Out*." *Agit Reader*. Accessed December 23, 2012. <http://www.agitreader.com/perfect/athens-ga-inside-out.html>.
- Smith, Barbara Hernnstein. *Contingencies of Value: Alternative Perspectives for Critical Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Smith, L. Mayne. "Bluegrass as a Musical Style." *Autobarp* 3, no. 3 (February 8, 1963): 13–18.

- . “A Brief Bibliography of Southern Mountain Folksong Collections.” *IUFC Newsletter* 1, no. 7 (April 1963): 3.
- . “Letter to the Editor.” *IUFC Newsletter* 2, no. 2 (November 1963): 3–4.
- . “This Year with the Folksong Club.” *IUFC Newsletter* 2, no. 5 (April 1964): 4–5.
- Smith, Ralph Lee. “If I Had a Song.” *Swarthmore College Bulletin* 94, no. 4 (March 1997): 16–20, 62.
- Smulyan, Susan. *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting, 1920–1934*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994.
- Solberg, Winton U. *The University of Illinois 1867–1894: An Intellectual and Cultural History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968).
- Soley, Lawrence. *Leasing the Ivory Tower: The Corporate Takeover of Academia*. Boston: South End Press, 1999.
- Solomon, C.W. Letter to Campus Folksong Club. December 6, 1963. Folder #1414, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Sontag, Susan. “One Culture and the New Sensibility.” In *Against Interpretation and Other Essays*. 293–304. New York: Picador, 2001.
- Sound of the City* advertisement. March 13, 1987. WUOG FM 90.5. Walter J. Brown Archives, University of Georgia.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. “Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography.” In *Selected Subaltern Studies*, edited by Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. 3–32. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Squalls. Interview by Jodi Crider. *Friday’s Only*, January 13, 1984. WUOG FM 90.5. Walter J. Brown Archives, University of Georgia.
- . Interview by Sonya Dias. *Friday’s Only*, May 13, 1983. WUOG FM 90.5. Walter J. Brown Archives, University of Georgia.
- Steiner, Stan. *The New Indians*. New York: Dell, 1968.
- Stekert, Ellen. “Cents and Nonsense in the Urban Folksong Movement: 1930–1966.” In *Folklore and Society: Essays in Honor of Benjamin A. Botkin*, edited by Bruce Jackson, 153–66. Hatsboro, PA: Folklore Associates, 1966.
- . “Review of *The Hell-Bound Train*, *Green Fields of Illinois*, and *Traditional Singers and Musicians in Victoria*.” *Ethnomusicology* 9, no. 1 (January 1965): 79–81.

- Sterne, Jonathan. *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Stewart, Gary. "Soukous Chic: Kanda Bongo Man." In *Breakout: Profiles in African Rhythm*. 7–15. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Stirling, Matthew W. "Introduction." In *Frances Densmore and American Indian Music: A Memorial Volume*, edited by Charles Hofmann. New York: Museum of the American Indian and the Heye Foundation, 1968.
- Stoddard, George Dinsmore. *Ferment in Education: the Problems, Responsibilities, and Opportunities of Universities in this Time; A Symposium at the Installation of George Dinsmore Stoddard as President of the University of Illinois*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1948.
- Stoneman Family. Concert. May 18, 1963. University of Illinois, Archives of Traditional Music 65-046-F, Indiana University.
- "The Stoneman Family: An Editorial Comment." *Autobarp* 3, no. 5 (May 24, 1963): 1.
- Straw, Will. "Scenes and Sensibilities." *Public* 22/23 (2002): 245–57. Accessed September 26, 2011. <http://strawresearch.mcgill.ca/StrawPublicScenes.pdf>.
- . "Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change: Communities and Scenes in Popular Music." *Cultural Studies* 5, no. 3 (1991): 368–88.
- Street, John. "(Dis)Located? Rhetoric, Politics, Meaning and the Locality." In *Popular Music: Style and Identity*, edited by Will Straw et al. 255–63. Montreal: Centre for Research on Canadian Cultural Industries and Institutions, 1995.
- Swarthmore College Folk Festival. List of Performers, 1945–60. c. 1960. Library of Congress Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Swarthmore College Folder.
- Sykes, Charles. *Profscam: Professors and the Demise of Higher Education*. Washington, DC: Regnery, 1988.
- "Talking About the Passion." *University of Georgia Visitor's Guide* 3 (2010–11): 28–29.
- Tamarkin, Jeff. "Bobby Haber: Ten Years After." In *CMJ 10: The First Decade, 1979–1989*. 180–82. Albertson, NY: College Media Inc., 1989.
- Tappan, Henry. *University Education*. New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1969.
- Teichgraeber, Richard F., III, "The Academic Public Sphere: The University Movement in American Culture, 1870–1901." In *Building Culture: Studies in the Intellectual History of Industrializing America, 1867–1910*. 75–109. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2010.
- Theisz, R. D. "Acclamations and Accolades: Honor Songs in Lakota Society Today." In *Sending their Voices: Essays on Lakota Musicology*. 7–19. Kendall Park, NJ: Lakota Books, 1996.

- . “Putting Things in Order: The Discourse of Tradition.” In *Powwow*, edited by Clyde Ellis, Luke Eric Lassiter, and Gary H. Dunham. 85–109. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.
- Thelin, John R. *A History of American Higher Education*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.
- Thornton, Sarah. *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1996.
- Tobin, James. “Left of the Dial: 40 Years of Alternative Programming at WCBN-FM.” *University of Michigan Today*, January 16, 2013. <http://michigantoday.umich.edu/2013/01/story.php?id=8521>.
- Torgovnick, Marianna. *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Trefil, Kande. [Candy Trefill]. “Ethnics versus Folkniks.” *Autobarp* 3, no. 2 (November 30, 1962): 9–10.
- Tribe, Ivan M. *The Stonemans: An Appalachian Family and the Music That Shaped Their Lives*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- Troutman, Jonathan. *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879–1934*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009.
- Tuchman, Gaye. *Wannabe U: Inside the Corporate University*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Turino, Thomas. *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson. “The Significance of the Frontier in American History.” *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* 4 (1893): 199–227.
- Turner, Jonathan Baldwin. “A State University for the Industrial Classes.” In *Some Founding Papers of the University of Illinois*, edited by Richard A. Hatch. 33–49. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967.
- UCLA General Catalog* 1975–76.
- UCLA General Catalog* 1976–77.
- “UGA by the Numbers.” University of Georgia Office of Public Affairs. Last modified July 2012. Accessed September 14, 2013. <http://www.uga.edu/profile/facts>.

University of Chicago Folklore Society. University of Chicago Folk Festival Program, 1961. Folder #1385, Archie Green Papers. #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

———. Press Release for Second Annual University of Chicago Folk Festival. c. December 1961. Folder #1386, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club. Application for Recognition of New University Organization, c. February 1961. Folder #1404, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

———. Balance sheet for Campus Folksong Concerts. Folder 1429, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

———. Blank Letterhead. Folder #1408, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

———. Tapes and Log Sheets for *Green Fields of Illinois*. Archives of Traditional Music, 64-018-F, Indiana University.

University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club Executive Committee. "Constitution of the Campus Folksong Club." *Autobarp* 4, no. 3 (February 3, 1964): 2.

"University Station on the Air in Fall." *Athens Banner-Herald* September 1972, n.p.

Vaillant, Derek. "Your Voice Came In Last Night...But I Thought It Sounded a Little Scared?: Rural Radio Listening and 'Talking Back' during the Progressive Era in Wisconsin, 1920–1932." In *The Radio Reader: Essays in the Cultural History of Radio*, edited by Michele Hilmes and Jason Loviglio. 63–88. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Vampire Weekend. "Vampire Weekend." *MySpace* February 18, 2007, accessed via Internet Archive June 27, 2011. www.myspace.com/vampireweekend.

Van Eijck, Koen. "Richard A. Peterson and the Culture of Consumption." *Poetics* 28 (2000): 207–224.

———. "Social Differentiation in Musical Taste Patterns." *Social Forces* 79 (2001): 1163–85.

———, and John Lievens. "Cultural Omnivorousness as a Combination of Highbrow, Pop, and Folk Elements: The Relation between Taste Patterns and Attitudes Concerning Social Integration." *Poetics* 36 (2008): 217–42.

- Vaziri, Aidin. "Vampire Weekend's Risky Sound." *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 16, 2008.
http://articles.sfgate.com/2008-03-16/entertainment/17166873_1_watch-paul-simon-african-music-simon-garfunkel.
- Veysey, Lawrence. *The Emergence of the American University*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Vogel, Virgil J. *This Country Was Ours: A Documentary History of the American Indian*. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.
- Vogt, Evon Z. "The Acculturation of American Indians." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 311 (1957): 137–46.
- Volkov, Shulamit. *Germans, Jews and Antisemites: Trials in Emancipation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Wade, Alan, David Wright, and Modesto Gayo-Cal. "The Omnivorous Orientation in the UK." *Poetics* 36 (2008): 148–65.
- . "Understanding Cultural Omnivorousness: Or, the Myth of the Cultural Omnivore." *Cultural Sociology* 1 (2007): 143–64.
- Walker, Deward E. *The Emergent Native Americans: A Reader in Culture Contact*. Boston: Little and Brown, 1971.
- Wall, Tim. "Finding an Alternative: Music Programming in US College Radio." *The Radio Journal – International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media* 5, no. 1 (2007): 35–54.
- Wallis, Roger and Krister Malm. *Big Sounds from Small Peoples: the Music Industry in Small Countries*. London: Constable, 1984.
- Walser, Robert. *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1993.
- Ward, Ed. "Back to School Cool," *Mother Jones* 13, no. 7 (September 1988): 47.
- Ware, Naomi. "Survival and Change in Pima Music." *Ethnomusicology* 14, no. 1 (January 1970): 100–13.
- Warren, Dave. "American Indian Challenge and Opportunity of a New Century." In *Sharing a Heritage: American Indian Arts*, edited by Charlotte Heth. 3–10. Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Center, University of California-Los Angeles, 1984.
- Washburn, Jennifer. *University Inc.: The Corporate Corruption of American Higher Education*. New York: Basic, 2006.

- Watkins, Holly. "Musical Ecologies of Place and Placelessness." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, no. 2 (2011): 404–408.
- Welding, Peter J. Letter to University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club. October 16, 1963. Folder #1414, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Wells, Diane. Minutes of the February 13, 1963 Executive Committee Meeting. Folder #1415, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Wells, Evelyn K. "Review of *Green Fields of Illinois* by Archie Green." *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 17, no. 1 (March 1965): 79.
- Wesleyan University Bulletin* 58 (1964).
- West, Hedy. Concert. November 23, 1963. Urbana, IL, Archives of Traditional Music 65-045-F, Indiana University.
- Westerman, Floyd. *Custer Died for Your Sins*. Perception Records PLP 5, 1975.
- "Western Folklore Reviews PG&MS Record," *Autoharp* 3, no. 4 (March 22, 1963): 8.
- Whisnant, David. *All That Is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.
- White, Andrew D. *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White*. New York: The Century Company, 1905.
- "Whither Ethnomusicology?" *Ethnomusicology* 3, no. 2 (May 1959): 99–105.
- Whittaker, John. "'Here Comes the Anthros: What Good is an Archaeologist?'" In *Anthropology Matters: Essays in Honor of Ralph A. Luebben*, edited by Jonathan G. Andelson. 101–10. Coe, IA: Grinnell College, 1997.
- Whyte, William Foote. *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.
- Widdicombe, Lizzie. "School of Rock: Vampire Weekend Goes West." *New Yorker*, January 4, 2010, 31–33.
- Wilensky, Harold L. "Mass Society and Mass Culture: Interdependence or Independence?" *American Sociological Review* 29, no. 2 (1964): 173–97.
- Wilgus, D.K. "Review of *Philo Glee and Mandoline Society* and *Green Fields of Illinois*." *Journal of American Folklore* 77 (January 1964): 94.

- Williams, Justin A. "The Construction of Jazz Rap as High Art in Hip-Hop Music," *Journal of Musicology* 27, no. 4 (2010): 435–459.
- Wilson, Pat. Minutes of the February 13, 1963 Executive Committee Meeting. Folder #1415, Archie Green Papers #20002, Southern Folklife Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Wood, Gaby. "Is This the Cleverest Band in Rock?" *Guardian Observer*, June 6, 2009.
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2009/jun/07/dave-longstreth>.
- WUOG 90.5 FM Stereo Program Guide for the University of Georgia's Student Station, Fall 1973*. WUOG FM, 1973.
- WUOG 90.5 FM Stereo Program Guide for the University of Georgia's Student Station, Fall 1987*. WUOG FM, 1987
- WUOG 90.5 FM Stereo Program Guide for the University of Georgia's Student Station, Spring/Summer 1985*. WUOG FM, 1985.
- Wyman, Leland Clifton. *Blessingway*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970.
- Wynkoop, Mary Ann. *Dissent in the Heartland: The Sixties at Indiana University*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002.
- "The Yale Report of 1828." In *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, edited by Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith. 275–91. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Yeh, Nora, ed. *Musics of the World: A Selective Discography, Part III*. Los Angeles: University of California-Los Angeles Ethnomusicology Archive, 1977.
- Young Bear, Severt, and R.D. Theisz. *Standing in the Light: A Lakota Way of Seeing*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.
- Young, Gloria A. "Powwow Power: Perspectives on Historic and Contemporary Intertribalism." Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1981.
- Ziporyn, Evan. "Who Listens if You Care." In *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History*, edited by Leo Treitler and Oliver Strunk. 1312–18. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998.