

3.6. Underground music in America's heartland: "Rising Appalachia" and traditional folk/pop as social protest

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Abstract

Rising Appalachia, a quasi-folk, quasi-pop activist group fronted by sisters Leah and Chloe Smith of Atlanta, Georgia, strives to stimulate awareness of regional economic and political problems, and to enact changes involving the clear-cutting of forests, mountain top removal, and other ecologically and socially destructive activities. The Smiths and their collaborators stand apart from the increasingly globalized and commodified cultural spaces that surround them. Their do-it-yourself performative roots and style, together with the local musical practices and convictions they embrace, contribute to what might be considered avant-garde and underground character closely associated with one of America's least prosperous and most neglected cultural heartlands. Several audiovisual recordings, all of them available on YouTube, exemplify the ensemble's commitment both to traditional and local musical styles as well as to opposition in the face of political and social repression and exploitation.

Keywords: Appalachia, traditional music, avant-garde, activism, underground music

Rising Appalachia is a quasi-folk, quasi-pop activist group fronted by sisters Leah and Chloe Smith of Atlanta, Georgia. Since their first public performances in 2008 the group, built by the Smiths, has grown rapidly in popularity through social media and an extensive touring schedule; already they have performed in Costa Rica, the Czech Republic, Italy, and several other nations. Unlike most of the performers pro/claiming Appalachia as an identity or allied space, however, Rising Appalachia must be considered radical. The ensemble strives to stimulate awareness of regional economic and political problems, and to enact changes involving the clear-cutting of forests, mountain top removal, and other ecologically and socially destructive activities. At the same time Rising Appalachia remains rooted in traditional performance practices and regionalized appeal. The Smiths and their collaborators stand apart from the increasingly commodified cultural spaces that surround them. Their DIY performative roots and style, as well as the local musical practices and revolutionary convictions they embrace, contribute to what might be considered their underground character—but "underground" within one of America's least prosperous and most neglected cultural heartlands.

The pages that follow are devoted to identifying Rising Appalachia's relationship with a variety of musical cultures and "scenes," including certain aspects of what is often called

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“postmodernity.” This discussion is followed by brief synopses of Appalachia as a region both real and imagined, and of traditional mountain music’s sources and performative practices. Finally, three recorded audiovisual performances—“Across the Blueridge [*s/d*] Mountains,” “I’ll Fly Away,” and “Scale Down”—are examined as exemplary both of Rising Appalachia’s musical aesthetics and of its political and social goals. Although the group has released six audio recordings, all of them compact disks (R.I.S.E. 2008; Rising Appalachia 2006, 2007, 2010b, 2012a, 2012c), its musical style and political statements cannot be separated from the personal appearances of its members and the public performances of the ensemble as a whole. In short: Rising Appalachia is significantly audiovisual in style, expression, and political purpose.

Defining Rising Appalachia: scenes, DIY musical cultures, and postmodernity

Rising Appalachia is difficult to define within an increasingly globalized and commodified musical marketplace. Is the ensemble simply a “band” or can it and its followers be considered a “scene”? Are its members professionally trained or are they do-it-yourselfers? To what extent do they participate in the same marketplace as pop stars? Is Rising Appalachia in any sense meaningful to twenty-first-century cultural critics “avant-garde” or “underground”? And to what extent can they legitimately and meaningfully be considered “postmodern”?

Because “scene” as a term is so firmly associated with indie-rock and other youth-oriented styles—among them No Wave in New York City, Madchester in Manchester, England, and the several styles that emerged in Portland, Oregon, during the 1980s—it cannot easily be applied to Rising Appalachia or its audiences. Instead, the ensemble deliberately crosses borders, addressing rural as well as urban listeners. Never has it been associated with individual clubs or neighborhoods. In certain respects the group also courts older as well as younger audiences: those that cherish traditional mountain music as well, intriguingly, as those who grew up celebrating East Coast rap. Rising Appalachia claims a portion of those variegated traditions even as it challenges certain assumptions, musical as well as political and social, associated with them.

Furthermore, the music made by Rising Appalachia is truly do-it-yourself, continually rethought and continually striving for spontaneity. According to Wikipedia, a source not always trustworthy but often correct, the Smith sisters’ very first joint musical endeavor, which apparently took place in the mid-2000s, was a home-made compact disk recorded for family and friends. Chloe Smith is said to have initiated that recording project, which “received so much support and recognition” that the sisters “decided to officially start a band called Rising Appalachia” (N/A n.d.). The recording was released as “Rising Appalachia” in 2006. From June 2008 through February 2010, however, the band was known as “RISE” or “R.I.S.E.” (see R.I.S.E. 2008).

Perhaps as a consequence of its often traditional, regionally grounded, and DIY origins, Rising Appalachia eschews certain aspects of postmodernity. Above all the group rejects what Frederic Jameson calls “the complacent play of historical allusions” (Jameson 1998, 105). Instead of parodying or abandoning traditionally grounded musical gestures, Rising Appalachia continually (re)affirms the region’s musical past—which, among other things, serves as an active catalyst for new sounds. In so doing, the Smiths and their collaborators refuse to contribute both to the breakdown of “temporal continuities” often associated with postmodern entertainment, and to the sense of loss that Fredric Jameson believes such

breakdown inevitably entails (Jameson 1985, 120). They draw upon a wealth of sources, but instead of "sampling" (Goodwin 1991) they entirely recreate or recombine. Innovation in traditional American music is scarcely limited today to Rising Appalachia's real and virtual public performances. Television programs such as *Austin City Limits*, for example, regularly feature less-familiar rural styles, including Tejano, progressive country, alternative rock, and "redneck-hippie" (Endres 1987, 64). Nevertheless, Rising Appalachia remains uniquely unsettling and inspiring even as it cleaves to regional musical traditions.

As Henry Jenkins explains, twentieth-century American culture witnessed "the displacement of folk culture by mass media" (Jenkins 2006, 135). Several years ago Gertrude Himmelfarb went farther, pointing out that America's "adversary culture" seems since the 1960s to have completely broken down, to have become "democratized and popularized" (Himmelfarb 2005, 118). Avant-garde and underground activities seem to have altogether disappeared. Yet Rising Appalachia's performances and especially its activist political and social agenda call the phrase "avant-garde" to mind. The ensemble reminds listeners of music's political power; it rejects the displacement of folk cultures even as it repeatedly challenges listeners, often quite conservative listeners, to reconsider what they're used to hearing and to rise up and do something about the problems confronting them. Numbers such as "Filthy Dirty South" are entirely devoted to contemporary issues. The sounds associated with these issues—sounds that incorporate phrases from urban rap on behalf of rural causes—comprise an evolving *bricolage* of antique and modern references and styles. Like other of its calls for action against fracking, oil spills, mountain-top removal, and other dilemmas, "Filthy Dirty South" is intriguingly eclectic as well as politically and socially transformative.

If only to the extent that the ensemble's members make excellent use of social media, reaching out on Facebook and other platforms to admirers and critics alike, Rising Appalachia must be considered postmodern. At the same time the ensemble has remained to some extent "underground." This last term, associated with initially unfamiliar cultural activities and still-undiscovered talents—Bob Dylan, say, during his earliest New York City performances—seems outdated in a world of cell phones, texting, and the internet. Yet Rising Appalachia appeals to its scattered fan base for support, not to corporate interests and multinational conglomerates. Its sixth and most recent compact disk, unnamed as of 15 August 2014, is being funded by the group's fans, each of whom is asked to send in enough money to pay for a single disk (Rising Appalachia 2014c). Here the digital world of infotainment helps make possible an independence historically associated with earlier, equally radicalized generations of protest artists

Appalachia's several identities and Rising Appalachia's relationship to them

Rooted in the local-color writings of travelers during the Era of Reconstruction that followed the nation's Civil War, ideas of "Appalachia" came to occupy a place in the American psyche at once barbaric and pure, uncivilized and appealing. In certain ways the men and women of the region have long been imagined to embody, and to some extent actually have embodied, the American pioneering spirit. They have also been condemned because, having broken free of the Eastern seaboard, they paused in the mountains instead of moving on and helping their young nation fulfill its Manifest Destiny. As early as 1895, for example, Henry Cabot Lodge proclaimed that small states (and, one would think, the remote and primitive regions within

those states—regions such as Appalachia) belong “to the past,” because only expansion “made for ‘civilization and the advancement of the race’” (Garraty 1953, 52). Acknowledging during the 1970s that Appalachia has long been hemmed in, ruled by outsiders rather than by its own peoples, David Whisenant epitomized the region as:

a captive energy colony for urban and suburban middle- and upper-class, growth oriented America, which must have Appalachia’s coal and cheap labor in order to remain comfortably on its accustomed binge of consumption and waste or to endure it’s energy crisis... The region is—along with much of the impoverished third world—an essential base for perpetuating our much-praised “American way of life.” (Whisenant 1974, 103)

Rising Appalachia wields an artistic energy into social protest by connecting and maneuvering around rigid genre, geographic and cultural norms.

The physical and cultural geographies that have contributed to Rising Appalachia’s musical and social concerns are associated principally, although sometimes fancifully, with remote areas of North America’s southeastern mountains. In geopolitical terms Appalachia is defined by the national Appalachian Regional Commission (or ARC) as the 205,000 square miles that follow the region’s “spine ... from southern New York to northern Mississippi”: an enormous and variegated region that comprises all of West Virginia and parts of twelve other states, including portions of Alabama, Maryland, and New Jersey (ARC n.d.). Geologists, on the other hand, understand that the Appalachian cordilleras also extend north as well as south, into New England and Canada’s maritime provinces. Whatever its boundaries, the region’s topography—the Blue Ridge or “Crystalline Appalachians,” the Plateau or “Sedimentary Appalachians,” and the basin and valleys that separate and surround them—is dear to millions of “outsiders” who venerate its geophysical beauties and biodiversity. It seems fitting to many outdoors enthusiasts that the Appalachian Trail, America’s first and most popular hiking trail, runs through these ranges from northern Georgia as far north as Maine’s Hundred Mile Wilderness. At the same time, Appalachia’s inhabitants continue to be imagined as “Others,” whose isolated lives are often stereotyped or entirely overlooked.

Precisely where *cultural* rather than physical Appalachia begins and ends has been hotly debated for more than a century (see Ergood 1991). Almost always it is imagined or portrayed as belonging to the southern mountains, especially their nooks and crannies. In this sense it represents a rather unusual kind of “imagined community” (see Anderson 2006): one constructed for political and economic purposes to contain and control part of a nation rather than to define that nation as a whole. Often, too, the peoples and practices of that community—in actual fact, many quite different communities—are marginalized in terms of “hillbilly” stereotypes. Hillbillies are themselves believed to be lazy, violent, drunken, and stupid degenerates who dress in bib overalls and slouch hats, go barefoot, sleep as much of the time as possible, arm themselves (when awake) with old-fashioned rifles and shotguns, indulge in pointless feuds with equally impoverished neighbors, and fortify themselves frequently from jugs of illegal corn whiskey (Harkins 2004, 178-81).

These distortions were especially widespread prior to the later 1950s and 1960s, when Americans became increasingly aware of their nation’s minority populations. Attitudes continue to change. In 2000, for example, the Coen brothers’ movie *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* inspired nationwide enthusiasm for mountain music and a few of its performers, including Alison Krauss. Even today, however, educated men and women continue to dismiss Appalachia as a poverty-stricken, uneducated, dilapidated space. As recently as June 2014 and in the *New York Times*, Annie Lowrey called the region a mere “smudge on the map” (Lowrey

2014). What is lost in these inadequate images is the region's diversity. Rising Appalachia accepts Stephen Fisher's challenge that Appalachia's inhabitants and proponents themselves act to "end ... cultural isolationism" on behalf of "some kind of global solidarity" (Fisher 1993, 12).

Appalachian music and Rising Appalachia's relationship with it

A somewhat more positive view of Appalachia has to do with its musical roots, both real and imagined, in English balladry and other sources associated with Protestant Scots-Irish and German settlers. During the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries the "songcatchers," many of them amateur folklorists, haunted parts of Africa, Asia, and Europe as well as portions of Appalachia, searching for traditional tunes and texts (Hart and Kostyal 2003). Cecil Sharp, for example, investigated traditional music in England as well as the United States; in 1917 he and Olive Dame Campbell published *English Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, a volume that has several times been reprinted in various versions (Sharp and Campbell 1917). Often racially and ethnically blinkered, these studies mostly ignored the region's African- and Italian Americans as well as their musical contributions to regional music (see Conway 1995; Hay 2003; Obermiller 1993; and Portelli 1984). Rising Appalachia has drawn especially upon African and African American clothing, hairstyles, facial decoration, and tattoo styles, as well as upon classical, jazz, and even hip-hop sources of musical inspiration.

The Carter Family and Jimmie Rodgers, among the region's earliest recording artists, were equally eclectic. The Carters especially drew upon a wide range of sources and often upon older sources, including nineteenth-century gospel, parlor, and vaudeville novelties, previously recorded pop songs, blues, and Protestant hymns (Zwonitzer and Hirshberg 2002). Rodgers, the "Father of Country Music," drew somewhat more frequently upon African-American music, especially the blues, and upon railroad ballads and other working-class genres (Porterfield 1979). Even today, "old-time" mountain music is largely defined in terms—especially performative terms—the Carters and Rodgers would have understood. Tunes come and go, but the "high lonesome" sound remains the most stable marker of Appalachian musical practices.

Defining that sound is a comparatively straightforward task, although what follows is at best a sketch rather than a full-fledged description (see Cantwell 2003, esp. 19-29). In its purportedly purest form, typically traditional old-time or mountain music draws upon an established body of melodies, many of them set to words evoking sorrows and loss, homesickness, wandering, and the woes of poverty. Livelier music sometimes celebrates hunting and fishing, romantic love—especially trysts between young lovers—and weekend partying. Religion too is a frequent subject and is treated in a variety of styles that include straightforward hymn singing as well as vigorous gospel ensemble numbers. Singers are mostly untrained and occasionally perform alone or in pairs. Often, vocal solos are followed by "choruses" in predictable call-and-response patterns. Instrumental accompaniments and voiceless ensemble numbers generally feature string instruments: banjos, fiddles, guitars, and mandolins are by far the most popular, although later inventions such as the dobro are also employed. Sometimes home-made noisemakers such as washboards and spoons are used. Percussion instruments such as drums are seldom heard, and wind instruments are almost never employed. These practices, together with a handful of melodies often borrowed from

more recent sources or composed by tunesmiths hired for that purpose, were to some extent reconstructed during the 1930s and 1940s, subsequently to be marketed as “bluegrass,” a subcategory of “country,” by Nashville’s entertainment industry.

Rising Appalachia draws upon these materials and especially the performative traditions associated with them, even as it alters or overturns them, replacing acceptance with outrage at political and social injustices. For their fifth album, unnamed as of 15 August 2014, they announce online their use of boudrhan, high-hat cymbals, saxophones, trumpets, and other “non-mountain” sound sources (Rising Appalachia 2014c). All this is of course subordinate to their extra-musical messages. As activists Rising Appalachia can be considered the latest in a long line of musicians fed up with corporate greed and class-based injustice. In other respects, however, the group remains unique. In the ways its members dress, the unfamiliar instruments they use, the African American musicians they feature, and the music videos they have produced—videos, as we shall see below, that in certain respects call to mind avant-garde films of the 1960s—Rising Appalachia must be considered radical as well as traditional. The Smiths especially remain true to their region’s aesthetic roots, even as they condemn the economic and political exploitation that besmirch it.

Self-sufficiency: an Appalachian tradition and a challenge to oppression

A large part of Rising Appalachia’s radical activism stems from yet another regional tradition: that of self-sufficiency. Since 1928—on that first occasion in Asheville, North Carolina—mountain musicians have come together in festivals to exchange ideas and practices. Outside cultural influences have also been important. The Folk Movement of the 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s helped Americans become more familiar both with local and traditional musical practices and with certain social issues, including poverty (Cantwell 1996). So did the populism of the Great Depression and the Arts and Crafts Movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As performers, the Smith sisters have been inspired by these aesthetic, political, and social movements. They wear handmade clothing and jewelry, or they dress themselves in clothes associated with factory workers, farmers, miners, and other laborers. They decorate their bodies with circle tattoos, and their use of face paint is sometimes explicitly African or at the very least “tribal.” Consequently, their “look” is simultaneously local and global, Gothic and steampunk-inspired, “foreign” as well as down-home. These details may seem unimportant, but in mountain-music circles, where conventional contemporary western dress is taken for granted, they constitute highly unusual forms of appropriation that suggest everything and everywhere “native” is somehow also “regional.”

At the same time, the Smiths themselves constitute the latest wave (or members of the latest wave) of Appalachian women who sing against injustice. As Pat Beaver reminds us, “Much of the complex mosaic of diversity and of female agency that has shaped the Appalachian South has been rendered invisible by racism, patriarchy, and class hegemony” (Beaver 1996, xvii). The Smith sisters, both as individuals and ensemble members, refuse to remain invisible. Instead, they demonstrate their rejection of racism and patriarchy in part through choices of performative dress and personal decoration. In these last respects, Rising Appalachia cannot be considered stereotypically “Appalachian.” Nor merely “local.” Instead, the ensemble’s members oppose not only regional oppression but oppressive practices everywhere. Embodying the diversity and urgency of the work Beaver writes about, Rising

Appalachia adds its conjoined voices to those of the peoples they represent. Nor are those peoples limited to Appalachia's poor white men: the coal miners and hardscrabble farmers of eastern Kentucky and the "hollers" of Virginia and Tennessee. Or, as Leah Smith put it on an earlier version of the Rising Appalachia webpage:

Music is the tool with which we wield political prowess. Melody for the roots of each of us ... spreading song and sound around the globe. Music has become our script for vision, not for aural pleasure, not just for hobby, but now to connect and create in ways that we aren't taught by mainstream culture. We are building a community and tackling social injustice through melody, making the stage reach out with octopus arms to gather a great family. (Rising Appalachia 2014b)

Three rising Appalachia performance pieces

"Across the Blue Ridge Mountains"

Rising Appalachia's general adherence to conventional mountain-music performance practices are exemplified in their audiovisual YouTube document "Across the Blue Ridge Mountains" (Rising Appalachia 2012b). In this performance the Smith sisters, who appear without backup artists or instrumental support of any kind, perform as traditional artists do around the world. Their unaccompanied voices, moving in open thirds, fourths, fifths, and sixths as well as in unisons and octaves, call to mind similar duets associated with Bavarian folk music and Eastern European peoples. Other old-time and mountain musicians have also sung this way and about similar subjects; "I'll Fly Away," performed by Alison Krauss and Gillian Welch and featured in the sound track of *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* is but one example.

As the Smiths sing "Across the Blue Ridge Mountains," they seem almost to be advertising the region on behalf of ecotourism. Beautiful images of misty mountain mornings and groves of trees accompany their voices. It is important to note, however, that throughout their performance the sisters are dressed "down" rather than "up." They wear modern work clothes: the caps, jackets, and pants associated in the United States with labor and the "common people" folk singers have often revered. Even more telling are the dreadlocks worn by one of the sisters. Here we encounter something foreign to imagined, idealized images of a relic region untouched by racial division and uninhabited by African Americans or anyone resembling them. The Smiths' choice of clothing and hairstyles celebrate diversity—or, more precisely, contest the stereotype of mountain music as exclusively "white."

Interestingly enough, a similar vocal performance of the same number by the Smiths, recorded live at Floyd Fest 2013 in Floyd, Virginia (Rising Appalachia 2013), was greeted with enthusiastic catcalls and "rebel yells" by audience members. The reception may simply have been the result of fans expressing their appreciation for the Smith's performing style, but it may also have had to do with their clothing. On that occasion the sisters wore rather eccentric low-cut dresses, one short-skirted and one floor-length. In this instance too, traditional music was (re)presented visually—although somewhat less strikingly, and certainly less racially inclusively—by Rising Appalachia's principal members.

"I'll fly away"

We have already seen that traditional mountain musicians often employ banjos, fiddles, guitars, and mandolins as ensemble as well as accompanying instruments. Rising Appalachia draws upon these instruments as well as such non-traditional sound sources as baliphones,

beatboxes, conga drums, didgeridoos, djembe, and tablas, rhythm tracks, and occasional electrical amplification. In one of the group's audiovisual arrangements of "I'll Fly Away" (Rising Appalachia 2014a), the Smith sisters' unaccompanied vocals gradually give way to and are supplemented by a complex percussion accompaniment (a tambourine is among the instruments employed) as well as an acoustic bass, a rhythm vocalist with a hand-held microphone, and an increasingly upbeat tempo.

"I'll Fly Away," a song about death, has been popularized by other artists, including Krauss and Gilliam. The celebrated singer and guitar player Doc Watson, for example, recorded the same melody as a fast-paced instrumental ensemble number in the bluegrass style often defined as "mountain music in overdrive" (Cantwell 2003, xv). Johnny Cash and his wife June Carter Cash of country-music fame, on the other hand, recorded "I'll Fly Away" with a host of supporting players, including a quartet of male backup singers, a quartet of female backup singers (also known as a "gospel choir"), an electric guitar, an electric bass, and percussion. Watson's performance foregrounds the spontaneity of mountain music-making and employs only traditional instruments. Johnny Cash and June Carter Cash, on the other hand, employ amplified *and* acoustic instruments; if Elvis Presley had recorded "I'll Fly Away" around 1970, it might have sounded similar.

"I'll Fly Away" is often played and sung slowly, as an expression of weariness, resignation, and perhaps even religious fatalism. Death will come and there's nothing to be done about it or, perhaps, anything else in the meantime. Both Doc Watson's ensemble and the Johnny Cash-June Carter Cash ensemble present the music in an upbeat, occasionally almost frantic manner. Rising Appalachia, on the other hand, gradually transforms the song from a slow, sad unaccompanied duet into an upbeat, dance-like ensemble number full of percussive excitement. The Smiths' backup artists are both Black and White (one African American percussionist sports dreadlocks), younger and older, and the performers' quite different costumes—none of them extremely unusual, however—suggest spontaneity. As it happens the performance, which takes place in what appears to have been a sound studio, was actually recorded "live," with a small, enthusiastic audience applauding at the end of the event. Although this version of "I'll Fly Away," one of many performed by Rising Appalachia, is in no specific way "political," its performers and their enthusiasm refuse stereotypical images of the southern Appalachians as sad, poor, and white.

"Scale down"

Unlike "Across the Blue Ridge Mountains" and "I'll Fly Away," both traditional numbers, "Scale Down" is an original composition. In a performance available on YouTube (Rising Appalachia 2010a), the Smith sisters proclaim, over and over again, "I believe in a revolution." As they sing, images of banners and protest posters supplement words about mountaintop removal and the region's oppressive class system. Here we encounter iconic images of the 1960s American counterculture: the raised fist employed by the Black Panthers is one of them; the color red is another—and red has long been an almost universal symbol of revolution. So are torches, which appear later in the clip. The sisters even wear red poppies in their hair, dimly but perhaps significantly suggestive of opium and thus of America's often radicalized drug culture.

Other "Scale Down" images are quite different, however. A pickup truck, a corrugated shed (often referred to regionally as an "outbuilding"), and an old-fashioned railroad pocket watch are all plausible symbols of Appalachia itself, its past, and its peoples. Furthermore, the

setting is unmistakably Appalachian outdoors: a mountaintop "bald" surrounded by second-growth trees. The sheer "junkiness" of still other images, however—among them an old bicycle wheel and a discarded child's doll—calls to mind *George Dumpson's Place*, an avant-garde film produced in 1965 by Ed Emshwiller. Emshwiller's film documents a real-life backyard museum built by Dumpson, an aging African American scavenger who used a child's wagon to carry found treasures back to his house. The Smith sisters almost seem to be "remembering" Dumpson in their choices of apparel: off-the-rack denim pants are supplemented by African face-painting, dreadlocks, South Asian beauty spots, and "capas" made out of old sacks covered with handwritten phrases: "Stand up in this parched land and pour water on the driest of tongues" is one of them. The sisters also seem to be remembering Dumpson's doll, one of the memorable readymades in Emshwiller's film.

Appalachia as a region has long been associated with outright revolution. Consider the so-called "Whisky Rebellion" that took place during the 1790s in western Pennsylvania, an area that lies close to or just within the southern highlands. Uprisings against coal-mining companies and other exploitative organizations have also taken place, although they have often received too little attention in national newspapers and radio and TV. Leah and Chloe Smith, however, provide Appalachia—as well as all of the global south—with a revolutionary voice in the form of musicalized quasi-folk, quasi-pop political and social activism. Throughout "Scale Down" the sisters alternately condemn their own "transgressions" and those of everyone else even as they claim to remain "optimists" in the face of commercial exploitation and social inequality.

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