

Epideictic Space: Community, Memory, and Future Invention at Civil War Tourist Sites

Cynthia Fields

Dissertation submitted to the faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Rhetoric and Writing

Katrina Powell, Chair
Kelly Belanger
Bernice L. Hausman
Paul Heilker

January 22, 2015
Blacksburg, Virginia

Keywords: epideictic rhetoric, space, memory, tourism, narrative, American Civil War

Copyright 2015

Epideictic Space: Community, Memory, and Future Invention at Civil War Tourist Sites

Cynthia Fields

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines American Civil War tourist spaces in order to describe how epideictic rhetoric has distinct spatial functions that affect the identity of tourists. Through an analysis of three Civil War spaces in Virginia—Lexington, Appomattox Court House, and the Museum of the Confederacy—I argue epideictic space is a locus of invention that has the performative power to create community, public memory, and a vision of the future through the movement of bodies in space. Through a consubstantial *ethos* established between space and audience, epideictic rhetoric creates *kairotic* space and time by collapsing past, present, and future in order to create a narrative history with which the community can identify. This study traces rhetoric related to the Confederate flag, slavery, nationalism, and reconciliation through an analysis of the Civil War spaces in which these discourses are embodied. I argue that creating a productive rhetoric of blame starts through connecting blame, such as remembering slavery, to the materiality of space and through creating narratives of responsibility that connect memory to a vision of the future.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2 Creating a Spatial Methodology.....	15
Chapter 3 Epideictic Space: Creation of Community, Memory, and the Future.....	45
Chapter 4 Constructing a City: Lexington, Tourism, and Memory.....	77
Chapter 5 Constructing a Nation: Reconciliation and Resistance at Appomattox Court House and the Opening of the Museum of the Confederacy.....	101
Chapter 6 <i>Kairotic</i> Space: The Museum of the Confederacy in Appomattox.....	123
Chapter 7 The Dynamic Potential of Epideictic Space to Create Memory, Transform Community, and Engage Neo-Confederate Rhetoric.....	148
Works Cited.....	163

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Plaque at the Confederate Cemetery at Appomattox Court House.....	30
Figure 2.1 The Confederate Section of Hollywood Cemetery with the Monument to the Confederate Dead in the Background.....	40
Figure 4.1 Virginia Civil War Trails Sign.....	83
Figure 4.2 Gravestone with CSA Iron Cross and the Confederate Flag.....	84
Figure 4.3 The Recumbent Lee in the Back of Lee Chapel at Washington and Lee University...87	
Figure 4.4 Lee-Jackson Day Parade Marchers under a Banner Honoring Martin Luther King ...89	
Figure 4.5 Lee-Jackson Day Assembly in Jackson Cemetery.....	95
Figure 5.1 Welcome Sign to Appomattox.....	103
Figure 5.2 Bronze Plaque near the Confederate Cemetery at Appomattox Court House.....	108
Figure 5.3 Commemoration of Union and Confederate Dead in the Confederate Cemetery.....	109
Figure 5.4 Protestors at the Opening of the Museum of the Confederacy with Sign “Gen. Grant Yankee Slave Owner”.....	110
Figure 5.5 Prop Plane Banner.....	118
Figure 6.1 View of the Museum of the Confederacy from the Main Road.....	125
Figure 6.2 Opening Photo and Introductory Panel for the Main Exhibit.....	130
Figure 6.3 First Section of the Museum’s Main Exhibit.....	134
Figure 6.4 Life-size Diorama of the Departing Soldier Boy.....	138
Figure 6.5 Lee’s Uniform Suspended in a Glass Case.....	141
Figure 6.6 Confederate Flag Memorabilia.....	146

Chapter 1 Introduction

“For in every way, they eulogize the city and those who died in battle and all our forebears, and even us who are still alive.”

–Plato, *Menexenus*

“Every story is a travel story—a spatial practice.”

–Michel DeCerteau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*

This dissertation will present three interrelated case studies associated with three epideictic spaces in Virginia: Lexington, Appomattox, and Appomattox’s Museum of the Confederacy. These three spaces were selected as an area of study because they are places associated with a current neo-Confederate movement arising during the Civil War Sesquicentennial (2011-2015). Commonly called “The 150th,” this anniversary represents a renewed interest in the conflict, particularly in regions with Civil War history. The state of Virginia has capitalized on its vast Civil War history—more battles were fought in the state than any other, the primary capital of the Confederacy was in Virginia, and Confederate heroes such as Robert E. Lee and “Stonewall” Jackson resided and died there. As a result, Virginia has been a forerunner in the creation of Confederate memory, from the moment of the Confederacy’s demise until the present day. Now, during The 150th, Virginia has launched a number of initiatives to promote Civil War history. For example, the Virginia Sesquicentennial Commission which, according to its website, has “recognized and maximized the opportunities for education, preservation, and increased travel/tourism presented by the anniversary.” The commission has sponsored festivities, including a traveling history mobile, a traveling exhibit on the Civil War in Virginia, and multiple symposiums. The commission is closely linked to tourism with the goal to promote travel throughout the state. As Virginia Lieutenant Governor Bill Bowling said during

the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy in Appomattox in 2012, “Tourism is big business in Virginia,” noting it employed 200,000 people through its \$20 billion industry. In this manner, the themes of commemoration and tourism become intertwined, and as a result, public memory of the Civil War is largely created through tourist sites themselves.

In contrast to state-wide commemorative initiatives, localized commemorations have created controversies related to Civil War memory. The neo-Confederate group, Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), has during this time waged protests over their ability to fly the Confederate battle flag at multiple locations in Virginia. After the city of Lexington passed an ordinance prohibiting non-governmental flags, the protest became most visible when the SCV filed a lawsuit against the city of Lexington to be able to fly Confederate flags on city flag poles during Lee-Jackson Day, an official state holiday to honor the Confederate generals Robert E. Lee and Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson, which comes the weekend before Martin Luther King Day. The protest reached its height in February 2012, the first Lee-Jackson Day after the city flag ban ordinance was passed by the city. And more recently, the SCV was present to protest the opening of the new branch of the Museum of the Confederacy in Appomattox because the museum refused to fly the Confederate battle flag as part of its outdoor display of the flags of Confederate states.

The opening of a new branch of the Museum of the Confederacy, whose main branch is in Richmond, Virginia, represents another contestation of Confederate memory. Amid dwindling attendance and budgets, the Museum of the Confederacy sought to open another branch in order to increase visibility and refute claims that the museum was too connected to Confederate ideology. Potential locations for the branch were considered, including Lexington, with the final decision to move to Appomattox, the site of the surrender of the Lee’s Confederate army.

(Locations for additional branches are still being considered.) While the Richmond branch of the museum has been criticized for its indulgence in Confederate narratives, the new branch signaled a potential break from those associations by making Confederate history relevant to a wider audience. The ultimate selection of the site of Appomattox Court House, the location of the surrender of Robert E. Lee's army, frames the Museum of the Confederacy in the context of reconciliation between the two armies and the re-unification of the United States, thus arguing Confederate history not only has a regional relevance but a national one as well.

The Confederate flag controversy and the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy in Appomattox represent the current discursive dynamics of Confederate memory as it tries to establish a coherent identity in the face of larger social criticism that sees Confederate action as a racist enterprise. However, the contest over Confederate memory—and Civil War memory in general—is in dialectical tension with regional movements seeking to make tourism, especially historical tourism, a mainstay for cultural and economic development. Locales such as Lexington, a city along the I-81 and I-64 corridor that spans the state, are seeking to balance the associations of Confederate history with other historical moments, while other places such as Appomattox, a town literally in the middle of the state where economic development is far less abundant, are seeking to embrace whatever type of tourism they can get—Confederate or otherwise. A study of Civil War tourism, therefore, not only intersects with narratives of the past but also how those narratives reflect upon the present and future of locales seeking to control their reputation for economic growth by means of tourism.

This dissertation will therefore examine the ways in which historical narratives are rhetorically constructed at tourist sites. Narratives are not only conveyed visually and textually but also spatially as the tourist must physically move through the site. Particular emphasis will be

given to the ways in which sites confer particular identities upon visitors and the ways in which visitors work with or against those identities. More specifically, this study examines how different types of tourist sites operate as spatialized genres to evoke certain expectations and reactions within visitors. Furthermore, anniversary commemoration ceremonies serve to rearticulate the meaning of the war to the present generation. The Civil War has often been characterized by popular historians (such as Ken Burns) as the bildungsroman of the nation, implying that the event was a defining moment on the nation's character; as such, that characterization confers identities upon its citizens, casting them as participants in an ongoing national drama. This study therefore examines the most recent manifestation of Confederate Civil War discourses—and how those discourses change based on the spatialized context within which they are embedded.

Literature Review

Epidictic Rhetoric

Epidictic rhetoric serves as a theoretical frame for this study because its commemorative purpose demonstrates how public memory is formed through creating narratives that reinforce cultural norms. Rather than simply being the genre of praise or blame, epidictic rhetoric has been seen by scholars as serving multiple purposes. Epidictic rhetoric is used to educate, build community, commemorate, elicit judgment, and create civic identities (Agnew; Sheard). Celeste Condit categorizes epidictic¹ into three functions: understanding and definition, sharing and creation of community, and entertainment and display. Robert Danisch analyzes Foucault to argue that “self-creation is connected to a display of the history of the present” (291). Not only is

¹ Following the lead of scholars examining epidictic rhetoric, I have dropped “rhetoric” in many of the instances in which “epidictic rhetoric” appears as a compound term. The simplified “epidictic” simply reads more smoothly.

epideictic used to create the individual but it is also a performative genre that ritualistically creates a relationship between audience and rhetor. As Dale Sullivan states, epideictic creates a “consubstantial space” in which ideology is shared (128). Finally, epideictic serves a larger civic function through which societal norms are created (Agnew; Villadsen; Hauser).

Epideictic has also been associated with collective, or public, memory (Haskins). Epideictic also has a strong connection to public conceptions of war (Bostdorff; Kahl & Leff). A typical strategy is to link past circumstances to present ones in order to create a vision for the future. For instance, within Civil War memory Bradford Vivian traces how Booker T. Washington employed “epideictic forgetting” of the horrors of slavery as a rhetorical move to promote reconciliation between blacks and whites. Lawrence Trotter and Waldo Braden and Harold Mixon further examine how epideictic was used as a tool to promote Southern collective memory.²

While epideictic has been primarily associated with public speeches, in “Contemporary U.S. Memorial Sites as Exemplars of Rhetoric’s Materiality” Carol Blaire has noted memorials are usually epideictic (17), and I argue memorials can be extended to include historical tourist sites, especially those addressing the Civil War. Through materiality and embodied movement through space, museums and monuments educate, create civic identities, orient the viewer between the past and future, and imply ideologies for the viewer to adopt. All of these activities are in the service of public memory. Moreover, epideictic rhetoric, I argue, is deployed through space, and this spatialized version layers multiple points in time upon one another in the same space, creating material memory space.

² Braden and Mixon argue the South created cultural myths “by convert[ing] traditional values of the region into concrete images” (46) in order to promote identification with those values.

Civil War Memory

Civil War public memory regarding sectionalism, race, and citizenship has been formed largely through Southern sentiment known as the Lost Cause. According to Gary Gallagher, the narrative of the Lost Cause turns Southern defeat into victory, suggesting that the North only won because of superior wealth, resources, and manpower, and elevates many Southern generals to a quasi-deity status. Lost Cause sentiment also mourns the loss of a chivalrous Southern society and argues the South epitomizes the independent values of Americanism as seen in the American Revolution; however, slavery is firmly ignored as a cause of the war in order to deflect blame from the South. According to David Blight in *Race and Reunion*, although Lost Cause sentiment originated in the South as a way for the region to create a cultural victory from military defeat, in an effort to reconcile North and South, Lost Cause narratives of the war were adopted as national narratives. The national narrative of reconciliation, represented most fully in commemorations of the battle of Gettysburg, frames the war as a fight of brother against brother—that is, white brother against white brother. The war becomes a national tragedy, but one from which North and South both ultimately rise victorious. The iconic images of the 50th anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg (1913) show veterans of the “blue and the gray” shaking hands across the stone wall that they fiercely fought over during the third day of the battle, which saw perhaps the most well-known event of the Civil War, Pickett’s Charge.

This narrative of reconciliation between North and South that ignored slavery became the national narrative of the war. The public history of the American Civil War has romanticized the conflict so that visitors to sites are removed from the discourses of ideological conflict. However, interest from local to national organizations to incorporate issues of race more fully into the narrative have led sites to transform interpretations within the last decade. For example, a 1999

Congressional appropriations bill mandated that the National Park Service incorporate the role of slavery into battlefield interpretations. Further, the Gettysburg Museum, which opened in 2008, introduces the exhibit with a short film titled “A New Birth of Freedom” that contextualizes the war around the issue of slavery. However, an analysis of these recent incorporations and their effects has yet to take place. This study will therefore examine the ways in which contemporary Civil War memory, especially those surrounding the Civil War Sesquicentennial incorporates—or does not incorporate—narratives of slavery and identity.

In addition to emphasis on military tactics and heroes, Lost Cause discourse received power through the rhetorical use of the dead. In *This Republic of Suffering*, Drew Gilpin Faust argues that the sheer number of dead from the first industrialized war led to a fundamental reconceptualization of death by Americans of the era. Further, Caroline Janney traces how Southern ladies’ memorial associations perpetuated Lost Cause rhetoric through the celebration of the dead during early Memorial Day celebrations. In congruence with past rhetorical uses of the dead, I argue the dead continue to leverage tremendous affective power in current Civil War discourse at tourist sites, especially at the cemeteries in Lexington and Appomattox Court House. Frequently accounts of death and dying are related to military narratives associated with the Lost Cause.

Lost Cause philosophy in its contemporary form is seen in the neo-Confederate movement. As Euan Hague et al. state, “At the core of neo-Confederacy is an active promotion of the political legacy of the short-lived nineteenth-century Confederate States of America” (10). While this movement has been analyzed thoroughly in Hague et al.’s *Neo-Confederacy: A Critical Introduction*, its most current iterations surrounding The 150th have not been examined.

Tourism

Marita Sturken has argued that tourist sites—particularly museums, which are usually associated with historical events—are places where “pedagogy can take place” (273). In other words, historical sites play a large role in how historiographical narratives are disseminated and taught. The consumptive nature of tourism means that these narratives must be acceptable for large audiences. The rhetorical nature of tourist sites implies that these narratives are public, for the sites must have an audience. In other words, tourism plays a large role in public memory. This pedagogy further instructs the viewer in how she is *supposed* to identify in relation to the narrative. Or, to pose it as a question, how is the viewer constructed as a character in the narrative to identify with norms of behavior and belief, especially in relation to historical events?

Building upon Burkean identification, Gregory Clark argues that the gaze to iconic American landscapes, such as the Grand Canyon or Hudson Valley scenes, serves to invoke a national identity through the experience of touring itself:

My point is that the rhetorical power of a national culture is wielded not only by public discourse, but also by *public experiences*. Both present a collective of people with shared symbols of a common identity and, in doing so, prompt those people to adopt that identity for themselves. (4)

The tourist is able to adopt a particularly *American* identity implicitly created by the fact that the tourist has visited a site that many other Americans also visit. As discussed above, narratives of the Civil War are closely linked to identity—whether sectional, racial, or national—and so how the relationship between sites and visitor is constructed is particularly important in understanding how public memory is being formed through Civil War tourism.

While vision and consumption have been emphasized in tourism studies, embodied identity has been less examined. What John Urry defines as “co-presence” (154) involves how the physicality of the space and tourist interact to co-create meaning: “Such gazes implicate both the *gazer* and the *gazee* in an ongoing and systematic set of social and physical relations” (145). I will explore how the tourist site with its embodied visitors creates a rhetorical situation. Rather than persuade to a certain message (though sites may do that too), the space engages with the viewer to create a relationship based on embodied identification. In other words, the fact that the tourist is moving through a particular space confers meaning and identity onto the visitor in order to give meaning to the site.

Theories of Space

Commonplace notions of space imply that space is empty and neutral, that it is the “nothingness” which begins where the material ends. However, critical geographers such as Doreen Massey and Edward Soja adopt the argument of Henri Lefebvre that space is socially constructed. Space is, they argue, an instrument of power that reinforces the modes of production associated with capitalism. Michel De Certeau, however, argues that the ideological power associated with the space of the city can be resisted through tactical walking, an activity that de Certeau argues is a form of writing. Walking, therefore, can be used to exert agency and reconstitute the space in way different from its institutionally prescribed use.

Because space is taken for granted, critical geographers such as Massey and Soja argue that space is typically ignored as a dynamic construction subject to analysis. Instead, social theory is dominated by what Soja calls “historical epistemology” that interprets the world through the context of time (10). Further, Massey notes that space and time are frequently thought of as binaries in which time is active and present while space is passive and empty.

Time, therefore, has a positive, masculine association whereas space is the lesser, feminine concept. Massey and Soja both suggest that space needs to be elevated to the same status as time. Massey notes that space and time should not be thought of as dichotomies but rather as “space-time,” a dialectical concept in which neither term can exist without the other. Soja further adds to the dialectic to create a “trialectic” in which time, space, and society are mutually constitutive.

Space is also closely associated with memory. In fact, as many scholars have noted, memory is one of the rhetorical Greek *topoi*, or places. Patrick Hutton notes that at least since ancient Greece mnemonics functioned as a way to structure knowledge through creating a “memoryscape”: “the mnemonist’s task was to attach the facts we wished to recall to images that were so visually striking or emotionally evocative that they could be recalled at will” (371). (This “visibly striking or emotionally evocative” characteristic is akin to epideictic’s display of the spectacular, which will be discussed in Chapter 2.) These images were then attached to spaces, usually within an “architectural design” already known to the mnemonist (Hutton 371). According to Johannes Fabian, space served as a way to actually “*define* the nature of memory, and through it, the nature of any kind of knowledge which is communicated with the intent to convince, to win over an audience” (110, emphasis in original). Further, Greg Dickson et al. cite the ancient story of Simonides, who was able to remember the identities of victims of a collapsed building based on the place they were sitting, as the “founding legend to the rhetorical art of memory” (1). As a result, memory has an inherently spatial dimension through which space is used to recall the past. In other words, space is a rhetorical device used to create narratives of the past through memory.

Based on the above review, I examine how epideictic rhetoric is employed at Civil War tourist spaces through text, visuals, movement, and materiality in order to determine how tourist

spaces contribute to the formation of public memory. Below I outline the chapters of this research, which is organized by case study.

Chapter Outline

In Chapter 2, “Epidictic Space: Creation of Community, Memory, and the Future,” I describe the characteristics and functions of epidictic rhetoric based on Isocrates, Aristotle, and contemporary theorists. I argue epidictic has three major functions: to create community identity, to create public memory, and to create the possibility for future action. Further, I argue epidictic rhetoric can be deployed through space; space, as the configuration of materiality and social construction, becomes a form of rhetoric. This spatialized form of epidictic creates community identity as visitors willingly move to a space to create a consubstantial *ethos* with the space itself. In this manner, the space and visitors define one another. Memory is created by placing those visitors in a narrative that engages the past, present, and future in a *kairotic* moment. The past is retold based on the needs of the present moment, and as a result it is a form of historiography. Finally, the identity and public memory formed through epidictic creates the possibility for future action by leveraging the values and narratives of the community.

In Chapter 3, “Creating a Spatial Methodology,” I outline my case study methodology that utilizes the methods of spatial, textual, and artifact analysis. I argue spatialized analysis supports localized research in communities, but it also limited by the dynamic of space-time, meaning that researchers can only be in one location at a point in time even though spaces are layered with multiple points in time. I argue that trauma theory affords a way to examine what is missing from Civil War narratives, specifically how slavery is ignored. The theoretical lens of trauma is closely connected to epidictic rhetoric because epidictic creates narratives that are

linked through causation. When slavery is left out of the narrative, the narrative is continually repeated in traumatic re-enactment. As a result, epideictic can reinforce forgetting through repetition, but it can also reconstruct narratives by including ignored aspects in order to create more logical coherence. I also acknowledge the difficulties of ethically representing participants, such as the Sons of Confederate Veterans, when the researcher's personal politics might be at odds with the participants'. Finally, I explain my own experience with Civil War spaces and argue that these spaces evoke personal and emotional reactions from people due to their spectacular materiality, a characteristic of epideictic rhetoric.

In Chapter 4, "Constructing a City: Lexington, Tourism, and Memory," I argue that tourism is a form of embodied epideictic rhetoric by which visitors are able to define themselves and spaces by moving to a particular location. This chapter takes as its case study Lexington, where a controversy over the Confederate flag surrounded the events of Lee-Jackson Day, a state-wide holiday honoring Confederate generals Robert E. Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson. The chapter analyzes the epideictic spaces associated with Lee-Jackson Day most frequented by tourists. Weaving the themes of sacred space, tourism, and race, I argue that the epideictic Confederate narratives of Lexington continue to define the city through tourism despite the push from locals to distance the city from Confederate identity.

In Chapter 5, "Constructing a Nation: Reconciliation and Resistance at Appomattox Court House and the Opening of the Museum of the Confederacy," I analyze how the Confederate flag controversy in Lexington also had effects on the subsequent opening of the Museum of the Confederacy in Appomattox, a town that welcomed the museum for its economic benefits through tourism. This chapter examines the spatial construction of Appomattox, the location of the surrender of the Confederate army. Combining analysis of the National Park

Service battlefield and the controversial opening of a new branch of the Museum of the Confederacy, I argue there are two competing Civil War narratives: a reconciliationist narrative that posits the Civil War as a defining moment for American (rather than sectional) identity and a neo-Confederate narrative that constructs Appomattox as a space for continued resistance against Northern aggression. Both of these narratives collide in embodied manners—through re-enactments, protests, and prop plane messages—during the dedication ceremony of the Museum of the Confederacy. These events demonstrate the significance of epideictic space to create contemporary Civil War memory.

In Chapter 6, “*Kairotic Space: The Museum of the Confederacy in Appomattox*,” I examine the space of the two exhibits inside the new branch of the Museum of the Confederacy in Appomattox. The first exhibit presents a narrative of the Civil War and the second is a direct response to Confederate flag supporters about the contested meaning of the Confederate flag. As a response to both reconciliationist and neo-Confederate rhetoric, the museum attempts to create a new epideictic rhetoric that incorporates narratives of African-Americans while also including more traditional Civil War narratives. As such, the museum becomes a *kairotic* space, through which the needs of the present are harnessed by the past in order to direct the future because visitors become participants in an on-going narrative.

In Chapter 7 to conclude my study, I highlight this study’s contribution to rhetorical theory, namely that epideictic rhetoric in its spatialized form is a dynamic creator of memory. Since memory is embodied in spaces, the nature of those spaces is important. This study demonstrates that those memory spaces are fluid, oftentimes overlapping and conflicting. The manipulation of space through materiality and social construction, therefore, becomes the way through which memory is defined. As a dynamic, creative force, epideictic creates community

and formulates the values it holds. In the case of the Civil War, epideictic rhetoric influences how Americans understand national history. These understandings have direct implications for America's past and present engagements with race. I also call for future research into the rhetorical functions of non-historical tourist sites and into the functions of epideictic at historical sites not related to the Civil War.

Chapter 2

Creating a Spatial Methodology

This chapter outlines the three types of methods I used for this project: spatial analysis, textual analysis, and artifact analysis. Through case study methodology and the analytical lens of epideictic rhetoric (which I detail more fully in Chapter 3), I analyze three Civil War tourist locations based on research questions related to the rhetorical nature of space. I discuss the power and limits of spatial research, especially in regards to the relationship of space and time. I link trauma theory to epideictic rhetoric to argue absent narratives related to race and slavery should be incorporated into the epideictic rhetoric surrounding the Civil War. I address the tensions of representing the neo-Confederate movement as well as my own experience researching and dealing with those groups. Finally, I discuss the ways in which tourism and research can potentially be the same action, leading to objectification of those studied, because both can function epideictically. Finally, I call for a mode of tourism and research that utilizes multiple versions of epideictic rhetoric at the same time, leading to a form of montage rather than an objectivist write-up of research.

Case Study Methodology

This study utilizes case study methodology. Mary Sue MacNealy argues that case studies can provide holistic assessments, can lead to more in-depth understanding, can identify data that would not otherwise be collected, and can help refine research questions (199). If case study research is done systematically with triangulation to confirm findings, then tentative conclusions can be reached. As such, case studies can also serve as the basis for further experimental or theoretical research. As MacNealy explains, case studies seek to provide a “rich description of an

event or of a small group of people or objects” (195). The range for case studies can also be extended to include rich descriptions of spaces. This study therefore will employ case study methodology to examine three spaces: Lexington, Appomattox, and the Museum of the Confederacy. This methodology allows for analysis into the diverse ways through which spaces and visitors construct one another in unique ways at each site of study.

My three locations of analysis were selected for a number of reasons. First, the locations contain different genres of spaces, including museum, cemetery, chapel, walking tour, and battlefield. Following the argument of Carolyn Miller, genres serve to accomplish a certain action. As such, each space functions differently, evoking a range of audience expectations and responses. Nevertheless, these spaces were also chosen because they share something in common: they are functioning epideictically.³ As a result, the case studies allowed me to examine how epideictic rhetoric was functioning spatially at various types of spaces in various locations.

I chose Lexington as a location because of its association with the annual event Lee-Jackson Day and its recent Confederate flag controversy. As current, evolving events, the holiday and surrounding controversy demonstrated the *contemporary* implications of historical memory, and this focus on the present is central to epideictic rhetoric. Lexington was also chosen because of its centrality to neo-Confederate memory due to its materiality: two of the most esteemed Confederate heroes, Lee and Jackson, are buried there.

I chose Appomattox as a case study because the town allowed me to analyze a Civil War site run by different stakeholders than Lexington: the National Park Service. As a result, I was

³ Historic sites in particular, due to their connection with memory, oftentimes function epideictically. All tourist sites, however, do not function in this manner. A trip to the beach, for instance, may prompt visitors to contemplate their relationship with nature but that contemplation typically is not placed within a narrative frame of past, present, future.

able to analyze different narratives than those in Lexington with a focus on national rather than sectional identity. At Appomattox Court House, for instance, the focus is on the reconciliation between North and South as a central definer of American identity. I coupled this analysis of the Park Service's site, Appomattox Court House, with the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy in Appomattox. I chose to include the opening of the museum with Appomattox Court House rather than with the exhibits of the museum itself because the opening demonstrated how the narratives of the National Park Service were simultaneously reiterated during the official ceremony of the opening and also collided with neo-Confederate narratives.

Finally, the Museum of the Confederacy in Appomattox was chosen as a case study location because it represented yet another space run by another group of stakeholders. (One of epideictic's primary functions is the creation of community. As a result, it became important to examine how multiple communities defined spaces, oftentimes defining the same spaces in different ways.) Analyzing the museum allowed me to see how the themes addressed by nationalist and neo-Confederate narratives were retold and synthesized. The history of the museum was also significant: on one hand, the museum developed its extensive collection due to its association with the Lost Cause movement, but on the other it desires to distance itself from Lost Cause ideology. Studying this tension in an epideictic space seemed—and was—fruitful in examining the multiple ways epideictic rhetoric is deployed. Epideictic rhetoric creates memory through spaces, and this memory is fluid because the nature of space is a negotiation between materialities and visitors. These interactions create multiple iterations of epideictic rhetoric in the same space.

The selection of these three places also represents a particular movement of Civil War memory in Virginia that spans issues of public commemoration via tourism and neo-Confederate

thought through flag protests. These are also sites where memory is contested. As a result, these spaces provided multiple instances of epideictic being deployed.

The order of the case studies—Lexington, Appomattox, and Museum of the Confederacy—was also deliberate. The case study order follows a loosely chronological sequence of the development of the contemporary narratives I study. However, Thomas Newkirk notes that researchers can reproduce cultural narratives through their write-up of case studies. He outlines mythic narrative structures reproduced in case studies including the tragedy of kingship that questions the “legitimacy of power, the abuse of power, and the morally complex task of removing from power a leader who has ceased to work for the public good” (138) and the near-tragedy of mislabeling wherein a teaching-figure challenges a stereotype of reveal a person’s or group’s full potential (142). As such, my order of the case studies does indeed present a narrative. The case studies in their present order create a narrative arc that functions dialectically. Lexington describes the neo-Confederate narrative. Appomattox describes the national narrative and its engagement with the neo-Confederate narrative. And the Museum of the Confederacy represents a third, new narrative that engages the other two. What I do not want to suggest by my choices in case study order is a cultural narrative of progress. The third case study utilizes rhetoric in interesting ways that the other spaces do not do; however, the temporal sequence should not suggest that it is more successful or better or more ethical than the other spaces. Had I chosen to analyze the case studies in a different order, other themes may have emerged. For instance, re-ordering the case studies to include analysis of the Museum of the Confederacy *after* my analysis of the opening and Appomattox Court House, present narratives not as a synthesis but rather in continual play and contradiction.

While the case studies present a narrative arc, each individual case study also functions as, what Norman Denizen and Yvonna Lincoln term, a montage: “Montage invites viewers to construct interpretations that build on one another as the scene unfolds. These interpretations are built on associations based on the contrasting images that blend into one another” (5). Denizen and Lincoln argue that montage does not create a sequence of events, like narrative does, but rather operates on simultaneity (5). In my case studies, multiple narratives and multiple forms of epideictic rhetoric are deployed at the same time and often through the same spaces, further reinforcing the idea that epideictic operates by reflecting back to the audience its own identity. I do not try to reconcile these narratives but I acknowledge that these narratives “shape and define one another” (Denizen and Lincoln 4). For instance, in the case study about Appomattox, I narrate at length the story of the surrender between Lee and Grant because the narrative performs simultaneously a narrative of reconciliation and a narrative of defeat. Further, this montage approach, Denizen and Lincoln argue, in part privileges the emotional (4), and I wanted to highlight the appeals to *pathos* in my analysis because my research reveals that spaces have deep personal and emotional connections to visitors.

This study also focuses on the neo-Confederate movement with Lost Cause roots with its particular manifestation in *Virginia*. Virginia was the state that saw more battles than any other during the war, and Lee—who this study demonstrates is a central figure in neo-Confederate memory—and his Army of Northern Virginia became representative of the larger Confederate movement. Moreover, the most well-known Confederate flag, the battle flag, was the flag of the Army of Northern Virginia. As a result, the flag itself has a particular regional memory that differs in part from other uses of the flag in different spaces. There is some danger, then, is extrapolating broader Southern sentiment from this particular regional manifestation.

Nevertheless, as a figurehead space, Virginia with the white narratives of neo-Confederates is also a forerunner of the creation of Confederate memory. This lead historically can be seen in the Lost Cause movement manifest in the artifact collection at the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia, and it can also be seen in contemporary manifestations of Confederate identity, such as the Confederate flag movement. Study of this movement, therefore, yields results as to the dynamic nature of memory, albeit at a particular location.

In order to analyze the spaces associated with my three case studies, I engaged in a series of recursive methods, including spatial analysis, textual analysis, and artifact analysis. Results were coded and triangulated for patterns through the analytical lens of epideictic rhetoric. The following research questions surrounding the spatial rhetorical situation guided analysis:

Space

- What do Civil War sites state or imply about race, sectionalism, reconciliation, and citizenship?
- How do particular genres of sites (e.g. museums, monuments, and cemeteries) function rhetorically to form viewer identity?
- What norms for identity and action are implied at historical sites?

Message

- How is public memory constructed through tourist sites?
- How is epideictic rhetoric employed at these tourist sites through language, visuals, materiality, and movement?
- How does epideictic rhetoric contribute to public memory?

Audience

- What values and identities are tourists encouraged to adopt at tourist sites?

- How is the tourist rhetorically positioned within historical narratives at particular sites? Is the tourist rhetorically positioned as an audience member, a participant, a co-creator of the text?
- How do tourists work with and against suggested narratives and identities?

Context

- To what exigencies is spatial rhetoric responding?
- What are the constraints of the particular spatial rhetorical situation?
- What other factors, such as weather, time of day, political events, holidays, other visitors, physical state, etc. influence how the space and visitors are constructed?

In order to address the above questions, I utilized three methods discussed below: spatial analysis, textual analysis, and artifact analysis.

Spatial Analysis

This study utilizes what Jillian Rickly-Boyd terms “landscape-reading” as a method (263) and what I term “spatial analysis.” Landscape-reading allows researchers to examine how “tourists use landscape cues to validate, or authenticate, the setting” (264). While these spatial dimensions are those that are frequently not part of a documented archive, they are of prime importance to visitors, who are experiencing the site in an embodied, temporal, and spatial way. A central definer of the tourist is that he or she has the luxury of time and ability to move to a particular location. In other words, tourism is only meaningful if there is a place to travel *to*. As a result, the negotiation with space is an inherent part of being a tourist, and spatial readings becomes integral to understanding the rhetoric operating at tourist locations.

In short, spatial readings tell you the things you have to be *there* to understand. The Mona Lisa in the Louvre, for instance, is crowded with throngs of tourists trying to get close enough to the painting to take a photograph. As a result, to view the painting in the space of the Louvre is an entirely different experience than to view the image in an art textbook, but the embodied experience of the Louvre is inaccessible without embodied research in the space itself. Spatial readings for this study are of prime importance because manipulation of space was a common rhetorical move. For example, as seen in Chapter 5, the Sons of Confederate Veterans' plane at the opening of the museum started flying right before the keynote with a loud, distracting engine that absolutely complicated the message of the keynote address. Some newspaper accounts mentioned the plane, but none noted the temporal placement or audible level of the engine, which constituted part of the performative rhetoric of the plane protest. As a result, spatial readings demand that researchers be present in the space in order to understand the dynamic between space and visitor.

This reading of space pays attention to the ways in which the space conveys meanings. For instance, at the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy in Appomattox, the verbal speeches can be analyzed for their rhetoric; however, the *location* of activities for the day was also important: protestors were at the road entrance of the museum, distanced from the main ceremony up the hill. Also, in Lexington participants in the Lee-Jackson Day parade march through the downtown under a banner that honors Martin Luther King, Jr., juxtaposing the messages of the Lee-Jackson Day holiday with Martin Luther King Day, which comes the Monday after the Saturday parade. Despite the fact that these spatial dimensions are not as subject to documentation as, say, verbal rhetoric, they are nevertheless important in establishing meaning. Because space is constructed both through materiality and social interaction, both

dimensions are analyzed through spatial readings. In other words, a spatial analysis must look at the space in conjunction with the potential interactions of a variety of visitors.

Because this study utilizes analysis through the lens of epideictic rhetoric, which focuses on community norms, this analysis in particular examines how space is integral in tourist identity formation. As a result, spatial analysis asks questions about visitor interaction in space such as

- Who is allowed to enter and not enter the space?
- Who are stakeholders in the space?
- What type of identities do visitors have to perform through their dress, movements, and actions?
- What activities are sanctioned and what are prohibited?
- What can be said and not said?

In addition to guiding questions related to visitors, the following questions guide analysis on space:

- What aspects of the space are deemed most significant? Why? And by whom?
- How is the space materially configured and what are its effects?
- How do associated texts and visuals socially construct the space?
- How do different types of spaces function like genres, suggesting modes of social action?
- How do spaces differ at different times—whether that be hour, day, or era?
- How do spaces operate in relation to other spaces?

Spatial analysis further includes analysis of past uses of the space and attention to the physical geography of sites. Nedra Reynolds notes that cultural geographers often turn to the metaphor of the palimpsest in order to read spaces because the palimpsest demonstrates how texts and spaces

can be written over without losing the original inscription. Reynolds further links this type of reading to Edward Soja's trialectics because the way in which "inextricably intertwined temporal, social, and spatial relations are being constantly reinscribed, erased, and reinscribed again" is similar to the continual re-reading of the palimpsestic text (Soja qtd in Reynolds 139). In other words, spatial analysis consists of a type of mapping that can layer a space with multiple geographies, including the physical, historical, and socio-economic. This palimpsestic layering of space means that spatial analysis must take into account more than what is happening in the present moment in the space, including past uses of the space and larger conversations of which the space may be a part (such as with the Museum of the Confederacy trying to distance itself from Lost Cause ideology in its Appomattox branch). In order to get at these multiple uses of space that are beyond the space itself in the present moment, the following types of research questions were used:

- What have been past uses of the space?
- Have stakeholders changed?
- Has the space changed materially and what are those effects?
- What memories are associated with the space?
- What political, social, or economic movement has shaped the space?
- What is the projected future of the space?

Through the above questions focused on visitor, space, and palimpsestic layering, a fuller understanding of spaces through analysis is accomplished by including the multiple factors that go into definitions of spaces and the subsequent actions they elicit.

During my visits to Lexington, Appomattox, and the Museum of the Confederacy, my fieldwork constituted taking photographs, writing notes, doing audio recordings, and collecting

artifacts. I tend to work with a macro-micro approach: I first engage the space on a global level, take into account initial reactions, and then engage with more minute details and nuances of the space. For example, at the Confederate Cemetery in Appomattox, in addition to the wayside marker I noted that the size of the parking lot designates this as a significant stopping off point; this stop is situated in relation to the major National Park Service park down the road. The large white oak tree demonstrates the old age of the spot along an old roadbed. The tree creates a serene, nature-focused atmosphere that prompts contemplation, which is aided by the stone pedestal next to the tree that indicates something significant has happened. The cemetery itself is neat, with a recently-painted black iron fence and well-trimmed grass, and it demonstrates contemporary care for the space. In addition to this macro-analysis, I focus in on more specific details: what the pedestal, wayside markers, National Park Service sign, and cemetery literature all say; who visits the site based on state car tags; what they do there; how long they stay. These multiple levels of data collection, coupled with multiple visits to a site, creates a detailed spatial analysis of how a space is co-constructed between the materiality of the space and the social interaction that occurs in and around it.

In order to perform spatial readings on my chosen spaces in my case studies, I arranged visits to each location. I attended Lee-Jackson Day ceremonies in Lexington during mid-January in 2012, 2013, and 2014, where I watched the wreath-laying ceremony, parade, and speeches in Lee Chapel. I also conducted a separate follow up visit in the spring of 2013 and went to the Visitors Center, Jackson Cemetery, the Jackson House, and Lee Chapel. I visited Appomattox Court House two times for this formal research; however, I had visited the park numerous times before that because I once lived in Appomattox for a year. I attended the Museum of the Confederacy twice, once at its opening in 2012 and once in the winter of 2013, and I had

previously been to the sister branch in Richmond. These visits allowed the embodied *being there* of spatial research that illuminates the multiple dynamics of space, but as a following section demonstrates there are limitations.

Textual Analysis

In addition to spatial analysis, this study utilizes textual analysis as a means to triangulate data. Texts directly analyzed in this study include the public oratory of Lee-Jackson Day and the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy, the Lexington public hearing on the flag ordinance, tourism brochures, interpretive signage, monument inscriptions, and signs and billboards. I have focused this analysis, though, on how the above texts are contextualized within space and how the space associated with these texts affects their meaning.

Epidictic rhetoric serves as the analytical lens for this study. As a result, texts were thematically coded related to the functions of epidictic. Epidictic creates community identity by praising or blaming the past based on the needs of the present. In the context of the Civil War spaces of this study, through tourism epidictic rhetoric creates American and sectional identity by creating public memory in order to examine the legacy of the war. While epidictic focuses on memory, it also utilizes forgetting (see Bradford Vivian); in the case of the Civil War, slavery as a cause of the war and racial problems as a legacy of the war are ignored. As a result of this epidictic framework, I coded textual data for the following themes:

- Tourism
- Causes and legacy of the Civil War
- National and sectional identity
- Utilization of memory

- Race and slavery

The above themes address the qualities of epideictic rhetoric. This study, however, develops an additional lens based on epideictic rhetoric.

I argue that a central definer of epideictic rhetoric is that memory is created by creating a narrative of the past based on the needs of the present. The above themes, therefore, were analyzed especially in regard to how they were cast into narratives about the Civil War. This narrative focus was integral to analyzing tourist spaces because tourist spaces and tourists themselves situate their experience within narratives. Rickly-Boyd asserts, “As a tourism story is continually (re)told and therefore (re)lived, it is incorporated as an episode into one’s autobiographical narrative, and it is through this incorporation that tourism space is made into place” (275). In other words, space and tourists are largely co-defined through narrative: the tourist incorporates the traveling experience into a personal narrative while at the same time that personal narrative intersects with the narrative presented at the spaces themselves.

Artifact Analysis

In addition to spatial and textual analysis, this project utilizes artifact analysis. While many artifacts are also analyzed through a spatial and textual lens, this particular form of analysis privileges the material and performative dimensions of artifacts as *objects*. For example, a travel brochure can be analyzed based on its location in a Visitors Center or the text it contains; but it can also be seen as an object that performs a message simply by the fact that it is there, implying, for instance, that the area is ripe with tourist opportunities, regardless of what the text actually says. In the context of this study, artifacts analyzed included monuments and memorials, clothing, weaponry, mementoes, brochures, gift shops, flags, museum displays, and interpretive

signage. For example, at Appomattox Court House, the building designated as the kitchen contains a table with plastic fruit and a pie on it. As artifacts, these items signify the living history dimension of the park so that visitors feel as if the house is currently lived in. They also take visitors back in time so that the past become manifest in the present moment.

The lines between spatial, textual, and artifact analysis blur considerably. Spaces include text and artifacts; texts and artifacts are embedded in space. However, each of these methods provides a slightly different lens to the dynamics of memory in space, providing a fuller composite into the ways in which epideictic rhetoric is functioning.

Affordances and Constraints of Spatial Research

While spatial readings provide rich descriptions of space uses, they are by their very nature limiting due to the relationship of space and time. To be present in a space is to be present in only one point in time and in only one location. For example, during the Lee-Jackson Day parades I have stood at various points in the downtown. The first year, I was under a banner across the road that honored Robert E. Lee. However, from newspaper reports, I discovered that there was also a banner farther up the road for Martin Luther King, Jr. There was no way I could have been at both places at the same time, and so when researchers are trying to document interactions in spaces in “real time,” an inevitability is that only a partial documentation can be completed. More complete data could have been rendered from the sites with a research team to document various areas, particularly with large events such as Lee-Jackson Day or the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy. This wider picture would allow for a multifaceted point of view, so that we could know, for instance, what neo-Confederate protestors were saying as we also know how detractors across the road were reacting.

In addition to the limitation that a researcher can only be at one point at one time, time also restricts spatial analysis in another way: the space changes in any given moment. As a form of archive, the space is fluid and transforming based on an infinitude of variables, including weather, time of day, mood of visitors, public issues like 150th anniversary of the Civil War or the United States being involved in two contemporary wars, and development of the materiality of the space by stakeholders such as changes in interpretive signage or promotional material. As a result, documentation of the space is always partial and subject to the individual experiences of the researchers at a particular moment in time. For example, on the stone pedestal mentioned above at the Confederate Cemetery, previous photographs I took before this official study indicate the plaque had not been cleaned, and the letters were still lightly visible from a line of text that had been removed. However, photographs taken during this current study show a cleaned pedestal, and the removed line is almost indiscernible (see fig. 1.1). Which plaque do I include in the study? What other transformations of the space do I not know about? These questions illuminate the dynamic nature of space to fluidly contain these multiple versions through multiple points in time. The inscriptions demonstrate how epideictic rhetoric also has multiple versions that exist, are erased, contradict, and engage one another. It is through these engagements that some portions of memory, such as the eliminated line, are only manifest at all.



Figure 1.1: Plaque at the Confederate Cemetery at Appomattox Court House. The plaque on the left is not cleaned and a line at the bottom has been removed, but it is still discernible. The current plaque on the right has been cleaned and the last line can no longer be read because it has been buffed out.

In this manner, time has a duality that affects definitions of space. On one hand, a space changes with every moment in time, as seen with the above pedestal. On the other hand, the space contains all moments in time. As Soja puts it, space is “stubbornly simultaneous” (2). This implication for spatial research is that the more time a researcher can spend in a space the better. In this manner, the researcher is able to provide a fuller—though always partial—composite of the space. However, the material realities of research have direct implications on that research: it takes considerable resources in terms of time and money to travel to and then be in a space. In other words, the fluid nature of space means that there is a different *type* of time commitment than exists for, say, textual analysis of a static text that can be viewed in an asynchronous manner.

The special relationship of space and time characteristic of spatial reading, I argue, should promote localized research so that researchers are able to commit more time to being in a space, as well as being more attuned to the palimpsestic characteristics of a space. Localized

research allows for richer descriptions of the nature of the space, especially how the space is socially constructed. For example, I would not have known that Appomattox Court House is called by locals the “Surrender Grounds” unless I had lived there for a year. Knowledge used to construct a space can include aspects such as past usages of the space and even local gossip and lore surrounding the space. While interviews from a long-distance researcher will yield some of this information, the dynamic nature of space-time means that localized research will yield more complete analysis, especially in regards to how a space operates on multiple levels, such as for locals and tourists, as is seen in my case study about Lexington.

Localized research through spatial analysis also promotes civic engagement of the sort advocated by Ellen Cushman where researchers have a “social responsibility for the people from and with whom we come to understand a topic” (11). Through analyses of space and aiding in the material and social construction of spaces, researchers can engage issues of social justice related to the nature of space. For example, in *Seeking Spatial Justice* Soja examines a grassroots movement in Los Angeles to change the transit system to service poor neighborhoods as a form of social justice to provide transportation access. Additionally, Cushman blurs the boundaries of the community and university by trying to leave “ivory tower isolation” (11) by transferring resources from the space of the university, such as computer access, to spaces in the community. In the context of my study, I have often wondered what I would have said at the Lexington public forum on the Confederate flag ordinance—what would I have contributed as a researcher, a seeming expert, on the topic? Spatial research raises these questions of researcher intervention in an immediate way due to the fact that researchers are embodied in the spaces they study.

Trauma and Epideictic Rhetoric

Within the context of the Civil War, this study does replicate a problematic feature of Civil War research: it focuses on white narratives to the exclusion of other narratives such as those associated with slavery, re-inscribing those white narratives as the baseline for research. Michelle Fine et al. note the dangers of using race categories such white and black without interrogation because if we methodologically take these categories as “unproblematic,” then “we (re)inscribe [their] fixed essentialist positionality” (112). Nevertheless, Fine et al. maintain, the material realities associated with a “racist society” also necessitate use of racial categories to “confront the very real costs and privileges of racial categorization” (112, 113). As a result, this study is attentive to issues of racial identity, while at the same time wary of the dangers of re-inscribing these categories as monolithic and stable.

While the vast majority of the neo-Confederate movement is made up of white participants, individuals known as “black Confederates” make the case (and are utilized to make the case) that the movement is not racist. For example, self-described black Confederate E.K. Edgerton (who maintains a website called “Southern Heritage 411”) staged a public march to Lexington on Lee-Jackson Day 2012 and 2013 to support the flag protest. Participants such as Edgerton are a prime example of how racial categories can be complicated both in their social construction and material reality.

Moreover, the category of race is complicated in another way: its absence. Edgerton is the exception to the rule: the majority of the time race is not discussed; it is the unspoken category, an example of epideictic forgetting. As a result, this study seeks to interrogate those absences by examining what is excluded from narratives. K.J Rawson calls this action a queering of the archives and asserts that what is missing from records is just as important as what is

present. Ann Cvetkovich furthers this idea and calls omission from archives a form of trauma: “Because trauma can be unspeakable and unrepresentable and because it is marked by forgetting and dissociation, it often seems to leave behind no records at all” (7). Within the context of the Civil War, the omission of race both from narratives and from material commemoration is a form of trauma. In *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History*, Cathy Caruth argues that historical narratives oftentimes originate in cultural trauma. Using psychoanalytic theory, Caruth defines trauma as the result of repression through which the continual re-enactment of certain actions seeks to alleviate the pain associated with trauma, an act which ironically reinforces the pain because the cause of the trauma has been forgotten, or, left unspoken. As Caruth puts it, “The historical power of the trauma is not just that the experience is repeated after its forgetting, but that it is only through its inherent forgetting that it is first experienced at all” (17). In other words, trauma is not the result of bad things; it is the result of *forgetting* those bad things through repression. This repression bring about traumatic re-enactment, and this repetition can be seen in my study in the literal re-enactments performed by participants in Civil War clothing, especially those who assemble each year for Lee-Jackson Day. It is also seen in the repetition of common Civil War narratives, such as that of the surrender meeting between Lee and Grant.

The pain of trauma, manifest through forgetting, is an inability to articulate history in a coherent narrative and to place it in a material space. Trauma dislocates one from the time and place of the traumatic event so that the trauma becomes encompassing but also inaccessible: “the impact of the traumatic event,” writes Caruth, “lies precisely in its belatedness, in its refusal to be simply located, in its insistent appearance outside the boundaries of any single place or time. ... It is the fundamental dislocation implied by all traumatic experience that is both its testimony to the event and to the impossibility of its direct access” (*Trauma* 11). In short, trauma resists the

confines of narrative and place. Therefore, in order for healing to occur, traumatic experiences must take on in part a narrative form and a material form embodied in place. The links between trauma, narrative, and space return us to epideictic rhetoric. Epideictic seeks to remember and explain through invocations of the past. At sites of triumph, it praises. At sites of trauma, it blames. Therefore, this study notes that there is an omission of epideictic rhetoric that blames, particularly when it comes to slavery.

The tendency to praise in epideictic rhetoric has led in part to its wide dismissal as an empty genre because it merely affirms present circumstances. By doing so, epideictic rhetoric tends to re-enforce the status quo: “We look to the past, and the past was good. The past has brought us to this present moment. Therefore, we should not change to alter that direction.” However, to blame the past calls for a radical redefinition of the community and a redirection of its ends. To blame calls the community into question. As a result, a major question that this study raises is What would it mean to utilize the epideictic rhetoric of blame at Civil War tourist sites? As analysis in my case studies examines what is present in my spaces, I try to also analyze what is missing and what that can teach us about epideictic rhetoric. An implicit argument throughout this study is that slavery and its residual effects—from Jim Crow to lynchings to poverty to segregation and on—need to be incorporated into Civil War and larger American narratives.

Issues of Representation

While spatial research promotes localized study and intervention, this study demonstrates that intervention can be complicated by the fact that we as researchers may not agree with or even like those to whom we have a social responsibility. For example, at the beginning of this study, I delighted in the theatrical, spectacular displays of protest waged by neo-Confederates;

they are masters of rhetoric. However, the more I engaged with neo-Confederate thinking through watching a Lee-Jackson Day symposium and reading local newspaper editorials, for instance, the vitriolic nature of the debate became more evident, and my patience for neo-Confederate ideology waned. (Likewise, I am critical of Lexington locals who are distancing themselves from the Confederate flag because I think it is part of a gentrification project of Lexington.) What social responsibility do I have as, to use Cushman's term, an "agent of social change" to a group that I do not agree with and whose mission in part I do not support? As Fine et al. ask, "How do theorists respect the integrity of informants' consciousness and narratives, place them within social and historical context, and yet not collude in the social scientific gaze, fixation, moral spectacularizing" (120).

Part of the answer to the question of social responsibility has to do with representation. While I am unsure of what type of civic engagement I would have participated in if I lived in the locations of my case studies, I think part of my social responsibility as a researcher is to accurately represent the groups I studied. For my research, which focused in part on neo-Confederate rhetoric, I felt my task was to understand *why* neo-Confederates think and act the way they do. In short, I utilized what Krista Ratcliff calls "rhetorical listening":

The rhetorical listening that I am promoting is a performance that occurs when listeners invoke both their capacity and their willingness (1) to promote an understanding of self and other that informs our culture's politics and ethics, (2) to proceed from within a responsibility logic, not from within a defensive guilt/blame one, (3) to locate identification in discursive spaces of both commonalities and differences, and (4) to accentuate commonalities and

differences not only in claims but in cultural logics within which those claims function. (204)

Part of the dynamic operating in neo-Confederate rhetoric is that it originates from a defensive position: neo-Confederates know they are discounted (which I had to resist doing as a researcher) as racist and so their message seeks to continually refute that critique, which they see as unfair. And I partially agree: while there is no doubt underground overlap in participants, neo-Confederate and white supremacist rhetoric is not the same. Neo-Confederates have a “racist historiography” in the sense that they ignore the injustices of slavery and its implications on Confederate memory, as well as the appropriation of the flag by white supremacists during the Civil Rights Movement. However, their larger public memory project extends beyond race omission to include issues of ancestry, regionalism, economic status, militarism, and historical interpretation, among others, and their rhetoric is not a direct form of hate speech. These issues offer a more complex identity than critiques, such as by those in Lexington, suggest. Rhetorically, though, the neo-Confederate lack of coming to terms with race within their narrative means that neo-Confederates have difficulty countering charges of racism.

While I have tried to accurately represent neo-Confederates, I have deliberately chosen to use the term “neo-Confederate” despite the fact that this is not a term neo-Confederates themselves would use and a term that some would outright reject. The main organizer of the Confederate flag protest in Lexington and at the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy was the Sons of Confederate Veterans. However, I have chosen to position this group inside a larger ideological category to suggest that the epideictic rhetoric deployed by these groups are related to cultural values and do indeed have implications for identity and future action. The term “neo-

Confederate,” then, is a choice to acknowledge the ideological effects associated with the powerful usages of epideictic rhetoric by these groups.

Despite the fact that I have tried to accurately represent groups in the study, I have not included interviews with participants, which is a limitation of the study because participant interaction with the space is central to its definition. I did not conduct interviews for a number of reasons. First, due to the public nature of the spaces and issues of my case studies, a lot of information was publically available in the form of a three-hour public hearing, all Lee-Jackson Day festivities, the Museum of the Confederacy opening ceremony, newspaper editorials, blogs, Facebook pages, etc. Because this project focuses on epideictic, which is a public form of rhetoric, these public rather than personal expressions were more relevant. Second, researcher reflexivity leads me to disclose that on a previous research project, I was threatened via letters and a gun by someone peripherally related to these organizations. I have also been accused of being with the FBI, which was perceived as a threat, and so it is clear that the dynamics between researcher and subject are, among other things, about power and even who can do violence—whether that be researcher or research participant. This information is included here to argue that material realities (such as a concern for my safety or the limited time to complete a dissertation project) are central to how research is conducted, despite the fact that those realities are oftentimes forgotten in the write-up. Third, by using the analytical lens of epideictic rhetoric manifest in space, I wanted to keep focus as much as possible on the spaces themselves so that the project did not become just an outline of nationalist and neo-Confederate rhetoric.

Finally, the issue of representation has to do with how I represent myself in the study. The inclusion of the researcher within the space demands that researchers also examine their own positionality—both abstractly and literally within the space. Likewise, feminism, which serves as

a methodological foundation, operates on a metatheoretical level that constantly acknowledges how positionality affects the ongoing research process as well as the write up (Glenn and Enoch 332). Akin to Harroway's concept of "situated knowledges," positionality comes from standpoint theory in which "no one can 'see' all perspectives, but by foregrounding specific epistemological and political claims, a standpoint theory can offer 'engaged vision'" (Jarratt, "Speaking for the Past" 199). Further, feminism allows for intertwined and even contradictory theories, which allow for feminists to commit, in Susan Jarratt's words, "theoretical inconsistency, deploying a pragmatic rhetoric that suits their multiple locations" ("Beside Ourselves" 1390). Because the researcher is socially embedded in multiple positionalities and identities, all knowledge is going to be partial and needs to be reflected upon by the researcher. As a result, I am including my own experience with the Civil War and the spaces I studied here.

Although I grew up in Southwest Virginia, I had relatively little engagement with the Civil War other than the fact that I attended a re-enactment once as an adolescent and studied the war in history class. I was aware—and dismissive—of people who had an intense interest in the war. The war is over—who cares, I thought. It wasn't until I landed a job teaching middle school in Appomattox, the site of the surrender of Lee to Grant, that I was confronted with the power of Civil War spaces. Before moving to the town, I thought that it would have some sort of ceremonial and historical grandeur. Kind of like *Gone With the Wind* meets Williamsburg—but in a classy way. I was wrong. The small town had no grandeur and quickly won the name "Crappomattox." Why did just a name of a surrender location evoke so much? Why did I expect the space to be meaningful?

Because there was little to do in such a small place, I found myself walking a field that was part of the complex, known as the "Surrender Grounds" to locals, run by the National Park

Service. I had recently fallen in love and had my heart broken, and so I found that as I was walking the field, I identified with the destruction, pain, and turmoil that surrounded war in general and the days before the surrender in particular. My experience with heartbreak mirrored the suffering on the battlefield. Walking the fields—embodied movement through space—became a way for me to dialectically understand my own suffering and that of the soldiers—many my own age—who fought and died. It was a process of coming to terms and understanding why.

What my sob-story illuminates is a particular rhetorical construction of the battlefields. In other spaces, such as the downtown sidewalk of Appomattox, I was not prompted in the same way toward heightened contemplation about meaning and significance. Although I certainly did not have the language to say this at the time, the battlefields were functioning epideictically, reflecting back to me my own identity as I came to terms with the past. In short, the space of the battlefields were different than other spaces. I became gripped by them and the Civil War, an experience many I have talk to have experienced.

The following year (now in a Master's program) I found myself in Richmond, the capitol of the Confederacy. By happenstance, my first weekend there I ended up exploring Hollywood Cemetery, a vast historical cemetery with a section for Confederate soldiers. In this area is a 90-foot tall pyramid (see fig. 2.1), erected in memory of the Confederate dead, and immediately my question was “Why did someone build this?” That became my driving research question through my Master's program. As I conducted research, I learned that one of the few places people could assemble in the post-Civil War South was in cemeteries during May Day celebrations. Part commemoration part protest, assemblies like those in Hollywood Cemetery became the spaces where memory of the dead was preserved and created.



Figure 2.1: The Confederate Section of Hollywood Cemetery with the Monument to the Confederate Dead in the Background.

The more time I spent in Hollywood Cemetery, it became clear that I was not the only one fascinated by the space. I met a man who claimed the dead spoke to him when we put his hands on the pyramid, and he made wooden boxes he called “ossuaries,” one of which he gave to me, as a form of remembrance. Others came on pilgrimage to see the tombs of Confederate heroes, such as George Pickett, Jeb Stuart, and Jefferson Davis. Still others requisitioned headstones for unmarked Confederate graves. And even more came to the cemetery—of which

only fraction is related to the Civil War—for recreation, walking dogs, jogging, biking, joy riding. I, too, used the space as a park, a place in which to just hang out.

These experiences led me to some underlying premises about my current research: these Civil War spaces are deeply personal to people and multifaceted in their purposes. They strike emotional chords and are seductive, drawing visitors in to engage the spectacular materiality such as that as the pyramid. My experience coupled with my ethnographic and historical research led to the obvious yet profound conclusion: *space matters*. As a result, I came to my project with the presupposition that space was integral to how people defined themselves in relation to the Civil War.

What my experience illuminates is that I—like the people in my study—have deep personal connections to places. Moreover, the spaces elicit certain reactions from visitors at the same time that visitors bring their own experience to sites. While neo-Confederate and reconciliationist thought use the spaces of my study to epideictically create their own community and significance, I am doing the exact same thing through my research. The only difference is that epideictic is reflecting back to me myself and positionality: I am interested in interrogating the absences within Civil War narratives and what they mean for contemporary American identity. Others experience the narrative spaces and find other forms of identity reflected back. These spaces, therefore, are connected to the self and help to explain why they can be fraught with controversy such as that in Lexington or the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy.

Tourism, Research, and Epideictic Rhetoric

Unequivocally, I argue that as a researcher I am still a tourist—and more, research is a form of tourism (see Chaim Noy, who argues that the tourist gaze is akin to the objectivist gaze

of the researcher). While tourism scholars would disagree with the distinction, commonplace assumptions see a difference between a tourist and a traveler, or, pilgrim: the tourist engages in superficial consumption of sites without a form of seriousness and contemplation while the traveler is oftentimes a solitary figure dedicated to introspection. There is a danger of seeing the researcher as a form of traveler—as someone doing something heightened and more valid than that of the mere tourist. This is a false dichotomy. The material realities of the tourist and “traveler” experience are the same: the luxury of time and resources to bodily move to a new space. I had to pack and drive to my sites of study, where I also ate in local restaurants, took photos, bought souvenirs. In short, my material actions were in no way different than that of a tourist. This similarity, in fact, is one of the reasons I started researching tourism: I could conduct research—taking photos, sitting at a site, examining a site from multiple positions in space—unobtrusively because what I was doing was no different from the tourists around me. As such, I argue that research does not make one a “traveler”; the researcher is still a tourist despite the “serious” and “important” aims of research.

In addition to the material and embodied similarities between research and tourism, the aims of each activity run the danger of also being the same. Tourism scholar John Urry argues that the tourist employs the “tourist gaze.” Linking it to Foucault’s clinical gaze that fundamentally changes medical knowledge through vision, Urry defines the tourist gaze as “socially organized and systematized” through which people see tourism as a reflection of social life in that “tourism results from a basic binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary” (12). In other words, the tourist gaze is able to classify life in “a meaningful totality” (MacCannell 6). The tourist gaze allows the visitor to feel as if he can better see and understand the reality of his life by comparing it to the destination. Compare this definition of

tourism/traveling with that of the traditional period of ethnography outlined by Denizen and Lincoln: “the fieldworker during this period was lionized, made into a larger-than-life figure who went into and then returned from the field with stories about strange people” (13). Moreover, the “Lone Ethnographer” (akin to the lone traveler/tourist) was committed to objectivity, a form of the gaze that implies one can see reality laid bare like the tourist. Further, the researcher in the traditional paradigm was committed to “monumentalism” to “create a museumlike picture of the culture studied” (Denizen and Lincoln 13). The reference to monuments and museums—sites most frequented by tourists—suggest the way in which research can objectify and elevate findings to seeming universal ends.

What is more, tourism and research share material and potential abstract gazes, tourism and research are a form of epideictic rhetoric. To return to Urry’s definition of tourism: it systematizes life between the normal and extraordinary to give meaning. Similarly, epideictic rhetoric is in elevated language and ritualistic settings akin to the extraordinary, and it also retells cultural narratives to give the community meaning. Research too follows an implicit narrative like those of epideictic where the past is retold based on the needs of the present in order to direct the future. For example the common research write-up trope: “in the *past*, scholars have said X. As a result of that study, I *now* argue Y. My research should lead to *future* research in Z.” The fact that research operates in part epideictically raises questions of how our understanding of epideictic facilitates our understanding of research write-ups. Based on this project, I argue that multiples forms of epideictic rhetoric can be functioning at the same time in the same place. These dissonant forms can create opportunities to understand the nature of how space functions rhetorically. Similarly, multiple forms of epideictic in research can function as a montage—with contradictions, circularity, and overlap. As a researcher-tourist who is functioning epideictically

both through my embodied movement to locations and through my write-up I have tried to explore the tensions within epideictic, namely is it possible to praise *and* blame and how do we deal with the Other in an intersubjective encounter when epideictic is traditionally about reinforcing the identity of one community. Finally, like epideictic, research is a form of place-making wherein people are positioned in relation to others or objects or abstract ideas. Research imposes definition and like space both gives definition and is defined by that which it studies.

Chapter 3

Epidictic Space: Creation of Community, Memory, and the Future

Epidictic rhetoric is the theoretical frame for this study. In the tourist spaces of Lexington, Appomattox, and the Museum of the Confederacy—the subjects of my case studies—epidictic rhetoric functions spatially; visitors to tourist destinations must physically move to specific locations, and this embodied movement contributes to the rhetorical construction of the space. Epidictic has historical ties to nationalism and war, so it is fitting that it would function at Civil War tourist destinations. Moreover, many of the Civil War sites are constructed as sacred spaces, so epidictic’s ceremonial and ritualistic nature makes it a useful frame for the spatial analysis of my case studies. Finally, as *historical* tourist sites, epidictic’s memorial functions are central to the construction of the space.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to describe the nature, characteristics, and functions of epidictic rhetoric as seen through the classical Greek context and through contemporary rhetorical scholarship. This chapter will demonstrate that epidictic rhetoric can be an active, dynamic force that creates community identity, memory, and future action. Through the creation of memory and the future, epidictic is associated with time; however, this chapter will argue that epidictic is also spatialized, and it is through this spatialization that epidictic derives its principle power to create community in the present and future by means of cultural memory.

Epidictic Space

Research on epidictic rhetoric has primarily focused on language. However, there is also research related to material and spatial epidictic. Carole Blair has called memorials “centrally,

although not exclusively,” epideictic (“Contemporary” 17). Lawrence Prelli’s edited collection *Rhetorics of Display* (display being a central definer of epideictic) features works on cemeteries, museum exhibits, national parks, and city landscapes. S. Michael Halloran calls historical pageants, which are akin to the ritualistic nature of epideictic, a type of rhetoric of spectacle, with the spectacular being another definer of epideictic. And the edited collection *Places of Public Memory* examines museums and memorials as commemorative spaces, and memory is a key function of epideictic (Dickinson et. al). These works demonstrate that epideictic is not solely deployed through the spoken or written word; it is also manifest through space, materiality, and movement. Although spaces have been analyzed through the lens of epideictic rhetoric, I develop this frame further by applying theories of critical geography in order to outline the commemorative functions of epideictic that are distinctively spatial. It is this under-examined spatial dimension that gives epideictic its dynamic power to create identity, memory, and the future.

Building from the work of Henri Lefebvre, critical geographers such as Edward Soja and Doreen Massey have argued that space is not a self-evident, neutral vessel of nothingness into which we put material objects. Rather, space is both a material configuration and a social construction. First, space is constructed through the material objects used to arrange that space, such as architectural plans or the natural geography of a landscape. As Massey writes about the materiality of objects in space, “It is not that the interrelations between objects occur *in* space and time; it is these relationships themselves which *create/define* space and time” (263). These material relationships function rhetorically, determining what one can see or touch and how one can move, and this “brute fact of materiality,” to use Jack Selzer’s term, constructs how the space is perceived and defined (3). At the Lincoln Memorial, for instance, visitors must climb a

series of steps of a classically stylized building reminiscent of temples to the gods. As visitors physically climb the steps, their vision is elevated above the reflecting pool, and once inside the memorial, they are dwarfed by the statue of the sitting Lincoln, which evokes a king sitting on a throne. The elevation of vision implies a space of deep reflection above the everyday. While visitors' vision is raised, they are still dwarfed by the massive size of the Lincoln statue, enlarging the significance of the present moment—and the memorial itself. The memorial becomes amplified and meaningful to visitors due to its materiality.

In addition to materiality, space is also constructed through the social, ideological, and embodied interactions associated with that space. Michel DeCerteau has argued for the ideological and rhetorical nature of space. Taking as his example the city and city planning, DeCerteau argues that our literal location in space affects our positionality in terms of how we can perceive and engage the space. For instance, to gaze at the city below from the top of a building—or from the Lincoln Memorial, for instance—casts the viewer as a “voyeur” with a “totalizing eye” who can seemingly read the city like a “transparent text” (92). This gaze, akin to the gaze of the mapmaker and city planner who also see the city from above, can only see the city in a “theoretical” way (93), in contrast to one who walks the city on the ground. DeCerteau links the god’s-eye-view to his concept of strategy in which the city is mapped out with designated movements and actions. Strategic planners articulate how people should engage the space, rhetorically suggesting—and sometimes demanding—certain actions and movement.⁴ Furthermore, not only will space affect how people move, it will affect their spatial epistemology: to know the city from above or to know the city from the freeway is a different knowledge than to know the city through walking. “Spatial practices,” writes DeCerteau, “in fact

⁴ For example, a one-way street controls movement but so do laws, for example, prohibiting where homeless people can congregate.

secretly structure the determining conditions of social life” (96). In this way, the social construction as well as the materiality of the space operate rhetorically, deploying ideological messages that influence embodied movement. As a result, epideictic rhetoric defines and is defined by space. The rhetor, audience, and message construct the space, but they are also influenced and created by space. An examination of classical rhetoric demonstrates the ways in which epideictic is embodied in space, and this spatial dimension is also integral to how the spaces in my case studies function.

Pre-Aristotelian Epideictic Rhetoric

Epideictic had political, ritualistic, spatial, and embodied dimensions in the classical Greek era, characteristics that were also strongly present in the spaces of my case studies. An examination of pre-Aristotelian epideictic, therefore, brings to the forefront how epideictic rhetoric operates in ceremonial spaces in order to achieve political ends.

Although Aristotle was the first to submit epideictic to a taxonomy, its use was common in classical Greece before Aristotle. During the classical era, epideictic consisted of public oratory and circulated writing that derived from three previously existing sub-genres: the encomium, panegyric, and funeral oration, which occurred at festivals, athletic games, and funerals. According to Edward Schiappa and David Timmerman, the encomium was poetry or prose used to praise a figure the audience should emulate, typically in terms of morality or ethics (190). The panegyric was an oration during festivals and athletic games to praise the god, the city, or the purpose of the festival (190). Takis Poulakos demonstrates that these festival orations were designed to create political alliances throughout the pan-Hellenic world in order to foster unity while fighting the barbarians, making epideictic about harmony but also war (“Towards”

157). Lastly, Schiappa and Timmerman note that the funeral oration was an Athenian tradition to eulogize fallen soldiers, justify war, and praise cultural values (195). As a result, epideictic became associated with highly ritualized events that typically praise the values of the culture, especially in times of war. Schiappa and Timmerman note that each of these three sub-genres had political and social implications. To further the reach of the Greek empire. Its ceremonial deployment had distinctive ritualistic qualities more akin to religious rather than civic experience. Further, this embodied ritualistic context necessitated that epideictic rhetoric be deployed both spatially and materially so much so that embodied presence was essential for the epideictic address.

Perhaps the most well-known example of epideictic is the funeral oration of Pericles, as described in Thucydides's history, wherein the political, social, and memorial functions of epideictic demonstrate its power to create community identity and promote future action through oratory, space, and materiality. In the presence of those gathered to bury the dead from the Peloponnesian War, Pericles, *before* praising the fallen soldiers, extolls the virtues of the city of Athens. These virtues, Pericles argues, are what Athenian soldiers died for and what members of the city should also defend as a result: "This then is the city for which these men fought and died. They were nobly determined that she should not be lost: and all of us who survive should be willing to suffer for her," Pericles proclaims (2.41). Shortly after he suggests that such defense of Athenian ideology is essential to community identity. Praise for the soldiers and the justness serves as justification to the audience for the war to continue. While burying dead husbands and sons, the audience is extolled to support the war into the future. It is this support, Pericles argues, that becomes the identifying feature of Athenian citizenship. The funeral oration of Pericles

demonstrates epideictic's strong connection between war and nationalism, and this focus is also seen in the Civil War tourist sites of this study.

Intermingling the themes of war, memory, and citizenship, Pericles's funeral oration consisted of a ritualized address in elevated language in order to articulate the community's identity and values by praising the past and the dead. The result of this praise in the present moment also argues for the extension of those same community values into the future. The ultimate purpose of Pericles's funeral oration is not to commemorate the dead but to re-articulate the identity of Athens as a city dedicated to the freedom to pursue beauty and wisdom—a freedom worth fighting for in order to preserve Athens and its citizens in the future. As such, epideictic utilizes both argumentation and identification, establishing a community's identity through cultural memory in which narrative history argues the present and future are the natural end—the *telos*—of the past.

Pericles's funeral oration serves as a prime example of epideictic not only because of its thematic elements but also because of its distinctive spatial, material, and embodied dimensions. Thucydides's account of Pericles's funeral oration, for instance, *begins* with a detailed account of the material practices associated with the collection and burial of bodies:

The ceremony is as follows. They erect a tent in which, two days before the funeral, the bones of the departed are laid out, and people can bring offerings to their own dead. On the day of the funeral procession coffins of cypress wood are carried out on wagons, one coffin for each tribe, with each man's bones in his own tribe's coffin. One dressed but empty bier is carried for the missing whose bodies could not be found and recovered. All who wish can join the procession, foreigners as well as citizens, and the women of the bereaved families come to

keen at the grave. Their burial is in the public cemetery, situated in the most beautiful suburb of the city, where the war dead are always buried. (2.34)

In this example, which I have quoted at length to demonstrate its specificity. The materiality of the bones and their containers are central and necessary for the occasion. Even the bones not actually present are materially signified through the empty bier. Offerings, the material manifestation of mourning, are brought, and the people assemble for the procession, the embodied movement of mourning. Finally, the location of the burial is significant: a public location in a place of honor.

The social and political ends of epideictic also can be seen in the work of Isocrates. In the *Evangoras*—a work delivered during athletic games (Poulakos “Towards” 154)—Isocrates writes to Nicocles about the virtues of his father, the Cyprus king Evangoras, exhorting Nicocles to live a virtuous life through emulating the honorable deeds of his father. Poulakos notes that Isocrates’s *Evangoras* represents a “key moment” as “one of the earliest instances in which political instruction is carried out solely by means of the epideictic genre of rhetoric” (“Isocrates” 318). Combining the poetic and narrative, Isocrates creates an exemplar for moral action in Evangoras as well as a cultural history for Cyprus. According to Poulakos, this connection of identity to history serves to actually define the identity of Nicocles by helping him “understand that his discovery of himself as a moral agent lies at that point where his selfhood and the tradition in which he participates intersect” (“Isocrates” 320). This connection of the particular with the universal through the temporal dimensions of past and present defines not only individuals but how those individuals coalesce into the seemingly unified whole of the community. As such, those members are exhorted to maintain cultural memory by *embodying* those values in the present moment and continuing them into the future.

In addition to commemorative practices, such as that of Pericles and Isocrates, certainly religious festivals and athletic games are also spatial and embodied. In both cases, a public assembly in a particular space was necessary. At religious festivals, epideictic rhetoric employed ritualistic practices, which entailed material and bodily actions and reactions, and at the games, epideictic complemented the overtly embodied activity of the athletes. These ceremonial events created ritualistic spaces, and the ritualistic nature of epideictic is central to the way in which it functions. Epideictic rhetoric occurs in ceremonial places at significant times and has “almost mystical qualities” (Carter 211). In fact, Michael Carter argues, “Epideictic is successful insofar as it achieves the qualities of ritual” (211). Creating a definition based on religious and anthropological scholarship, Carter defines epideictic rituals as creating extraordinary knowledge, community, and guidance for everyday life (213). This focus is certainly seen in the classical Greek context where it was most prevalent during occasions such as religious festivals, athletic games, and funerals, all occasions for elevated, ritualistic actions and language. But equally important is the fact that the ritualistic nature of epideictic dictates that it be embodied in particular places, defined as ceremonially appropriate for the elevated address. Contemporary deployments of epideictic are also contingent on spaces associated with ritual. Carole Blair and Neil Michel note that these spaces evoke a feeling of sacredness (“Rushmore” 181). In the cases studies of this research, sacred space is frequently established by means of tourism as visitors enact the ritualistic practice of pilgrimage by annually traveling to the graves of important heroes.

Epideictic’s reitualities qualities utilized for civic ends can also be seen in the education of young Greek men—an education that was also spatial and embodied and distinctly epideictic. As Deborah Hawhee writes, “*Epideixis* primarily meant a material or bodily display” of

knowledge and virtue (175). Hawhee describes how the classical Greek gymnasium originated from religious and military sanctuaries and how it formed a “spatial intermingling” of athletics and rhetoric designed to cultivate a “citizen *ethos*” (111). As a result, these spaces connote a religious and civic sacredness essential to the continuation of the polis. In the gymnasium, these citizens-in-training studied with sophists, known for their practice of epideictic rhetoric (Poulakos, “Towards” 157). These gymnasium practices were repetitive, bodily and mentally instructive, and brought together teachers and students in community to connect them to larger civic life, in Hawhee’s words, “both geographically and temporally” (116).

While epideictic was not the sole rhetorical practice of young men in the gymnasium, Hawhee notes that this intermingling of rhetoric and athletics was a type of embodied *display* of civic virtue, wherein knowledge was “often connectively transmitted through optical, aural, and tactile exchange” (191). Display is one of the primary characteristics of epideictic, and it is not only a display of language but also of bodies in space. Students assembled in the particular architectural space of the gymnasium to learn, and they memorized rhetorical and physical exercises in order to habituate actions that would make them active citizens who could direct the future of the Greek polis. Their activities in the gymnasium, therefore, served as an embodied display of citizen virtue. In this manner, the space of the gymnasium served the civic epideictic function to create community identity through remembering particular types of embodied and rhetorical knowledge in order to become virtuous citizens in the future. As such, this transfer of knowledge was embodied, ritualistic, and spatial.

The classical Greek context demonstrates how epideictic was more than a mere display of empty eloquence but rather a tool for political and social instruction. The context for epideictic was also fundamentally spatial and embodied through ritualistic activities in ceremonial spaces.

The combination of bodies in space and elevated language led epideictic to powerfully communicate ideas about the nature and identity of the community through remembering the past. Ultimately, this civic identity led to future action in order to continue the existence and values of the polis.

Despite the fact that epideictic had political and social ends, it also became associated with manipulation and artificiality due in part to the work of Plato, an influence seen in Aristotle's treatment of epideictic. Plato's suspicion of rhetoric in general as a vehicle for untruth in the *Phaedrus* is demonstrated as well by his suspicion of epideictic in the *Menexenus*, in which Socrates delivers an obviously over-the-top funeral oration. (Aristotle in fact quotes from the *Menexenus* where Socrates says that it is not difficult to praise Athenians in Athens, implying epideictic has little effect or importance.) Plato's criticism probably also derived from the fact that epideictic was associated with sophists such as Gorgias (whose *Encomium to Helen* is an example of epideictic). As non-citizens, the sophists were prohibited from speaking in the judicial and deliberative settings of the Greek democracy. As a result, sophists were relegated to the public forums of festivals and athletic games, such as the Olympics, where, as Kennedy acerbically terms it, "the unsophisticated nature of popular audiences" made epideictic popular (83).

Aristotelian Epideictic

While I argue that epideictic has active functions, others have seen the genre as merely a spectacular display with the function to merely entertain. This tension runs through the scholarship on epideictic, and I argue that this is partially due to an Aristotelian conception of epideictic. Aristotle serves as the theoretical touchstone for definitions of epideictic. George

Timmerman notes that Aristotle was the first to classify epideictic as a genre⁵ (229). In *On Rhetoric*, Aristotle designates three types of occasional rhetoric: judicial, deliberative, and epideictic. While judicial and deliberative rhetoric receive extensive treatment, epideictic rhetoric only receives one chapter and sporadic mentions throughout the treatise; however, Aristotle's work has been foundational for how others have defined epideictic and articulated its functions. Epideictic, according to Aristotle, is centered on amplified praise and blame to articulate what is honorable and dishonorable, and the audience is posited as a spectator rather than a judge (as is the case for judicial and deliberative rhetoric) to the artful display of language (1.3.5, 1.3.2). Aristotle characterizes epideictic as consisting of amplified praise or blame through the sporadic use of narrative and highly artistic language to focus the audience primarily on the present moment (1.3.3-4, 1.9.38, 3.16.1). While Aristotle categorizes epideictic as concerned with the present, he also adds that epideictic "both remind[s] the audience of the past and project[s] the course of the future" (1.3.4). In this manner, epideictic became known as the genre of praise or blame in which the audience is posited as a spectator to the amplified display of language.

Aristotle's description has been interpreted as dismissive because it receives so little attention in *On Rhetoric*. Further, Aristotle implies that epideictic may lend itself to triviality and manipulation. He notes it historically has been employed in seriousness but also jest in which even animals and objects are praised (1.9.2). In fact, George Kennedy notes that praise existed for such things as salt and bumble bees (79). In addition to superficiality, Aristotle adds that the rhetor is allowed a certain amount of latitude in describing the object of praise. For instance, Aristotle writes that epideictic praise should describe characteristics of people in the best

⁵ Takis Poulakos argues that epideictic can be characterized as a "hybrid" genre, where genre is defined as a "cluster of formal elements" composed of several "sub-genres" that are "blended" or "fused" ("Towards" 151). Similarly, Condit terms epideictic a "macro-genre" (284).

possible light: “for example one should call an irascible and excitable person ‘straightforward’ and an arrogant person ‘high-minded’ and ‘imposing’ and speak of those given to excess as actually in a state of virtue (1.9.29-30). Aristotle’s assessment implies that the rhetor is able to reflect back to the audience the qualities it favors by rhetorically interpreting how the object of praise is presented. Additionally, the style of the address can be elevated (or amplified) and dressed with “greatness and beauty” (1.9.40), whose careful display of language, he argues, makes epideictic more akin to writing rather than the sometimes impromptu nature of judicial and deliberative rhetoric (3.12.5).

It is this artful display of language and ability to match the rhetoric with the values of the audience that have been central in defining epideictic rhetoric and also central to its dismissal, as suggested by Aristotle. Subsequent scholars, such as Kenneth Burke, have viewed the genre as a “catch-all” term to include all types of rhetoric that are not readily classified as judicial or deliberative (70). The most frequent critiques deal with the characteristics of display. Chiam Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca describe how epideictic has been characterized as merely a “show-piece” designed to display the ability of the rhetor: the audience is composed of mere spectators with no responsibility for action other than to judge the artistic display of the rhetoric itself (48). Epideictic is typically seen, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca argue, as a “degenerate kind of eloquence” (48) during times of, in Burke’s words, “rhetorical decay” (71). Additionally, the attention to the ornate display of language, the positing of the audience as a mere spectator, and the fact that the audience is not called upon to make immediate judgments, has led many such as Burke and Kennedy to see epideictic as merely a superficial genre focused on artifice more than meaningful content.

This dual nature of epideictic as being a mechanism for both uncritical pandering and potential persuasion is the crux of the ethical dilemma associated with epideictic. Can epideictic transform and redirect community identity or must it always articulate the status quo? A partial answer has to do with the main characteristic of epideictic that Aristotle named: praise and blame. Praise is identified as the most employed end; Aristotle simply defines blame as whatever is the opposite of praise (1.9.37), and subsequent theorists frequently omit blame from their analysis (Timmerman 231). Perhaps the most illustrative example is the funeral oration, or eulogy: even if the deceased is disliked and performed censurable actions, the speaker will select those characteristics upon which the assembled group can agree on as positive, as Aristotle suggested, for instance, by calling a “simple” person “amiable” (1.9.28). Praise is privileged because the speaker reflects the audience’s disposition, so unity is easier facilitated through positive praise rather than negative censure because, as Sullivan notes, one of the primary characteristics of epideictic is its conservative nature (115), making it is easier to praise than blame. Robert Danisch goes so far as to argue that epideictic fails if it blames but does not offer an alternative through praise (301). In this manner, epideictic does fulfill one of its main criticisms: it does tend to justify present community identity and values, as my analysis of neo-Confederates in my case studies demonstrates.

In the past fifty years, however, scholars have resurrected the study of epideictic rhetoric. A return to Aristotle and the classical Greek context as well as contemporary theorizing has led to a recent renewed interest in the once-dismissed genre. Further, scholars have resurrected pre-Aristotelian epideictic—including Gorgias, Isocrates, and Plato—to demonstrate the ways in which epideictic has a cultural force associated with its display elements. This re-examination has led to re-interpretations of the nature, value, and application of epideictic rhetoric. Based on

this scholarship, I will develop a definition of epideictic that is performative, spatialized, and embodied. Further, I argue epideictic has three major functions: to create community identity, to create cultural memory, and to create the disposition for future action. As such, epideictic is a mode of invention that calls upon the audience to enact its creative potential.

Creation of Community

In addition to scholarship on epideictic in the classical Greek era, contemporary scholars has further developed the nature and functions of epideictic, overwhelmingly agreeing that a main purpose of epideictic rhetoric is to display and educate the community about its identity and values. Epideictic rhetoric is associated with shaping and sharing of community (Condit, Agnew, Carter) and the teaching of community values (Hauser; Sullivan; Schiappa and Timmerman). Epideictic serves to reinforce community: Gerard Hauser argues that epideictic has a didactic function that joins community members together through a display of civic virtue that helps define public morality. Similarly, Poulakos links it to political instruction (“Isocrates”). Ekaterina Haskins sees wisdom and cultural identity dependent on cultural memory established through epideictic. Lisa Villadsen connects epideictic to collective civic responsibility. Dale Sullivan argues the purpose of epideictic is in part to preserve cultural orthodoxies, educate, and celebrate tradition. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca similarly note epideictic’s educative function, stating that education becomes an argument for a “sense of communion centered around particular values recognized by the audience” (51). Celeste Condit argues epideictic addresses educate by defining and helping the audience understand troubling events; the speaker, who articulates the prior-held beliefs of the community, assumes a pastoral role in which reality is explained through the community’s worldview (288).

The above instances all rely on a process of identification. As a result, the concept of *ethos* is integral to an understanding on how epideictic functions. Sullivan argues that the speaker gains *ethos* through posing as a seer or prophet with supernatural visions. The speaker, thus, takes on a priestly role with the ability to define reality. This invention of reality, however, depends on the relationship established between speaker and audience, what Sullivan calls *ethos*: “*Ethos* is not primarily an attribute of the speaker, nor even of audience perception,” writes Sullivan. “It is, instead, the common dwelling place of both, the timeless, consubstantial space that enfolds participants in epideictic exchange” (127). In other words, the speaker has provided an address sufficient for the audience to identify fully with the speaker to create “consubstantiality” (Villadsen 34). In this moment, the speaker and audience are unified through identification with community, a unity that seemingly exists for all time, taking epideictic rhetoric to almost cosmic proportions. This consubstantial nature of speaker, audience, community, and time is dependent on the speaker’s ability use cultural history to create a vision of the future with which the audience can identify, a vision that can be brought into reality through action.

Michael Hyde notes that two different conceptions of *ethos* existed in classical rhetoric, namely dealing with where *ethos* resided. For Aristotle, *ethos* derives from the rhetor’s ability to establish trust through the speech itself; in this scenario, *ethos* is created through the address. However, Hyde notes, an Isocratean notion of *ethos* posits it as belonging to the rhetor by means of the reputation of his moral character. Examining the etymology of the word and combining both classical definitions, Hyde theorizes *ethos* as a “dwelling place” in which “people can deliberate about and ‘know together’” important issues (xii). It is through this relationship of rhetor, audience, and message that moral questions can be addressed by the community. *Ethos*,

therefore, belongs both to rhetor and audience at the point that they intersect through a moral issue. *Ethos* joins the community together, unifying speaker with audience, and both with the message through the process of consubstantial identification. As Hawhee writes, “Both witnesses and the witnessed thus constitute the showing . . . the viewer and performer have a reciprocal, codependent relation” (176). This codependent, consubstantial *ethos* becomes essential to actualize epideictic’s functions. Moreover, as a “common dwelling *place*,” *ethos* is spatialized so that community members must come together to identify with one another in a shared space.

The message of an epideictic address is not solely created by the rhetor: the community joins in the creation of the message because *ethos* is not just a characteristic of the exchange but an actual locus of invention. Margaret Zulick argues that *ethos* is made possible by the intersection of aesthetics and ethical implications in the address. This intersection is precisely the model of epideictic address in which amplified, artful language is used for moral exhortation. Building on Burke, Zulick notes the inventive location of *ethos* is where identification takes place. Identification becomes the way in which things are defined (to identify them) and the way in which we associate with those definitions (to identify *with* them). Zulick argues that these two notions of identification “invoke” one another so that through this unity, *ethos* is established with rhetor, audience, and message: “Therefore,” Zulick writes, “the work [message] not only springs from this identification but also reproduces it” (25). In this manner *ethos* becomes the “subjective act of invention” (20). Through identification made possible by *ethos*, epideictic rhetoric is able to define community so that the audience can identify with and thus bring that community into reality. In this manner, epideictic rhetoric is a joint construction of rhetor and audience, both of whom create and then identify with the message, and they are in turn created by the message.

The above arguments suggest that epideictic is a display of a prior-existing community that relies on the process of identification: “Your persuade a man,” writes Burke, “only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, *identifying* your ways with his” (55). (In fact, Burke relies on Aristotle’s intertextual treatment of epideictic to partially formulate his theory of identification. “It is not hard to praise Athenians among Athenians,” Burke quotes Aristotle, who quotes Socrates from Plato’s *Menexenus*—both of which are addressing the nature and function of epideictic.) In this manner, epideictic reflects back to the community what it already believes itself to be.

Establishing *ethos* is essential for the epideictic address. Lois Agnew provides analysis of an unsuccessful epideictic address and argues that neither speaker nor audience was willing to establish consubstantial *ethos*. In an analysis of a college commencement address delivered by international war correspondent Chris Hedges, Agnew argues both speaker and audience are charged with the responsibility of entering into an epideictic exchange. Agnew describes how Hedges, ignoring the constraints of the typical epideictic commencement address, started to deliver an address condemning the war in Iraq. The audience vociferously protested, three attendees tried to redefine the space by jumping on the stage, and Hedges’s microphone was cut off twice. Finally, Hedges wrapped up his speech abruptly and quickly left the stage with a police escort (147-148).

Agnew analyzes this incident as an example of a failing epideictic speech not because the audience did not agree with Hedges political message, but because he did not fully acknowledge the occasion (graduation), an essential convention of an epideictic address, and thus did not make an effort to establish a consubstantial relationship with the audience through *ethos*. Although epideictic speakers are able to manipulate some of the characteristics and functions of the genre,

Agnew argues, “The speaker who alters generic conventions without careful negotiation with the audience will not be granted the authority to adapt those conventions to the unique moment in which the discourse is situated” (155). By not sufficiently acknowledging that “the day belonged to the students,” as critics termed it, Hedges did not offer the opportunity for the audience to enter into the address as a co-participant with the speaker through the common dwelling place of *ethos*. Not only were they not consubstantial with each other, they were not consubstantial with the message. However, Agnew also notes that the audience, too, did not display a willingness to enter into that epideictic exchange and did not acknowledge other constraints of the genre. Students desired the speech to be a celebration of their own academic career—to reflect their own identity back to them. But the students did not recognize epideictic’s function to teach, challenge, and transform the community. As a result, the commencement address failed because both parties did not realize their reciprocal, co-constitutive relationship to create the epideictic message. *Ethos* becomes the enabling force that can bring epideictic visions into reality, and that is only possible if both parties are willing to enter into the constraints and functions of the genre.

This dwelling space known as *ethos*, when seen through a spatialized lens, is an actual place⁶ designated with community significance in the same way that a speaker is designated as an authoritative member of the community. For example, the Lincoln Memorial is situated in the nation’s capital, the symbolic center of the nation. In a spatial model, the traditional human rhetor is, in Blair and Michel’s term, “dematerialized,” and the space itself becomes the rhetor (“Rushmore” 184). In this framework, space-as-rhetor must become consubstantial with the audience through its material and social construction. Space-as-rhetor and audience serve to

⁶ There is no clear consensus in the differences between the definitions of “place” and “space.” I use the term “place” to refer to a space that is materially and socially constructed in a particular way. I use “location” to refer to a particular point in space. For example, the *space* of a university quad may be constructed as a *place* for students to meet each other. The fountain in the middle of the quad is a *location* where students physically meet.

define one another. Drawing on feminist theory, Massey calls this consubstantial spatial *ethos* a “double articulation” (8) whereby an intersubjective identity between space and audience is created so that space creates the audience and the audience creates the space.

When specifically dealing with epideictic spaces, the spatial message becomes a display, drawing the audience’s attention to itself. In contrast to other types of spaces, epideictic space *demand*s that audiences pay attention in a deliberate way. The Lincoln Memorial, for example, becomes a spectacular display because of its size and prominent position in the city. While people certainly do not “read” all spaces as having a message, in the case of epideictic spaces, a message is presupposed due to epideictic’s emphasis on display and spectacle that necessarily calls for a spectator, who can ask, “Why is this here for me?” As the double articulation of space by space, of audience by audience, spatial epideictic rhetoric is performative. In fact, Walter Beale adds performativity as a “principle definer” of epideictic, making the mere delivery of the address a “significant social action in itself” (221, 225). The performativity of space and audience means that they both co-create each other by simply being there. Further, this performative *there-ness* also creates the message which is shared between audience and space. Echoing Massey’s doubling concept, Della Pollock’s comments on performative writing and its materiality can also be descriptors for space that emphasize the active nature of epideictic space:

Writing as *doing* displaces writing as meaning; writing becomes meaningful in the material, dis/continuous act of writing. ... Effacing itself twice over—once as meaning and reference, twice as deferral and erasure—writing becomes itself, becomes its own means and ends, recovering for itself the force of action. (75)

In a spatial perspective, therefore, the message of space-as-rhetor is itself, its sheer materiality. Space and audience are both creators of a message and the message itself. As an epideictic

message, space and audience define the community, making its identity an active force for action.

In contrast to epideictic language through which the rhetor must establish *ethos* with the audience (which may or may not happen, as was the case with Hedges's graduation speech), epideictic space presupposes a consubstantial *ethos* with the audience because the audience is integral in constructing the spatial rhetor to begin with. To put it another way, the space has a message because the audience *sees it as having one*. This is particularly true with tourism because the tourist is *willing* moving to a particular space, and that agency positions the tourist as a receptor of the message. As a rhetoric of spectacle and display, central features of epideictic space, the space demands a spectator. Therefore, the space itself is rhetor and also becomes the message. This

What is more, epideictic space is not only the rhetor and message, it is also becomes the audience. Caught up in the consubstantial epideictic moment, manifest in space and time, the human audience becomes part of the performative ritual in which it participates. As a co-creator of the message, the audience becomes the new rhetor, which demands a new audience: the space itself. The space becomes the new witness to the unfolding of the epideictic message. In this manner, space becomes rhetor, message, and audience due to the performative dimensions of spatial consubstantial *ethos*.

Epideictic praise typically reinforces community identity and norms but other times it seeks to redefine them. Beale, citing Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech, suggests epideictic is an "instrument of social upheaval ... [and] social concord" (237). Agnew notes that the educative function of epideictic can create harmony and disruption, can reinforce and transform community. Cynthia Sheard argues epideictic can address the discomfort the audience

feels with the status quo, and it can be a critique and a force for change. These suggestions from the literature, however, are scarce and meager in their explication, revealing the difficulty in developing an epideictic rhetoric that transforms. A spatial perspective of epideictic as a performance suggests that epideictic not only displays community; it creates it.

This creative impulse is particularly seen in epideictic space, which performs and confers identities upon the audience. Even though the popular notion is that space is a neutral vessel, space is actually ideological and, in Carole Blair's words, "summons" the audience ("Reproducing" 42) to particular identities to bring the audience into real and imagined communities. Massey writes, "The spatial organization of society, in other words, is integral to the production of the social" (4). In the case of epideictic space, space displays community identity and values while at the same time creating that community due to the performance of consubstantial *ethos* between rhetor and audience. As the above discussion about the construction of space suggests, these ideologies and identities evolve both from the social construction of the space and its material realities.

While all successful instances of epideictic rhetoric create *ethos* between rhetor, audience, and message, it is epideictic space in particular which is able to most effectively create *ethos* because the audience's presence in the space means that a message is being performed by the space—and the audience. In this manner, community identity is established through rhetor, audience, and message.

Creation of Cultural Memory

Epideictic rhetoric's function of defining community identity and values is a characteristic most contemporary scholarship has acknowledged; a lesser noted descriptor is how

epideictic creates cultural memory. Through its ritualistic nature and through its narrative components that temporally link the present to the past through the spatialization of memory, epideictic has distinctive commemorative functions.

Memory itself has strong spatial components so that space becomes a powerful creator of memory through its material manifestations. As Johannes Fabian argues, space serves as a way to actually “*define* the nature of memory” (110). For example, Aristotle notes in *On Memory and Recollection* that recollection starts from particular places—*loci* (452a). Additionally, memory is one of the *topoi* in *On Rhetoric*, which refers to a *place* rather than a topic. Aristotle’s use of the concept of space can be seen as metaphorical, utilizing spatialized language to merely illustrate a point. However, with actual epideictic spaces, places become the literal starting points for memory. When memory is spatialized in literal, material spaces the metaphorical also takes on a material power: if place is the starting point of memory, then material places becomes literal evokers and creators of memory, demonstrating the power of epideictic spaces, for instance.

Memory as a spatialized concept is further seen in the classical mnemonic device of the memory palace⁷ in which architectural spaces are assigned particular memories so that one can travel through the space to access knowledge (Yates 3). Further, Quintilian; Cicero; Frances Yates; Edith Wyschogrod; and Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian Ott all cite the ancient story of Simonides, who was able to remember the identities of victims of a collapsed building based on the place they were sitting. Beyond classical Greece, Wyschogrod notes that the Luba in Zaire utilized a memory device in which a wooden board in the shape of a person represented both history and Luba territory. In this way, Luba memory became not only spatialized but also

⁷ See *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* by Jonathan Spence for a detailed example of the effectiveness of spatialized memory. Ricci, a Jesuit missionary in 16th-century China, was one of the first Westerners to learn Chinese, and he served as an advisor to the Imperial Court due to his ability to translate a substantial amount of Western ideas into the Chinese.

embodied, depicting, as Wyschogrod writes, “Historical truths in relation to place, except that place may be perceived not only cosmologically but also as the body of the king” (183). These examples demonstrate that memory has a deep spatial and embodied component on a conceptual level, and when memory is literally spatialized in physical locations, its memorial functions are even stronger: the construction and materiality of space create literal memory palaces in which historical narratives are layered upon one another and accessible through the spaces they embody. As DeCerteau writes, “Narrative structures have the status of spatial syntaxes” (115). Therefore, space invokes memory, defining its nature, location, and subjects. As a result, to embody and move through a particular epideictic space, invites the audience to be actively involved in the creation of memory. The public nature of epideictic spaces also necessitate that personal memories of those locations are connected to the larger public memories of the community.

In order to create memory, epideictic first makes the present the *telos* of the past. I argue Aristotle’s most significant contribution to a conceptualization of epideictic in *On Rhetoric* is that he designates particular moments of time to the three occasional genres: judicial is concerned with making decisions about past events, deliberative with future events, and epideictic with the present moment. However, Aristotle also notes that epideictic utilizes sporadic narrative to remind the audience of the past and project a course of action for the future (3.16.1, 1.3.4). This linkage of past, present, and future creates a cultural history for the community in which the present moment is a clear end of the past: “One should take coincidences and chance happenings as due to deliberate purpose,” recommends Aristotle, “for if many similar examples are cited, they will seem to be a sign of virtue and purpose” (1.9.32). In this manner, narratives of the past justify the present moment because, as Seymour Chatman

notes, one of the defining characteristics of Aristotelian narrative is that events are constructed as “radically correlative” (45) so that events connect in a cause and effect sequence, as if the present—the moment of the epideictic address—is the harmonious culminating moment set in motion by events of the past.

By recalling the past, epideictic creates cultural memory and endows it with a purpose based on the exigencies of the present moment. “Epideictic performances tend to be informed by the ‘present’ in very special ways,” writes Beale, “often taking their very subjects and forms from the ‘present’ actions or ceremonies in which they are embedded, and often serving to bolster faith or pride in the ideals of the ‘present system,’ or assessing ‘where we are now’ as a community” (223). In this manner, epideictic rhetoric is a form of historiography. As Jarratt notes, historiography examines the past but only as it is relevant to the present. She delineates how historiographies frequently use a narrative of progress, positing the present as the improved version of the past (###). Further, Hayden White does not name it as such, but his assessment of historical narratives is an epideictic one: they create a “mythical view of reality” and endow events with an “illusory coherence” (ix). And these historical narratives, White argues, are “displays” for the purpose of “moralizing judgments” (24). Therefore, display—a defining characteristic of epideictic—posits the community within a history that articulates past and present community identity to create cultural memory. As a form of historiography, these memories are based on the needs of the community in the present moment; the identity and values of the community in the present then serve to define the past.

Due to the elevated, ritualistic nature of epideictic rhetoric, these historiographies take on cosmological proportions for the community through the use of amplified ceremonial language and actions. As Poulakos writes, epideictic narrative “organizes scattered events into meaningful

ensembles” and “magnifies events and endows them with status and significance” (“Isocrates” 324). The primary way in which significance is articulated is by connecting that community to the past. This connection to the past utilizes epideictic’s narrative dimensions to form—and embody—a creation myth for the community. As Carter argues, rituals link the community to mythic origin stories so that “each repetition, then, joins the participants in that founding act, establishing connections with the creative energy associated with common beginnings” (214). Epideictic praise, therefore, becomes the action through which the community is formed once again in periodic ritualistic re-creation. As discussed above, rituals are embodied and occur in ceremonially designated spaces so that ritual becomes a performance. As such, epideictic not only narrates events from the community’s history but it also *enacts* a meta-narrative for the entire community. This enactment is what forms the community in the present moment and allows the community to perform that narrative into which they have been posited in a particular space. Through the narration itself, epideictic rhetoric creates its own event in the present moment. This event is dependent on the past so that the present is not only the purposeful end of the past but also the opportune time and place—*this* time, *this* place—to enact community.

Epideictic narratives create a *kairotic* moment and *kairotic* space to form community through this enactment of ritual. Space becomes the way through which epideictic can function both as an articulation of past and present (and, as discussed later, the future). Epideictic, however, as Aristotle noted, is primarily concerned with the present moment. As a result, epideictic’s memorial functions must be enacted through *kairos* in the present moment—and in the present space: as Sheard puts it, *kairos* is the “critical convergence of time, place, and circumstance” (771). Further, Hawhee describes *kairos* as a reciprocal “force” (70) during which “the rhetor opens him or herself up to the immediate situation” (71). The immediate situation,

however, includes both past and present. Therefore, *kairos* is an enabling force enacted in space that has the power to collapse time and space so that past and present occur at once. Because space is so integral to the formation of memory and because time can be simultaneously layered in space so that past and present become unified, *kairos* is the means through which the present can be enacted in a particular space in relations to the past. Epideictic rhetoric, therefore, does not merely consist of the display of artful language; it creates its own *kairotic* space through which to deploy its meaning to an assembly of material bodies.

Ironically, the strong temporal associations with epideictic also cause it to move its participants, in Carter's words, "out of ordinary time" (214). Because the past and present are imaged as a unified, completed vision, community characteristics become timeless, self-evident, and everlasting even as they define past and present. As Michael Halloran and Gregory Clark write, "Epideictic is about something out of time ... but it must happen in time" (154). Further, they argue that this manipulation of time is spatialized: using as their example the mid-twentieth century road trip, Halloran and Clark argue that this type of automobile movement mirrors the Stations of the Cross in which "one follows a narrative by moving through an actual or imaged landscape." This movement ritualistically creates "sacred time, a time set apart from and radically other to the flow of 'clock time'" (149). Epideictic's connection to history and narrative mean that epideictic is concerned with time and timing—but also space. Through ritualistic space, time-present and time-past are unified and timeless.

This harmonious, timeless, cosmological culmination of time seen in the moment of epideictic address is when past and present become simultaneous in the same space. It is this simultaneity that makes the concept of space so integral to understanding epideictic rhetoric because space and time are often posited as conflicting binaries, as is seen in the work of Edward

Soja. In *Postmodern Geographies*, Soja opens with a Preface that he also calls a Postscript as a way to subvert the “familiar modalities of time” in which events, such as chapters, unfold sequentially, each connected to the last through “temporal logic” (1). Soja’s attempt at a “spatial hermeneutic” is designed to “shake up the normal flow of the linear text to allow other, more ‘lateral’ connections to be made” by allowing the reader to enter the argument at any point, thus allowing for a spatial rather than temporal epistemology (2, 1). In contrast to temporality, spatiality is “stubbornly simultaneous” with multiple meanings and relationships existing at the same time (2). However, Soja’s book *does* follow a linear sequence. His “Preface and Postscript” still functions as just a preface does wherein his chapters are broken down in sequential order, and Massey notes his subsequent history of critical geography is “extraordinarily linear” (217); even his last section is subtitled with the obviously temporally-based term “Afterwords.” What Soja demonstrates—even as he tries to “break out of the temporal prisonhouse of language” (1)—is the difficulty of even describing what a spatialized epistemology would look like.⁸ Part of Soja’s difficulty in describing an alternative to time and history is that language, as he notes, is temporally based and demands sequential succession from one word to another; in contrast to space and its simultaneity, time demands new space for each moment, similar to how each of these letters on the page cannot be in the same location as the next. Language demands a linearity that the simultaneity of space cannot provide lest it be rendered incomprehensible, as is seen here when my linear use of language unfolds in the *same* space:

This Soja's difficulty in describing an alternative to time and history is that language, as he notes, is temporally based and demands sequential succession from one word to another; in contrast to space and its simultaneity, time demands new space for each moment, similar to how each of these letters on the page cannot be in the same location as the next. Language demands a linearity that the simultaneity of space cannot provide lest it be rendered incomprehensible, as is seen here when my linear use of language unfolds in the *same* space:

⁸ In a strange compromise, Soja turns to the magical realism of Jorge Louis Borges from a short story called “The Aleph” in which a man goes into a basement to find an entity that encompasses all time and space.

This visual image demonstrates the ways in which spaces are layered with a simultaneity of meaning in a way that language with its connection to time cannot do. This simultaneity allows the past and present to exist in the same space, demonstrating how epideictic space is integral to memory. As a memory palace, past and present are united through space. As Dickinson, Blair, and Ott suggest, time exists as a palimpsest, and this semi-transparent layering in and through space is the creation of memory (19). In this manner, time becomes a place. In sum, epideictic space creates a historical narrative about the community based on the needs of the present moment. This narrative places the community within a mythical story that makes the present seem to be the purposeful end of the past. This *kairotic* culmination of time in the present is both embodied and spatialized with the audience as participants in the creation of the community through cultural memory. These memories are manifest through the materiality and movement associated with space so that epideictic space becomes a literal location for the ritualistic performance of community and memory. Memory, therefore, becomes the force through which the community is created in time and space.

Creation of the Future

Due to the elevated ceremonial nature of epideictic, Aristotelian epideictic has been associated with spectacular displays wherein the audience is posited as an observer to the spectacle. In this model, the audience is a mere spectator to the display of the community, which reflects back to the audience the values it already possesses, leading to a confirmation of the status quo. Further, the audience has no responsibility for future action except simply to judge to the artistic merits of the epideictic message. However, epideictic's performative nature means that the display of the community to itself constitutes the actual creation of that community.

Moreover, the audience has an active function in the co-creation of the epideictic message; indeed, the message itself can be transformative, revealing the values of the community to itself and thus opening them up to re-evaluation because the message places in the audience the disposition for future action in order to bring the community into fulfillment. By no means do all instances of epideictic achieve such elevated ends. In fact, most examples do not. Nevertheless, epideictic rhetoric remains a potentially active and dynamic force, especially in its spatial form, to constitute the nature and future of community. Its potential is realized through the active function of the audience to create the message and then to act in the future as a result of that message. As a result, the final function of epideictic to create the future remains the “wild card” function that determines the potentially transformative nature of epideictic. The active nature of the audience is seen through a conceptualization of its spectator function as a form of intersubjective invention associated with witnessing and rhetorical listening rather than passive observation.

Richard Chase, Condit, Kennedy, and Burke all argue that the audience of an epideictic address is passive, merely a spectator to the rhetorical display of the speaker; the only action the audience is called upon to do is to judge the aesthetic quality of the address. On the other hand, Christine Oravec, Schiappa and Timmerman, Poulakos, and Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, as well as others building on their work, all see the audience as an active contributor to the epideictic exchange. While epideictic does not call for *immediate* action, its aim is to create the disposition for action in the future, a point Aristotle acknowledged when he writes, “Praise and deliberations are part of a common species. . . . When you want to praise, see what would be the underlying proposition; and when you want to set out proposals in *deliberation*, see what you would praise” (1.9.35-36 emphasis added). Praise is not the ultimate end: praise becomes an

ideological statement that requests a decision—a deliberation—to identify with the community and to fulfill the community’s ultimate purpose as revealed through the past, present, and, with action, the future. Thus, unlike judicial and deliberative rhetoric that temporally move in one direction, epideictic directs the audience in two directions, both to the past and to the future, in order to jointly imagine the future with the rhetor.⁹

This deliberative function will only be taken up if the speaker and audience have established a consubstantial relationship. This unity, forged through epideictic exchange, moves the audience to identification—with the community, with the past and present, and ultimately with the future. Therefore, epideictic’s association with cultural memory not only causes the audience to reflect upon how the past is related to the present; it also calls upon the audience to join the speaker in creating a vision of the future. As Sheard writes, “By bringing together images of both the real—what *is* or at least *appears to be*—and the fictive or imaginary—what *might be*—epideictic discourse allows speaker and audience to envision possible, new, or at least different worlds” (770). The future is thus posited as a possible continuation of the present, but it is a contingent future dependent upon imagination and invention. This creation of the future is only possible if the audience sufficiently identifies with the community as defined through its cultural history.

The active role of the audience can be seen further in how the audience is defined as a spectator. Oravec, one of the first to examine epideictic in a contemporary context, argues that the audience is called upon to act. Oravec returns to Aristotle’s treatment of epideictic, noting that the Greek for spectator—*theoros*—implies active judgment and understanding in addition to assessing the speaker’s skill: “The audience of an epideictic speech understands or *theorizes* as a

⁹ Kennedy argues that judicial and deliberative rhetoric judges matters of the past in court settings and calls for votes that affect the future in democratic settings, respectively (48).

preparation for learning and ultimately for practical action” (166 emphasis added). This audience theorizing is in part the action of defining community identity and through that definition the creation of the community itself. Essentially, the audience becomes a witness to itself, and that witnessing is an action in and of itself that constitutes the future of the community.

As a creator of community by means of cultural memory, epideictic’s inventive power cannot be ignored, even if its most typical effects are fairly pedestrian to continue the community as it presently exists. In fact, this continuance of community speaks to the power of epideictic—its ability to function in this manner is so strong to be taken as self-evident. However, this chapter implicitly privileges potential transformation as an alternative function of epideictic because transformation more visibly displays epideictic’s power to create and direct community. Additionally, a focus on transformation illuminates the ways in which the audience is an active creator of the future because the audience must bring that vision into reality through change; when the future community is merely a continuation of the present, the audience’s role is subsumed under epideictic’s conservative functions.

When manifest in space, epideictic rhetoric can utilize its memorial functions to create literal and metaphorical spaces in which the future can be realized. Epideictic, as a performance in and with space, can invite the audience into embodied consubstantial *ethos* through which the audience can become a spectator to itself, thus creating space for self-evaluation directly related to its invention of itself in the future. Epideictic rhetoric creates community by means of cultural memory in order to also create the future. As always already spatialized, epideictic performs these functions in ritualized spaces with the audience as embodied witnesses and enactors of its message. Spatial epideictic becomes the means through which the audience is forcefully thrust into the *kairotic* moment in which past and present are unified in one space. This unity of past

and present also invites the audience to include the future in the same space too, thus expanding community identity and values across all time. When occurring in space, epideictic argues for embodied action to materially bring about the creation of community, thus becoming an even stronger invitation for future action.

In the following chapters I analyze the use of epideictic rhetoric in multiple types of spaces, including cemeteries, battlefields, and museums. In Lexington epideictic rhetoric is deployed through the ritualistic assembly of neo-Confederates during Lee-Jackson Day through which memory and identification are created through tourism. In Appomattox multiple forms of epideictic existed in the same space, creating multiple identities to negotiate the meaning of the space. And the exhibits in the Museum of the Confederacy use epideictic rhetoric to have visitors consider how the past relates to the present and the future, thus creating a *kairotic* moment and space.

Chapter 4

Constructing a City: Lexington, Tourism, and Memory

The 150th anniversary (2011-2015), officially known as the Sesquicentennial, of the American Civil War has led to a widespread focus and reexamination of its legacy. Currently, locations with Civil War history are increasingly marketing their sites for tourism. In Virginia, sites with Civil War history vary, ranging from battlefields to living history to cemeteries, and even though the purposes of these sites differ, a common purpose has evolved: to commemorate and explain the war. As a result, sites are increasingly contributing to the creation of the public memory of the Civil War. For example, the Virginia Sesquicentennial Commission appropriated \$2 million each year from 2008 to 2012, and Civil War information was requested by 20% of all visitors to the state tourism website (Calos A1). But recent conflicts over how to tell the story of the Civil War demonstrate that the public memory of this contentious event is still evolving; however, scholarship has not examined the current transformations within Civil War memory, specifically contemporary moves to incorporate race differently into Civil War narratives at tourist sites. Visitors to Civil War sites are cast by the tourist space as participants in an on-going narrative about the Civil War and its legacy because the Civil War is often seen as a defining moment in America's national identity. In short, Civil War sites connect historical accounts to current definitions of American identity. In this manner, Civil War sites function epideictically, using memory to create identity that will lead to future action. However, particular focus on how sites rhetorically operate to inform visitors has not been addressed.

In order to understand how the Civil War is being represented to citizens of a new generation, an examination of Civil War tourism is necessary. Historical tourism—embodied movement to a space—becomes an epideictic activity. The tourist and her destination create a

particular rhetorical situation through which visitors perform tourist identity in relation to the space itself. This relationship is integral for understanding how public memory is created by means of tourism. Such an understanding of public memory as the intersection between visitor participation and site expression serves as a way to explain how space operates rhetorically. This chapter, therefore, proposes to examine tourists sites as rhetorical spaces through which narratives about national identity are conveyed to visitors through textual, material, and also spatial means. This rhetorical analysis of historic spaces serves as a way to better articulate how space contributes to the dissemination of historic narratives and thus popular conceptions of national history through tourism.

Through as analysis of Lexington, I argue tourism—historic tourism in particular—is a form of epideictic rhetoric in which the visitor must physically move to a new space. This embodied movement in space is an essential feature of tourism, and it puts the tourist into a consubstantial relationship with the epideictic space. To be a tourist is to have the leisure and luxury of time and money to travel to another location; there is an agency in the tourist. As a result, the tourist is coming to the space with a willingness to be present and thus engage the space. In other words, the epideictic space and the tourist share an *ethos* that establishes the meaning of the site—meaning created because both the tourist and the space are present. This performative dimension of the epideictic exchange make the space and tourist consubstantial, and it has direct implications for the identities of tourist and spaces assume. An examination of epideictic rhetoric provides a lens to understand how normative values are conveyed through textual, visual, spatial, and embodied means. Tourism, in the co-creation of meaning between the site and viewer, serves to establish and/or re-enforce societal norms that, in the case of the American Civil War, confer identities upon visitors related to sectionalism, race, and citizenship.

Tourism becomes the primary way through which space and visitor are constructed epideictically. Scholars within tourism studies, an outgrowth from the fields of sociology, anthropology, and urban studies, have focused on the visual. Linking it to Foucault's clinical gaze that fundamentally changes medical knowledge through vision, John Urry defines the tourist gaze as "socially organized and systematized" through which people see tourism as a reflection of social life in that "tourism results from a basic binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary" (12). The extraordinary nature of tourism is also central to epideictic—the display of the spectacular. The tourist gaze, therefore, allows the visitor to feel as if he can better see in an amplified way to understand the reality of his or her life by comparing it to the destination.

This tourist gaze therefore can also objectify as it classifies. In fact, tourism has a long association with colonialism—so much so that Dean MacCannell pointedly asks, "What is an expeditionary force without guns? Tourists" (*Tourist* xxiv). Additionally, Mary Louise Pratt argues in *Imperial Eyes* that European travelogues of Africa described the land with a totalizing gaze that simplified and trivialized indigenous culture, or ignored it. "The European improving eye," writes Pratt, "produces subsistence habitats as 'empty' landscapes, meaningful only in terms of a capitalist future and of their potential for producing a marketable surplus" (61). The tourist gaze, therefore, values destinations only as much as they can benefit the tourist. As such, tourism becomes an act of consumption of the destination. Similarly, I argue that contemporary tourism is also a form of neo-colonialism wherein tourists seek destinations that can be consumed by epideictically reflecting back to themselves their own identity. This consumption has implications for historical narratives but also the economics of destinations.

Locales are increasingly turning to tourism as a method for economic growth, and globalization has made travel more ubiquitous for people everywhere. While popular conceptions of tourism suggest that touring to learn about other people and places may make the traveler well-rounded, worldly, and learned, tourism scholarship has been far more critical of the practice. The consumptive nature of tourism means that historical spaces must present narratives acceptable for large audiences. In order to have the tourist come to a space, the epideictic rhetoric must reflect back to the audience what it already is. This tension between how epideictic spaces are constructed, especially by means of tourism, is at the heart of a conflict over the Confederate flag¹⁰ in Lexington, Virginia.

In the case of the city of Lexington, the primary form of tourism is related to the Civil War. Tourists willing to come to this space of Lexington presuppose a meaning on the site based on their desire for spectacle and the material history of the space. However, some residents of the city desire to construct the city as another form of epideictic space not associated with the Civil War. As a result, this chapter takes Lexington as its case study, and I demonstrate the ways in which tourism, memory, and identity intersect in epideictic spaces by examining a controversy over the Confederate flag. I argue that the sides in the Confederate flag controversy is a contest over how to epideictically define space. Neo-Confederates, primarily a group known as the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), see the city as a storehouse for Confederate memory. But residents want to disassociate from Confederate memory because they see it connected to slavery and racism, while neo-Confederates see the flag as a representation of the common soldier and Confederate heroes that has no connection to race. This debate, however, is primarily not about what the symbol of the Confederate flag represents; it is a debate over *where* the Confederate

¹⁰ The most commonly known Confederate flag—a red flag with a blue St. Andrew’s cross and stars—is known as the battle flag because it was used in battle by Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia. Additionally, the Confederacy had three national flags. Throughout I refer to the battle flag as *the* Confederate flag, unless otherwise noted.

flag can be flown and how that constructs the identity not of the flag but of the *city* by means of tourism.

Neo-Confederates develop a more power epideictic rhetoric than residents because the material realities of the space construct the city in terms of the Civil War. Further, the neo-Confederate annual gathering—to which participants travel as tourists— in Lexington becomes an embodied epideictic performance of memory, further enhancing the power of this rhetoric.

Lexington: Materiality and Gentlemanly Conduct

Lexington, Virginia, is located at a crossroads of commerce and tourism. Lexington sits at the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains at the intersection of Interstates 65 and 81. I-65 bisects the state, going east to west through Richmond, Charlottesville, and into West Virginia. I-81 spans Virginia, north to south through the Shenandoah Valley from the southwest corner of the state almost all the way to Washington D.C. Although Lexington is a small city of approximately 7,000 people, it is a major thoroughfare for commerce and tourism. Visitors come for the natural beauty of the Blue Ridge Parkway and the Appalachian Trail. Others come for the Virginia Horse Center, a sprawling equine complex that is “at the forefront of Virginia’s \$1.2B equine economy” serving 500,000, according to its website. Additionally, Lexington is the home of two prestigious universities: Washington and Lee (W&L) and the Virginia Military Institute (VMI). About ten miles out of town on the state highway is a wax museum, a zoo, Natural Bridge, and Foamhenge, a life-size replica of Stonehenge made of foam. These stops have the quaint and somewhat tacky feel of outdated tourist sites; during the motor craze of the ’50s and ’60s before the interstates’ creation, the state highway included many stops for travelers, but now tourists are sparser along the route—a state road called the Robert E. Lee Highway.

Right outside Lexington is a crooked and dilapidated sign reading, “Stonewall Square, an award winning reclamation project.” The sign refers to a half-empty shopping center, named after Confederate general Stonewall Jackson. This abandoned shopping center, now a common site in Virginia after the economic recession, right before Lee Highway represents the tension that the city of Lexington is experiencing: a locale in need of economic revitalization but one that cannot shake its Civil War history.

Lee Highway is named after the Confederate general who led the Confederacy in a rebellion against the federal government—and lost. However, across the South, the Civil War still marks the landscape from names to monuments to battlefields, and that influence is still strong in Virginia. The Civil War indelibly marks the landscape: the state has more Civil War battlefields than any other, Confederate memorials dot many towns, and the means of travel, its highways, still mark the memory of Confederate heroes, such as Jeb Stuart and Jefferson Davis. Lexington is no different in terms its Confederate heritage, but it also has a stronger Confederate legacy, only rivaled by Richmond, Virginia, the capitol of the Confederacy.

Lexington is the burial place and residence of generals Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, two of the most well-known figures in Confederate—and national—Civil War memory. Both generals have monuments in the city. W&L is named for George Washington and, again, Robert E. Lee, who was a university president after the war. Further, the city is home to VMI, which strongly claims Jackson’s legacy: on the stone entrance to the cadet barracks are inscribed his words: “You may be whatever you resolve to be.” In the museum across from the barracks is Jackson’s stuffed horse. Other museums in Lexington include the Jackson House and the Lee Chapel museum. The city’s Visitors Center, which is clearly marked when entering the city, prominently displays its Civil War heritage through brochures and visual displays, and the

docent told me that most visitors come for the Civil War connection, which, in addition to the generals, was the site of a battle. And the memory of that battle and the war is still strong: “The Yankees burned VMI to the ground,” the docent reminded me.

Outside the Visitors Center is a historical sign created by the Virginia Civil War Trails, an initiative to have more driving routes to minor battles not managed by the National Park Service; they are prevalent throughout the state. In 2012, for instance, 60% of all Virginia historic site tourists visited a Virginia Trails marker (Calos A1). The sign here describes the Union attack on Lexington that destroyed large parts of the city (see fig. 4.1). “Shells went through the houses,” the headline quotation reads, attributed to Southerner Mrs. Cornellia McDonald, who is labeled as a “refugee.” From the moment tourists arrive at the Visitors Center as their first destination, Lexington is constructed as a besieged Confederate city under attack.



Figure 4.1: Virginia Civil War Trails Sign. The sign is under a sign for Rt. 11, known as the Robert E. Lee Highway, in downtown Lexington.

Four blocks from the Visitors Center is the Stonewall Jackson Memorial Cemetery. A walkway leads to the middle of the well-kept cemetery where a slightly greened bronze statue is elevated on a stone pedestal at Jackson's grave. On the ground under the monument are fresh lemons; Jackson, the story goes, liked the fruit, and visitors leave them as offerings. In the historic cemetery, which is managed by the city, are multiple small iron crosses next to Civil War veterans gravestones that read, "CSA": Confederate States of America. A number of small Confederate flags also dot several graves (see fig. 4.2).

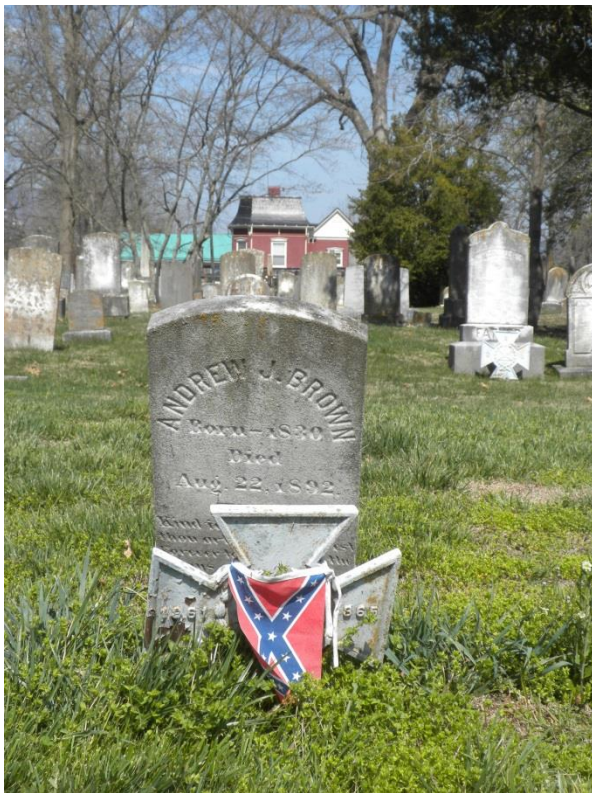


Figure 4.2: Gravestone with CSA Iron Cross and the Confederate Flag.

Jackson stands, staring into the distance toward the southwest with one hand resting on his sword and the other holding binoculars. He is in his military uniform. A bronze plate reads, "The fame of Stonewall Jackson is no longer the exclusive property of Virginia and the South; it has become the birthright of every man privileged to call himself an American." This plaque is one

of several instances in which Confederate memory is posited as American memory, thus aiming to extend the epideictic message to a wider audience with which to identify. It also lends legitimacy to Confederate memory. In this manner, epideictic spaces such as the Jackson Cemetery fuse Confederate and American myths so that figures like Jackson are not cast as rebels but American heroes.

A block up from the Visitors Center is the Jackson House, the residence of the general while he was a professor at VMI before the war. Jackson is presented as a deeply Christian man who cared for the spiritual as well as academic direction of his students. The tour is typical of many historical houses: a mix of original and period furniture with the various activities in each room described. However, intersecting this period education is a narrative of Jackson as a semi-orphan who had to work hard in order to succeed. Also, the tour guide presented a tragic-joyful romantic emphasis, describing the death of his first wife and subsequent happy marriage. Because Jackson lived in the house prior to the war, the narrative contains little of his subsequent military life; Jackson is not portrayed as a general at the Jackson House. Instead he becomes a deeply religious, principled and disciplined man who was devoted to his family. In this manner, the Jackson House is an epideictic space that promotes emulation of the positive attributes of Jackson, similar to Jackson Cemetery, but it avoids any engagement with the ideological conflict associated with Jackson's support of secession from the federal government.

Two more blocks through the downtown, on the campus of W&L is Lee Chapel. Immediately inside the stone chapel is a bronze panel that I have quoted in total with emphasis added because it encapsulates the major points of the Robert E. Lee narrative, many of which are similar to the construction of Jackson:

Seeking to honor for all Americans the ideals and noble purposes exemplified by the life of Robert E. Lee, the Ford Motor Company Fund granted to Washington and Lee University in 1961 the sum of \$370,000 for the restoration of the Lee Chapel and for its future preservation as a shrine of the American heritage. The chapel was built in 1867 under the supervision of Lee, who served as president of Washington College from 1865 until his death in 1870. Here he attended daily worship services, and from his office on the chapel's lower level Lee directed the affairs of the institution in a manner that is reflected today in the character of the university and its student body. (emphasis added)

Lee is portrayed as an American rather than Confederate hero whose values should inspire visitors of the present day by entering the epideictic space of the chapel. This sentiment continues into the present and is expressed both by neo-Confederates and the W&L chapel tour guides. Neo-Confederates argue that the characteristics of Lee were so noble that he rises above just Confederate emulation. The chapel tour, which represents a more contemporary movement to recuperate Lee without the Confederate connotations, argues that Lee was integral to ending the war by surrendering at Appomattox instead of continuing to fight and was also a major promoter of reconciliation between North and South. This reconciliationist interpretation (which will be addressed in-depth in the following chapter) allows an institution such as W&L—whose very name keeps alive Lee's memory—to distance itself from criticisms that it supports racist sentiments. Moreover, Lee and his characteristics are appropriated as American values to be emulated: “Young gentlemen, we have no printed rules here” a panel in the museum below the chapel reads. “We have but one rule and that is that every student must be a gentleman.”

Gentlemanly conduct, therefore, becomes a characteristic of Lee and also a characteristic of reconciliation that is enacted by visitors to the chapel.

The chapel, which Lee designed, is completely white inside. Past the 500-seat pews, at the front are two pictures: one of George Washington on the left and one of Lee in his army uniform on the right. Lee is frequently—both by neo-Confederates and reconciliationists—compared to Washington, both as a military leader and as a figure embodying American values.

Finally, at the very back of the chapel, where the inner sanctuary would be is a statue known as the Recumbent Lee. In white marble Lee is laying down asleep in his uniform with a blanket over him as if he is sleeping before battle. Originally designed to be Lee's tomb (Lee ended up being buried in the crypt below the chapel, which is across from his university office), the statue evokes the tombs of English knights (see fig. 4.3).



Figure 4.3: The Recumbent Lee in the Back of Lee Chapel at Washington and Lee University.

Lee's downstairs office supposedly has not been changed since the day he died. Also downstairs is the chapel museum that focuses on Lee and this educational life as president after the war.

Again, Lee is compared to Washington as an influential leader of the country. Outside of the bottom floor of the chapel is a stone in the ground marking the burial of Traveler, Lee's horse. Pennies and apples have been left in memory. Across the campuses of W&L and VMI is the VMI Museum where Jackson's stuffed horse is also on display.

Lexington, as the burial place of Lee and Jackson and with all associated accoutrement, has a strong association with memory. And the materiality of all of these locations—the monuments and even dead bodies—make them memory spaces, especially spaces associated with the Civil War. However, within Lexington there is a tension about how the identity of the city should be constructed between outsiders and insiders. Civil War tourists primarily see the city as a sacred space to honor Confederate memory, while some members of the city, especially the city council, seek to disassociate themselves from Confederate identity. This dissociation is difficult as the city is the inner sanctum for Lee-Jackson Day, a state-sponsored holiday to honor the Confederate generals. Every Lee-Jackson Day, participants—most in Civil War-era garb—assemble at Jackson Cemetery close to downtown Lexington. After a series of hymns and welcome speeches, members of various neo-Confederate chapters of the SCV and United Daughters of the Confederacy lay wreaths around the Jackson Monument. Finally, after a gun salute, participants march through downtown Lexington to Lee Chapel. Leaders of the SCV and United Daughters of the Confederacy deliver sermon-like speeches on the Christian virtues of Lee and Jackson that ought to be emulated, the speakers argue, in the present day.

Lee-Jackson Day comes the weekend before Martin Luther King Jr. Day, which is on the following Monday, and originally the official Virginia holiday was “Lee-Jackson-King Day” until the state separated the holidays in 2000. During the Lee-Jackson parade through downtown, for instance, participants—many with Confederate flags—travel under a banner that

reads, “Robert E. Lee – American Icon: Soldier, Educator, and Inspirational Leader.” Farther down the street on the parade route is another banner with a rainbow: “Lexington celebrates diversity. Thank you, Dr. King.” Another banner later lists events for MLK Day (see fig. 4.4). A sharp division is present in Lexington between those who celebrate Lee-Jackson Day and those who celebrate MLK Day. The negotiation between Lee, Jackson, and King demonstrate the complicated and contentious relationship Virginia, and especially Lexington, have in regards to Civil War memory and race.



Figure 4.4: Lee-Jackson Day Parade Marchers under a Banner Honoring Martin Luther King.

Controversies over this tension in regard to race and memory in Lexington are not new. In 1993 the city lost a lawsuit because it tried to prohibit participants from wearing or flying Confederate flags during the Lee-Jackson Day Parade. (The federal court ruled it violated First Amendment rights.) In 2007 the Museum of the Confederacy, located in Richmond, Virginia, accepted bids from locales to open a second branch of the museum. Again, the debate centered around tourism. "The numbers show history tourists shop till they drop," said the Museum of the Confederacy director. "The demographic profile of their [Museum of the Confederacy] visitor

fits the demographic profile of the Lexington visitor," said the chairman of the surrounding county's tourism board, adding that the museum might bring tax revenue upwards of \$1 million per year. However, a town council member objected because the Confederate flag would be flown atop the proposed museum: "My concern with the Museum of the Confederacy is it is celebrating a cause that was established to maintain the enslavement of people," she said. "I don't want to celebrate the Confederacy" (the above paragraph's quotations from Conley B1). Eventually, the museum decided to open its new branch in Appomattox, the site of the surrender of Lee's Confederate army. (This incident will be analyzed in subsequent chapters.)

Lexington's most recent controversy exploded in 2011. The city council proposed an ordinance that would only allow national, state, and city flags to fly from the city street flag poles in downtown, effectively banning the Confederate flag from being flown on city property during Lee-Jackson Day. Perceiving themselves under attack from politically correct town members, neo-Confederates, led by the SCV, started an open, public protest. Participants stood on city sidewalks holding Confederate flags during lunchtime, a boycott was waged against downtown businesses who supported the ordinance, flag rallies were held, and there was robust attendance at a city council public hearing to discuss the issue.

The Public Hearing: Tourism, Economics, and Identity

An estimated 220 people attended the public hearing, with people spilling out into the hallway. The atmosphere was charged, with many instances of clapping and cheering, despite the council's ground rules that there be no disruptions. Thirty-five speakers addressed the city council for over three hours. Speakers were primarily split in two groups: Lexington residents, most of whom supported the ordinance to prohibit Confederate flags, and outsiders—tourists

who primarily supported the Confederate flag. The public hearing itself was an epideictic space with participants vying for the votes of councilmembers in order to determine in what spaces the Confederate flag would be able to fly. Additionally, the debate centered on what the Confederate flag symbolized and what the ordinance would do for the image of Lexington. In the public hearing the Confederate flag became an epideictic artifact. On one hand, the debate was about the symbolism of the flag: the flag “is a statement about who we all are,” as one speaker said. But, more importantly, it was a debate over whether or not the material, literal flag should be present in a particular space, and what that presence would mean for the identity of the space. Speaking of the flagpoles, another speaker said, “It is property which through the city itself conveys a message.” As the flag controversy centered on what the identity of Lexington should be, tourism was the primary focus surrounding that identity. In this manner, tourism—the embodied movement to a space—became epideictic with the ability to define the identity of Lexington. Integrally connected to the issue of tourism was economics. Both groups argued that their side would promote a better image of the city that would bring in more tourism dollars. The flag, therefore, became more than a debate over what it symbolized; it became a debate over how the space of the city of Lexington would be defined primarily by tourism.

Flags are material displays, and as result they are epideictic, displaying to viewers the identity and values of a particular group. However, the Confederate flag, as a contested symbol, functions even more epideictically because its meaning is constantly under examination, and people question what its presence means based on its history and the implication of that meaning on identity. For example, Confederate flag supporters noted that atrocities, including utilization of the American flag by the Klu Klux Klan, have occurred under the national flag as well, but as a much less contested artifact, the American flag is subject to less critical examination as to what

it represents. The contention over what the Confederate flag is displaying means it is also an artifact with conflicted epideictic messages. Lexington residents argued that the flag represented slavery, racism, and divisiveness. “In the 1960s¹¹, Southerners stood silently and allowed the Klux Klan to take the Confederate flag hostage,” said one resident. “They were allowed to make it a symbol of racism and fear and white supremacy. That is a fact.” On the other side, speakers argued that the flag represented the heritage of Confederate ancestors: “Men and women of our family, loved ones, died for that flag, and when this flag is not allowed to fly, to me, it disrespects my family and the sacrifices they gave. . . . Yes, the Civil War is over. Yes, we know that. But their memory still remains.” Choosing what to remember—the Civil War or Civil Rights—makes the Confederate flag a dynamic form of epideictic because memory is utilized to define present community identity.

For the city of Lexington, the debate was over what type of future Lexington would have in terms of tourism. Residents argued that visitors came to Lexington for more than the Civil War. Some noted that people come for W&L and VMI. Another resident cited the city visitor’s guide: “There are artists, there are painters, there are plenty of things that people come to Lexington to see that do not involve the schools or the Confederate generals.” Another downtown shop owner said he and his wife “established this shop in town because it’s our observation that this town is lovely, open-minded and looks out for the general well-being of all of its citizens.” Most residents, however, were concerned with how the city would be viewed by future tourists: “For every person who says he won’t come back, there are more who will because we will be perceived as an enlightened community that was not afraid to do what was right and legal.”

¹¹ In addition to the Civil Rights movement, it is no coincidence that the 1960s created another clash between race and Confederate memory: it was the centennial of the Civil War.

Flag supporters, of course, disagreed, defining the city exclusively in terms of the Civil War, as one speaker related with trembling emotion:

You check your records and tell me what is historic about Lexington if you take away your Confederate history. What do people come to Lexington for if it's not because of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson? And you don't want their flags but you want your tourist dollars. You want those. But you don't want those people who loved those men. You don't want their symbols. Why? You can't have the one without the other. You can't separate Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson from their flag. It's ridiculous that you could even think it.

In this manner, the debate over the Confederate flag is really a debate over what type of epideictic rhetoric will be embodied by tourism, and it is deeply tied to materiality, both the materiality of "tourist dollars" and the materiality of the graves of Lee and Jackson: "You can't separate Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson from their flag." Despite the fact that the ordinance passed, prohibiting the Confederate flag on city flagpoles, Lexington is still a city defined by Civil War tourism. The city is constructed as a Confederate shrine but the materiality of the space—the bodies and monuments—co-constructs an epideictic space defined by Civil War memory. This inevitable materiality was not lost on speakers, as one hyperbolically suggested that the generals be disinterred and sent to Arlington with their monuments. Lexington cannot escape the material construction of its space. Because of this fact, Civil War tourism maintains a more powerful epideictic rhetoric than that created by members of the city, who only have a socially constructed spatial epideictic. Moreover, the integral connection between tourism and economics allows the outsider to define the space: in order to economically survive, a site must present a space that the outsider can consume.

The ordinance passed 4-1, sending a devastating blow to the SCV, the primary organization that organized the protest about the ordinance. The SCV promised a lawsuit, which they lost. They appealed, and that too was denied on July 3, 2013, on the 150th anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg, which resulted in a resounding Southern defeat. Brandon Dorsey, the spearhead of the protest, told the local news station that he wondered if the irony was intentional.

The city is still aware of this Civil War relationship, however: the visitor's guide one year after the flag ordinance ordeal featured the Stonewall Jackson Monument on the cover with a subheading that read, "Where heroes feel right at home." "Come home to Lexington, Virginia," the cover reads. "Lee and Jackson did."

The persistence of Civil War memory is also forged through the embodiment of memory. The Lee-Jackson Day following what neo-Confederates called the "flag ban" was charged, and the event, layered on the space of Lexington became a powerful epideictic moment.

Lee-Jackson Day: Embodied Memory in Sacred Space

During Lee-Jackson Day 2012, the speeches were directed not only at the individual emulation of the Confederate heroes of Lee and Jackson, but also at larger Confederate memory as it was manifest in the Lexington Confederate flag ban. While epideictic rhetoric was certainly evident in the speeches of the day, it receives its dynamic power through the ritualistic and embodied movement and engagement with the material artifacts associated with the space of the city, including the locations of the generals' burials and the parade through downtown (which could also be construed as a protest march).

On a bright but subfreezing morning on Lee-Jackson Day 2012, 300 people assembled at the grave of Stonewall Jackson (see fig. 4.5). Beside the statue marking the grave of Jackson,

Brandon Dorsey, clad in an impeccable Civil War officer's uniform, greeted the crowd.

"Needless to say I don't think Lexington City Council will be here to give you any greetings," he said through the speaker system. The crowd laughed. "We don't need them." The crowd delivered hearty Amens.



Figure 4.5: Lee-Jackson Day Assembly in Jackson Cemetery.

A group with a guitar played "May the Circle Be Unbroken": "May the circle be unbroken, by and by, Lord, by and by. There's a better home awaiting in the sky, Lord, in the sky." The song, which speaks to longing for lost loved ones, has the feel of a hymn, setting the tone from the beginning that this was a religious gathering. The song was followed by the upbeat "Dixie." The crowd joined in for this tune: "I wish I was in the land of cotton where old times are not forgotten. Look away, look away, look away, Dixie Land." Finally the band played "Amazing Grace," which Dorsey said was one of the favorite hymns of Lee and Jackson, the lyrics of which were in the distributed program. (No one needed the words of Dixie printed, however.)

The majority of the crowd was also dressed in Civil War-era clothing: officers, enlisted men, Southern belles, and boys with Confederate caps. Confederate flags, especially the battle flag—the one most associated in popular imagery with the Confederacy—were ubiquitous. So too were pro-Confederate slogans on those who were not in period apparel. “Never, never, never be ashamed to fly this flag”; “If this flag offends you, it’s due to your own ignorance”; “These colors don’t run. Never had, never will”; “Save our flag. Save our heritage. Save our honor.”; “I’m a proud descendant of a brave Confederate soldier.”; “Sic Semper Tyrannis”; and “Boot Elmod,” referring to Mimi Elrod, the mayor of Lexington who has been vocal in disassociating the city from the Confederacy. One group carried a homemade coffin with a sign: “We fly the flag to honor those who fought and died. They will not be forgotten.”

The second speaker was Frank Earnest, a bearded stony-faced man also dressed in a Confederate uniform but without the sartorial flair of the red-trimmed uniform of Dorsey. His boots were worn, and his hat, which was on top of a scarf draped over his head due to the cold, seemed slightly crumpled and a little too small. In a slight gravel voice, he addressed what neo-Confederates term the “politically correct” efforts to erase Confederate memory or associate it with slavery. He mentioned that recently a Boy Scout troop, which used to be named after Lee, had changed its name. “Is there anyone you want your children to emulate more than Robert E. Lee? The same for Stonewall Jackson,” he said. Then Earnest, addressed criticisms that neo-Confederates are racists: “You know all the lies they tell about us and our ancestors. The folks here know that Jackson founded a church for blacks. After the war, when the black man went to take communion and nobody knew what to do, Robert E. Lee stepped forward and took communion. Somebody said, ‘How can you do that?’ He said, ‘It’s all level at the foot of the cross.’”

Earnest also told the crowd that Lee was central to reconciling the North and South after the war but that contemporary society has maligned both heroes. “We know that first off everything that they think about us, our ancestors, and the Confederate cause is absolutely wrong,” he said. “But they also just do not get it. This flag has absolutely no political connotations. It never did. It’s not a government flag. It’s not a national flag. It is the soldier’s flag.” Earnest asserted that he knew the press would not give due coverage to the holiday, but he asserted, “They can’t ignore us if we’re here,” an acknowledgment of the power that their embodied epideictic rhetoric conveyed.

Then, a group of three women, dressed in black hoop skirts and veils came forward to lay wreaths under the Jackson Monument. Nothing from their body was visible. Everything as covered in black: they are contemporary Confederate widows mourning all that has been lost. Then others from various camps of the SCV and United Daughters of the Confederacy laid wreaths and saluted Jackson. The wreath-laying ended. The group recited the Lord’s Prayer. A line of soldiers shot a three-volley gun salute and played “Taps.” Then the soldiers solemnly marched, slowly, past Jackson’s grave. Their boots hit the asphalt road in tandem with a single drum: Dum, Dum, Dum-dum-dum.

Then a prop plane arrived overhead with a banner that read, “Shame on Lexington: Honor Lee and Jackson.” The crowd whooped and shouted, “The Confederate air force has arrived.” The mood changed from a religious ritual to a rally as the rhetoric of the spectacular appropriated the only space seemingly available to neo-Confederates: the sky.

The group paraded from the cemetery onto Main Street where they walked the four blocks to Lee Chapel. Various camps walked with their banners. Some waved at onlookers. A few held “Boycott Lexington” bumper stickers, a campaign that started after the flag ban. Some

businesses had Confederate flags and other Civil War memorabilia in their windows. Two horses and a canon went by. Under the shadow of the flag ordinance decision, the parade became a protest march, an embodied display of the memory of Lee and Jackson and how that memory was still present.

The group filled into Lee Chapel where the religious note was again revived. The Confederate flags were carried in in military style. The organ played hymns, and there was a convocational prayer. The central themes, again, of the speakers were that Lee and Jackson were principled, Christian men and stand as pillars of virtue to be emulated.

In addition to the typical Lee-Jackson Day events, this year, after the flag ban, Dorsey organized a symposium at the Holiday Inn, and the conference space was transformed into an epideictic space. Five speakers outlined most of the same points from the Lexington neo-Confederate rhetoric seen at the public hearing and other Lee-Jackson Day events, but this time in more detail and more searing rhetoric, especially in terms of asserting neo-Confederate thought as a counter-cultural movement threatened by larger society. “The totalitarian actions of the Marxist Lexington City Council,” said Timothy Manning, founder of the Virginia Heritage Foundation, “are a low water mark in the rejection of Virginia history in resisting tyrannical rule.” Movie director and Commander-in-Chief of the SCV said that textbooks are written by Northerners: “It’s not truth, but what people believe to be the truth that decides the direction of a nation. If you don’t believe me, watch the news or go see a movie,” such as “propaganda” like Steven Spielberg’s *Lincoln*.

The setting allowed for a more academic sounding explanation of Confederation ideology than possible in the more constrained venues such as the public hearing and the Jackson

Cemetery memorial. Speakers were authors and teachers at colleges, and they used historical arguments to support their contemporary case over the flag.

Lee-Jackson Day is the embodied creation of memory. Through the gatherings, where people literally wear the garb of the past, memory is made present in ritualistic annual recreation. As people come to Lexington, they construct the city as a Civil War shrine. As discussed earlier, the materiality of Civil War memory in Lexington through its monuments gives the city a dynamic spatial power for Civil War epideictic rhetoric. However, the activities of Lee-Jackson Day also construct the city as a location for ideological resistance. The power of space is that it is defined both by materiality and social construction. As a result, in the case of Lexington its Civil War identity persists because neo-Confederates utilize the materiality of the space in tandem with its construction of the space through Lee-Jackson Day. Moreover, the sacred overtones of the event should not cover the fact that the celebration is also a tourist event. Three hundred people, in addition to journalists and researchers such as myself, enacted their ideology by traveling to the city, where almost inevitably they spent money. The economic implications of this situation were not lost on the neo-Confederates: after the flag ban, they started a boycott against downtown business owners who did not support the flag.

In conclusion, tourism becomes an epideictic activity because the tourist willing comes to a site in a performance with the space that creates consubstantial *ethos*. In the case of Lexington, the city is constructed as a sacred space that is removed from the ideological conflict associated with slavery, racism, and the Confederate flag. While these neo-Confederate narratives exhibit a form of forgetting of the role of slavery in the Civil War, subsequent chapters will demonstrate that *national* narratives of the Civil War also ignore issues of race. In this manner, tourism to

Civil War spaces—both those with neo-Confederate associations and national associations—is a form of memory creation about Southern and national identity.

Chapter 5

Constructing a Nation: Reconciliation and Resistance at Appomattox Court House and the Opening of the Museum of the Confederacy

The previous chapter demonstrated that historical tourism is an embodied form of epideictic rhetoric that determined the identity of the city of Lexington. Despite efforts by residents of the city to redefine the city, the material persistence of Lexington's Civil War spaces created a powerful epideictic space that continued to define the city in terms of the Civil War, specifically Confederate memory. Similarly, Appomattox is a town defined by its Civil War history via tourism, yet that identity is less contested by residents of the town. Due to the acceptance of Civil War identity, Appomattox's epideictic spaces do more than define the town in contemporary economic terms as is the case with Lexington. Instead, the epideictic space of Appomattox also serves to define the identity of the nation. In Lexington, neo-Confederate groups were seen to ignore slavery as part of the Civil War narrative by disassociating the Confederate flag from racist connotations. Similar moves are seen in neo-Confederate narratives in Appomattox; however, national narratives of reconciliation in Appomattox also ignore the issue of race. I argue that the lack of materiality coupled with a lack of interpretation for the material remnants of slavery that do exist prohibit Civil War narratives from including slavery fully. In this manner, the epideictic spaces of the Civil War sites in Appomattox are integral in formulating contemporary American identity in terms of race and reconciliation.

After months of a siege on Richmond and Petersburg, Lee fled west, hoping to slip through Union lines in a bid to meet more troops farther south. However, in April 1865 Union forces surrounded Southern troops in Appomattox in central Virginia, which led to Lee surrendering his army to Union General Ulysses S. Grant. Despite the fact that Lee only surrendered *his* army (there were other armies fighting farther south), Appomattox has become

synonymous with the end of the conflict. As a result, visitors come to Appomattox to witness the end of the war. Many start their journey in Richmond and follow Lee's route from there to Appomattox; the Civil War Trails' most popular map, which signposts major and minor Civil War conflict spots throughout the state, is of Lee's Retreat, with 5,000 downloads each month (Calos).

Currently, Appomattox is a small town. Bypassed by the interstate, the area is rural and is not a main thoroughfare or center for industry: the downtown is one block and the furniture factory, formerly the second largest employer in town, left in 2011. As a result, Appomattox has tried to capitalize on tourism as a means for economic development. By far, the 70,000 visitors who travel to Appomattox each year do so for Civil War history (Green). The downtown Visitors Center in the former train depot has a short video that touts the town as a place "where history comes alive." It then lists the "impeccably maintained" National Park Service's Appomattox Court House complex, the historic town where the surrender took place. The second attraction mentioned is the Museum of the Confederacy, a sister branch of the museum's main site in Richmond, Virginia. The third site listed in the welcome video is the town itself, which is described in generalities such as "it is a real place you will remember."

On State Route 460 outside the town of Appomattox, a billboard with a picture of Grant and Lee reads, "Visit Historic Appomattox: History, Antiques, Dining & Shopping" (see fig. 5.1). The sign then notes that it is the Civil War Sesquicentennial, a type of anniversary which is a form of epideictic rhetoric since the event prompts visitors to situated themselves in relation to the past. Finally, the bottom of the sign states the defining attribute of Appomattox: "Where Our Nation Reunited." Mixing the themes of tourism, history, and economic development, the sign

demonstrates how Appomattox becomes an epideictic space: by going there as a tourist you witness the reunification of the United States.



Figure 5.1: Welcome Sign to Appomattox.

The town becomes a spectacle of reconciliation between North and South—a place where Lee and Grant can be next to each other on a billboard without conflict. However, despite the fact that this billboard and subsequent town signs state that Appomattox is a site of national reunification, locals term the site of the meeting between Lee and Grant as the “Surrender Grounds.” The name casts the South as the central actor that does the surrendering, as opposed to, for instance, the North that claims victory. Instead of a site of reunification, Appomattox becomes a site of defeat. This tension between reconciliation and loss makes Appomattox an epideictic space that not only seeks to define the identity of the town but, more importantly, the identity of the nation.

Following Lee’s retreat from Richmond to Appomattox on Route 24, at the Appomattox Wayside visitors cross a bridge with Confederate flags built into the stone. A short while later, they turn right into the complex managed by the National Park Service, Appomattox Court House. Appomattox Court House is the name of the former town that existed in 1865. (The

current town of Appomattox, which is next to the railroad, came later.) On the site, the Park Service has preserved or reconstructed buildings in the town, including the courthouse, tavern, jail, slave quarters, and the McLean House, the residence in which Lee and Grant drew up the surrender papers. The park has a small museum with two short films and a mini auxiliary exhibit on slavery and emancipation in another building. The park also has a bookshop, seasonal living history demonstrations, and park ranger tours of the McLean House. Mostly, though, the park is a self-guided walking tour of the various historic buildings in the town.

A little farther down the road is a large, new building with a pavilion above white capital letters: The Museum of the Confederacy. On the left side is a large sign with a picture of Lee that reads in yellow lettering, “Come in to see Lee’s uniform and sword.” The museum, opening in March 2012, is an extension of the main museum in Richmond. In order to display more of the largest collection of Confederate artifacts “in the world,” as the museum touts, and in order to boost revenue and attendance numbers, the Museum of the Confederacy decided to open a sister branch in Appomattox. The opening day of the museum was widely publicized. As an epideictic event, the ceremony included community figureheads: in attendance were the lieutenant governor, a Congressional representative, state, regional and local officials, representatives from regional historical tourism sites, and the keynote speaker was preeminent Civil War historian James “Bud” Robertson, Jr., who was also the director of the Centennial Commission to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Civil War in the 1960s.¹²

The opening day festivities featured re-enactors, including Lee and Grant who acted out a dialogue constructed from accounts of the signing of the surrender. The county high school band played music, and civic organizations sold items like hot dogs and cupcakes in the parking lot.

¹² Robertson also has a popular presence in the state of Virginia as the Virginia Tech professor emeritus of Civil War studies and former director of the Virginia Center for Civil War Studies. He is also the author of a book on “Stonewall” Jackson and served as a consultant on the film *Gods and Generals*.

Also ostentatiously present were an estimated 90 protestors with Confederate flags at the road entrance. The group was made up of members from the Sons of Confederate Veterans (including the biker subgroup known as the Mechanized Calvary) and the Virginia Flaggers, a Richmond organization formed to protest the removal of Confederate flags in that city. Many from the Lexington flag controversy, they were protesting the fact that the museum was not going to fly any Confederate flags on its pavilion—known as the Reunification Promenade—with the flags of states that joined the Confederacy. Protestors held signs and waved as people drove by. Right before the official ceremony, they raised a giant Confederate flag that was prominently visible to other attendees. As the ceremony continued, at the beginning of the keynote address a prop plane flew overhead with a banner with a large Confederate flag that read, “Reunification by bayonet 1896”—referring to the creation date of the Sons of Confederate Veterans. As Bud Robertson talked about how Appomattox led to the reunification of the United States, the plane motor, clearly audible, buzzed throughout the entirety of the keynote. As a result, in contrast to Appomattox defined as the site of national reconciliation, Appomattox is also defined as a site of sectional resistance. The neo-Confederate protest demonstrated that Civil War narratives are still contested, specifically that the legacy of the Civil War is *not* reunification. Rather, neo-Confederate narratives privilege Southern experience with a focus on what the South lost after the Civil War. The banner—“Reunification by bayonet”—therefore challenges the narrative that Southern and Northern experience are now the same via the process of reunification. The neo-Confederate claim to space at the entrance of the museum and in the sky is an embodied message conveyed through space, with neo-Confederates bodily inserting themselves into a narrative to which they feel they are not allowed as supporters of Southern heritage as manifest through the Confederate flag.

Running through both of these narratives of reunification and resistance is the conspicuous absence of the legacy of slavery. Reunification narratives imply the Civil War ended racial problems in the United States, and neo-Confederate narratives imply slavery was not a main cause of the war. This omission determines what type of epideictic space Appomattox will be. Epideictic rhetoric prompts visitors to positing themselves in relation to history to determine how to direct the future. When race is left out of both narratives, the effect is the same: the legacy of the Civil War is not seen in terms of its effects on African Americans before, during, or after the war. As a result, the Civil War does not become an epideictic moment to contemplate the history and effects of slavery—and how America's racial past contributes to its contemporary identity. The role of slavery in these narratives, then, has implications for past, current, and future American identity.

Appomattox's identity comes from the consubstantial *ethos* established between visitor and space: visitors come to the space as part of a performance during which space and visitor co-construct each other's identity. In the case of Appomattox, the space is deemed significant by the fact that people visit it. For instance, the town of Appomattox Court House was abandoned, the court house burned down, and the McLean House was disassembled; the town did not exist again until the National Park Service started acquiring park land in 1935. In other words, the location of the surrender was only important once people started to travel to it and give it definition. In this manner, the *ethos* of the space became the shared identity of visitor and space. In Appomattox, visitors are placed within a narrative that posits them at the moment of surrender, a moment visitors deem as important because they have traveled to the part. The way the surrender is defined at the park as a moment of reconciliation suggests national identities for visitors.

Persistence of Lost Cause and Neo-Confederate Materiality

As seen in the previous chapter, the identity of Lexington is determined by Civil War tourism by means of the visitors who travel to the city. Those who protested the ban on Confederate flags there are associated with the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, neo-Confederate organizations that have their roots in a post-Civil War movement known as the Lost Cause. Lost Cause narratives idolized Confederate generals and common soldiers, argued that secession was over states' rights and not slavery, reconstructed battlefield narratives, and promoted the commemoration of Southern defeat as a continued moment of resistance. Lost Cause narratives and their neo-Confederate counterparts persist due to the utilization of epideictic space.

Lost Cause and neo-Confederate narratives are perpetuated due to their persistent materiality as seen in monuments and cemeteries, as well as embodied presence seen in the protests of Lexington and the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy. For instance, off of the main road on outskirts of the Appomattox Court House complex is the Confederate Cemetery. Outside of the cemetery gates is a large bronze plaque on a stone pedestal that reads, "Here on Sunday April 9, 1865, after four years of heroic struggle in defense of principles believed fundamental to the existence of our government, Lee surrendered 9,000 men, the remnant of an army still unconquered in spirit" (see fig. 5.2). The plaque embodies much of Lost Cause thinking: the centrality of Lee, the South's "heroic" fight for American ideals, and the emphasis on Northern strength. The remainder of the quotation originally ended with the fact that Lee surrendered to "118,000 men under Grant," but that part has been scraped off. The numbers are not correct anyway: Union troops are exaggerated, and Lee's are decreased by at least two-thirds in order to exploit the notion that Southern troops could only have been defeated

by vastly superior numbers. This plaque is not an official Park Service sign like those on the main complex; it is much older. However, its material persistence next to park grounds has made it part of the park's narrative, redefining the space counter to efforts to erase Lost Cause thinking. This plaque functions epideictically linking the past event of the surrender with the present visitor-soldier who is "still unconquered in spirit" despite revisionist history, such as that materially manifest in the erasure of the number of Grant's troops on the plaque.



Figure 5.2: Bronze Plaque near the Confederate Cemetery at Appomattox Court House.

In addition to the monumental plaque, the persistence of the material is seen next to the plaque in a small cemetery owned and operated by the Appomattox United Daughters of the Confederacy, whose chapter motto is "Loyal to the truth of Confederate history." The cemetery contains eighteen Confederate soldiers and one Union soldier that were reinterred there a year after the war by the Ladies Memorial Association of Appomattox.¹³ The grass is trim, and the iron fence is well preserved. "Step in and honor our fallen heroes," the gate sign reads. Each soldier has a crisp, new Confederate flag in front of his headstone, and the Union soldier has an

¹³ Ladies' memorial associations were common after the war, and, as Caroline Janney outlines, they centered around commemorating the dead in cemeteries. These organizations for women complemented fraternal organizations, such as the Sons of Confederate Veterans, which focused more on reconstructions of battlefield maneuvers.

American flag (see fig. 5.3). As discussed in the previous chapter, flags—especially the Confederate flag—are a form of material epideictic rhetoric, and visitors to the cemetery enact an embodied funeral oration for the dead. The impeccable maintenance of the site demonstrates to visitors the contemporary relevance of the Confederate soldier and the country for which he fought. In sum, the epideictic nature of spaces such as the Confederate Cemetery in Appomattox maintain Lost Cause and neo-Confederate philosophy through their materiality, despite more contemporary efforts to change those narratives.

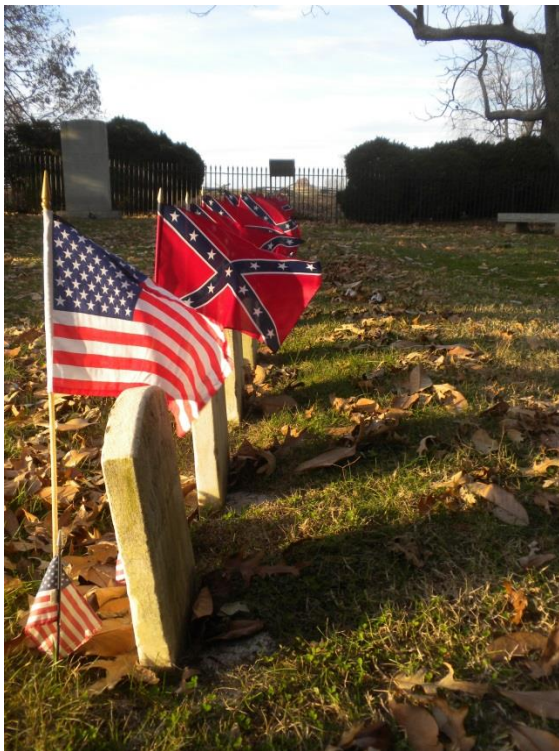


Figure 5.3: Commemoration of Union and Confederate Dead in the Confederate Cemetery.

The opening of the Museum of the Confederacy also represents an embodied effort to resist the change of neo-Confederate narratives. The protest created a counter-epideictic space wherein the material and embodied presence of protests became a performative act. Protestors had to stand next to the road outside of the complex, away from the epideictic space of the official ceremony that took place right outside the museum itself. The protest, therefore, became

an embodied epideictic display of how their ideology is outside of the mainstream. Yet, the display as performance countered the idea that they should be outsiders. Countering an implicit attack against Southerners for owning slavers, one banner read, “Gen. Grant, Yankee Slave Owner” (see fig. 5.4). Another sign stated, “Cultural Bigots Destroying Southern Heritage.” In both cases, the protestors took critiques against them—that they do not recognize the role of slavery and that their flying of the Confederate flag is bigoted—and refocused them against those that would raise the critique themselves. By waging this protest in the epideictic space of Appomattox and at the epideictic moment of the opening of the museum, protestors ruptured the narratives of reconciliation seen in the official ceremony.



Figure 5.4: Protestors at the Opening of the Museum of the Confederacy with Sign “Gen. Grant Yankee Slave Owner.”

Although protestors were relegated to the space outside of the museum complex, they utilized other tactics to claim alternative space: the sky. The very visible and audible use of the prop plane with the banner “Reunification by bayonet” disrupted the event and redefined the official epideictic space. Visitors no longer established a consubstantial *ethos* with the space of Appomattox as defined through the ceremony; *ethos* became contested, and the narratives of the ceremony were complicated. The implicit issue of slavery became manifest in the conversation

as neo-Confederates sought to deflect blame for slavery, as seen in their claim that a Northerner like Grant even had slaves. Slavery was not, however, a central focus of the official ceremony. Instead Appomattox was centrally defined as a place of reconciliation that created national identity. A similar sentiment is also seen in the National Park Service's Appomattox Court House.

National Reconciliation and National Forgetting

Similar to Lexington, Appomattox is an epideictic space defined through tourism. By physically moving to the particular space of Appomattox, tourists define the town through their engagement with historical narratives. At Appomattox Courthouse, the reconstructed living history town run by the National Park Service, visitors are cast as witnesses to the moment of the surrender, which led to the reunification of North and South. Similarly, the opening day events of the new Appomattox branch of the Museum of the Confederacy contained a similar reconciliationist tone. The event also argued that reconciliation has implications for American identity, suggesting that the Civil War was one of the many obstacles that the country has overcome.

According to Civil War memory historian David Blight, although Lost Cause sentiment originated in the South as a way for the region to create a cultural victory from military defeat, in an effort to reconcile North and South, Lost Cause narratives of the war were adopted as national narratives. The national narrative of reconciliation, represented most fully in commemorations of the battle of Gettysburg, frames the war as a fight of brother against brother—that is, white brother against white brother. The war becomes a national tragedy, but one from which North and South both ultimately rise victorious. In an example of what Bradford Vivian calls

“epideictic forgetting” (193), this narrative of reconciliation between North and South that ignored slavery became the national narrative of the war. The public history of the American Civil War has romanticized the conflict so that visitors to sites are removed from the discourses of ideological conflict.

Instead of ideological conflict, the Appomattox Court House park relies heavily on establishing the surroundings and circumstances of the surrender in the town through its living history oriented presentation of the town. As the brochure states, “Park programs show how the war affected the people of the village and how they lived from day to day.” As a result, the town is defined by the surrender temporally. Visitors to the park go back in time and become witnesses to the surrender. In the McLean House, for instance, everything in the room of the signing of surrender papers, from carpet to the tables to the furniture, has been reconstructed based on paintings of the surrender. In other buildings, visitors are able to peer into 1865-era styled rooms, complete with fake food on the tables in the kitchens and dining rooms.

The manner in which the park makes the past—particularly the moment of surrender—present is a form of epideictic rhetoric manifest through space. By moving through the space of the town, visitors are participants and witnesses to the display of the surrender in a *kairotic* moment during which past and present become the same. Park signs, for instance, present pictures of how the space looked in 1865 from precisely the same location that visitors stand so that visitors themselves are placed in the scene. Participants who are now linked spatially *and* temporally to the surrender. Additionally, the minute details of the encounter are recounted. Similarly, at the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy, this event was ceremonially re-enacted based on an assembly of accounts of the encounter.

Both the park and the opening ceremony place visitors at the time of the surrender, and that moment creates a narrative of reconciliation. Signs at Appomattox Court House sound the note over and over: a sign about Confederate troops leaving after the war reads, “The long journey home, and the difficult road to reconciliation, began.” Similarly, another sign quotes a Confederate soldier who wrote, “General Grant and his men treated us nobly, more nobly than was ever a conquered army treated before or since.” The sign then follows, “The process of reconciliation had already begun.” Another sign describes the saluting of arms between armies: “Here was a profound expression of respect by the armies’ common soldiers. They, more than anyone else, would blaze the path to reconciliation in the years that followed.” Appomattox becomes the starting point of reconciliation, which is defined in terms of genteel civility between the armies, and also generals. The visitor as a witness to this moment in time also becomes a participant in this civility.

A similar civility is seen in the retelling of the encounter between Lee and Grant. The detailed events between Lee and Grant are recounted as a means to argue for national reconciliation. Appomattox takes on the elevated *ethos* of religious ritual central to epideictic rhetoric. The surrender took place on Palm Sunday, the commemoration of Jesus’ entrance into Jerusalem before his crucifixion. In a similar manner, the events of the surrender are narrated in minute detail. In this manner, the surrender becomes like the Passion of the Christ with Lee as the Christ-figure who is defeated so that the nation might live. Visitors are contemporary participants in this drama, witnesses to the display of reconciliation in the sacred space of Appomattox. Due to the centrality of the Lee-Grant narrative that relies so heavily on specific details, I will relate the narrative in-depth to demonstrate its reconciliationist and ritualistic

nature seen through the manner in which the generals communicate, dress, and administer the surrender terms.

Lee stages one final attempt to break through the Union line, forsaking needed supplies, in an attempt to flee south. The Army of Northern Virginia, however, is surrounded. The army could fight to the last man, never surrendering their honor. But Lee again requests a meeting by letter, this time to talk of surrender. The general who has previously said he would rather die than surrender now says, "It is our duty to live."

April 9 is also Palm Sunday, the commemoration of the day Jesus marched into Jerusalem, the masses cheering him on, even though he was going to his death. Lee, not knowing his fate as a surrendering general, is again in his full dress uniform with sash, gloves, and sword. "I have probably to be General Grant's prisoner today," he says, "and I thought I must make my best appearance."

In the meantime, a ceasefire is negotiated while Lee's letter is delivered to Grant. While waiting for a reply from Grant that afternoon, officers from the two armies surrealistically mingle. Officers from both sides were classmates at West Point, and they exchange pleasantries near the court house. One officer asks another for whiskey. The ceasefire ends before Grant is found. "Prepare to make, or receive, an attack in ten minutes," one Confederate general tells a Union general in a low voice as the officers return to their lines to resume hostilities.

The letter finally finds Grant, and he agrees to a meeting. Lee sends an officer to find an acceptable place at Appomattox Court House. The McLean House, a private residence, is decided upon.

The McLean House. Lee arrives first and waits 30 minutes for Grant to arrive. Grant is nervous and wears a muddy private's uniform. He is depressed. "I felt like anything rather than

rejoicing at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and valiantly, and had suffered so much for a cause,” Grant later said, “though that cause was, I believe, one of the worst for which a people ever fought.” Grant tries to chat a bit first, but Lee reminds him of the purpose of their meeting.

“The terms I propose are those stated substantially in my letter of yesterday,” Grant states. “That is, the officers and men surrendered are to be paroled and disqualified from taking up arms again until properly exchanged, and all arms, ammunition, and supplies to be delivered up as captured property.”

“Those are about the conditions I expected would be proposed,” Lee says.

Grant puts the terms in writing as Lee and the other officers look on. Lee then reads over the draft and makes a few corrections in wording. The terms are generous: government property is to be returned and Confederate men are free to return home as long as they do not take up arms against the U.S. government. “This will have a very happy effect upon my army,” Lee says. However, Lee has one objection. Many of the soldiers own their own horses, and Lee hopes they can take them home for the upcoming planting season. Grant refuses to change the written terms but says they will be implied as the surrender is carried out. “This will have the best possible effect upon the men,” Lee says again. “It will be very gratifying and will do much toward conciliating our people.” Lee has one final point of needed conciliation: his men are starving. Many have not eaten in six days. He asks Grant for rations, which Grant graciously supplies. Lee rides back to his army who crowds around him, weeping, touching him as he passes with tears in his own eyes. He arrives to his own general’s tent where a crowd of troops is waiting. “Boys,” he says, “I have done the best I could for you. My heart is too full to say more.” He enters his tent alone.

When Lee left the McLean House, Union troops played "Auld Lang Syne." Grant stopped his own troops from firing celebratory musket shots. "The war is over," he said. "The Rebels are our countrymen again."

The above narrative becomes an argument for reconciliation: Lee does not fight until the bitter end, the armies cheerfully mingle among each other, Confederate soldiers are paroled and allowed to keep their horses in generous surrender terms. Lee's and Grant's words are liturgically recounted and emphasize a restrained gentility in their negotiation of terms. By making Appomattox a space defined through reconciliation, the park is also able to confer identities upon visitors related to nationalism: Appomattox starts to define American identity. The first sign visitors encounter at the entrance of the park begins, "Here, amidst the once-quiet streets and lanes of Appomattox Court House, Lee, Grant, and their tired armies enacted one of the great dramas in American history." As the brochure states about the soldiers present at the end of the surrender (soldiers who were witnesses just like contemporary visitors), "For them it was an ending, but for the nation it was a new beginning." The Civil War becomes a moment in the life of a nation. As an epideictic space, Appomattox makes the Civil War a *defining* moment of American life, the bildungsroman in the life of a nation. As a result, in a narrative of progress, visitors become Americans who have overcome their divided past. Visitors become reconciliationists themselves and also promoters of genteel civility. Appomattox is defined not through war but reconciliation, implying that the Civil War legacy is not one of conflict. As a result, visitors are prompted to see the Civil War as ending with the surrender and to see the nation as beginning at that moment.

The narrative of national reconciliation created in Appomattox has profoundly influenced Civil War memory. Currently the Sesquicentennial has led to renewed interest in the Civil War,

but prior to this anniversary, Ken Burns's popular documentary on the Civil War in the 1990s also increased engagement with the war. For Burns, the Civil War is America's great epic, from which we derive a national identity (Thelan), and Burns actually starts his documentary with Appomattox, noting that Wilmer McLean had a Union shell explode in his house during the first Civil War battle at Bull Run so moved his family to Appomattox only to have his house later used for the surrender. In this manner, Appomattox begins and ends the Civil War so that the reconciliation of Appomattox brings the narrative of America "full circle" in a completed whole.

The opening of the museum of the Confederacy official ceremony also addressed national reconciliation in terms of narrative. "My fellow Americans," keynote speaker Bud Robertson began, positioning the audience in terms of nationality, versus sectionalism. "Here it all ended. Here it all began." Robertson argued that Appomattox represented the creation of "modern America," making the space a "birthplace" rather than a "cemetery." For Robertson, Appomattox was an epideictic space to reflect national identities back upon the audience, rather than sectional ones. "Much of the brotherhood you and I share has come from the soldiers who shared that war," Robertson stated, "and in doing so they came to realize that underneath the strong passions that had motivated them in opposite directions for four years—underneath it, they were still Americans."

Despite the strong reconciliationist tone of Robertson's keynote, it was complicated in a number of ways. First, the beginning of his address was marked by the presence of the prop plane. The plane significantly redefined the space spatially, visually, audibly, and temporarily so that Robertson's message took place in front of the backdrop that directly countered his message of reconciliation: "Reunification by bayonet 1896" (see fig. 5.5). The plane was a performance of resistance by interjecting an alternative form of materiality and movement in the space in

contrast to the materiality of the museum and its flag pavilion (known as the Reunification Promenade). The consubstantial *ethos* of visitors as witness to the display of American identity is ruptured so that the definition of Appomattox becomes subject to further redefinition. As a result, visitors are prompted to further question their own identities due to the manipulation of the space of the sky. This re-evaluation enhances the epideictic nature of the space as visitors now must choose, based on their own perception of their identities in relation to sectionalism or nationalism, how the space, and therefore themselves, will be defined.



Figure 5.5: Prop Plane Banner.

Robertson’s reconciliationist message was also complicated by the ceremony itself. Robertson argued that there are three ways we can deal with the past: forget it, interpret it “according to individual feelings,” and remember it. Despite the fact that Robertson defined Appomattox as a new beginning for the United States, he also criticized the stronger federal government that was created in its wake: “The all-powerful, all-inclusive federal government that watches over every action except the inertia of its own Congress was a creation of that war, not a factor when it began,” he said to clapping and cheering. Robertson’s critique of federalism was part of his second alternative to interpret the past based on current feelings. This second choice to deal with history is, of course, epideictic rhetoric: narratives of the past are told in relation to the present—“individual feeling”—in order to form community identity. Robertson

sees this as a form of revisionism as “20/20 hindsight,” and his defense of the evolving nature of the federal government is a reaction to perceived revisionism that the Civil War preserved the Union. Further, I argue Robertson’s defense is also against historiography that claims the Civil War was about freeing the slaves. In other words, Robertson argues that the issues of federalism and slavery evolved over the course of the war. As a result, Appomattox is not simply where the nation reunited; it is where the nation was created by soldiers who had the “simple aim of making freedom and Union one and the same.” The conflation of Union and freedom deflects epideictic blame over slavery in favor of epideictic praise of Union. By eschewing slavery as a form of revisionist historiography, Robertson emphasis on nationalism becomes the dominant historical narrative about the Civil War.

Despite the exhortation to examine history’s positive and negative attributes, the mention of slavery was conspicuously absent, although perhaps alluded to briefly in terms of freedom. Take for instance, Lieutenant Governor Bill Bowling’s speech:

It is important to remember those years—the good things, the bad things, the things that we are proud of, the things perhaps that in the prism of modern views and culture we regret. ... As turbulent as those days were, out of those days emerged an America that was more free for more people than she had ever been before. Out of those days emerged an America that was closer to the Founding Fathers’ expectation where all are created equal.

Similar to the remarks of Robertson, slavery is addressed in terms of freedom, which is itself addressed in terms of nationalism. As a result, nationalism becomes the solution to the historical problem of slavery. The end of the war meant the end of slavery and the creation of the nation. Appomattox, therefore, is a space of reconciliation that ignores other narratives such as slavery

as a means to create national identity. However, the moments of conflict, such as the plane and Robertson's critique of federal powers, demonstrate counter epideictic messages that complicate the narrative of reconciliation. Despite attempts to ignore or deflect blame from slavery (as seen in the plane and the remarks of Robertson and Bowling), it is precisely these fissures that demonstrate gaps in the reconciliationist and neo-Confederate narratives.

Material Presence and Absence of Slavery

Because Civil War narratives are endowed with such epic grandiosity, they are difficult to change. The narrative of national reconciliation between North and South frequently in the past has ignored the role of slavery in the Civil War while more contemporary efforts have sought to include slavery as a key component in narratives. This tension between old and new narratives is seen at Appomattox Court House. While older signs deal with reconciliation and nationalism, a newer exhibit on slavery and emancipation was added to the kitchen of the McLean House. The small exhibit of seven panels charts the voyage of Africans to America, the experience of African Americans in Appomattox, and African American soldiers. What is significant about the exhibit is that it is separate from the main exhibit in the welcome center. In addition to the abstract task of altering a solidified narrative, the separation of the exhibit is due to the material and financial challenges of altering the original exhibit. But the constraint of materiality is precisely the point: the material reality of the space itself—the segregation of the African America exhibit—directly affects the narratives and thus the positionality and identity that visitors assume. As a result, African American experience is an addendum to the traditional, white narratives of military tactics both abstractly and literally.

The National Park Service as well as other organizations, such as the Museum of the Confederacy (which will be discussed in the next chapter) and the American Civil War Center in Richmond, are seeking to include narratives that deal with race and slavery as a direct counter to Lost Cause narratives that ignore slavery as a cause of the war. As a result, at the Appomattox Court House welcome center are three brochures that address slavery: *Slavery as a Cause of the Civil War*, *Why Federal Soldiers Fought*, and *Why Confederate Soldiers Fought*. In each brochure, except for an introductory summary paragraph, the brochures exclusively feature Civil War-era quotations. This reliance on primary documents gives credibility, especially against neo-Confederate critiques that argue the inclusion of slavery as a cause for secession is revisionist history. The brochure on slavery, therefore, includes Southern reactions to the Republican Party's platform against slavery, Southerners on their constitutional right to have slaves, slavery as a cause for secession, and the protection of slavery in the Confederate constitution. Similarly, the two brochures on Northern and Southern soldiers list abolition and slavery as reasons to go to war. These brochures, however, are not prominently featured in the welcome center but are instead relegated to a corner, similar to how the African American exhibit is relegated to another building.

Despite the fact that the Lost Cause and reconciliationist narrative are opposed to one another, both are not able to integrate slavery integrally to their Civil War narratives. As stated above, the materiality associated with spaces has profound effects on narratives, yet the materiality of slavery is not addressed. For instance, the National Park Service's slavery and emancipation exhibit is in the kitchen while the slave quarters next to the kitchen have no interpretive signage; they become just another historical building, ignoring the material vestige of slavery. This materiality becomes integral to creating an epideictic space that does not forget

slavery. Take, for instance, another sign across the road from the Confederate cemetery: it is part of the Civil Rights in Education Heritage Trail, a driving tour through Southside Virginia that brings together “these historically significant sites [for] telling the poignant and often explosive story of civil rights in education in our country.” The sign notes that two brigades of Colored Troops, as they were known, were part of the surrender at Appomattox, which led to the creation of the Thirteenth Amendment. Also, it quickly traces a history of education for African Americans, from the creation of the Freedman’s Bureau to *Brown v. Board of Education*. However, although other signs along the route are linked to specific places such as schools, the sign next to the Appomattox battlefield does not commemorate a specific site; it is an overview of education. The sign, disconnected from any material anchor, does not have the same commemorative power as do other sites, such as the Confederate Cemetery across the road. In this manner, commemoration of slavery has been separated from its materiality, such as the slave quarters and therefore becomes a forgotten narrative in the face of the one of national reconciliation.

Epidictic spaces provide identities for visitors through commemorating the past. In the case of Appomattox, these identities are related to national identity and, indirectly, about race. Appomattox Court House and the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy demonstrate the power of the narrative of national reconciliation, but they also demonstrate the power of counter epidictic messages that seek to redefine space through rupturing the national narrative. Both types of epidictic, however, rely on the space of Appomattox to make claims about identity, and, as a result, how Appomattox is defined also defines America either as a site of reconciliation or a site of ongoing conflict.

Chapter 6

Kairotic Space: The Museum of the Confederacy in Appomattox

In the previous chapter Appomattox represented a space with multiple epideictic messages that focused on the creation of communities through identification. The reconciliationist narrative at Appomattox Court House and the official ceremony of the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy served to create an American identity, while the narratives of neo-Confederates at the Confederate Cemetery and the museum protest represented Confederate identity. In these spaces, however, the epideictic rhetoric created *separate* narratives. In the space of the exhibits inside the Museum of the Confederacy those identities co-mingle, and visitors are promoted to *engage* multiple identities, including those related to nationalism, sectionalism, and race. The exhibits explicitly deal with the mythic legacies of the Civil War, particularly in the South, and this focus on legacy prompts visitors to consider what the continuing legacy of the Confederacy is—and how they fit into that future. In this manner, the museum is a *kairotic* space, layering past, present, and future in the space of the museum: visitors consider the past based on their positionality in the present, and that temporal interaction creates the disposition for future action by considering the Civil War's legacy. This *kairotic* moment manifested in space is a central way that epideictic creates cultural memory and embeds visitors within that creation.

Museums as Epideictic Spaces

The Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond developed from the Ladies Hollywood Memorial Association, a group that formed in Richmond after the war to help bury—and then commemorate—the considerable numbers of Confederate soldiers left in the war's aftermath.

The organization evolved and started collecting relics and housing them in what is known as the White House of the Confederacy in Richmond. The museum boasts it has the largest Confederate archive in existence. In this manner, what would become known as the Museum of the Confederacy became a shrine to Lost Cause memory, the storehouse of the material artifacts of the Confederacy.

The museum's modern iteration in Richmond consists of exhibits criticized by some for its Lost Cause emphasis (Tucker C1): exhibits focus on military tactics and the personal artifacts of soldiers. Despite innovative exhibits, such as "Before Freedom Came," an exhibit that museum president Waite Rawls called "the most important museum exhibit ever attempted on slavery" (11), the museum suffered lowering attendance numbers: a drop from its peak of 92,000 in the early 1990s to about 51,500 in 2007 (McLaughlin B1). Lowered attendance led to a lack of funding, leading the museum to lose \$400,000 each year and request an emergency state grant from the Virginia legislature. The museum also considered a name change to distance itself from Lost Cause and neo-Confederate associations, one of the attributing factors for lower attendance numbers. However, Lost Cause memorialization was foundational to the museum's existence. As a reporter for the *Washington Post* put it about Rawls, "To make the Confederacy museum palatable to the wider world (most of whom are never going to visit), he needs to make visible changes to the museum, either its name or its public image. This would, however, alienate the museum's grass-roots [neo-Confederate] supporters, who don't have the financial wherewithal to sustain the museum on their own" (Tucker C1). In the midst of the downturn of the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, the complex, including the museum and the White House of the Confederacy, became dwarfed by the surrounding Virginia Commonwealth University medical center, making it difficult to find and park at the museum. In order to balance the demands of

image and logistics in terms of attendance and funding, museum leadership decided to open an additional branch of the museum. After consideration of multiple locales, including Lexington where public protest prohibited the move, the museum decided upon Appomattox.

A new one-story brick building two miles from Appomattox Court House holds a black banner in three panels large enough to be seen from the road. A black and white photo of Lee in his uniform with his hand on his sword is flanked by large yellow lettering: “COME IN TO SEE LEE’S UNIFORM & SWORD” (see fig. 6.1).



Figure 6.1: View of the Museum of the Confederacy from the Main Road.

The sign of the Appomattox branch of the Museum of the Confederacy exhibits a typical tourist trope: significant artifacts are designed to get tourists’ attention. These artifacts typically share a characteristic of epideictic: the rhetoric of the display of the spectacular. Since tourists must leave their every-day life, tourism inevitably becomes an encounter with the unusual, ranging from pilgrimages to the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury to a school field trip to see the

Declaration of Independence in Washington D.C. The above spectacular displays of Canterbury and Washington demonstrate an epideictic quality because the artifacts constitute relics, material objects endowed with sacred significance within the community. Epideictic's ritualistic component places these material objects in relation to visitors seeking connection through consubstantial *ethos* with the object. The extraordinary nature of the artifact then bestows meaning upon the every-day of the tourist's life. In the case of the Museum of the Confederacy, the artifacts associated with Lee become the spectacular display of the life of Lee and the Confederacy, and visitors are prompted to create meaning based on their relationship with these epideictic artifacts.

I argue historical museums are epideictic spaces. Through the exhibition of artifacts, museums embody the display feature central to epideictic rhetoric: visitors come to see artifacts endowed with cultural significance. These objects reflect back to visitors cultural norms. As Tony Bennett phrases it, museums are “machineries that are implicated in the shaping of civic capacities” (49). For example, the display of the Declaration of Independence, Bill of Rights, and the Constitution at the National Archives in Washington D.C. re-enforce cultural narratives of the United States as a nation dedicated to freedom and the rule of law. The artifacts become an epideictic display of cultural values, reflecting back to the community what it already is—or believes itself to be.

Museums also re-enforce the centrality of space and materiality in epideictic rhetoric. A quick Internet search will yield the full text of the above historical documents, yet reading those documents is not the same thing as seeing them in real life. In the case of the Museum of the Confederacy, the site of Appomattox as the location of the surrender is a significant element to the epideictic rhetoric of the museum (which will be seen in the introductory panel for the main

exhibit of the museum). Billboards and a large sign outside the museum attract visitors by noting the museum houses Lee's sword and uniform. Despite the global increase of multimedia displays, museums still rely on the importance of the physical rather than virtual artifact. Further, the significance of the space is used to attract visitors. Even for the most pedestrian museum, visitors are choosing to move to that space and as a result are enacting a form of pilgrimage to relics of cultural significance. As seen in Lexington, for instance, visitors traveled to the city through embodied movement to be near the material remains of Lee and Jackson.

Museums also share the ceremonial *ethos* central to epideictic that suggests certain activities within the space—activities that almost seem self-evident. For example, activities such as loud talking and running are typically discouraged. Visitors also move from object to object to gaze at them while also reading paneling explaining the significance of the artifacts. Halloran and Clark's analysis of a national park can also be applied to this activity of the museum: visitors are enacting a secularized version of the Stations of the Cross¹⁴ where the artifacts literally take visitors through a narrative by means of embodied movement. Museum spaces further re-enforce this ceremonial nature through the visual construction of the space, which centers on the epideictic characteristic of the spectacular; a museum space looks different from ordinary spaces and contains extraordinary objects. The dinosaur bones, for instance, at the Museum of Natural History are spectacular because of their sheer size, as is the Hope Diamond. At the Museum of the Confederacy visitors are attracted through the promotion of the artifacts of Lee's uniform and sword, and once there they move through a narrative of the "before, during, and after" the Civil War. The sword and uniform are in glass cases—a common museum trope—but they are the only artifacts that can be viewed from multiple angles so that visitors can move and gaze from all

¹⁴ My intent is not to imply that sites necessarily have a "spiritual" dimension. Yet the ceremonial and ritualistic characteristics of epideictic, especially in the service of nationalism, do create a form of civic religion.

perspectives, thus reinforcing their significance and power to relate a narrative. As tourism scholar Dean MacCannell states, “A re-presentation is an arrangement of objects in a reconstruction of a total situation. . . . Re-presentation aims to provide the viewer with an authentic copy of a total situation that is supposed to be meaningful from the standpoint of the things inside of the display” (78).

Finally, museums also share the collapsing of time that is part of epideictic. Epideictic creates narratives of the past based on the needs of the present moment so that past and present become the same in a *kairotic* moment. Dinosaur bones are spectacular because of their size but also their age, connecting visitors to a distant pre-historic era. At the Museum of Natural History, visitors are able to literally walk among the dinosaurs and witness dioramas—displays—of ancient life. In the space of the museum, the past and the present co-mingle in order to create a narrative that posits visitors as witnesses and participants. The dinosaurs are posited into a narrative of evolution, and visitors—humans—become the natural end, the *telos*, of the past. To walk through the museum, then, is to participate in the narrative of mankind. At the Museum of the Confederacy the *kairotic* moment is the layering of time of the past with the present and future. The museum defines the past not just in terms of the war itself but also the aftermath of the war through commemoration ceremonies and the Civil Rights movement. By including legacies of the war rather than a strict 1861-1865 narrative the museum defines the past as continuing through legacy to the present moment. As an *evolving* legacy, the *telos* of the past is undetermined, left up to visitors to enact.

Outside of the Exhibits

At the Museum of the Confederacy in Appomattox, visitors are posited within a narrative of the life of the Confederacy. Before even entering, visitors are placed within a narrative of Lee's retreat to Appomattox: located in the walkway to the entrance are stone slabs with a timeline of battles leading up to the surrender so that visitors are placed temporally at the end of the war, the Confederacy already lost. To the left of the entrance is what is known as the "Reunification Promenade," where the flags of states that joined the Confederacy fly on poles. In the center is the American flag. Even though individual state flags have dedications to Southern ancestors, these dedications are subordinate to the casting of the promenade as a space for state "reunification" to create the United States. In this manner, the Museum of the Confederacy operates rhetorically in multiple ways, both affirming neo-Confederate ideology in the narrative of Civil War battles and Confederate state flags while also closing that narrative by signaling through the inclusion of the American flag that the original Confederacy is over, as ending with the surrender. Here in the space outside of the museum, therefore, visitors are participating in the end of the Civil War and the subsequent reunification of the nation while also keeping the memory of the Confederacy alive.

Inside the museum is an open space with ticket stand, gift shop, and typical travel brochures for the area. A half-completed puzzle of a painting of Lee and Grant signing the surrender papers is on a table; the box reads "America's Story Historic Puzzles." For willing visitors, a tour guide in Confederate garb and Civil War artifacts will discuss soldier life. In contrast to narratives that paint "Johnny Reb" as the cheerful soldier gallantly fighting for his homeland, the living history demonstration exhibits the less examined horrors of war, including the lack of health and sanitation and subjection to the elements among soldiers. Here war is not glamorous: soldiers are infested with lice and have limbs blasted off by bullets. The guide takes

visitors “back in time” in a *kairotic* moment where the past becomes present, but it is not a glorious time of Confederate triumph but a grim time with the realities of Confederate life. The museum, therefore, offers a counter epideictic message to neo-Confederate ones: the past is only made present in order to argue that it ought not be returned to. Epideictically, here the past is not praised but blamed.

The museum houses two exhibits, the main hall and a rotating exhibit, whose first installment was on the multiple uses of the Confederate flag. To the right of the ticket counter, a blown-up photo of the railroad bridge that led to Appomattox dominates the wall (see fig. 6.2). The visitor’s perspective is standing on the tracks, gazing down the line to a vanishing point across the Appomattox River. The janitor pointed out to me that from any location in the room, you are still placed within the center of the tracks so that you always gaze squarely in the direction of Appomattox. The visitor can only look forward, not back. Here, Appomattox—and all it represents in terms of surrender and reunification—becomes an inevitable reality in the way a train barrels down a track.



Figure 6.2: Opening Photo and Introductory Panel for the Main Exhibit.

This large photo of the railroad is the companion image to the introductory panel of the main exhibit, which also echoes similar themes about Appomattox. It reads in large red letters:

“Appomattox is the place where General Robert E. Lee surrendered his Army of Northern Virginia to General Ulysses S. Grant on April 9, 1865.” Below in smaller black letters it reads,

The significance of Appomattox extended beyond the generals and the armies that met here that day. Appomattox marked the end of an army, but it was also the end of the nation whose survival had depended on that army. And it marked the beginning for the United States.

The panel signals the end of the Confederate narrative and the beginning of a national narrative. In this manner, it echoes the reunification narrative seen at Appomattox Court House and the public speeches during the opening of the museum. Those narratives paralleled neo-Confederate narratives by ignoring slavery and its effects on national life in a form of epideictic forgetting. However, the opening panel of the Museum of the Confederacy also diverges from the national narrative. It continues,

Appomattox was significant for all Americans, white and black. We can only understand the meaning of Appomattox by looking at what it meant to different people—those who were actually involved in the surrender and those whose lives the surrender affected. This exhibit uses The Museum of the Confederacy’s rich collections to tell the story of Appomattox.

Aside from the glaring oversimplification that all Americans are either white or black, this introductory panel explicitly foregrounds race as a subjectivity integral to the story of Appomattox, the Civil War, and the nation. This insertion of race at the very beginning of the exhibit, simply titled “Appomattox,” makes Appomattox and the museum an epideictic space.

By foregrounding race, the exhibit places visitors temporally as witnesses to the multi-faceted and evolving meaning of Appomattox. The reference to the museum's "rich collections"—its rhetorical appeal to the *ethos* of the artifacts as authentic representations of the narrative of Appomattox—re-enforce the elevated ritualistic nature of epideictic, further implying that that narrative is significant not only for those involved in the history of Appomattox but also visitors currently involved with that legacy.

Epideictic rhetoric creates identities for communities. For neo-Confederates in Lexington, the Appomattox Court House Confederate Cemetery, and protest at the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy, epideictic space creates a Confederate community still at war with the South as a space of resistance. For Appomattox Court House and the official remarks during the opening of the museum, reunification narratives create national community identity. These narratives can exist and conflict in the same location in space or time, but they share two common features: the absence of race (discussed above) and epideictic in the service of *one* community identity, whether that be Confederate or American. The museum introductory panel creates two epideictic audiences, one black and one white, and acknowledges the space meant different things for "different people." Visitors to this space, as one embodied audience, assume through the epideictic rhetoric the identity of two audiences and are invited to participate in the narrative of both as people "whose lives the surrender affected." As visitors enter this main exhibit they are continually confronted with this dual perspective that diverges from traditional Civil War narratives. As a result, visitors are not passive receivers of history but active witnesses and participation in its creation through epideictic identification with multiple historical participants.

“Appomattox” Exhibit: Part I

The first section of the main exhibit titled “Appomattox” deals with causes of the war. Immediately upon entering the main exhibit hall, visitors are confronted with a yellow wall with an oft-quoted line from Lee at the beginning of the war: “Save in defense of my native state, I never desire again to draw my sword.” Rather than the leader of a national rebellion, Lee is cast as a reluctant, gentlemanly defender of his homeland, and the line is utilized by both neo-Confederate and reconciliationist narratives. In the Museum of the Confederacy, however, the quotation is paired with Lee’s actual sword, the anchor artifact touted on billboards and the large banner outside of the museum. The ornate sword and scabbard are suspended in a well-lit glass case, a museum trope that identifies significant and spectacular objects. The accompanying panel, however, challenges this significance with the title “Purest Romance.” The sword itself was worn by Lee during the surrender, but the panel notes that it was a myth that Lee offered his sword to Grant, who called the story “the purest romance.” In this manner, the sword is an artifact of traditional history, but the museum also presents the sword as an artifact of myth, thus deconstructing traditional Civil War narratives upon immediately entering the exhibit. As an epideictic space, then, the museum challenges visitors to negotiate history and myth—not just the myth of the sword but myths associated with neo-Confederate and reconciliationist thought. Here myths are not meant to be encouraged or discounted out-of-hand but rather engaged.

The engagement with myth is further seen in the first sector of the exhibit (see fig. 6.3). The introductory panel for this section notes that before the Civil War Appomattox had “a lot in common with the rest of the South,” and it further notes that the population was a little over half made up of “enslaved African Americans.” As a response to neo-Confederate rhetoric that ignores the role of slavery in the war, the exhibit immediately inserts slavery as an integral part

of the narrative. As another panel next to a map showing slave population density states, “Slavery created a community of interest among whites who benefited from slavery and had economic, social, and political reasons to fear its destruction.”



Figure 6.3: First Section of the Museum’s Main Exhibit.

The first section of the exhibit also provides artifacts: a slave life insurance policy, a slave sale receipt, and a tintype of a slave. Here, again, is a refutation of neo-Confederate thought, which argues slaves were actually treated quite well by their owners: the artifacts are contextualized with a panel that reads in part, “No matter how well or how cruelly they were treated, slaves were human property, liable to be sold and separated from their families ...” In contrast to Lee’s sword, which embodies the “pure romance” of myth, the slavery artifacts present a stark reality to counter myth.

The section continues to address myths through an interactive panel underneath a map of the results of the 1860 presidential election that “pushed the nation off a political cliff.” Five panels labeled “True or False” contain statements, and the panels can be flipped over to

determine if they are true or not. Through the negotiation of true or false statements, the panels present the following facts: that Americans had more money invested in slavery than railroads, manufacturing, and banks combined; that “the fundamental rights of free people of color, North and South, were very restricted”; that 85% of representatives in the Confederate Provisional Congress owned slaves; that Lincoln received no electoral votes in slaveholding states in 1860; and that the dichotomy between North and South as industrial and agricultural regions respectively is mostly false. This interactive feature posits visitors as investigators into the nature of the causes of the war, allowing visitors to display their own prior-held beliefs to be either confirmed or denied. In this manner, epideictic does not merely reflect back to the audience what it already believes to be true, but instead it prompts visitors to be active witnesses to their own (re)creation.

This beginning section serves as the origin story in the life of the Confederacy. However, it is an origin story much different from that of neo-Confederates. Nowhere in this section is the phrase “states’ rights” used, for instance (a common argument of neo-Confederate thought is that the South seceded to protest states’ rights rather than preserve the institution of slavery). Here the role of slavery becomes integral to the start of the Civil War. As a form of epideictic rhetoric, this first section redefines the formation of the Confederacy and alters its identity so that issues of race become central to the story of the Confederacy. Because epideictic rhetoric is a form of historiography based on the needs of the present moment, the section implicitly and explicitly engages *current* neo-Confederate myths while also telling a historical narrative.

“Appomattox” Exhibit: Part II

The second part of the main exhibit deals with issues during the war. Similar to the first section, race plays a central part. A main panel titled ““Far Beyond Any Previous Conceptions”” describes how slaves fled plantations to get to Federal armies for protection. “What had started as a war to divide or preserve the Union,” the panel states, “also became a war of liberation.” Here the issue of state sovereignty and states’ rights (to divide or preserve the Union) becomes linked to the seemingly separate issue of slave liberation. As a result, the title, which is from an unattributed quotation, becomes a statement for visitors: states’ rights and slaves are linked “far beyond any previous conceptions.”

The artifacts associated with this section further re-enforce the role of slaves in the war: an ordinance to remove slaves from states subject to potential Federal invasion, which created an “enormous postwar refugee problem”; a pay stub from a free African American conscripted for labor; a cartoon about slaves as “contraband of war”; a portrait of an African American in a Confederate uniform, although the descriptor panels notes slaves were used a laborers not as soldiers; a *Harper’s Weekly* picture of escaping slaves; and another picture of an African American who worked in a Confederate hospital. Here the audience is posited as a witness to the display of historical facts and artifacts and is challenged to re-evaluate prior-held Civil War narratives that only deal with white people.

Not all panels deal so explicitly about race. The exhibit also includes the experiences of children and women in the war, yet these panels and artifacts also suggest how the formation of the Confederacy has mythic qualities. For instance, there is a display of Confederate textbooks for children with the title “Learning to be Confederate.” The interpretive paneling notes that the books were used to create patriotism and quotes salient passages, including one from a math book: “If one confederate soldier kills 90 yankees, how many yankees can 10 confederate

soldiers kill?” The inclusion of the textbooks echoes contemporary efforts to manage school textbooks in states such as Texas. What the paneling makes clear is how education plays a role in the construction of Confederate identity; that identity is not an inherent, God-given state but rather one that is created—and evolving in the present day, and even through the experience of the exhibit itself.

The evolution of the Confederacy is also seen nearby in an interactive, touch computer screen related to the flags of the Confederacy. “Make a selection above to learn about the process of designing a national flag,” the main menu reads. “Browse actual examples of submitted designs, or try your hand at designing a flag for the new Confederate Nation!” The program explores the rationale for the designs of particular Confederate flags and allows visitors to construct their own design. The exhibit is designed to be fun, an activity children would enjoy. Rhetorically, though, the program is positioning visitors as members of the Confederacy and part of its evolution. As visitors design a flag, they are also designing the Confederacy for the future. Just as there were choices made to develop the original Confederate flag, so choices must be made to continue Confederate identity. That identity is not prescribed, however; it is subject to the choices of the visitor based on the needs of the present moment. As discussed in Chapter 3 about Lexington, flags are a form of material epideictic rhetoric, able to determine the identity of the community. In the case of the flag design computer, the historical flags of the past are linked to the present creation of flags to create a *kairotic* moment so that visitors must epideictically decide their own identity in relation to the Confederacy.

Next to the flag computer, visitors are further inserted into the Confederate narrative through a life-size diorama (see fig. 6.4). In all-white figures that are not behind glass, a life-size father and mother say farewell to their young son in his soldier’s uniform as he goes off to war.

The only such diorama in the museum, visitors are able to stand next to the statues to become part of the scene. Past and present become the same moment, and visitors are now part of the family, either going off to war themselves or saying farewell to loved ones. The scene sets up the battlefield narratives that follow. Yet, this preparation for battle is not a glamorous, joy-filled departure for the glories of war. The tone is serious: no one is smiling, each consoles one another with a hand on the shoulder, the young soldier looks down and clutches his haversack nervously as his mother hands him a Bible. This grim preparation for war is also a counter narrative to both neo-Confederate and reconciliationist ones, which emphasize military tactics are the centerpiece of Civil War narratives.



Figure 6.4: Life-size Diorama of the Departing Soldier Boy.

The following section of the exhibit resembles typical battlefield narratives as mentioned above and contains typical artifacts such as uniforms and weapons behind glass. However, the battlefield narratives are minimal—with maps of battles at foot-level below the artifacts—in comparison to the remainder of the exhibit and in comparison to other museums, such as the Richmond branch of the Museum of the Confederacy. The horrors of battle are exemplified, such as in the retelling of the Battle of the Crater, during which Federal troops built a tunnel under the Confederate line in Petersburg and then filled it full of explosives. The massive hole that formed

after the explosion became filled with charging Federal troops, including U.S. Colored Troops, who became trapped there. While trying to surrender, many of the black soldiers were shot. Above the narrative are souvenirs made from material from the battle: a pipe from the mud, a spoon abandoned after battle, and a crucifix made from bullets. As the panel states, “Men saved everything from relics taken from the ground to the ground itself.” Here the souvenirs are not relics for veneration but exemplars of the destruction of war. Moreover, the battlefield narrative and grim souvenirs are functioning epideictically by prompting visitors to consider what type of souvenir—perhaps a material artifact from the gift shop or perhaps an abstract understanding—they will take away from their visit to the museum and what narrative they themselves will tell.

The theme of the grim realities of war continues in the following section, titled “War Is Cruelty,” which includes photos and mourning veils of Confederate widows, the effects of blockades, the consequences of guerilla warfare, and the last-ditch effort of the Confederacy to conscript slaves as soldiers. This section sets the scene for the following section of the exhibit, which documents the details of Lee’s retreat from Richmond to Appomattox, where he surrendered his army. For a moment, though, the section turns away from the perspective of the Confederate retreat to the perspective of the Federal army, which had to put out the fires started in Richmond by the retreating Confederate army. A panel titled “Hard Work Ahead” notes a brigade of U.S. Colored Troops were some of the first to enter the city to put out the fires and raise the American flag over the former Confederate capitol, and it also notes that Abraham Lincoln traveled to the leveled city downtown a day after the invasion, during which he was heartily greeted by throngs of African-Americans. “But the destruction that surrounded him [Lincoln],” the panel states, “symbolized the arduous task ahead—for the city and the nation.” This shift to a Federal perspective prepares visitors for the inevitable conclusion: the end of the

Confederate army. And it implies that there is “something more” beyond the life of the Confederacy. If the surrender of Lee is like the Passion of the Christ, as discussed in the previous chapter, this shift to a national perspective casts Lee—as a figurehead of the Confederacy—not as a redemptive figure but one who receives punishment for his sins through the cruelty of war and destruction of Richmond. As another panel states, “Lee’s army continued to disintegrate, his options to disappear.”

In contrast to the narrative seen in Chapter 4 on Appomattox where Lee is the wise, noble leader who gracefully surrenders rather than subject his army to further decimation (as seen at Appomattox Court House), here in the museum that focus shifts. On a panel titled “How To Surrender?” it states, “General Lee ran out of options. The ranks of this army had thinned.” It describes how Lee was surrounded with no access to supplies. Rather than Lee being the primary actor to surrenders, the panel shifts to Union General Ulysses S. Grant, who had pursued Lee from Richmond: “Lee’s foe offered an honorable answer.” On another panel, Lee is described as “a man of much dignity,” but those words are from the memoirs of Grant, keeping the surrender from Grant’s perspective. The panel further states that Lee told Grant that he could not guarantee other Confederate armies in the South would honor the surrender, but “Grant, on the other hand, was sure that generous terms would defuse all further resistance.” In this manner, due to the shift in perspective, visitors to the museum cease to become participants in the Confederacy but rather witnesses to its demise.



Figure 6.5: Lee's Uniform Suspended in a Glass Case.

As a form of epideictic rhetoric, then, visitors are prompted to assume American rather than sectional identity. However, in contrast to the national reconciliationist version which exhibits epideictic forgetting by ignoring race and the horrors of war, the rhetoric of the Museum of the Confederacy addresses these negative aspects. As a result, visitors are prompted to see not a romanticized legacy of the Civil War but rather a legacy of destruction with dire consequences.

“Then there is nothing left me but to go and see General Grant,” a large panel with a quotation from Lee states, “and I would rather die a thousand deaths.” Contextualized in this non-Confederate perspective, the other signature artifact noted on the museum’s billboards and large building banner—Lee’s uniform—takes on a different meaning from a Confederate relic for veneration. Suspended in a glass case in the middle of the exhibit along with his gloves and

the pen used for the signing of the surrender, Lee's uniform becomes an artifact of surrender rather than the military prowess for which Lee is so well known (see fig. 6.5).

The accompanying panel even notes that the uniform was only used for the surrender; it is not the typical uniform Lee wore on a daily basis. Set in the middle of the room so that visitors can walk around it, the uniform creates embodied engagement with the artifact, similar to the engagement with the diorama of the family saying goodbye to its soldier-son previously in the exhibit. This engagement prompts visitors to think about the surrender from all angles, not just from a Confederate perspective. Additionally, the uniform, suspended within the case a little above eye level slightly evokes Christ on the cross, prompting visitors to examine the consequences of the war and surrender and to question what redemptive qualities it may have.

“Appomattox” Exhibit: Part III

While reconciliationist narratives frame Appomattox as the beginning of the nation, devoid of conflict after the war, the Museum of the Confederacy presents grim and complicated results of the war: “The war destroyed property and radically altered Southern society.” Ex-Confederates moved west, left the country, and even committed suicide, and African Americans were subject to persecution. Further, this section states the memory and legacy of the Civil War is contested. With a wall in the same yellow as the beginning of the exhibit that contained Lee's sword (which evoked the idea of mythic romance), one panel states, “The experience of the war itself opened wounds that never healed entirely, despite apparent ‘reunification’ of South and North in the early 20th century. Those wounds often become evident when Americans consider the meaning of APPOMATTOX.” As an example of epideictic rhetoric, the exhibit invites visitors into that wounding; they, too, have been wounded by the conflict, and those wounds are

made manifest again through the memory of the war in a *kairotic* moment when the past is made present in the moment visitors travel through the museum. Through that wounding, then, visitors are positioned not in a reconciliationist comedy where both sides happily reunite but rather an unresolved tragedy. In a shift from most epideictic rhetoric, which praises the past, here epideictic *blames* to demonstrate the continuing consequences of that conflict.

The museum then squarely posits the consequences of the Civil War in racial terms. First, the museum positions the Civil War in relation to the Civil Rights movement and the 150th anniversary, both epideictic moments that utilize the past for present and future implications. A panel states, “Americans [are still] confronting questions about racial justice and vigorously debating the powers of the Federal government.” Visitors, therefore, become part of the group of Americans exploring the contested legacy of the war in a *kairotic* moment where they determine public memory based on the needs of the present, a move that the exhibit explicitly demands in one panel: “Looking back, in your mind, what did the surrender at Appomattox end, and more importantly, what did it begin?” Here visitors become the embodied creation of the future. Through experiencing the wounding legacy of the war, visitors become participants in that legacy, enacting it out in the spaces to which they will now go.

This final section of the exhibit—backed with the same yellow walls as the exhibit introduction—then traces the parallel developments of commemorative activities around the 100th anniversary of the Civil War and the Civil Rights movement. There are photos of Appomattox Court House ceremonies with Confederate flags and photos of the Mary E. Branch Free School in nearby Farmville, where the county refused to integrate schools in the 1950s, an action that eventually led to the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954. There are audio clips from the Lost Cause writer Douglass Southall Freeman at the dedication of the McLean

House in 1950 that are complemented with memorabilia from *Gone with the Wind*, *Birth of a Nation*, and the Ku Klux Klan. Also included are newspaper reports of lynchings.

Commemoration of the Civil War, then, becomes inextricably linked to the Civil Rights movement. Visitors attending the museum now during the 150th anniversary are prompted epideictically to examine similar connections to memory and race in the present day.

Finally, the museum ends with the death mask of Lee to bookend the romanticized sword presented at the beginning of the exhibit. In a turn from neo-Confederate and reconciliationist rhetoric, the panel notes that while Lee publically supported reunification, “privately, he resented U.S. Reconstruction policies. He did not turn his back on his Confederate experience.” In contrast to the genteel civility expressed at Appomattox Court House, in the Museum of the Confederacy, Lee is a complex figure that is simplified through mythic memory. The exhibit challenges myths but acknowledges their centrality to Civil War memory, and visitors similarly are prompted to engage these myths and their implications.

As visitors leave this main exhibit, they are physically positioned at the entrance of the auxiliary gallery, whose exhibit from the museum’s opening to 2014 was on Confederate flags and titled “Colors of the Gray: Consecration and Controversy.” The relationship to myth and commemoration of the main exhibit prepares visitors to engage similar themes through the materiality of flags.

“Colors of the Gray: Consecration and Controversy” Exhibit

The “Colors of the Gray” exhibit can be seen as a direct response to the Confederate flag movement seen in Lexington and other locales, such as Richmond. Most specifically, protesters pronounced that they would parade at the opening of the Appomattox branch because the

museum would not be flying a Confederate flag on its promenade alongside flags of Confederate states. While protestors argued the flag represented heritage, the museum's exhibit's main panel acerbically stated, "'Complicated' barely begins to describe the history of the flags of the Confederacy." In the space of the museum, then, the Confederate flag is examined most explicitly as an epideictic artifact: the main panel states there was conflict over the flags during and immediately after the war, and more contemporary conflicts have involved heritage, hate, and civil rights groups. And even more recently, the panel notes, "popular culture has absorbed, and some would say trivialized, that same flag." In this exhibit, the Confederate flags—including the plethora of versions beyond the popular battle flag—have different meanings to different groups, which is in contrast to those of the Lexington debate who argued the flag symbolized *either* heritage or racism.

The multiple iterations of the flags in the exhibit—from flags sewn by ladies organizations to flags used in battle to contemporary memorabilia such as that from the Dukes of Hazzard—prompt visitors to contemplate what uses of the Confederate flag they themselves will promote. First, the exhibit establishes that there are multiple Confederate flags beyond the battle flag. In fact, the first national flag, a panel states, was designed to be similar enough to the American flag but dissimilar enough to be differentiated in battle. In this exhibit, the Confederate flag is fluid and evolving with multiple national flags, multiple battle flags, and multiple state flags with Confederate influences. Historical flags from Ladies' Memorial Associations are present, and flags taken on the space shuttle *Columbia* and to the North Pole are coupled with a Ku Klux Klan parade photo.

The section on 20th-century uses addresses multiple contemporary uses of Confederate flags: the battle flag

has become a lightning rod for debates surrounding its associations with Southern heritage or racial hatred. It has also been more broadly connected with rebellion and independence. A few critics argue that it has become cheapened and commercialized.

The section then contains artifacts—all with Confederate battle flags— including a Clinton-Gore campaign button, a baseball patch, a Christmas tree ornament, boxer shorts, bumper stickers, a commemorative plate, and *Captain Confederacy* comic books (see fig. 6.6). These last uses are seemingly those that “cheapen” and “commercialize” the flag. Visitors are potential contemporary utilizers of the Confederate flag, and they are placed within this contemporary negotiation of meaning, from commemoration to commercialization. With multiple uses of the flag displayed, visitors are challenged to epideictically consider what flag history they will tell and what legacy of the flag they will choose.



Figure 6.6: Confederate Flag Memorabilia

First, the exhibit, strategically designed as a response to the regionalized Confederate flag interest such as that in Lexington, challenges protestors at the opening of the museum to contextualize their protest in the heritage of the developing uses of the flag, specifically that there are multiple uses and meanings of the flag. Second, the flag exhibit, strategically designed as the sequel to the main exhibit, is a display of the iterations of a specific Confederate legacy. By having visitors end with this exhibit, the museum posits visitors as the conveyors of Confederate legacy where they epideictically consider what about the Confederacy is worth remembering based on the needs of the present moment. Finally, the exhibit creates a *kairotic* moment as past uses of the flag are placed alongside current uses. In this space, therefore, the past and the present both become the same so that visitors are prompted further to contemplate the future. This creation of the disposition for future action is made possible as visitors have their identity reflected back to them to create community. Who they believe themselves to be will reflect who they will become. Through the exhibits in the Museum of the Confederacy, visitors are prompted to evaluate the present legacy of the Confederacy in a *kairotic* moment. Visitors temporally move through time, but they are anchored in the space of Appomattox in the museum, thus linking past, present, and future together. In this manner, the museum is functioning epideictically, displaying the life of the Confederacy as well as its contested values. By engaging rather than ignoring myths, the museum inserts race into all parts of the Confederate narrative and positions visitors to consider how their own present beliefs about the Civil War may have mythic elements.

Chapter 7

The Dynamic Potential of Epideictic Space to Create Memory, Transform Community, and Engage Neo-Confederate Rhetoric

This dissertation argues that epideictic rhetoric has the creative potential to form community, memory, and the future. Although scholars have outlined these functions to varying degrees, epideictic's embodied and material *spatial* iteration through historical tourism contains a particular dynamic potential to create memory. Based on the theorization of critical geographers, the relationship between space and time means that a space can be layered with multiple points in time; as a result, I argue the past is manifest in the present moment in an embodied and material way, making memory a spatialized concept. In order to understand memory, therefore, is to understand that it is created through the negotiation between visitors and spaces in material and embodied ways. This negotiation has the potential to transform communities by engaging memory through both praise *and* blame. Through intersubjective rhetorical listening, communities can engage one another in a manner that blames the past without negating the existence of the community. In this manner, communities, such as neo-Confederates, can potentially re-evaluate their identity.

Findings

Epideictic rhetoric creates community identity and cultural memory by establishing a ceremonial *ethos* in which the speaker and audience become consubstantial in articulating the identity and values of the community. Present community identity is established through an “origin story” created either through praising or blaming the past, and how that identity and past are articulated will have direct implications for how the audience will view its community role in

the future. Not only does epideictic establish a framework for the present through the lens of the past, it also calls for future action based on that framework. As a result, epideictic rhetoric employs sporadic narrative, linking past, present, and future so that events of the community are narrated in a consequential series, establishing cultural memory. These linked events form a narrative history—a historiography—wherein community identity is established. As Aristotle posited, the narration is based on the exigencies of the present, the primary one being to establish and argue for the continuance of community identity. The narrative is one of progress but an indefinite one: the purpose of the future is contingent upon community action. Only then will the future reach its intended end. Although the *present* effect of epideictic is identification with the values and identity of the community, the long-term goal is to argue for a particular disposition that leads to *future* actions that further the community as it has been established through the articulation of the relationship with the *past*. Placed in this temporal nexus, the audience is called upon to witness the unfolding of community identity. This identity is probably an articulation of past identity because epideictic tends to support the status-quo due to the tendency to reflect back to the audience the identity and values it already embodies; however, epideictic also has the potential to reform the community. It can argue for a transformation, a redefinition through which the community receives an alternative narrative to alter the course of the future. As such, epideictic can be conservative but also revolutionary, leveraging the values of the community to ends not in keeping with the direction of the past. As a result, epideictic can be a dynamic force even as it has the potential for superficiality.

The dynamic nature of epideictic is seen in the Confederate flag controversy and the events of Lee-Jackson Day in Lexington. Tourism, as an embodied form of epideictic, creates memory because visitors engage the materiality of Lexington's spaces by arguing it is relevant to

the present moment because Confederate identity is being defined based on where the Confederate flag can be hung. The existence of the material remains of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson created a more powerful neo-Confederate rhetoric than the rhetoric of residents of Lexington because tourism and the materiality of space are principle ways through which space is defined.

Multiple forms of epideictic exist in the same space, such as the National Park Service complex and the Confederate Cemetery in Appomattox, which demonstrates the fluidity of space. When epideictic is manifest in space, it has a particular power to create memory. Space contains multiple points in time layered upon one another; as a result, the present moment is connected to the past in a fluid way. Embodied engagement in space, therefore, becomes a performance that creates memory spaces. The fluid nature of space and memory demonstrates how multiple narratives, such as those of reconciliation and resistance, interact with one another, creating consonance and dissonance. For example, the rhetoric of protestors and the rhetoric of the official ceremony during the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy informed one another and demonstrated that memory can be contested, especially through the manipulation of space, such as the Sons of Confederate Veterans' plane that flew overhead during the official ceremony.

Not only is the layering of time in space fluid, it is also *kairotic*. The ceremonial nature of epideictic elevates the present moment as the opportune time for the display of significant events in space. At the Museum of the Confederacy the museum creates a *kairotic* moment by having visitors in the present moment evaluate the mythic elements of the past. As visitors move through the museum, they are also prompted to consider the legacy of the Civil War, thus positing them as negotiators of the future. Therefore, *this* time of the visit in *this* space of the

museum becomes the moment in which memory is created in a *kairotic* moment through the engagement with space.

These findings demonstrate that epideictic is a dynamic force to create community, memory, and the future. When manifest through space, epideictic creates memory through embodied engagement with space, such as tourism, and that movement creates a *kairotic* moment, linking past, present, and future in a fluid manner so that multiple forms of memory can engage one another in multiple, fluid spaces.

Future Research

This study examines Civil War tourist destinations in Virginia. Within Virginia there are many other Civil War sites that could be examined to determine if and how epideictic rhetoric functions. This study could therefore be extended to include other locations, such as Richmond, Virginia. Among others sites, Richmond is the location of National Park Service battlefields, the American Civil War Center museum, the Slave Trails walking tour, and the Virginia Historical Society. Extending case studies to include these locations would offer a more diverse perspective into the ways epideictic is deployed, especially in regards to various types of participants, stakeholders, and spaces. For example, the National Park Service battlefields surrounding Richmond provide rhetoric focused on military exploits instead of the rhetoric of reconciliation seen at the Park Service's Appomattox Court House. Opening just a few years earlier than the Museum of the Confederacy in Appomattox, the American Civil War Center is a privately run museum that challenges traditional Civil War narratives focused on battle by telling the Civil War narrative from three perspectives: Northern, Southern, and African-American. The Slave Trail evolved from a city-sponsored commission to include narratives of slavery in the history of

Richmond, and the Virginia Historical Society sponsored a Civil War exhibit that traveled around the state during the Sesquicentennial. This analysis would therefore include multiple types of spaces in order to determine how Civil War memory is created through space in Virginia.

This study could also be extended in an alternative route to include Civil War sites not in Virginia, including those in the deep South such as Vicksburg and Andersonville Prison. In addition to other Southern locations, future study would benefit from analysis of Gettysburg, the only major Northern battlefield. Gettysburg, also run by the National Park Service, demonstrates similar reconciliationist rhetoric seen at Appomattox Court House, but its geographical location has lent itself to Northern commemoration. The lack of Northern battlefields demonstrates a central thesis of this study—that space epideictically creates memory; because most battles were fought in the South, those spaces become the principle ways through which memory is defined. To understand the dominance of Confederate memory is to understand that that memory is connected to the space of the battlefields and other commemorative spaces. Gettysburg, therefore, offers an alternative battlefield to chart the formation of memory in a non-Southern context. This examination of alternative spaces could further demonstrate how memory is created through space and how the material realities in particular of that space formulate community identity.

Epideictic is connected to nationalism and war, so it is not surprising that it is deployed at Civil War sites. However, future study is needed to determine if other types of historical tourist destinations also function epideictically. My tentative hypothesis is that they do because they must deal with the past and thus are creating a narrative, which is a central definer of epideictic. This analysis could include museums, living history demonstrations, and monuments in a host of

locations—regional, national, and international. Of particular interest would be sites that deal with *conflicts* in order to compare them with the rhetorical construction of the American Civil War conflict.

This dissertation has implications for other spaces beyond the American Civil War. Additional research can be pursued in relation to the rhetoric of non-historical tourist sites. While these sites may not function epideictically, they are rhetorical spaces into which visitors are placed with particular identities. How does the space of the theme park or the downtown shopping district, for instance, construct visitor identity and how do visitors construct the identity of the space in these types of tourist destinations? Of particular interest to me is how tourist spaces and visitors ethically engage one another. For example, Phaedra Pezullo examines eco-trips to sites of environmental disasters as a means to foster community action “to show how noncommercial tours can serve as embodied rhetorics of resistance aimed at mobilizing public sentiment and dissent against material and symbolic toxic patterns” (3). The ethical considerations of tourism, therefore, would examine how tourism affects identity—but also political action.

Finally, tourism also has distinctive connections to consumerism. There is the material consumption that exists in the form of paying for tickets, eating in restaurants, shopping, staying in hotels, buying souvenirs, etc. Yet there is also a consumption of spatial identity: the location must be one deemed acceptable to be visited by the tourist in the first place, before material consumption even begins. Therefore, tourism has the ability to define the identity of tourist spaces, especially if those locations are economically dependent on tourism. (Neo-Confederates, for instance, understood this consumptive power when they called for a boycott of Lexington downtown businesses that did not support the Confederate flag.) Spaces must be consumable to

tourists, and that tourist-focus as economic and ethical consequences for locations that need to be explored in future research.

Regardless of the subject, future research would be enhanced by including interviews with visitors and stakeholders of sites. This dimension would further explain the effects of epideictic rhetoric (or other types of rhetoric) on visitors. This direction would illuminate the connection of tourism and recreation¹⁵, how tourism functions in personal (rather than historical) narratives, and how tourists create the identity of locations. This research will be most effectively done in locations where the researcher is already embedded. Localized research leads to more complete composites of sites engaged over time and facilitates community engagement through research, especially in regards to how communities should engage tourism.

Praise and Blame

Although epideictic is traditionally known as the genre of praise or blame, the main focus of scholarship and the main uses of the genre are in service of praise, not blame. In 2013 white country music singer Brad Paisley and black rapper LL Cool J released a song titled “Accidental Racist.” Although attacked by critics, the song brings to the forefront the tension between praise and blame. Referencing the Sesquicentennial of the Civil War, Paisley sings, “We’re still shifting from the rubble of 150 years.” He acknowledges that the Confederate flag is “the elephant in the corner of the South” and that “I’m proud of where I’m from but not everything we’ve done.” The tension between feeling pride in Southern heritage but also acknowledging slavery is one of the thematic points: “We’re still picking up the pieces, walking on egg shells, fighting over yesterday, and caught between Southern *pride* and Southern *blame*.” Because one of the main

¹⁵ This study focused on the more “serious” functions of epideictic. Tourism, however, is also about recreation and leisure. These activities also align with another descriptor of epideictic: to entertain.

functions of epideictic is the formation of community by reflecting back to the community what it already believes itself to be, praise (“Southern pride”) is privileged; to blame the community would abnegate that identity and call for an alternative identity that the community may or may not be willing to accept. In short, it is easier to praise than blame.

This emphasis on praise in part explains the tension between neo-Confederate and reconciliationist thought and at the same time illuminates the similarities between the rhetoric of each group. As Paisley outlines, neo-Confederates desire to praise Southern heritage but ignore slavery, thus ignoring blame. Critics, such as those in Lexington, take on the task of blaming neo-Confederates, but because they are not part of that community, blame has little effect. Like neo-Confederate rhetoric, reconciliationist rhetoric praises the reunification of America while failing to blame slavery and its residual racist systematic effects—from Jim Crow to segregation to the prison system to stand-your-ground gun laws—in which the nation as well as the South is complicit. This study reflects that emphasis on praise in scholarship and utilizations of epideictic. The question then becomes how one blames but also maintains the community, especially in epideictic spaces. This question should lead to more theorization on the particular functions of epideictic *blame*.

I argue that blame can be a generative activity that can potentially lead to the transformation of the community. In the context of space, blame must be connected to the materiality of the space as well as its social construction. For instance, at Appomattox Court House, a slave cabin still stands in the town; however, that cabin has no interpretive signage and therefore becomes just another old building in the complex. In other words, despite the fact that there is a very small exhibit on African Americans in another building, the dissociation from the materiality of slavery distances visitors from an embodied encounter with blame. Similarly,

across the road from Appomattox Court House is a sign describing African-American education after the Civil War. Again, though, the sign is in front of an open field and commemorates nothing that existed in that space. Because all points in time are layered in a space, from historical to the present and even the future, visitors become engaged in a *kairotic* moment in *kairotic* space. In this manner, space has a particular power to facilitate blame by prompting visitors to examine the past in relation to themselves *if* the epideictic rhetoric is connected to the materiality of the space.

This study on epideictic has implications beyond Civil War rhetoric and raising the difficulty of a rhetoric of blame. To blame also calls for a particular form of remembering rather than forgetting in epideictic spaces. As a form of trauma, forgetting allows the community to continue without a changed identity. However, the audience can also be involved in the transformation of the community. As an active spectator who witnesses how the community will continue in the future, the audience as the creator of community becomes a spectator of itself. Writing about testimonies of trauma, Dori Laub theorizes the listener/spectator as a double witness: first to the testimony of the trauma and second as a witness to the listening of the trauma. Similarly, in this double articulation in an epideictic address, the audience is a witness to the delivery of the message and a witness to itself receiving the message. In Laub's words, the listener therefore becomes "an enabler of the testimony—the one who triggers its initiation, as well as the guardian of its process and of its momentum" (58). Essentially, the audience becomes a witness to itself, and that witnessing is an action in and of itself that constitutes the future of the community through remembering.

Krista Ratcliffe argues for this type of intersubjective witnessing, but opts for an aural rather than ocular metaphor, terming it "rhetorical listening," which she defines as a form of

reception but, more importantly, also a form of invention calling for intersubjectivity. Her articulation of the functions of rhetorical listening are the means through which the epideictic audience may create an epideictic message with the potential for ethical engagement that does more than simply support the status quo. She calls for an “understanding of self and others that informs our culture’s politics and ethics” (204), meaning that the present community and the communities of others are *displayed* (a central definer of epideictic) in order to be examined. This engagement should create a “responsibility logic” rather than a logic of guilt or blame (204). In other words, epideictic should only blame if it offers an alternative that responsibly moves the community in an alternative direction. Ratcliff also calls communities “to locate identification in discursive spaces of both commonalities and differences” (204). Identification between the audience and message is a definer of epideictic, which can merely support whatever the audience believes itself to be; however, when identification also reveals differences between communities, defining community can create responsible engagement with other communities, eliciting intersubjective engagement that has the power to alter both communities. Rhetorical listening, therefore, becomes the means through which the community can ethically engage itself and others by means of epideictic rhetoric. Epideictic becomes an invitation for community self-reflection that can lead to active understanding that affects future action.

Although epideictic rhetoric has the potential to elicit action, it does not always do so, which is one of the reasons why the genre is seen as both vacuous and transformative, manipulative and empowering. The degree to which epideictic is successful depends on how much the speaker and audience submit to the constraints of the genre: both speaker and audience must be willing to join together in a unity made possible by the epideictic address. The speaker and audience both must be active agents in creating identity, memory, and action. As Hawhee

writes, “The viewer and performer have a reciprocal, codependent relation” (176). Epideictic is effective insofar as the speaker, audience, and the message itself are consubstantial, which Lois Agnew notes can be both constraining and creative (152).

Finally, in order for epideictic to be effective, the message itself must adhere to the functions of the genre. It must create cultural identification, link past and present, and argue for future action. The most effective addresses are those that focus on praise—or if they do blame, they need to offer a positive alternative through praise. While addresses still can function epideictically without meeting all characteristics of the genre, if too many qualifications are not met, then the address will not be accepted by the audience. However, the most transformative instances of epideictic are those that simultaneously adhere to the conventions of the genre while also pushing its boundaries by inviting the audience into active participation of the creation of the future through praise *and* blame.

In order to reconstruct Civil War narratives, slavery and its effects need to be blamed, not forgotten like they are in neo-Confederate and reconciliationist rhetoric. Coupled with a form of “responsibility logic” as outlined by Ratcliffe (so there is subsequent alternative to be praised), blame allows race to be re-inserted as an integral part in Civil War narratives. In this manner, narratives are made less traumatic; trauma, as Cathy Caruth theorizes it in *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History*, exists because parts of the narrative have been forgotten so that events do not happen in a cause-and-effect sequence. As a result, events of the trauma are continually re-enacted. Trauma re-enactment is seen in the fixation on the details of the surrender between Lee and Grant in Appomattox and in the annual gatherings during Lee-Jackson Day in Lexington. In these and other instances, the narratives focus only on the

moments of the Civil War without looking at its legacy, which would complete the consequential narrative sequence by addressing the future.

Because epideictic also addresses the future, epideictic rhetoric has the potential to facilitate a responsibility logic rather than just hinder it. Based on this study, it is unclear what an epideictic rhetoric at tourist sites that resists traumatic re-enactment by addressing slavery looks like. However, historical tourist sites, which are a primary way that epideictic messages are conveyed, will be on the forefront of creating these narratives. These tourist spaces will have to include engagement with multiple stakeholders, such as Lexington locals and neo-Confederate tourists. Only by including these groups in the epideictic creation of community will other forms of traumatic forgetting be avoided. Because of the materiality of Southern commemoration, such as cemeteries and battlefields, neo-Confederates in particular will have to be engaged.

The High Water Mark of the Neo-Confederacy

Until after Vietnam, the war caused more deaths than every other American war combined: 620,000—and some estimate more. The Battle of Gettysburg is the bloodiest battle of the Civil War. At Gettysburg, Confederate forces moved the farthest north than they ever had. They were defeated on the third day of battle and retreated south, never to invade Union territory again. The most famous attack on that day is known as Pickett's Charge, when Confederate forces briefly broke through the Union line at a stone wall. The space is known as the High Water Mark of the Confederacy. That moment and that space are epideictic. To the South, Pickett's Charge represents both the height of the Confederacy and the beginning of its end. However, as Robert Penn Warren writes during the Centennial of the Civil War, "In the moment of death, the Confederacy entered upon its immortality" (15). Functioning epideictically,

Confederate memory looks to past defeat as the impetus for present commemoration to continue Confederate identity into the “immortality” of the future.

Despite the fact that neo-Confederates have seemingly lost—Confederate flags are banned from Lexington city flag poles and the Confederate flag does not fly on the Museum of the Confederacy’s promenade—they have not been rhetorically defeated. And they are perhaps even strengthened through their use of epideictic rhetoric connected to the materiality of space. Historically this has been the case. After Reconstruction, public protests were banned, but people were still able to assemble in cemeteries during May Day celebrations to honor dead Confederate soldiers. Ironically, a main reason for the popularity of Confederate cemeteries was the federal government. Although fighting for the idea that North and South belonged together as one nation, after the war sectional bitterness was still so strong that the federal government made provisions to establish national cemeteries for only the *Union* dead (Faust 237-241). Immediately after the war, the South was left to care for their own dead, and thus cemeteries became a rallying point for sectional identity. As historian Drew Gilpin Faust writes, “These soldiers could no longer contribute to the South’s military effort, but they would serve other important political and cultural purposes in providing meaning for the war and its costs” (83). Like the oration of Pericles where he extols the honor of the dead in order to justify war and Athenian identity, the space of the cemeteries became sites of protest to continue Confederate identity through remembering the dead. This epideictic activity has continued into the Sesquicentennial.

The current Sesquicentennial is another epideictic moment where Confederate memory is being determined by engagement with space. The flag protest in Lexington and at the opening of the Museum of the Confederacy—and in other locations in Virginia—reached its height 150 years after the *beginning* of the Civil War, when the Confederacy was still hopeful of winning. In

Lexington, neo-Confederates optimistically filed a law suit against the city, which was dismissed. They appealed, which was also denied on July 3, 2013, 150 years to the day after Pickett's Charge, the day Confederate forces were definitively repulsed south. The leader of the local Sons of Confederate Veterans chapter told the news station that the irony was not lost on him. Despite these set-backs, neo-Confederates derive their current cultural power through their utilization of epideictic space as sites of protest. In Lexington, Lee-Jackson Day continues: visitors assemble at the Jackson Monument and march through downtown to Lee Chapel. While these actions are part commemorative, they are also part contemporary protest against the perceived threat to Confederate space. In the moment of threat, in the moment of crisis, the Confederacy is at its strongest. The Sesquicentennial, therefore, represents the High Water Mark of the Neo-Confederacy, and it receives its force through commemorative activities in epideictic spaces.

In order to engage neo-Confederate thought—whether that be with academics, local governments, tourists, or stakeholders—negotiation with the materiality of space is essential. In Lexington, for example, locals must negotiate with tourists how the spaces of Jackson's and Lee's graves will be defined. That negotiation must take into consideration the material realities of the site that are important to neo-Confederates and the social construction important to locals. Ideological conflicts such as what the Confederate flag represents can become fruitful when anchored in the material spaces in which it is embedded. For example, a Confederate flag next to a grave in the space of Jackson Cemetery is different from a Confederate flag on the space of a Lexington flagpole, and they are both different from a flag on the space of a truck next to stickers supporting the NRA and hunting and from the flag held in the space of a white supremacist rally. When the Confederate flag is engaged through the spaces in which it is

embodied, its meanings and intentions can be more clearly articulated, starting with the fact that the flag means different things in different spaces.

Conclusion

In epideictic spaces, such as cemeteries, battlefields, and museums, at epideictic moments, such as the Sesquicentennial, memory is created. Therefore these spaces (all tourist sites) are a form of fluid historical archive. In order to study how contemporary memory formation happens, spatial research affords the ability observe the dynamics between space and memory. What the spaces of Lexington, Appomattox, and the Museum of the Confederacy demonstrate is that epideictic space determines identities for communities. In the case of the American Civil War, those identities have contemporary implications for narratives related to America and the Confederacy. Beyond the Civil War, this research demonstrates epideictic rhetoric creates those narratives by invoking the past to create a vision for the future. Tourism becomes the embodied way that action happens through visitors' engagement with the materiality of the space. Epideictic can continue the community, but it can also potentially transform the community through rhetorical listening so that the direction of the future is altered.

Works Cited

- Agnew, Lois. "“The Day Belongs to the Students’: Expanding Epideictic’s Civic Function.”
Rhetoric Review. 27.2 (2008): 147-164.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 1983.
- Aristotle. "Memory and Recollection." *De Sensu and De Memoria*. Trans. G.R.T. Ross. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906.100-119.
- . *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Trans. George Kennedy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Beale, Walter. "Rhetorical Performative Discourse: A New Theory of Epideictic." *Philosophy and Rhetoric*. 11.4 (1979): 221-246.
- Bennett, Tony. "Civic laboratories: Museums, Cultural Objecthood and the Governance of the Social." *Making Culture, Changing Society*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Blair, Carole and Neil Michel. "The Rushmore Effect: *Ethos* and National Collective Identity." *The Ethos of Rhetoric*. Ed. Michael Hyde. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004.
- Blair, Carole. "Contemporary U.S. Memorial Sites as Exemplars of Rhetoric’s Materiality." *Rhetorical Bodies*. Eds. Jack Selzer and Sharon Crowley. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999.
- . "Reproducing Civil Rights Tactics: The Rhetorical Performances of the Civil Rights Memorial." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 30.2 (2000): 31-55.
- Blight, David. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2001.

- Bostdorff, Denise. "Epidictic Rhetoric in the Service of War: George W. Bush on Iraq and the 60th Anniversary of the Victory over Japan." *Communication Monographs*. 78.3 (2011): 296-323.
- Braden, Waldo and Harold Mixon. "Epidictic Speaking in the Post-Civil War South and the Southern Experience." *Southern Communication Journal*. 54 (1988): 40-57.
- Burke, Kenneth. *A Rhetoric of Motives*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Carter, Michael. "The Ritual Functions of Epidictic Rhetoric: The Case of Socrates' Funeral Oration." *Rhetorica*. 9.3 (1991): 209-232.
- Calos, Katherine. "Civil War Anniversary Has Tourists On March." *Roanoke Times* 21 Oct. 2013: A1.
- Caruth, Cathy. *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- . *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Chase, J. Richard. "The Classical Conception of Epidictic." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 47 (1961): 293-300.
- Chatman, Seymour. *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978.
- Clark, Gregory. *Rhetorical Landscapes in America: Variations on a Theme from Kenneth Burke*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004.
- Condit, Celeste. "The Functions of Epidictic: The Boston Massacre Orations as Exemplar." *Communication Quarterly*. 33.4 (1985): 284-299.
- Conley, Jay. "City Debates Museum Benefits." *Roanoke Times* 26 March 2007: B1.

- Cushman, Ellen. "The Rhetorician as an Agent of Social Change." *College Composition and Communication*. 47.1 (1996): 7-28.
- Cvetkovich, Ann. *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Danisch, Robert. "Power and the Celebration of the Self: Michel Foucault's Epideictic Rhetoric." *Southern Communication Journal*. 71.3 (2006): 291-307.
- De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California, 1984.
- Denzin, Norman and Yvonna Lincoln. "The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research." *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Eds. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln. Sage: Thousand Oaks, CA, 2000.
- Dickinson, Greg et al. *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010.
- Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Faust, Drew Gilpin. *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*. New York: Knopf, 2008.
- Fine, Michelle et al. "For Whom? Qualitative Research Representations, and Social Responsibilities." *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Eds. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln. Sage: Thousand Oaks, CA, 2000.
- Gallagher, Gary. "Introduction." *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*. Eds. Gary Gallagher and Alan Nolan. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000.
- Glenn, Cheryl and Jessica Enoch. "Drama in the Archives: Rereading Methods, Rewriting History." *CCC* 61.2 (December 2009): 321-342.

- Green, Kristen. "A Place Where the Confederacy Belongs: The Challenged Museum of the Confederacy Is Spotlit During 150th Commemoration." *Bristol Herald Courier* 25 Mar 2012: C1.
- Hague, Euan et al. *Neo-Confederacy: A Critical Introduction*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.
- Halloran, S. Michael and Gregory Clark. "National Park Landscapes and the Rhetorical Display of Civic Religion." *Rhetorics of Display*. Ed. Lawrence Prelli. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.
- Halloran, S. Michael. "Text and Experience in a Historical Pageant: Toward a Rhetoric of Spectacle." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*. 31.4 (2001): 5-17.
- Haskins, Ekaterina. "Philosophy, Rhetoric, and Cultural Memory: Rereading Plato's *Menexenus* and Isocrates' *Panegyricus*." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*. 35.1 (2005): 25-45.
- Hauser, Gerard. "Aristotle on Epideictic: The Formation of Public Morality." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*. 29.1 (1999): 5-23.
- Hawhee, Debra. *Bodily Arts: Rhetoric and Athletics in Ancient Greece*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004.
- Hutton, Patrick. "The Art of Memory Reconceived: From Rhetoric to Psychoanalysis." *Journal of the History of Ideas*. 50.3 (1987): 371-392
- Hyde, Michael. "Rhetorically, We Dwell." *The Ethos of Rhetoric*. Ed. Michael Hyde. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004.
- Janney, Caroline E. *Burying the Dead But Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.
- Jarratt, Susan. "Beside Ourselves: Rhetoric and Representation in Postcolonial Feminist

- Writing.” *The Norton Book of Composition Studies*. Ed. Susan Miller. 1381-1400.
- . “Speaking for the Past: Feminist Historiography in Rhetoric.” *Pre/Text*. 11.3-4 (1990): 190-209.
- Kahl, Mary and Michael Leff. “The Rhetoric of War and Remembrance: An Analysis of President Bill Clinton’s 1994 D-Day Discourses.” *Qualitative Research Reports in Communication*. 7.1 (2006):15-21.
- Kennedy, George, trans. *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Laub, Dori. “Bearing Witness, or the Vicissitudes of Listening.” *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. Eds. Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991.
- MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken, 1976.
- MacNealy, Mary Sue. *Strategies for Empirical Research in Writing*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1999.
- Massey, Doreen. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1994.
- McLaughlin, Seth. “Confederate Museum Considers a New Name.” *Washington Times* 21 Feb. 2007: B1.
- Miller, Carolyn. “Genre as Social Action.” *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 70 (1994): 151-167.
- Newkirk, Thomas. “The Narrative Roots of the Case Study.” *Methods and Methodology in Composition Research*. Eds. Gesa Kirsch and Patricia Sullivan. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992.

- Noy, Chaim. "The Aesthetics of Qualitative (Re)search: Performing Ethnography at a Heritage Museum." *Qualitative Inquiry*. 17.10 (2011): 917-929.
- . "Articulating Spaces: Inscribing Spaces and (Im)mobilities in an Israeli Commemorative Visitor Book." *Social Semiotics* 21.2 (2011): 155-173.
- Oravec, Christine. "'Observation' in Aristotle's Theory of Epideictic." *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 9.3 (1976): 162-174.
- Pezzullo, Phaedra. *Toxic Tourism: Rhetorics of Pollution, Travel, and Environmental Justice*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007.
- Perelman, Chiam and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca. *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*. Trans. John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969.
- Plato. "Menexenus." *The Dialogues of Plato, Volume 1: Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Meno, Gorgias, Menexenus*: Trans. R.E. Allen. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Pollock, Della. "Performing Writing." *The Ends of Performance*. Eds. Peggy Phelan and Jill Lane. New York: NYU Press, 1998. 73-103.
- Poulakos, Takis. "Isocrates's Use of Narrative in the *Evagoras*: Epideictic Rhetoric and Moral Action." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 73 (1987): 317-328
- . "Towards a Cultural Understanding of Classical Epideictic Oratory." *Pre/Text* 9.3-4 (1988): 147-166.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Prelli, Lawrence, ed. *Rhetorics of Display*. Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 2006.
- Ratcliffe, Krista. "Rhetorical Listening: A Trope for Interpretive Invention and a 'Code of Cross-

- Cultural Conduct.” *College Composition and Communication*. 51.2 (1999): 195-224.
- Rawls, Waite. “The Most Things Change, the More They Stay the Same: The History of the Confederate Memorial Literary Society.” *Grand Opening*. Museum of the Confederacy, Appomattox. 31 Mar 2012: 10-11.
- Rawson, K.J. “Archive This! Queering the Archive.” *Practicing Research in Writing Studies: Reflexive and Ethically Responsible Research*. Eds. Katrina Powell and Pamela Takayoshi. New York: Hampton Press, 2012.
- Reynolds, Nedra. *Geographies of Writing: Inhabiting Places and Encountering Difference*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 2004.
- Rickly-Boyd, Jillian. “The Tourist Narrative.” *Tourist Studies*. 9.3 (2009): 259-280.
- Schiappa, Edward and David Timmerman. “Aristotle’s Disciplining of Epideictic.” *The Beginnings of Rhetorical Theory in Classical Greece*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Selzer, Jack. “Habeas Corpus: An Introduction.” *Rhetorical Bodies*. Eds. Jack Selzer and Sharon Crowley.
- Sheard, Cynthia Miecznikowski. “The Public Value of Epideictic Rhetoric.” *College English*. 58.7 (1996): 765-794.
- Soja, Edward. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. ---. *Seeking Spatial Justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010.
- Sturken, Marita. *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Sullivan, Dale. “The Ethos of Epideictic Encounter.” *Philosophy and Rhetoric*. 26.2 (1993): 113-133.

- Thelen, David. "The Movie Maker as Historian: Conversations with Ken Burns." *Journal of American History* 81.3 (1994): 1031-1050.
- Thucydides. *The Peloponnesian War*. Trans. Martin Hammond. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Timmerman, David. "Epidictic Oratory." *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition: Communication from Ancient Times to the Information Age*. Ed. Theresa Enos. New York: Routledge, 1996. 228-232.
- Trotter, Lawrence. "A Triple Defense: Robert Lewis Dabney on 'Stonewall Jackson.'" *Journal of Communication and Religion*. 27 (2004): 268-294.
- Tucker, Neely. "Swept Away By History: Virginia's Museum of the Confederacy Is Struggling Not to Be a Relic of the Past." *Washington Post* 2 Apr 2007: C1.
- Urry, John. *The Tourist Gaze*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2002.
- Villadsen, Lisa Storm. "Speaking on Behalf of Others: Rhetorical Agency and Epidictic Functions in Official Apologies." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*. 38.1 (2008): 25-45.
- Vivian, Bradford. "Up from Memory: Epidictic Forgetting in Booker T. Washington's Cotton States Exposition Address." *Philosophy and Rhetoric*. 45.2 (2012): 189-212.
- Volonaki, Eleni. "Epidictic Oratory at the Olympic Games." *Thinking the Olympics: The Classical Tradition and the Modern Games*. Eds. Barbara Goff and Michael Simpson. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011. 76-89.
- Urry, John. *The Tourist Gaze*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2002.
- Warren, Robert Penn. *The Legacy of the Civil War: Meditations on the Centennial*. New York: Random House, 1961.
- White, Hayden. *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*.

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Wyschogrod, Edith. *An Ethics of Remembering: History, Heterology, and the Nameless Others*.

Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998.

Yates, Frances. *The Art of Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Zulick, Margaret. "The *Ethos* of Invention: The Dialogue of Ethics and Aesthetic in Kenneth

Burke and Mikhail Bakhtin." *The Ethos of Rhetoric*. Ed. Michael Hyde. Columbia:

University of South Carolina Press, 2004.