

MONUMENTAL DISCOURSE: THE NARRATIVES  
ON DISPLAY AT STONE MOUNTAIN PARK,  
GEORGIA

By

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MONUMENTAL DISCOURSE: THE NARRATIVES  
ON DISPLAY AT STONE MOUNTAIN PARK,  
GEORGIA

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Abstract:

While the desire to memorialize the past is quite common, the motivations behind many memorials are not necessarily self-evident. Often — whether intentional or not — the memorialization of the past is a platform for the creation of collective identity, and frequently these arise out of conflicting identities and sometimes even racism. Stone Mountain Park in Georgia — containing the world's largest relief carving as well as three museums dedicated to the pre-Civil War South, the carving, and the geology of the area — is one such memorial. However, rather than focusing on the historical context in which the memorial was created, for this study I used content analysis to examine the current narratives being presented by the park and the Georgia Department of Economic Development's Visitors Information Center (VIC) located on Interstate 20 at the Georgia/Alabama border to understand in what ways the park is being represented and what contribution these representations make to Southern identities. I began with a visit to the VIC to collect all pertinent ephemera regarding Stone Mountain Park and proceeded to the park and its museums in order to collect the necessary data for coding and content analysis. The findings of this analysis show first a lack of congruity between the advertising ephemera and the presentations within the museums. But, more importantly, the findings show that the current narratives being presented currently at Stone Mountain Park do in fact still preserve the racial order established during the pre-Civil War South — an order which has been entrenched as part of the primary Southern identity since that time and continued through the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

**Key Terms: content analysis, geography of memory, collective identity, Southern identity, racism**

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Background**

Is it likely to see a statue of Hitler in Jerusalem? By at least one man's reckoning, the Confederate memorial at Stone Mountain, Georgia is the equivalent of exactly that (Forde 2013). According to a report by WXIA Channel 11 – Atlanta's local NBC affiliate – Atlanta resident McCartney Forde has begun an online petition to quite literally deface the monolith at Stone Mountain (Crawley 2013). The petition is still in place on change.org, and as yet, it has 649 supporters (Forde 2013). Calvin Johnson, a representative of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, was interviewed by WXIA. Johnson believes that the carving is a part of Southern heritage (Crawley 2013). Actually, McCartney not only agrees with Johnson, he claims that the carving has shaped the identity of Georgia, but for the worse (Crawley 2013). The conflict between the two views is indicative of a conflict that has been present at the site since its inception.

Stone Mountain Park in Georgia is built around an enormous granite monolith (See *Figure 1*). On this monolith, likenesses of Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, and Stonewall Jackson are present in the form of the world's highest relief carving. The names of these three historic figures carry numerous meanings in the United States and are especially salient in the American South. The monument there was created to commemorate the Confederate soldiers, and by extension the Confederate States of America (Freeman 1997). This study will provide some insight into the



Figure 1 - A view of Stone Mountain's relief carving (photograph by Sean V. Thomas).

ways that Stone Mountain Park contributes to the creation and maintenance of Southern identities. Before discussing the details of my study of Stone Mountain Park, it is necessary to provide some insight to the history of the park and the memorial there. Stone Mountain itself is a monadnock located just east of the city of Atlanta, Georgia (Freeman 1997). In the years following the Civil War, efforts to memorialize both sides of that conflict began in earnest, but reached their peak sometime during the early 20th century (Hale 1998). As early as 1909, then president of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), Helen Plane, envisioned a monument on the side of the mountain to immortalize not only the Confederacy, but also the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) – a group which considered the mountain top to be their sacred meeting place (Freeman 1997, Hale 1998). In 1915 the UDC commissioned a sculptor, Gutzon Borglum, to present a concept for the carving (Freeman 1997). Having learned of the project, the mountain's owner Sam Venable donated a large portion of the mountain and surrounding land to the cause (Hale 1998) However, as he was an active member of the KKK, Venable's donation came with the stipulation that the Klan was to be given the right to meet and celebrate there, indefinitely

(Hale 1998). Money was raised through the minting and selling of half dollar coins, with the full cooperation of the US government, and construction finally began in 1923 (Hale 1998).

By 1925, Borglum's membership in the KKK had become public (Hale 1998). Furthermore, he had been at odds with key fundraisers to the project, and was summarily dismissed (Hale 1998). A second sculptor – Donald Lukeman – was hired, and he immediately began to erase the work that Borglum had done, but by 1928, funding for the project had run out (Freeman 1997). The Great Depression and World War II further delayed the completion of the monument, but the movement resumed in earnest shortly after the landmark Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka, KS* in 1954 (Hale 1998). By 1958, the state government of Georgia, under the direction of Governor Marvin Griffin, had purchased the area, and created a state park at Stone Mountain (Freeman 1997). While there was still work to be done on the carving, the state began to install other features in the park, such as a museum, and even a pre-Civil War plantation; the buildings for which were brought in from real plantations (Hale 1998). Other attractions were added as well, including a scenic railway around the base of the mountain, a gondola lift (also called a sky lift) that carries passengers to the top of the mountain, and a steamboat ride on the lake (Freeman 1997). In 1982, the laser light show made its debut on the side of the mountain, and became one of the most popular draws in the park's history (Freeman 1997). Since the park has been state owned, the state authority with domain over the park has been the Stone Mountain Memorial Association (SMMA) (Freeman 1997). However, the park's features, concessions, and attractions have often been contracted to private businesses and concessionaires (Freeman 1997). By 1998, the park's entire operations had been contracted to Herschend Family Entertainment Corporation (HFE) (Stone Mountain Park 2011). Since that time, many more theme park-like attractions have been added, including shows, rides, playgrounds, hotels, and resorts.

## **Purpose of the Study**

The world has a multitude of memorials and monuments. Every memorial comes with one or more stories, and each story has a message. Sometimes the messages are visible, and straightforward; and sometimes they are even legible. An example is the Statue of Liberty where an engraving sits with the famous lines “Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses...” very clearly identifying the influx of immigrants to the United States in the early 20th century. However, through inundation with imagery, rhetoric, and publicity stunts, certain messages have been assigned to the Statue of Liberty; a patriotic message; a message of freedom and peace; an image of liberty. These messages are expressed in the form of discourses. Discourses are “a specific series of representations and practices through which meanings are produced, identities constituted, social relations established, and political and ethical outcomes made more or less possible” (Gregory et al. 2009, 166). These discursive productions play an important role in the creation and maintenance of collective identity (Johnson 1995).

When discourses are produced in monuments, memorials, and museums, they are produced through the reification of memory. Memory is “an inherently geographical activity: (places) store and evoke personal and collective memories...” (Gregory et al. 2009, 453). As such, the geography of memory is a subfield which is dedicated to studying places and the processes of creating the social construction of collective memory within these places. Much of the scholarly work in the geography of memory has focused on monuments and memorials. The goal of this study is to contribute to the ever growing study of the geography of memory by understanding the discourses and historical narratives that are currently being presented by Stone Mountain Park.

While the movement to create the memorial at Stone Mountain began in the early 1900s with the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), the monument was not completed until

1970, and even then not without the support of the state government of Georgia via the SMMA. While several books regarding Stone Mountain and the memorial carving have been written, each is merely a description of the mountain and its history with no scholarly analysis of the discourses associated with the monument, park, or the museums therein. Most of these books were actually produced by the SMMA – the very foundation that for so long fought to create and run the park. Elizabeth Hale (1998) compiled the most complete and scholarly historical analysis of the carving, from its conception to its completion, and the historical narratives surrounding its creation. Hale concluded that the reasons for the creation of this memorial were driven largely by race and bigotry (1998). Despite the existing literature on Stone Mountain’s history, there is an alarming lack of literature on this memorial as a cultural geographic site. Furthermore, no scholarly literature exists concerning the current discourses being presented by the park since its conversion to privatized management in 1998.

### **Research Questions**

While Hale (1998) did indeed reach valid conclusions in her analysis of the park at Stone Mountain, the commodification of the park since then has raised several more questions, and these are the driving questions behind this study:

#### *Research Question 1:*

In order for Stone Mountain Park to present its discourses, the park needs to have visitors. These visitors will not all visit the museums, but the museums are of course available to them. As with any business, advertising is used to attract customers. Stone Mountain Park is a major attraction within the state of Georgia, and is therefore the focus of many brochures and pamphlets presented to visitors to the state of Georgia at the Visitor’s Centers located on the inbound interstate highways into the state. **How is the park being represented through brochures and advertisements?**

*Research Question 2:*

Inside Stone Mountain Park there are three museums: Memorial Hall, Confederate Hall, and the Plantation. Each museum presents a set of discourses to the public, and given the different themes of the three museums, they are likely to present different discourses to the public. **What are the narratives being represented to the public within each museum? Which narratives are the most prominent, and how well do they coincide with the representation in the brochures?**

*Research Question 3:*

The park centers on the Confederate memorial relief carving on the side of the mountain. Inherent in the Confederacy which this carving immortalizes is a narrative of white supremacy and slavery. Additionally, the mountain itself has been historically and intrinsically linked to the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) (Freeman 1997, Hale 1998). The initial narratives presented by the park can be ascertained by reading Hale (1998). However, since 1998 the park has been managed by a commercial company rather than by a state agency (Stone Mountain Park 2011). **How are pre-Civil War plantations, the narrative of slavery, the Confederacy, the Civil War itself, and the KKK represented in the museums inside of the park?** Often, what is not presented can be just as telling of intent as what is presented, thus this question includes asking if there are any narratives intentionally being omitted by the park management?

*Research Question 4:*

Finally, considering the entire dataset regarding the representations both within SMP and also within the ephemeral advertising for SMP; **Is the park currently being represented as a “Southern place?” In other words, does the current management externally advertise the park as being a Southern experience? And do they in turn create a Southern experience within the museums inside of the park, thus contributing to Southern identity?**

## **Significance of the Study**

The geography of memory is concerned with the processes that link collective identity and collective memory to place. National identity, or in this case regional identity, can often be traced to the creation of memorials and monuments (Johnson 1995). The scholarship on Southern identity is vast; it is constructed and contested by numerous groups, individuals, and institutions. The Southern identity has been in part constructed through memorials and monuments and also through other productions such as books, movies, and music. My emphasis on memorials/museums and tourist brochures is necessarily partial but valuable because what is presented in a memorial, monument, or museum can often be construed as culturally significant to the creation of the regional identity. Furthermore, what are presented through brochures are images of a region. The “images communicated to tourists are more than mere advertisements. They seek to encapsulate the culture and history of the South, why it matters, and for whom it matters” (Alderman and Modlin 2013, 7) This study also offers an examination of what is being represented to tourists through brochures and ephemera as well as what narratives are being presented within the museums inside the park today in order to determine what contributions the park continues to make to Southern identities. The next chapter of this study contains a literature review of the collective identity, geography of memory, and the business of memory.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **Introduction**

The studies of collective memory have been ever increasing in scope. The spatial component of these studies has added another layer to enrich these studies further. Studies of the ways in which monuments and memorials contribute to regional identities have also been increasing. In order to effectively present the narratives about Stone Mountain, it is necessary to discuss the literature concerning the geography of memory and the importance of monuments and memorials — like those found in Stone Mountain Park — in collective and regional identity.

The literature review in this chapter is broken down into four primary categories. The categories are placed in a hierarchical fashion to narrow the focus of the literature from the broad scope of “Collective and Southern identities;” to a slightly less broad scope “The Geography of Memory;” followed by a slightly more refined scale “The Geography of Southern Memory;” and finally the largest scale “The Business of Memory” which traces the commercialization of memorial spaces. Commercialization of memorial spaces is important because commercialism can have a drastic impact upon the



message put forth by a memorial or museum.

### **Collective and Southern Identities**

Collective identity is a complex social construct. Collective identity is often described as a national identity; however it differs from national identity as national identity is often tied to the space or area enclosed by a political boundary. Actually, national identity is just a form of collective identity. In fact, collective identity can take any number of forms. It can be religious, in the way that practitioners of the Jewish faith collectively identify with one another under a singular name. Collective identity can also be linguistic, as many native Spanish speakers would identify under that language despite multiple other differences. Of paramount importance to this study, collective identity can also be regional, as many people from the American South identify with the Southern regional identity of the United States. Indeed, collective identity derives from a variety of shared experiences. Most commonly this identity draws upon “the temporal (over time), ethnic (same people), and geographical (same place) elements implicit in a commonsense knowledge of the constituent features of a nation” (Johnson 1995, 52). Johnson (1995) included historical consciousness as necessary for establishing a national identity, as well, and regional identities — such as Southern identity — are socially created just as national identities or collective identities are. Collective identity can be established, in part, through the construction and presentation of collective memory – or social memory (Butler et al. 2008, Dwyer 2000, Dwyer 2004, Dwyer and Jones 2000, Dwyer and Alderman 2008, Hoelscher and Alderman 2004, Johnson 1995, Savage 1997). However, as any story has more than one side, so too are there multiple sides to the narratives being cemented through the creation of monuments.

Inherent in the process of constructing a collective identity is the concept of conflict. An example of such conflict in the construction of collective identity is the feeling of patriotism and unity many Americans associate with the Statue of Liberty. While many Americans associate

strong patriotic feelings with the Statue of Liberty, many others see the statue as a symbol of American imperialism and the position of world power held by the United States. Furthermore, the location of the Statue of Liberty and its association with the numerous stories of immigrants to Ellis Island – the filmed image of the immigrants seeing the statue as a symbol of their arrival to a new life – is critical in the production of the aforementioned patriotism. Presidents and their public relations staff recognize the power of this symbol, and often use it in an attempt to persuade public opinion, as did George Bush in the year following the terrorist acts of 2001 (Mitchell 2003). Thus, a memorial not only produces memory, it also ties that memory to a location and even has the power to sway public opinion (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004, Dwyer 2000, Dwyer 2004, Dwyer and Jones 2000, Butler et al. 2008, Dwyer and Alderman 2008, Johnson 1995, Mitchell 2003, Savage 1997).

Conflict can be seen in virtually all sites of memory, but conflict is more obvious in some sites than in others. For example, while Linenthal (1991) discusses conflict that he found in several sites – Lexington and Concord, The Alamo, Gettysburg, Little Bighorn, and Pearl Harbor – it is his discussion of the Alamo that best encapsulates the conflict inherent in the establishment of a collective identity. When the name of San Antonio, Texas comes to mind, usually among the first images one thinks of is The Alamo, hence the famous mission is an integral part of the collective identity of that city. However, there is a “struggle over who should speak for it” (Linenthal 1991, 55). While many Texans consider the mission to be a shrine to their heroes, many Mexican Americans “look upon the symbol of the Alamo as unalterably oppressive” (Linenthal 1991, 73). Again, the conflict stems from different experiences, but it is also tied to location, because the collective identity is also tied to that location. Johnson (1995) agrees that location is critical. For example, she acknowledged that the Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C. would have a much different impact if it were located in Ho Chi Minh City.

In another example, Hale (1998) argues that the discourses promoted by the Confederate memorial carving at Stone Mountain, Georgia, originally commissioned by the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), were an attempt to permanently preserve a white supremacist past in a prominent - permanent location, thereby establishing racism as part of the collective identity of the American South (Hale 1998). In this case, racism is tied to the desire to preserve the memory of the slave-based Confederacy and the soldiers who fought to ensure the continuation of that legacy (Hale 1998). Hale went on to state that not only had racism been the initial motivating factor for the memorial, racism also prompted the public outcry to fund the carving, and also to purchase the surrounding land to be converted into a state park (1998). Though the presence of these discourses in the creation of the carving at Stone Mountain has already been established (Hale 1998), the overall purpose of this study is to identify the discourses being presented in the park and museums at Stone Mountain today.

One discourse commonly associated with the American South is racism. While racism is rampant throughout the world in many forms, it is no secret that the Southern identity is often conflated with racism and white supremacy. The study of the identity of the American South, as well as racism in the human geography of the South – and by extension the Southern identity – is situated in a historical context (Alderman 2007, Dwyer 2000, Dwyer and Alderman 2008, Foote and Azaryahu 2007, Hale 1998, Inwood 2011, Leib 2012, Schedler 2001, Savage 1997, Warf 2007). From as far back as the Colonial Period, Americans have noted differences between the North and the South (Jansson 2003). Some scholars argue that much of the collective Southern identity is derived from the dialectic created between the North and the South, or even the South and the greater United States (Jansson 2005, Remillard 2011). According to Jansson (2005), the two identities are both produced and consequently fortified by each other; they are juxtaposed with the South being primarily considered the more racist, “backward,” and of questionable moral character, while the Northern, or greater American identity, is perceived as more forthright, just,

and tolerant (Inwood 2011, Jansson 2005). This dialectic is only further entrenched by the history of slavery and Jim Crow in the American South (Davis 2008, Inwood 2011, McClymer 2009). Jansson takes the contrast between the American national identity and Southern national identities a step farther by invoking a concept he calls “internal orientalism” (Jansson 2003, 296). According to Jansson, “internal orientalism represents a discourse that operates within the boundaries of a state, a discourse that involves the othering of a (relatively) weak region by a more powerful region (or regions) within the state” (Jansson 2003, 296). Here, Jansson (2003) implies that Southern identity is set as the oriental to the occidental identity of greater America. The author also argues that “Southernness” is not something produced solely in the North, but rather is part of the dualistic nature of the occidental/oriental dichotomy as the South is just as culpable in the creation (Jansson 2010, 202). However, regarding the memorial at Stone Mountain, while support for the carving was found primarily in the South, some support for creating the memorial stemmed from the greater United States as well (Freeman, 1997, Hale 1998), meaning that the occident further assisted in the creation of the orient.

Even within the confines of the South, the Southern identity has not been uniform, historically speaking (Remillard 2011). Remillard (2011) analyzes the historical period of 1910-1920, the time in which the movement to establish the Civil War memorial at Stone Mountain was begun. In his book, Remillard (2011) uses the word “voices” to denote perspectives and attempted to analyze the different “voices” of the South. The author surmises that the many different perspectives – black, white, male, female, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, nativist, and immigrant – all played a role in developing the identity of the South, while they had competing visions for what the South should be (Remillard 2011). He does this by comparing these “voices” which he spoke of as their versions of the “good society” (Remillard 2011). While the author looks at many voices, his section that focuses on the voices of the white supremacist and nativist voices of white Southerners during this period is particularly applicable to this study, as these

historical references played a significant role in developing the discourses that led to the creation of the Civil War memorial at Stone Mountain (Hale 1998).

### **The Geography of Memory**

Just as collective identity is socially produced; collective memory - or the shared memory of a large group of people – is also a social production or construction. Much scholarship has been applied to the connection between this production and space and/or place. Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) argue that space and collective memory combine to play a large role in the production of a collective identity. However, despite the fact that monuments are created in order to establish collective memory, they are not generally erected without conflict (Dwyer 2000, Dwyer 2004, Dwyer and Alderman 2008, Johnson 1995, Linenthal 1991, Savage 1997). This section of the literature review will examine themes in geography regarding the relationship between collective memory, space, collective identity, and conflict.

As previously stated, Hale (1998) has performed the most complete analysis of the carving and the park at Stone Mountain, Georgia. Hale not only provided the historical background of the carving and the long, sordid story of its completion, she also divided the movement to complete the memorial into two distinct periods, and then placed those periods in the greater historical context (Hale 1998). For example, she discussed the initial movement to establish the monument in relation to the fear of how to deal with the “Negro problem” that was rampant in the 1910s and 1920s, and the second rise of the Ku Klux Klan on Stone Mountain itself inspired in part by the release of the film “The Birth of a Nation” (Hale 1998, 23). She then discussed the loss of money and momentum that the movement suffered, only to be reinvigorated after the landmark US Supreme Court decision; *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka, KS* (Hale 1998). According to the author, fear of the “other” was not confined to the South; large scale northern migration of African Americans led to increased support of the monument on a

national scale (Hale 1998). Indeed, Hale's contribution to the history of the site is significant, but more work on the geography of memory is needed to understand how the space of the park is being currently used, and how the commercial operations of the park have affected the narratives therein.

In a seminal piece on collective memory, Nuala Johnson (1995) studied the use of monuments and memorials in nation-building across parts of Europe and the American South in "Cast in Stone: Monuments, Geography, and Nationalism." The author notes that the creation and articulation of a national discourse are primary reasons for monument building. Furthermore, she recognizes the inherent racism that can be displayed in a monument, paying particular attention to the monuments of the Civil War (Johnson 1995). She further notes the awareness that there will always be conflicting interests in representing the past, and each group being fully aware of the power within it, will vie for control of that representation (Johnson 1995). "Nation-building is...an ongoing historical process – whose myths prevail at particular moments is the crucial question" (Johnson 1995, 53). Importantly, the author points to the conflict that surrounds such monuments (Johnson 1995). In the case of the African Americans and the Civil War memorials, she points out that though the idea of commemorating the soldiers seems benign, it denies the "black memory," and thereby, it is inherently racist (Johnson 1995, 55). Johnson's work here is important because she demonstrates that monuments and memorials are active participants in the nation-building process, and notes that while nation-states use monuments to create unified identities within their boundaries, there are usually regionalized areas of resistance, where "alternative versions of history prevail" (Johnson 1995, 54). In the case of Stone Mountain Park, the memorial there was established in part because of the Southern identity as much of the final push in the 1950s to commemorate the Confederacy there was driven by the fear that the greater United States (often perceived simply as "The North") was forcing the South to accept

desegregation (Hale 1998). A question this raises is: does the park serve the same function toward Southern identity today as it did historically?

Since Johnson's article, the literature on the geography of memory has continued to grow. In *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves* (1997), Kirk Savage casts light on the conflict inherent to memorializing the Civil War – either the Union or the Confederacy. “At the same time that public monuments went about building the new nation, they resisted it” (Savage 1997, 210). In numerous examples throughout the book, Savage demonstrates the use of monuments in several locations, mostly city monuments designed to establish reputations for their local communities (Savage 1997). Despite the innumerable sites Savage discusses in his book, one focus was the Freedmen's Memorial to Abraham Lincoln, which depicts Abraham Lincoln fully clothed and standing erect juxtaposed to the kneeling, naked, black, freed slave; the author states that “the monument is not really about emancipation but about its opposite – domination” (Savage 1997, 90). Further establishing conflict in the geography of memory, Savage concludes that each memorialization of white Confederate soldiers further reifies white domination over the region.

Foote and Azaryahu (2007) also recognize conflicting interests in the fight for control of collective memory. They argue that the debate between factions forces the arguments into the open, and in the long run, may have an even greater effect on memory than the tangible monuments left behind (Foote and Azaryahu 2007). However, it is the tangible monument itself that helps shape the collective memory. In fact, the monument serves as a time capsule designed to preserve the feelings and memories that it was placed to commemorate. Still, people are left to interpret the monument for themselves, which in turn perpetuates the conflict. So, while there is some degree of truth in the authors' claim that the arguments are forced into the open, it is debatable whether the resultant openness has a greater impact on establishing collective memory than the monument itself.

Collective memory is not limited to monuments and memorials. Josh Inwood (2011) conducted research into the study of the geography of memory in the South by using as his focal point, rather than a monument or a memorial in any typical sense, an official document. He argues that Alabama State Constitution, having not been rewritten since 1901, even after the Jim Crow segregation contained within it had been stricken down by the US Supreme Court, assists in the creation of the Southern identity in that state (Inwood 2011). As with several other geographies of the South, Inwood (2011) outlines a method through which inquiry into the geography of memory can be made easier. In addition, Inwood's analysis outlines the presence of racism by declaring that a refusal to recognize the shadow being cast by the contents of the Alabama Constitution carries a paradox for the future (Inwood 2010).

Additionally, collective memory of a region can be established in many ways and at scales that vary from local to national (Delaney 2002) with the Alabama Constitution exemplifying the state scale. In another example, the Washington Monument is located in a city – Washington, D.C. – but it is proclaimed to belong to the nation. In another example, many people in the country identify with the memorial bombing site in Oklahoma City, while more people within the state of Oklahoma will likely identify with the site, and still more people in Oklahoma City will derive some form of collective memory from that location. On yet another scale, as Owen Dwyer points out, there have been two factions competing for control of the memory of the city of Selma, Alabama through a contest of accretion (Dwyer 2004). According to Dwyer (2004), groups seeking to commemorate the Civil Rights movement in Selma have been at odds with the neo-Confederate movement seeking to commemorate the slave-based Confederacy. Apparently, both groups understand that, as Dwyer (2004) points out, there are no places or spaces without memory as the process of producing place, and therein, the narrative of that place, requires memory. Thus, in order to establish hegemony over the city's spaces dedicated to collective memory, the battle to accumulate space has ensued. However, in this article Dwyer



(2004) focuses on the accretion of monuments and memorials in a city to establish the desired narrative for the entire city. While this focus could negate the impact of each monument as establishing a narrative of its space and memory in favor of the narrative of a collection of monuments, often the power of each monument is held intact. The collection of memorials and museums at Stone Mountain (the memorial carving, the museum, and the plantation museum) represents such an accretion, and as such, the power each museum must be examined, as well as their collective impact.

### **The Geography of Southern Memory**

In the American South, there are opposing views of which events or eras should be memorialized: The Civil Rights Movement (CRM) or the Civil War – particularly, the Confederacy, as control over the collective memory of a region leads to greater control over the collective identity of the region. The neo-Confederates, groups such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), have sought to preserve the memory of the old, white South, while anti-racist groups seek to commemorate the fight to establish equality in the Jim Crow South (Dwyer and Alderman 2008, Leib 2012). This section will review the literature concerning collective memory in the American South and how the memorials, monuments, museums therein, inform Southern identity.

Owen Dwyer and Derek Alderman's piece, *Civil Rights Memorials and the Geography of Memory* (2008), is a seminal work in the field. Here the authors examine Civil Rights memorials in the American South, paying particular attention, although not exclusive attention, to the renaming of streets after the assassinated Civil Rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Kelly Ingram Park in Selma, Alabama (Dwyer and Alderman 2008). The authors point out that commemorations in public spaces, such as courthouse lawns, street names, and town squares (and presumably state parks such as Stone Mountain State Park, as well) carry an even greater power

because they are authorized by the government (Dwyer and Alderman 2008). Arguably, government authority on behalf of the people adds the element of legitimacy to the production of memory being created. Furthermore, the authors point out that many of these memorials are not only authorized by the government, but are funded by the government as well – thus making them inherently political (Dwyer and Alderman 2008). Ironically, the politicized nature of the monuments implies that they are not as stable as their constructions (usually concrete, steel, or stone) would imply, and as the authors make note, the meanings behind the monuments “are vulnerable to radical reinterpretation as their moorings shift in the swirling pools of time and place” (Dwyer and Alderman 2008, 15). Dwyer and Alderman indeed demonstrate the importance of geography of memory in informing Southern identity.

Prior to their collaboration, both Dwyer and Alderman had been analyzing the Southern identity and the Civil Rights Memorial landscape. Notably, one of Dwyer’s articles was intended as an overview of the Civil Rights memorial landscape, although I found the article to be an overview of what was missing from the memorial landscape (Dwyer 2000). Dwyer (2000) noted that the civil rights memorials, and presumably all memorials, serve to not only present the history for which they were designed, but they also present invisible conceptions of history. For example, civil rights memorials show the “invisible presence of hegemonic conceptualizations of history and identity, in this case those embedded in assumptions regarding the proper content of public history”; specifically, they demonstrate the white supremacy that was present in the memorial landscape by demonstrating the absence of monuments or memorials to African-Americans (Dwyer 2000, 661). Thus, a part of what Dwyer (2000) sought to analyze here was not the memorials themselves, nor what was represented by them, but rather the latent consequences of what was not represented. Dwyer’s work here is of paramount importance in that it allows the landscape to be read from an entirely different perspective.

Although in the South, many Civil War memorials stand in contrast to the Civil Rights memorials, in one unusual case, Leib (2012) discusses two Civil War memorials that stand in contrast to one another. Leib (2012) points to the discourses of history that have led to two specific Civil War statues in the same cemetery, one of an African-American Union soldier, and the other of a white Confederate soldier. In an example of how the memorial landscape can be read as a racist discourse, these two monuments are separated by a mere 900 feet and a 10-foot brick wall – because the statue of the Union soldier is located in the “black” cemetery (Leib 2012). Through his coverage of the upheaval to create the Union statue, and the segregation of the cemetery (another form of collective memory), along with the continued and modern effort to memorialize the Confederate soldier, Leib’s article essentially makes Dwyer’s (2000) point that absence in the memorial landscape is equally important to presence.

In another example of the importance of what is not present in the memorial landscape, Crow (2006) correctly points to the racist underpinnings behind the creation of the Confederate Memorial in Goldsboro, North Carolina, and even points out that there is a certain bravado, or even a sense of masculinity, to consider when looking at the reasons for such a use of public space. The Goldsboro Rifle Memorial is uniquely created by the group being memorialized itself – The Goldsboro Rifles. “For the Goldsboro Rifles, the work of Confederate memorialization reflected and reinforced their sense of masculinity, as it was defined by political participation, race, and social order” (Crow 2006, 33). Importantly, Crow (2006) mentions support for these memorials from other parts of the country, including those that fought for the Union, but she fails to expand on what was meant by this (Crow 2006). This is unfortunate because her suggestion implies that the racist underpinnings that are associated with the Southern identity are not exclusively locked into the Southern identity, but rather may be part of the wider epistemology of whiteness. However, the Southern identity is in fact tied to those racist underpinnings, as often the question is “whose histories, ideologies, and interests are actively disenfranchised through

dominant narrations of regional identity?” (Alderman and Modlin 2013, 9). With its Jim Crow history, the American South has an established pattern of making it known who is to be left out.

Still another unique perspective on the collective memory of the South that also situates Southern identity in its white supremacist past is Alderman’s work on the memorial to slavery in Savannah, Georgia (Alderman 2010). Tying back to the conflict associated with collective memory, Alderman’s article looks at the conflict this time not between white Southerners and the greater United States, nor between the neo-Confederate groups and anti-racist groups, but rather among the African-Americans who struggled to find the correct way to commemorate the slave trade that passed through the port city in what he called a movement “to create sites of counter-memory” (Alderman 2010, 90). Here, the author argues that the struggle to find the correct words to inscribe on the monument is indicative of the importance of the monument to the creation of memory, and therein, to the creation of identity (Alderman 2010). This piece further demonstrates how deeply it is understood that the control over collective memory leads to control over the collective identity.

### **The Business of Memory**

In addition to the contribution to collective memory initially carved into the monadnock, the aspect of the memorial at Stone Mountain that makes it different than so many other memorials is the immense profit turned each year inside the park. Indeed, the commodification of memory would appear to be a very profitable business, as tourism surrounding monuments and museums is common. However, this commodification brings further conflict, and raises questions about the changing presentation of memory as a consumer product.

While it is peculiar that a place of solemn memory, produced to immortalize the “custodians of imperishable glory,” is used to turn profit, Stone Mountain is certainly not unique in this use of memory (Hale 1998, 30). In writing about collective memory at Colonial

Williamsburg, Gable and Handler (2000) noted that the town itself is a construct. It is a creation that is perpetually being remade to portray what the professional historians there call the correct image of the colonial Virginia capital. The authors then point out that collective memory is itself at conflict with local memories when government agencies or even corporations take over a site (Gable and Handler 2000). Arguably, such was the case at Stone Mountain, when the government took control of the site to complete the carving then proceeded to bring in plantation buildings and create a miniature, antebellum replica akin to the replica that is Colonial Williamsburg (Hale 1998). Ironically, Gable and Handler (2000) noted that the marketers of Colonial Williamsburg lament theme parks such as Disney for being produced, rather than the recreation of reality; when ultimately, Colonial Williamsburg is also a produced, profit generating theme park.

Conflict generated by the commodification of memory is not limited to the American South. Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) provide an excellent example of ways that place and memory are connected in their analysis of the space on Robben Island off the coast of South Africa. The island had for many centuries been a place of exile and, eventually, was turned into a prison for political dissenters to Apartheid (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004). They demonstrate the difficulty in reconciling the need by some to commemorate a shameful past with the desire by others to criticize the horrors of that past (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004). According to the authors, some years after the end of apartheid rule in South Africa, there were some who sought to convert the space into a resort or a nature preserve, while others wanted to commemorate the horrors of the past with a museum that criticized apartheid (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004). In 1997, the site was turned into a National Museum and National Monument, since that time heavy visitor traffic has been the result of museum officials' to attempt to market the island's past for tourism (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004). Despite the debate over who should use these spaces for memory, these collective memories are used to create collective identities, and often national narratives (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004). The authors claim that Robben Island is indicative of

many aspects of memory, but important to this study are: the ever changing nature of memory, the commodification of the past, the perpetual conflict involved in memory, and the “inextricable link between memory and place” (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004, 348) After all, it is more often those with money and power who control the uses of these spaces, control the hierarchy of power in the region or nation (Hoelscher Alderman 2004). However, when marketing enters the equation, the narratives being presented within a park or memorial may very well be wrapped into another package entirely.

Narratives presented within a Southern tourist museum are the focus of yet another study in the geography of memory. Butler et al. (2008) used multiple methods to analyze the museum at the Laurel Plantation near New Orleans, Louisiana. The authors were trying to compare the discourses being presented by the museum to the discourses that the visitors at the museum were interested in learning about. Perhaps the most significant aspect of this piece is that the authors were not asking about the discourses being presented by the museum, but rather were more interested in the discourses that the visitors to the museum wanted to see. The authors formulated surveys that ranked the narratives of interest that were common to visitors of these types of museums: architecture, furnishings, slave-life, Civil War, among others. The survey contained 11 narratives (Butler et al. 2008). However, during the course of their study, the authors also interviewed some owners of several of the plantations. The most noteworthy of findings as they relate to this study are that one of the plantation owners had relayed that they believed that the visitors were more interested in seeing the “Gone with the Wind brand of fantasy,” suggesting that the museums here also produce an image in order to cater to the audience, thus increase the daily coffers (Butler et al. 2008). In any case, the commodification and consequent marketing of memory is certain to affect the narratives presented within a memorial or museum, and for these reasons the narratives being presented at Stone Mountain merit further study.

## Conclusion

While collective identity is a social construct, it is an important social construct. A person may identify with numerous collectives. For example, one person can simultaneously self-identify as an African-American, Southerner, Methodist, American, University of Georgia fan, small business owner, and Republican; among others. Often, when one identifies oneself with one of these collectives, it comes with a sense of loyalty to that group; taking a note from national identity and the patriotic feelings that are often associated with it. Collective identities are reified through the creation of memorials and monuments (Johnson 1995). However, when one collective identity is reified through a memorial or monument, all too often another identity is subjugated by that act, and conflict is present (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004, Dwyer 2000, Dwyer 2004, Dwyer and Jones 2000, Butler et al. 2008, Dwyer and Alderman 2008, Johnson 1995, Mitchell 2003, Savage 1997).

Ultimately, collective memory can easily be manipulated to promote the hegemony of one group over another. Since Stone Mountain Park was turned into a commercially viable theme park in 1998 – when the state allowed a privately held company to take over the management of the park – one must wonder what changes have affected the representation of place within the park (Stone Mountain Park 2013). The next chapter outlines the methods that will be used in order to uncover precisely what these changes are.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### **Introduction**

The primary purpose of this study is to understand the narratives being presented at Stone Mountain Park through content analysis. Additionally, the study seeks to discover how the park is being presented through brochures and advertisements present at the Georgia Department of Economic Development's Visitor Information Center (VIC).

The study was to include a combination of multiple methods – content analysis as well as patron surveys. Unfortunately, permission to conduct patron surveys was denied by both Herschend Family Entertainment (HFE) – the corporation that is privately contracted to conduct the day-to-day operations of the park – and the Stone Mountain Memorial Association (SMMA) – the organization responsible for the creation of the relief carving<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Prior to defending the proposal for this study, the Oklahoma State University Internal Review Board approved the study, and contact was made with the SMMA to arrange for space to conduct the survey, and guidance to the correct contact at HFE – who controls the two primary museums in the park – in order to gain permission to conduct the surveys. It was made clear that even if the permission was not given by HFE to conduct the studies at Memorial Hall and the Plantation museum, it should be no trouble to conduct the study at the Confederate Hall site, as it is still controlled by the SMMA. After successful defense of the proposal, contact was made with HFE in order to obtain the necessary permission to conduct the surveys. However, HFE denied permission. No reason was given; only an outright denial. Contact with the SMMA was reestablished in order to conduct the surveys in front of Confederate Hall. And once again, no reason was given; only an outright denial.



## Research Questions

The alteration of methodologies required an adjustment to the research questions originally proposed in the study. However, the research questions still seek to discover important contributions made to Southern identity made by the presentations of both Stone Mountain Park (SMP) and the Visitor Information Center (VIC). The questions are as follows:

- 1) How is the park being presented through brochures and advertisements present at the Georgia Department of Economic Development's Visitor Information Center?
- 2) What is being presented to the public within each museum? Which themes are the most prominent, and how well do they coincide with the presentation of the brochures?
- 3) How are pre-Civil War plantations, slavery, the Confederacy, the Civil War itself, and the KKK presented in the museums inside of the park? Often, what is not presented can be just as telling of intent as what is presented, thus this question includes asking if there are any themes intentionally being omitted by the park management?
- 4) Is the park currently being represented as a "Southern place?" In other words, does the current management externally advertise the park as being a Southern experience? And do they in turn create a Southern experience within the museums inside of the park, thus contributing to Southern identity?

Through these questions and the ensuing analysis, the study seeks to understand the messages that are put forth by Stone Mountain Park. Since SMP is "Georgia's #1 Attraction," the messages put forth within it make contributions toward Southern identity.

To most accurately answer these questions, the method of content analysis is applied to two datasets defined later in this chapter. Every aspect of content analysis requires deep engagement with the subject material and its meanings (Rose 2007). Content analysis is

performed by sampling a large dataset, and finding the frequency of occurrences of images or words in order to locate patterns which in turn will shed light upon the themes being presented within the dataset. According to Lutz and Collins (1993), content analysis allows for the “discovery of patterns that are too subtle to be visible on casual inspection” (89). In their ethnography of Colonial Williamsburg, Gable and Handler (1997) note that content analysis is the most common method applied to museum studies. This is because, as Rose (1997) notes, “[C]ontent analysis offers a clear method for engaging systematically with large numbers of images” (71). Notably, Butler et al. (2008) conducted a content analysis of the Laurel Plantation in order to find the categories used for the interview portion of their study. More recently – and of more relevance to this particular study—Drengwitz et al. (2014) used a combination of expert interviews and content analysis of those interviews to study six different museums in the United States. The authors claim that the content analysis of the text of their interviews provides a reliable insight into the “realities of the museum professionals,” which provides comprehensible findings that can be traced (Drengwitz et al. 2014, 99). Drengwitz et al. (2014) concluded that museums do indeed engage in national (or collective) identity creation while juggling modernity’s growing diversity and fragmentation – unity and conflict.

Content analysis involves an established four step process: finding material, establishing codes, coding the content of the material, and analyzing the results (Rose 2007). In this chapter, the study area will be defined, as will the processes of finding and collecting the data, sampling the data, establishing and defining the codes, and coding the images. The analysis of the data is reserved for the next chapter.

## Study Areas

For the purposes of this study there are two datasets collected from separate locations, but there is only one study area – defined as Stone Mountain Park. The two locations for data collection are: (1) The Visitor Information Center (VIC) and (2) Stone Mountain Park’s museums. The first location, the VIC, is located on eastbound Interstate 20 approximately two miles east of the Georgia/Alabama border near Tallapoosa, Georgia. This location is important to the study because it is not only a collection of advertisements for nearly every tourist destination in the state of Georgia, but it also carries the legitimacy of being controlled by the state government of Georgia through its Department of Economic Development. Since the number of brochures collected at the VIC that actually contained reference to SMP represented a very small dataset, the data collected in this location were analyzed in their entirety, rather than by sampling — which is the norm in content analysis. The second location, which is also the study area, includes everything within the bounds of the museums located inside of Stone Mountain Park — the Plantation museum, Memorial Hall, and Confederate Hall. The phrase “everything within the bounds of the museums” is used rather than “everything within the walls” because the Plantation museum is both indoors and outdoors.

The Plantation museum is purportedly a replica of a plantation from the Antebellum Period predating the Civil War (See Figure 2), although it is made transparent by the park that none of the buildings are from the same property, but rather they are an amalgamation of buildings that the park’s creators deemed suitable to replicate a “typical” Antebellum Plantation. It is also worth noting that not all of the buildings are from the exact same period – some predate others by as many as 50 years.

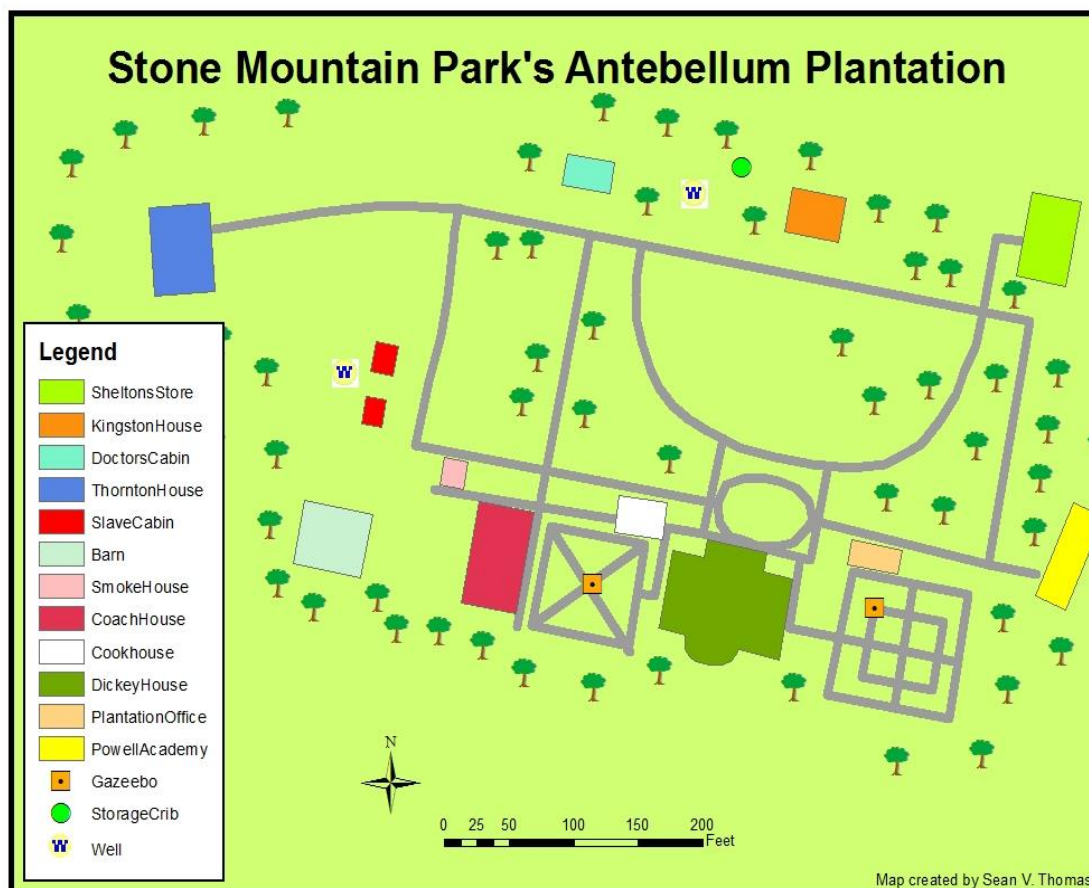


Figure 2: Map of Stone Mountain Park’s Antebellum Plantation museum (Sean V. Thomas 2015).

According to Hale (1997) the museum in Memorial Hall was originally designed to tell the story of the memorial carving and its creation, but the museum has evolved over the years to include the story of the immediate region from pre-history to the carvings completion. The museum consists of a great hall, (“The Viewing Gallery for Stone Mountain Carving”) which is more of a shrine to the grandeur of the carving than a museum. The entrance to the great hall is flanked on both sides by staircases that go up to the main exhibit, and doors to smaller exhibits on the ground floor. The westernmost of these — denoted by number “3” in Figure 3 — contains the story of the creation of the carving, while the room marked by number “2” in Figure 3 is a small theater room. Reportedly, the movie theater at one time showed a film titled “The Men Who Made Stone Mountain.” However, during my visit the only film shown was titled “Ride the

Ducks,” a short historical film aimed at advertising one of HFE’s new additions to the park — a ride aboard one of their amphibious vehicles. The staircases on both sides spiral back toward the entrance (See Figure 3). The primary museum exhibit room is directly above the entrance to the Great Hall. Memorial Hall is the featured museum at the park, containing the park’s largest collection of artifacts relating to the creation of the relief carving, as well as some artifacts from the Confederacy and the Civil War (See Figure 4).

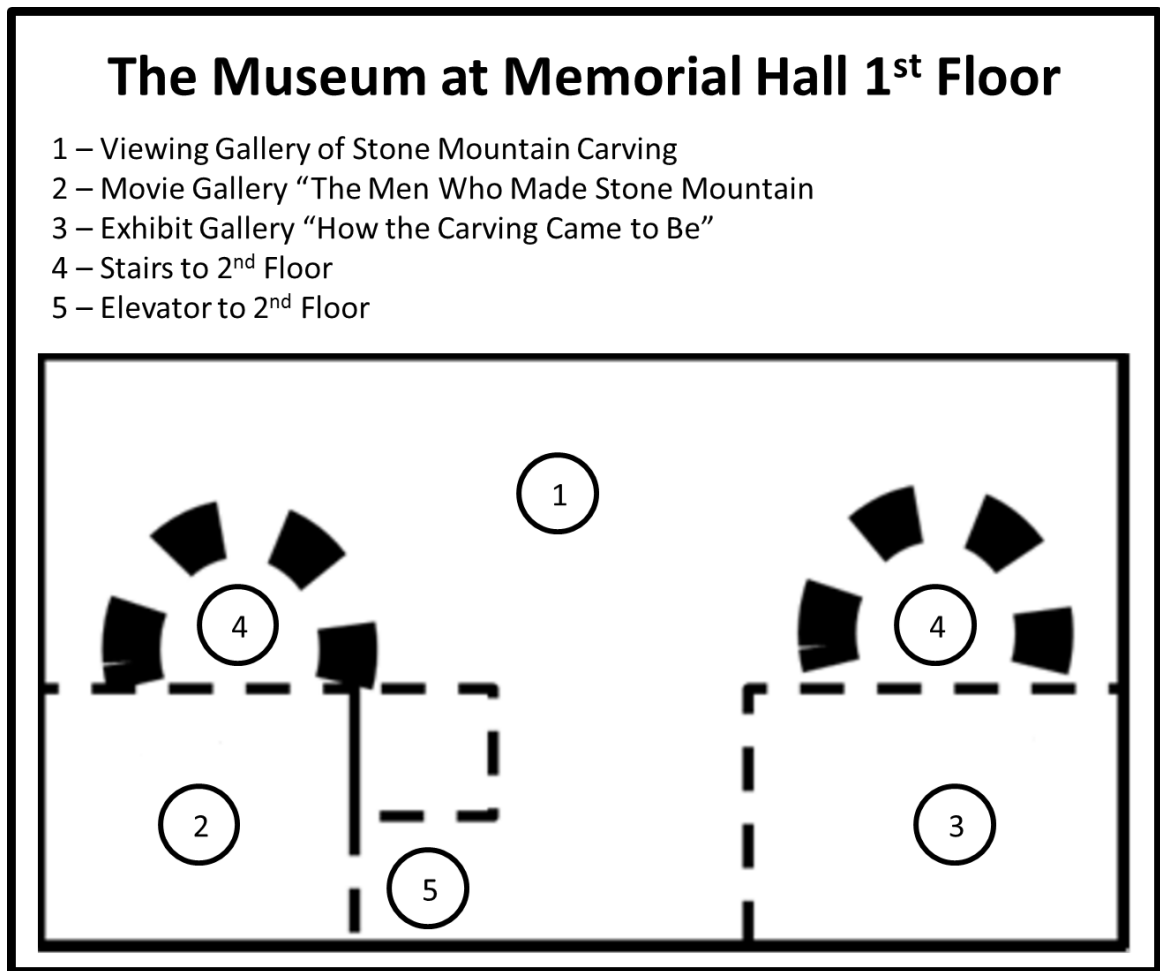


Figure 3 – Memorial Hall Museum, 1<sup>st</sup> Floor, Stone Mountain Park, Georgia (created by Sean V. Thomas 2015).

## The Museum at Memorial Hall 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor

- 1 – Pre-Colonial/Native American
- 2 – The Colonial Years
- 3 – The Build-up to the Civil War
- 4 – The Civil War
- 5 – Turn of the Century/Stone Mountain's Quarries
- 6 – Visiting the Mountain
- 7 – The Plane Display

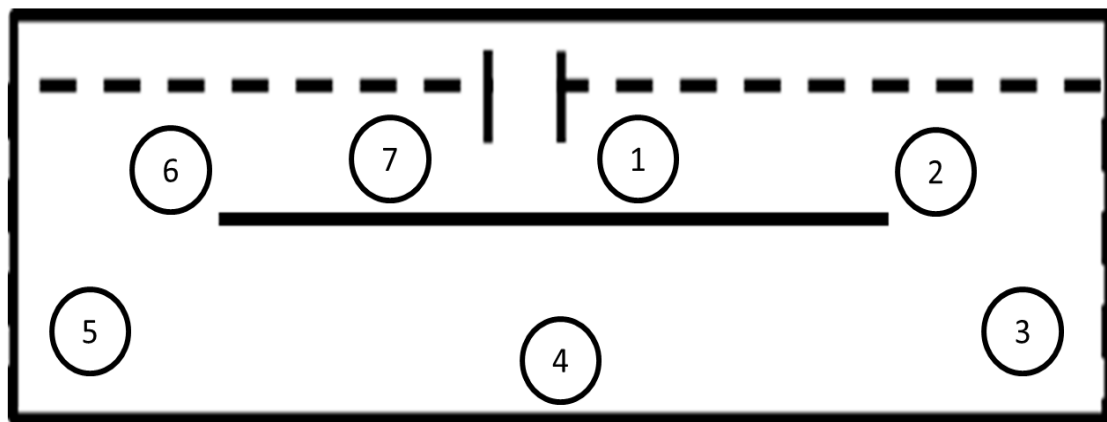


Figure 4 – Memorial Hall Museum, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor, Stone Mountain Park, Georgia (created by Sean V. Thomas, 2015).

Both the Plantation and Memorial Hall are controlled by HFE, and as such require the purchase of an attractions wristband.

The final museum included in the study is Confederate Hall. Officially titled “Confederate Hall Historical and Environmental Education Center” it is the only museum on the property that is controlled exclusively by the SMMA. Confederate Hall is free to enter once you have entered the park. Also, the park is free to enter on foot, but a parking permit must be purchased if entering by automobile. The entrance to Confederate Hall contains various items on

display in glass cases, as well as some documents in frames on the walls and a visitor's desk. From the center of the entrance hall, immediately to the right is a corridor that terminates with double doors that are not open to the general public – the education center is located behind those doors. To the left is the museum that chronicles the geology behind the mountain and the nature in the area – a theme that arises often throughout the park. Confederate Hall is in fact, poorly named due to the fact that there is very little to do with the Confederacy or the Civil War located within its walls.

### **Data Collection**

Upon arrival at the VIC, I collected the ephemera (brochures, maps, magazines, and pamphlets) that are available to all of the public for free. In order to better serve the public, the VIC has organized the ephemera on a regional basis (North, South, East, West, North-Central, etc.). Since Stone Mountain Park is located in DeKalb County near Atlanta (only 16 miles east); a primary regional concern for this study was the North-central region which includes DeKalb County, Atlanta, and the surrounding area. Of course, some magazine-style ephemera such as the *Georgia Travel Guide* (2013, 2014) include the whole state. I collected every piece of ephemera relating to the North-Central region, as well as any that related to the entire state. I perused the other regions to collect any other ephemera that may possibly have a reference to Stone Mountain or to the Civil War. For example, there was a brochure in the Southern region that related to the states Civil War battle sites, so I included it.

The second step was to collect data inside of Stone Mountain Park. The first stop was the Plantation where the first building serves not only as the entry point to the Plantation, but also a gift shop and a point of purchase for attraction access wristbands. In addition, there are several information panels describing the Plantation, Stone Mountain, and various aspects of farming, and the region's history. Before even purchasing the wristband, I walked through the "museum"

part of the building on a self-guided tour, then I walked through a second time taking pictures of every display so that every word and/or picture is legible on the photograph. Next, I purchased a wristband and entered the Plantation.

The remainder of the Plantation consists of 18 freestanding structures spread around a large garden area (See Figure 2). There are four Antebellum period houses, two slave cabins, one single-room schoolhouse, along with the major utility buildings associated with an antebellum plantation – barn, smokehouse, cookhouse, etc. Three of the houses, as well as the schoolhouse and cookhouse can be entered, and are furnished as they may have been during the antebellum period. The slave cabins and the smallest of the houses — a one-room cabin owned in the early 1800s by a doctor — were open, and fully furnished, but patrons are only allowed to look through the door, and not enter. With each building that I could enter, I conducted a self-guided tour first in order to get a sense of what the museum’s curator was trying to convey, as well as to develop an understanding of the layout so that I could take pictures of the displays more efficiently. Next I went back through each building to take photographs of each display inside as well as all textual information cards. With the buildings that were not to be entered, I took pictures of every bit of text and all of the displays inside of the building. Each room in the building was treated as a single display case. In some instances there were up to six photographs taken in order to gather the entire room (or display case).

The data collection at Memorial Hall and Confederate Hall was conducted in a similar fashion. First, I walked through the entire museum to get a feel for what the curators were trying to emphasize, and to make picture taking more efficient. Next, I went through each museum slowly and carefully photographing each display case and information card. In some cases, the displays only required one, two, or even three photographs, but in the case of Memorial Hall, there were often displays so large that they required more than 10 photographs. Also, Memorial Hall proved somewhat problematic as flash photography is forbidden inside the museum.



However, this was only a problem in one small corner of the museum, and the problem was easily solved by taking more pictures than would normally have been taken of that particular section, and using different camera angles to maximize the light available in the museum.

### **Code Establishment and Image Coding**

Since the two datasets have different research questions associated with them, they require some different codes, and they required slightly different methods as well. First, the ephemera collected at the VIC composed a unique dataset that was too small to be concerned with sampling, as is the norm with content analysis. Instead, the dataset was studied in its entirety. Also, since the study seeks to answer how SMP is presented through the VIC, only the portions of the ephemera that contained any mention or photograph of SMP were included in the dataset. For example, a brochure coded “CW Guide” in Appendix B contains descriptions of 77 different Civil War related attractions within the entire state of Georgia all listed by number, and SMP is among these. The SMP description appears as number two in the brochure’s list. The SMP description contains 58 words (manually counted), as well as pertinent information such as the address, website, and contact information. Only the descriptive information was coded within this content analysis, because only this information is pertinent to the study. In this study area, each piece of ephemera was examined, and the key words and phrases were manually recorded into a spiral notebook. The key words and phrases were based upon repetition. Each time that a word or phrase was encountered more than once, the word or phrase was counted. Some examples would be: “natural beauty,” “family fun,” “adventure,” “Georgia’s #1 Attraction,” “Snow Mountain,” “carving,” “Yellow Daisy Festival,” and “Stone Mountain Park,” among others (for the complete list of words and phrases see Appendix A Table 1). Two of these codes — “Stone Mountain Park” and “carving” — were a priori, meaning that I began by looking for these terms as recurring themes. The other key words and phrases were emergent, as they were created upon repetition within the ephemera. For example; the phrases “nature” or “natural beauty” were

repeated 17 times throughout 11 analyzed brochures; thus, the code Nature/Natural Beauty was established. Also, the phrase “Georgia’s #1 Attraction” appears 18 times in those same brochures. In another example, while only 8 brochures mention the numerous festivals, the festivals totaled 56 mentions as each brochure that mentioned festivals typically referenced several of them. Captions on photographs were considered as any other text, and were encoded in the same fashion as the rest of the text in the ephemera.

An example of the textual analysis follows: an excerpt from a description of one picture from one SMP brochure was given the following entry into the notebook: “wooded areas, lakeshores, granite slopes, outdoor attractions for the whole family, Confederate Hall.” This excerpt resulted in 1 count for each “wooded areas,” “lakeshores,” “granite slopes,” “outdoor attractions,” “family (attractions)” and “Confederate Hall.” A full list of the codes with their definitions can be found in Appendix A.

The old adage is that a picture is worth 1000 words. In the case of advertising, that is certainly true. Photographs convey a message that words simply cannot project. Therefore the pictorial analysis of the ephemera is necessary. The codes used in the textual analysis were also used in the content analysis of the pictures of the ephemera. However, many pictures do not fit into just one category. For example, a picture that shows a family riding an inner-tube down a snow covered hill in front of the carving, that picture then fits into 3 codes: family/activities, Snow Mountain, and pictures of the carving. The photograph is from a brochure promoting the seasonal attraction known as “Snow Mountain” wherein HFE creates a man-made “ski slope” on the great lawn in front of the carving. The company then blows in artificial snow all over the area, and charges an additional fee for a day pass to use the slope. In another example, a photograph of the laser spectacular fits into two codes: Lasershow Spectacular, and pictures of the carving. Appendix B contains the counts of the content analysis for the photographs in the ephemera. These codes then can be put into categories — also shown in Appendix B.

Once written into the book, the words were condensed into exhaustive and exclusive codes in Microsoft Excel. The codes were created based on the occurrence of the words. For example, the words “wooded areas,” “lakeshores,” and “granite slopes” are all natural occurring phenomena, and as such, these words were grouped into the category “Nature/Natural Beauty.” The codes “inner-tubing” and “miniature golf” are included in the category “Family Fun / Attractions.” The full list of codes along with their definitions can be found in Appendix A Table 1. Establishment of the categories was an emergent process. The once the codes were established, I began to notice patterns among the codes which then became the categories. For example, the codes “Georgia’s #1 Attraction,” “Stone Mountain Park,” and “Carving” all advertise the grandeur of the park and thus were categorized as “Grandeur.” Where for the photographs, “Pictures of the carving” fell into the category of “Grandeur,” while pictures of the Stone Mountain Christmas — identifiable by the Christmas tree in the park — was categorized as “Festivals” as it is short lived yearly event just like any of the myriad of festivals offered inside of SMP.

The dataset for the second study area was treated slightly differently. First, the dataset contains an enormous amount of material, as the entire contents of three museum complexes were photographed to be coded and studied. As such, the dataset for the second area required sampling. For this study, the data were first sorted into three subgroups — The Plantation, Confederate Hall, and Memorial Hall. Within each subgroup, the photographs of the displays were further divided into display groups — as previously explained a room/display case often required more than one photograph in order to capture its entirety, but since each room/display case is one image that the curators are putting forth, then all components of the selected room/display case must be analyzed. To be clear, a production panel that includes words and pictures does not necessarily create its own display, often three such panels were grouped together to create the display – this is especially the case in Confederate Hall, and often in Memorial Hall. These groups were only

considered one display if they carried a similar theme, and were grouped within the museum on a single wall (See Figure 5). Once placed into display groups, the groups were given numbers in sequential order. The information card for each room/display was included in the display group, and the text was analyzed in addition to the display, as the two are intrinsically tied. Sampling was conducted in a systematic fashion; for the entire collection I analyzed every fifth display (overall there are 150 displays counted across all three museums: 41 in the Plantation, 77 in Memorial Hall, and 32 in Confederate Hall).



Figure 5 – Tectonic plate display inside of Confederate Hall, Stone Mountain Park, Georgia (photograph taken by Sean V. Thomas 2013).

The criteria for each code were: any display or information card containing a key word or phrase was counted, and grouped. For example, an information card with the word slavery or slave was included in the slavery code. However, some classifications were broader. For

example, the code of “Grandeur” refers to any display that references the size of the carving – usually by comparing it to other objects be they human or The Great Sphinx. Despite the absence of the word grandeur, the code of “Grandeur” is very common, especially inside of Memorial Hall, and as such it must be included as a singular code even though different words and comparisons were used to express the size of the relief carving. Once the data were assembled and categorized, they were placed into an Excel spreadsheet for ease of interpretation, and eventually to help answer to the research questions. The full list of codes can be found in Appendix A Table 2.

To further demonstrate how the coding for the museums was done, Figure 6 below is an image of an information tag taken from The Plantation Museum. This image was given nine codes; America(ns), loft, children, construction, Georgia, shutters, glass, window coverings, and table. These codes were then placed into further emergent categories which will be defined later in this chapter.

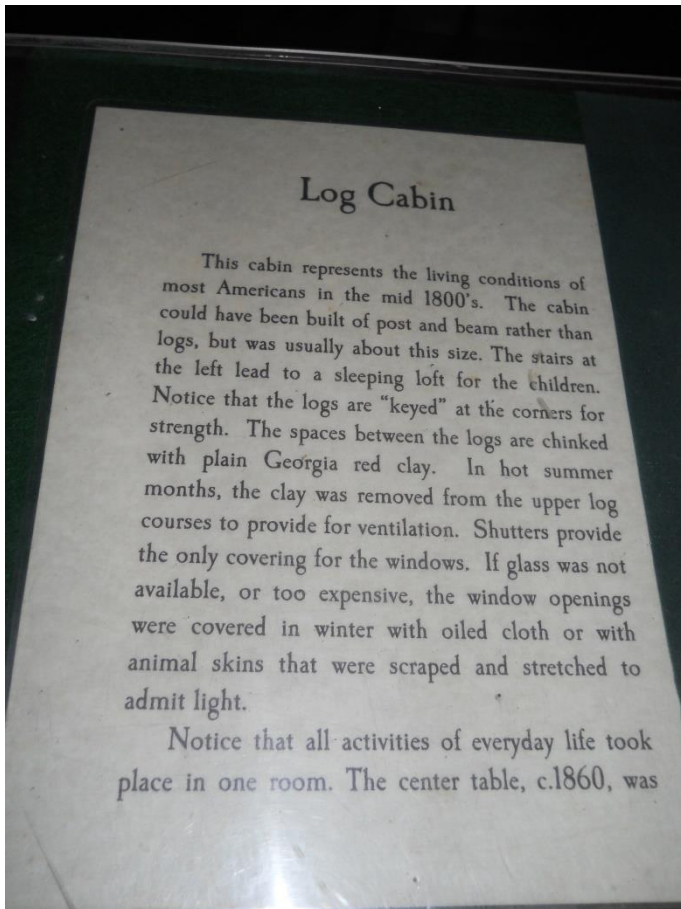


Figure 6 – Doctor's Cabin information card inside The Plantation museum, Stone Mountain Park, Georgia (photograph taken by Sean V. Thomas 2013).

In another example of the coding process, a display case would be coded in the following fashion: Figure 7 and Figure 8 represent a typical display case inside of Memorial Hall. The two figures are also representative of the quality of many of the photographs from Memorial Hall due to the ban on flash photography. This particular display case was placed in the Native American section of the museum. The case displays ancient Native American artifacts recovered in the vicinity of SMP. This case would be coded with one "necklace" and two "bracelet" codes. The text for this case (Figure 8) would receive one count for "polished rock" and "shell," while receiving two counts for "necklace," "bracelet," and "pearl." As there is no mention inside the display case of Native Americans, it is left to the context of the area in which the display case is

found to determine the categorical fit for the counts. Once the codes were established, the counts could then be analyzed and categorized in order to answer the research questions.



Figure 7 – Native American jewelry pieces inside Memorial Hall, Stone Mountain Park, Georgia (photograph taken by Sean V. Thomas 2013).

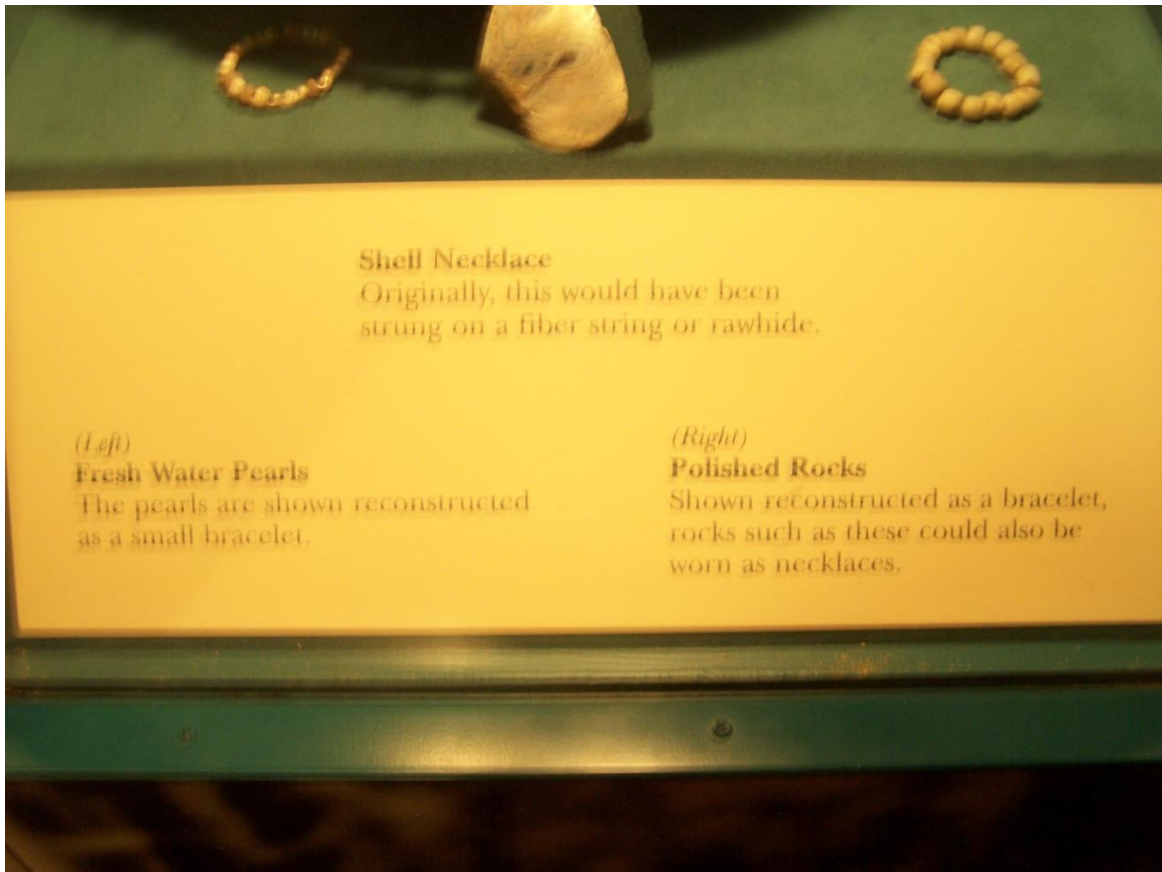


Figure 8 – Information card describing Native American jewelry pieces for textual analysis inside Memorial Hall, Stone Mountain Park, Georgia (photograph taken by Sean V. Thomas 2013).

Once coded, the data were categorized into one of nine emergent categories. The categories then were placed into one of four themes established by the analysis of the ephemera; “Georgia Specific,” “Stone Mountain,” “The South,” and “General History.” Again, the full list of codes, categories, and themes can be found in Appendix A

## Conclusion

Established methods of content analysis were incorporated to answer the research questions that drive this project. This chapter discussed the fieldwork necessary to collect the data, as well as the processes by which codes were established, and through which the codes were assigned and categorized. While the steps of data collection, code establishment, and data coding are necessary for content analysis to be conducted correctly; the crux of the work lies within the



analysis of the data (Rose 2007). These data were compiled in an Excel Spreadsheet for further analysis. The next chapter presents the analysis of these data.

## CHAPTER IV

### DATA ANALYSIS

#### **Introduction**

This chapter addresses the questions outlined in Chapter I. In order to accomplish this, the data collected during the fieldwork must be compiled into a spreadsheet based on the codes, categories, and themes outlined in Chapter III. As previously explained, this process involved thoroughly examining the both the ephemera as well as the photographs from the museums located in Stone Mountain Park (SMP) in order to code and categorize the content into patterns. The patterns that emerge will demonstrate the most prominent themes on display.

#### **Dataset One**

The first research question involves the presentation of SMP through the ephemera available in the Georgia Department of Economic Development's Visitor Information Center (VIC) located on I-20 at Tallapoosa, Georgia. Since the VIC carries the authority of the state government, the presentation of SMP within the VIC is an important component of this project. In all, 28 pieces of ephemera were collected from the VIC, and of these 10 pieces were found to contain mention or photographs of Stone Mountain Park. The full list of brochures can be found in Appendix B, along with the abbreviation used in the Excel spreadsheet for the 10 pieces used. The brochures were then broken down into categories of Stone Mountain specific, Atlanta area,

DeKalb County, and the state of Georgia. For example, one magazine called *Georgia Travel Guide 2013* would fall into the final category as it covers the entire state of Georgia, but only contributes a small part of its content to Stone Mountain. While the areal classification of these brochures did not have any effect upon the categorization or classification of the data within them, it made it easier to analyze the data by looking at it hierarchically. Also, the percentage of the contents of each brochure dedicated to SMP grew in direct proportion to the scale of the area – the larger the scale, the larger the percentage of SMP advertising it contained. For example, the DeKalb County brochures had a much larger percentage of SMP advertising than did the Georgia Travel Guide 2013. And naturally, the SMP exclusive brochures and maps held the highest percentage of SMP content.

The overall purpose within this dataset was to determine how the park is being advertised through a state-controlled entity. Is the park being presented as a historical place? Is the park presented as having been important to the Civil War? Is any mention made of the park's less savory history – for example the mountain's historical ties to the Ku Klux Klan? What is the nature of this place?

Using the methods described in Chapter III, the counts and codes from the ephemeral data were transcribed from the spiral notebook into an Excel spreadsheet. The codes and counts were then further grouped into categories — as depicted in Table 1. For example, the codes that pertained to festivals or holidays were categorized under the theme “Festivals.” The categorization of the codes allows the data to be more clearly analyzed for which aspects the advertisements are most clearly focused. Based on this categorization, it becomes readily

<b>Catgories</b>	<b>Codes</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Tot Category</b>	<b>Pct Category</b>
<b>Grandeur</b>			<b>148</b>	<b>45.12%</b>
	Georgia's #1 Attraction	18		
	Stone Mountain Park	120		
	Carving	10		
<b>Nature</b>			<b>27</b>	<b>8.23%</b>
	Natural Beauty	15		
	3200 Acres	12		
<b>Family / Activities</b>			<b>24</b>	<b>7.32%</b>
	Family / Activities	10		
	Adventure	1		
	Golf Courses	13		
<b>Park Attractions</b>		<b>58</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>17.68%</b>
	Geyser Tower	3		
	SkyHike	4		
	Scenic Railroad	5		
	Camp Highland Outpost	3		
	The Great Barn	3		
	Miniature Golf	3		
	4-D Theater	5		
	Ride the Ducks	3		
	Summit Skyride	4		
	Paddlewheel Riverboat	1		
	Lasershow Spectacular	6		
	Snow Mountain	18		
<b>Festivals</b>		<b>58</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>17.68%</b>
	Spring FUN Break	3		
	Easter Sunrise	3		
	Georgia Frontier Days	1		
	Memorial Weekend Celebration	3		
	Summer at the Rock	4		
	Atlanta Fest	3		
	SoulFest	1		
	Fantastic Fourth Celebration	3		
	Labor Day Weekend Celebration	3		
	Yellow Daisy Festival	7		
	A Tour of Southern Ghosts	3		
	Pumpkin Festival	3		
	Stone Mountain Highland Games	3		
	Country Living Fair	3		
	Indian Festival Pow-Wow	3		
	Stone Mountain Christmas	12		
<b>Educational</b>		<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>3.96%</b>
	Memorial Hall	3		
	Confederate Hall	2		
	Historic site	6		
	Education center	2		
<b>Totals</b>		<b>328</b>		

Table 1 – Text counts for analysis of ephemera.

apparent (*See* Figure 8) that the historic and educational aspects of the park are by far the least promoted, at least where text is concerned. In total 45.12% of the advertising text was devoted to the category of “Grandeur.” which included the codes Georgia’s #1 Attraction, Stone Mountain Park, and “Carving.” Of that 45.12%, 81.08% (37% of the entire text code count) is devoted to the Stone Mountain Park code. This is to be expected, because advertisers must make the distinction between Stone Mountain Park and Stone Mountain Village – the municipality outside of the park which is not affiliated with either SMMA or HFE. After the “Grandeur” category, the most prominent categories were “Festivals” and “Park Attractions, tied at 17.68% each. The code “Park Attractions” is concerned only with attractions inside the park that are controlled by HFE – not including the two museums that HFE controls, as the museums fall into the “Education” category. These attractions include rides, shows, and games. (See Table 1 for the complete breakdown).

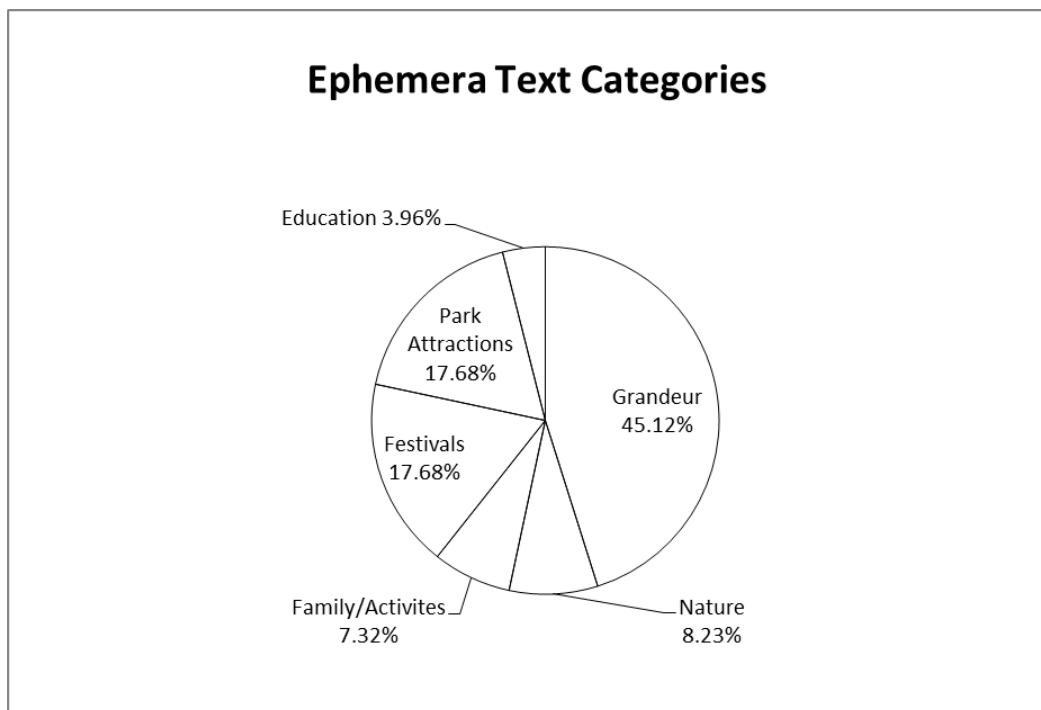


Figure 9 Ephemera text categories.

Activities, Adventure, or the park’s Golf Courses (which have a separate entrance to the park, and are therefore external to the other “Attractions” of the park) comprise 7.32% of the text, and the

“Education” category, which includes all three museums, as well as any mention of the park as a historic or Civil War related site comprise a mere 3.96% of the advertising text. However, the text analysis accounts for but one part of the analysis of the ephemera.

Since photographs and advertising project ideas as easily or even more so than words, a pictorial analysis of the ephemera is necessary. As explained in Chapter III, the codes used in the textual analysis were also used in the content analysis of the pictures of the ephemera. The raw totals for each of the codes, and categories are displayed below in Table 2.

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Codes</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Totals</b>	<b>Pct Category</b>
<b>Grandeur</b>			20	<b>25.64%</b>
	Pictures of The Carving	20		
<b>Family / Activities</b>			13	<b>16.67%</b>
	Family / Activities	11		
	Golf Courses	2		
<b>Attractions</b>			34	<b>43.59%</b>
	Geyser Tower	1		
	SkyHike	3		
	Scenic Railroad	2		
	Camp Highland Outpost	1		
	The Great Barn	1		
	Miniature Golf	1		
	4-D Theater	2		
	Summit Skyride	6		
	Lasershow Spectacular	8		
	Snow Mountain	9		
<b>Festivals</b>			10	<b>12.82%</b>
	Stone Mountain Christmas	10		
<b>Educational</b>			1	<b>1.28%</b>
	Memorial Hall	1		
<b>Totals</b>		<b>78</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Table 2 – Photograph counts for analysis of ephemera.

Once again, the historic and educational aspects of the park are by far the least promoted. Where ephemeral photography is concerned, the “Attractions” of SMP garnered the majority of the attention with 43.59% of the counts. However, there were 20 photographs of the Stone Mountain memorial carving counted in only 10 brochures, singly occupying 25.64% of the

photographs. So, the mountain itself was by far the most prominent single code pictured in the ephemera.

Family activities — such as miniature golf and puppet shows — and golf courses made up the category “Family Fun/Activities” and that came in third with 16.67%, where the “Festivals” category garnered only 12.82%. Finishing last on the list of photographs in the ephemera was the “Educational” category. The entire dataset contained only one photograph from inside (or any part) of one of the three museums. The counts for this dataset have the “Educational” category at just 1.82%. Figure 9 below shows a visual breakdown of the photographs.

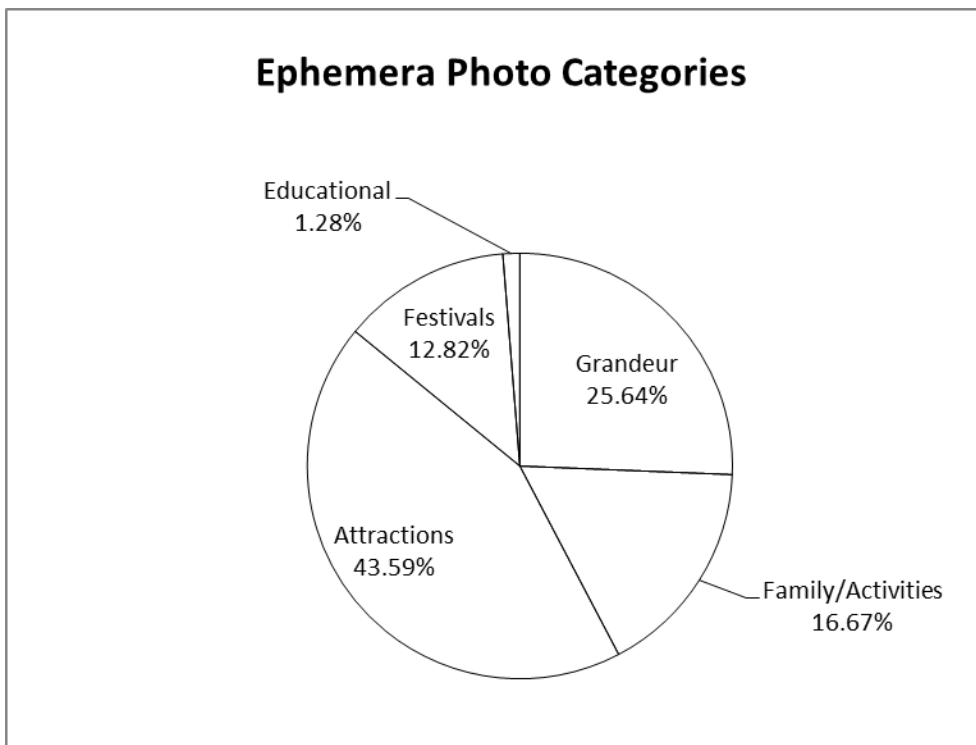


Figure 10 Ephemera imagery analysis.

Since the relief carving was in fact created initially as a memorial to the fallen soldiers of the Confederacy — and the effort to reflect the Southern way of life — one might expect that the advertisements for SMP would contain higher levels of historical reference (Hale 1998).

However, the raw counts for the data reveal that in fact, the historical aspect of the park is highly

underrepresented in the ephemera. Percentages calculated from these data demonstrate that the focus of these forms of advertisement from the VIC have shifted almost entirely away from the historical aspects of Stone Mountain Park — and certainly far away from the park’s historic ties to the Ku Klux Klan — and toward the “Entertainment” aspects of the park. For example, throughout the entire spectrum of ephemeral data, 78 photographs of Stone Mountain Park were examined. Of the 78 photographs, only one picture (1.28%) represented one of the three on-site museums, while 8 photographs (10.26%) represented the Lasershow Spectacular, and 9 photographs (11.53%) showed the seasonal “Snow Mountain” attraction.

When the textual analysis and photograph analysis are combined into their categories, those categories begin to reveal the themes that the park’s advertisers are trying to convey. In fact, three specific themes emerge: “Spectacle” which contains the category of “Grandeur” as well as the category of “Natural Beauty/Nature;” “Entertainment” which contains all of the categories “Attractions,” “Family Fun,” and “Festivals;” and finally the theme of “Educational/Historical,” which contains any reference to museums, education, or history of the park. After combining the two counts and calculating the percentages it becomes clear that the advertisers are most heavily focused on the “Entertainment” theme followed by the “Grandeur” theme, and finally “Educational/Historical” is by far the smallest. The breakdown of the thematic percentages suggests that the advertisers are trying to stay clear of the park’s historic ties to the KKK.



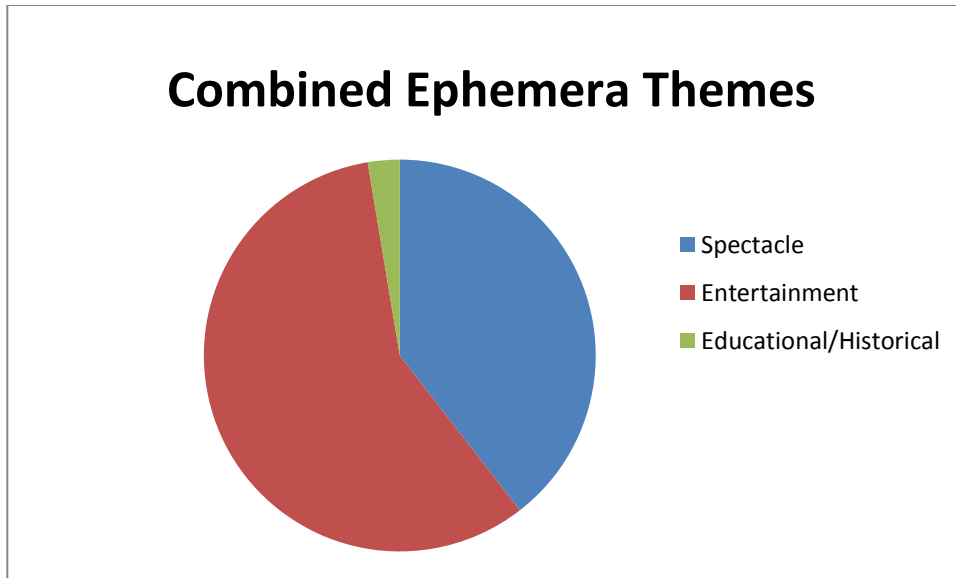


Figure 11 Combined ephemera analysis.

In fact, the advertisers are clearly moving away from the park’s historic and educational value altogether. Since the park was created in deference to a historic time, and the carving itself represents historic figures, and since the park contains three fully operational museums, one would assume that the historic aspects of the park would be featured slightly more in the context of the advertising — even if they advertisements shied away from the more sordid portions of the park’s history. Clearly, the themes that are being put forth by the advertisers focus more heavily upon the spectacle of the park, as well as the entertainment value of the attractions and festivals.

### Dataset Two

The second and third research questions pertain specifically to the data collected at the museums within the park itself. The second research questions: “What are the themes being presented to the public within each museum? Which themes are the most prominent, and how well do they coincide with the presentation of the brochures?” requires that the museums be examined individually. While the third research questions pertain to plantations, slavery, the KKK, the Civil War, and the Confederacy and how these are presented in the park’s museums.

Often, what is not presented can be just as telling of intent as what is presented, thus this question includes asking if there is anything intentionally being omitted by the park management?” require the museums to be examined collectively.

As with the ephemera, the data collected from the museums were coded based on the methods outlined in Chapter III. However, in the case of the museums, the words and phrases were not in brochures; rather, they were fixed to the walls and on placards within the museums themselves. I will begin by examining the museums individually.

### **The Plantation**

The first museum visited was the Plantation, the entrance to which is a general store. The types of displays found inside the general store were very straight-forward, and they contained a limited history of the area. The plantation museum is exceptionally artifact-oriented, and contained fewer production panels or information cards than either of the other museums. However, the information cards within the Plantation were very descriptive and lengthy. The categorical analysis for the Plantation text can be seen in Figure 12 below. The vast majority of the production panels and information cards inside of the Plantation were dedicated to the description of furniture, its uses, and the toils of everyday life in the Antebellum Era before the advent of electricity and modern conveniences. In fact, the category “Quality of Life/Furnishings” accounts for 43.68% of the sampled information cards from the Plantation Museum. And the sampled artifacts from the Plantation fell 100% into the same category. The image analysis from the Plantation (Figure 13) portrays a different story, largely due to the lack of

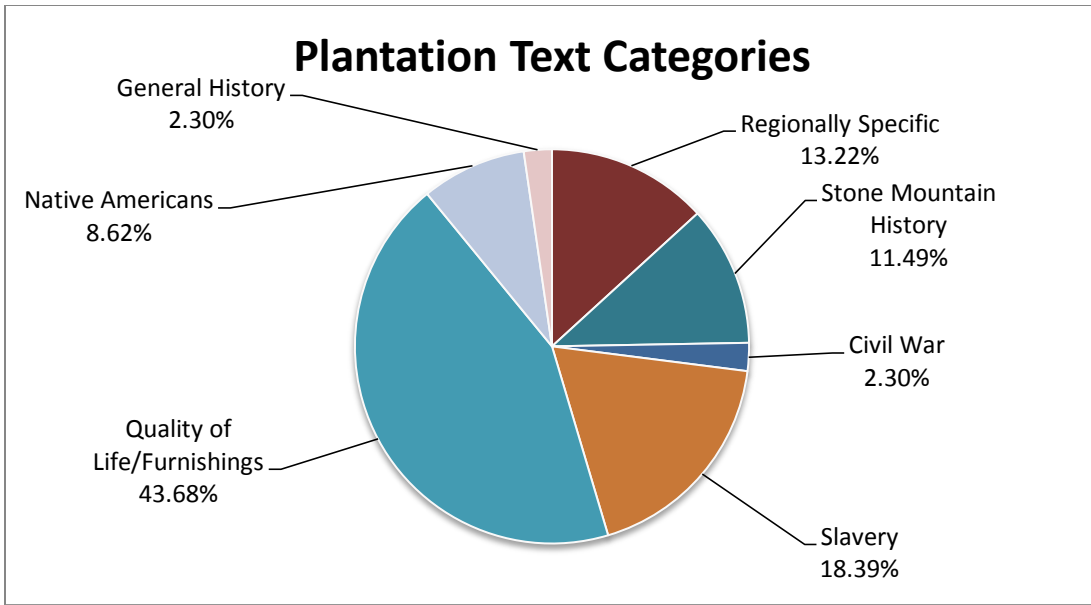


Figure 12 Plantation Text Analysis.

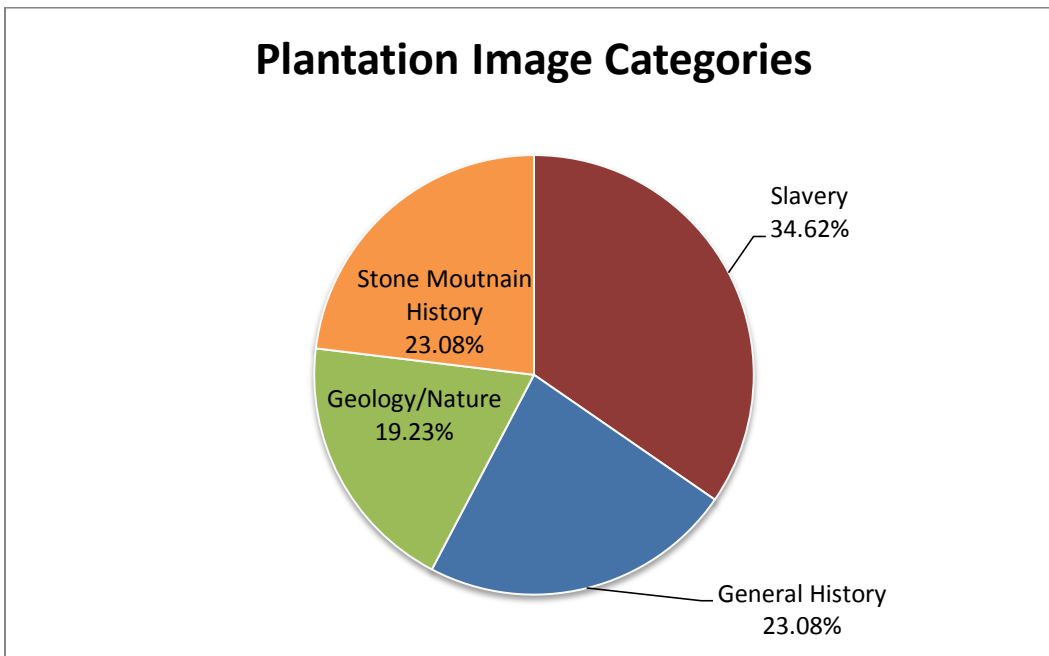


Figure 13 Plantation Image Analysis.

photographic imagery inside the Plantation. One placard contained three photographs depicting slaves and 5 images with slave cabins. This one placard garnered 34.62% of the images from the Plantation. Simply put, the vast majority of the data displayed in the Plantation has little to do with SMP or the carving.

The initial walk through of the museum was quite telling. I was surprised by how little space was devoted to the plight of the slaves during the Antebellum Era. When my mind conjures images of an Antebellum Era plantation, it is nearly impossible not to think of slavery. And within the confines of the Plantation Museum, the topic of slavery is addressed. Unfortunately, any mention of slaves and/or slavery is confined to a small portion of the museum — specifically, two “Slave Cabins.” This giving the impression that the curators were making a point to mention slavery within a context, but they were not interested in making it a focus. Furthermore, my walk through revealed that the average home within the Plantation Museum was that of a “well-off” citizen of the day. The only representation of “poor” people within the grounds of this museum was the two aforementioned slave cabins. Thus, the primary narrative of the pre-Civil War South delivered by the Plantation Museum is one of prosperity for everyone that was white. Through the museum’s authority, this romanticization of a white dominated society in the South is given a historical context, thus naturalizing the order of things in the South to excuse the status quo where racism is concerned. The South’s long established history of racism is perpetuated through the maintenance of such a museum.

There are four homes, and two slave cabins represented on the Plantation. Two of these houses are represented as more common homes for middle/upper middle class types of Southern families – The Kingston House (Figure 14) and the Thornton House circa 1790 (Figure 15). One house is a doctor’s cabin (Figure 13). And of course, there is the Dickey House circa 1840 (Figure 14). The Dickey House is indicative of the romanticized “Big House” that most movie-goers would associate with the antebellum plantation house.

A content analysis of the data via the sampling methods laid out in Chapter III also reveals more insight into the more prominent themes of the Plantation Museum. As Figure 18 below demonstrates, the theme “General History” which includes the category “Quality of Life/Furnishings” accounts for 71.08% of the sampled data. By comparison, slave-related



Figure 14 The Kingston House – Stone Mountain Park (photograph by Sean V. Thomas 2013).



Figure 15 The Thornton House – Stone Mountain Park (photograph by Sean V. Thomas 2013).



Figure 16 The Doctor's Cabin – Stone Mountain Park (photograph by Melissa G. Thomas 2013).



Figure 17 The Dickey House – Stone Mountain Park (photograph by Sean V. Thomas 2013).

category of “The South” accounts for a mere 13.85%. The Plantation museum far more aimed at demonstrating the quality of life for “white” Southerners during the antebellum period than that of the slaves.

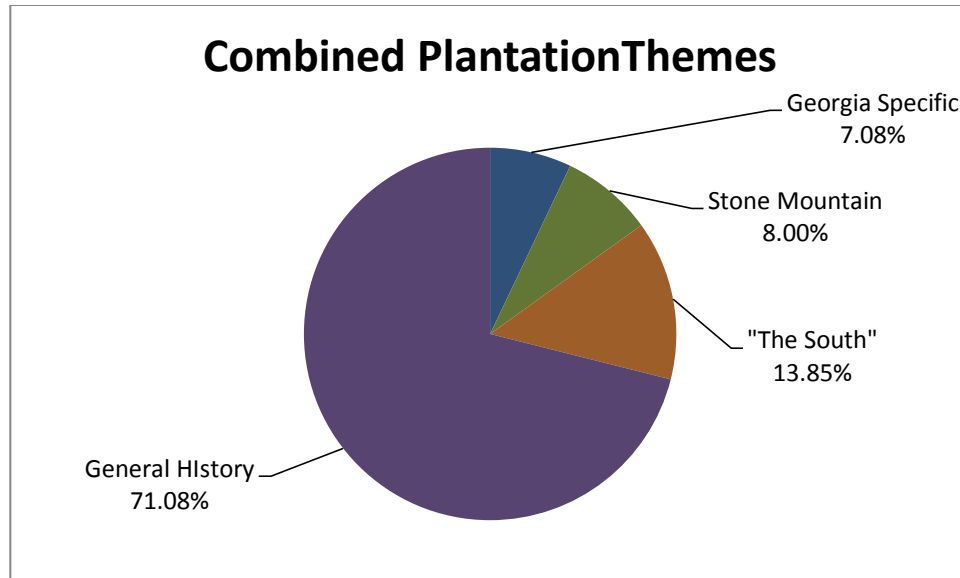


Figure 18 – Combined Thematic Analysis of Plantation.

These data show that the themes being represented within the Plantation museum are in no way aligned with the prominent themes of the ephemera. In fact, the primary theme within the museum — not unexpectedly — is “General History;” The “Grandeur” theme, relating to the park’s natural beauty and the carving itself, is of little concern within the Plantation. The Entertainment category — by far the most prominent theme of the ephemera — was nonexistent in the Plantation.

### **Confederate Hall**

Confederate Hall is vastly different from the Plantation in numerous ways. First, it was a more conventional museum in that it was contained within a single building, rather than spread across a large grounds through several buildings. Second, Confederate Hall is the only museum in SMP that is not under the control of HFE. Third, the name of the museum is in not necessarily beholden to what is inside the museum’s walls, unlike the Plantation Museum which contained — by at least the interpretation of the curators and park planners — a plantation. And finally, Confederate Hall is the only museum in the park that is free to enter.

The entrance to Confederate Hall is rather unassuming. The main foyer is a large space with only displays on the walls and a large map of SMP etched into the marble floor (Figure 19). On the walls of the foyer are a few display cases and one diorama of a Civil War battle in a free-standing display. All appearances are that the museum will be what its name suggests — a museum to the Confederacy. However, the foyer is where the similarity to the museum's name ends. The foyer is only a small part of Confederate Hall; the larger portion is through a doorway on the left side of the foyer. The main room of the museum was dedicated almost entirely to geology.

The data sampled included some data from the foyer as well as some from the main room. As shown on Figure 20, “Stone Mountain” represents the largest portion of the data collected at Confederate Hall accounts for 42.22% of the sample. The next largest code count was “Geology/Nature” at 28.89%. It is no coincidence that these largest codes belong to the two largest themes in the analysis “Stone Mountain” and “General History” respectively (Figures 20 and 21).



Figure 19 – the etching of Stone Mountain in the floor of Confederate Hall, (photograph by Sean V. Thomas, 2013).

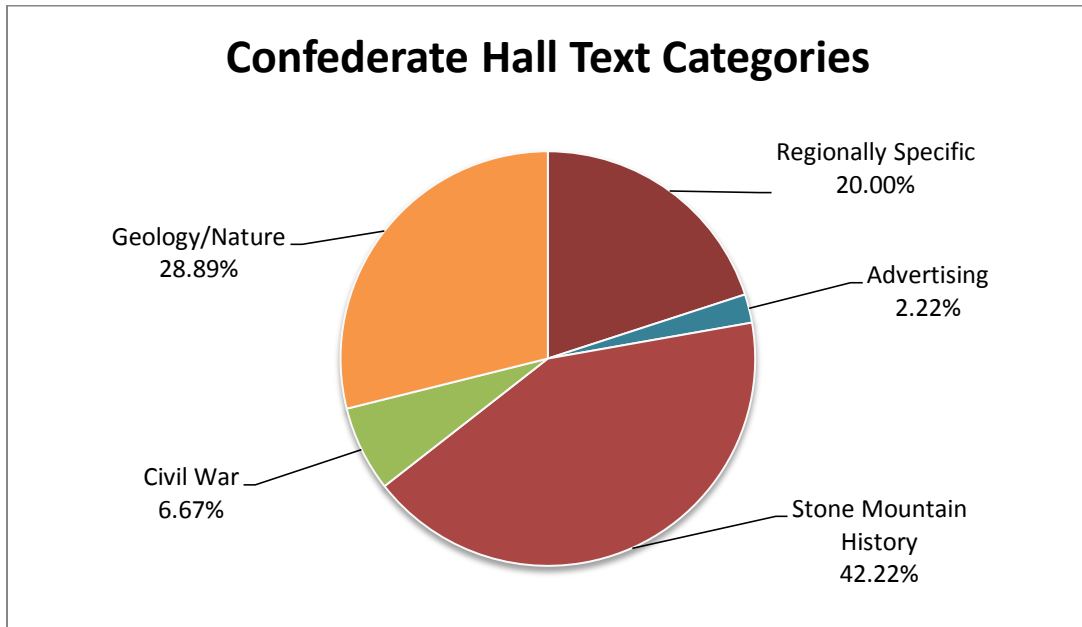


Figure 20 – Categorical analysis of the text in Confederate Hall.



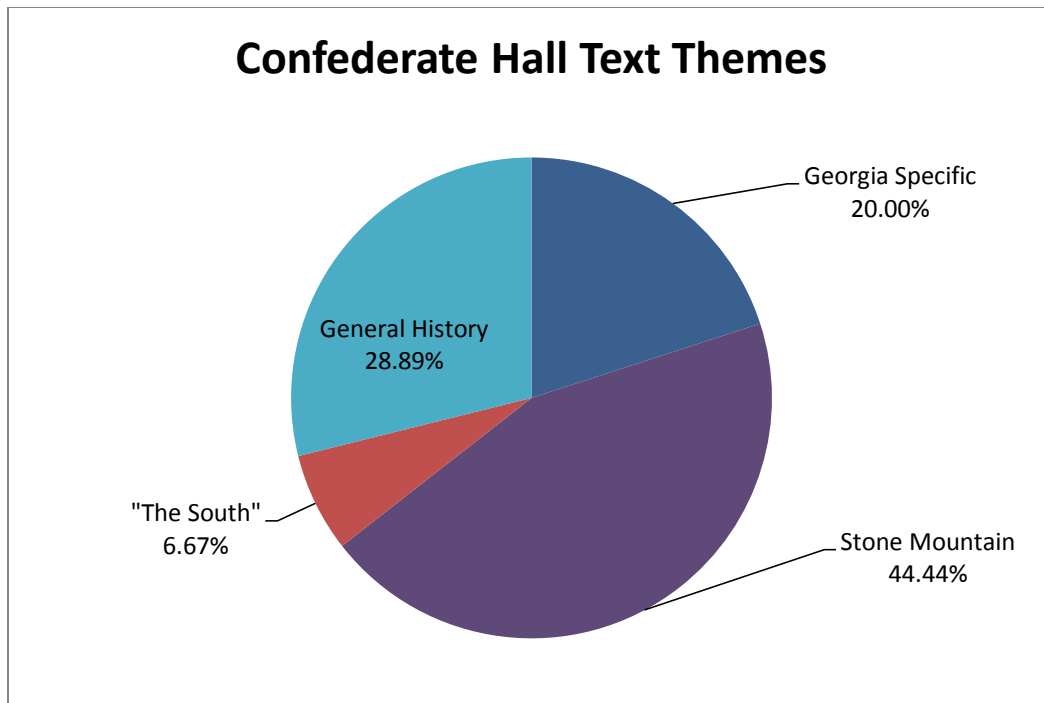


Figure 21 – Thematic analysis of the text in Confederate Hall.

The categorical and thematic breakdown of the museum’s imagery and artifacts is more one-sided than that of the text. The imagery contains 100% Stone Mountain History and the artifacts are 92.86% Civil War with the remainder belonging to the code “Carving Replica.” The lack of breadth in the artifacts and imagery is due to the fact that the vast majority of the sampled data belong to the textual category as does a large portion of the museum. The main body of the museum consists primarily of geological terminology and some imagery. Of the museums on the property at SMP, Confederate Hall — despite its name — contributes the least to Southern identity, but it is the only museum still controlled by the original proponents of SMP; The Stone Mountain Memorial Association.

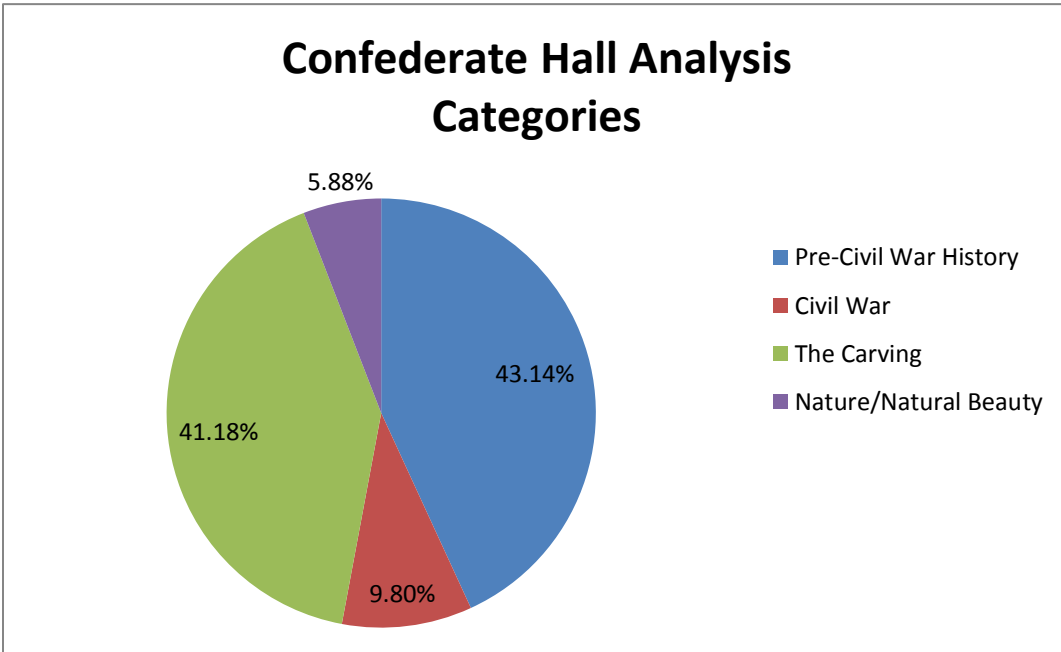


Figure 22 – Confederate Hall Categories.

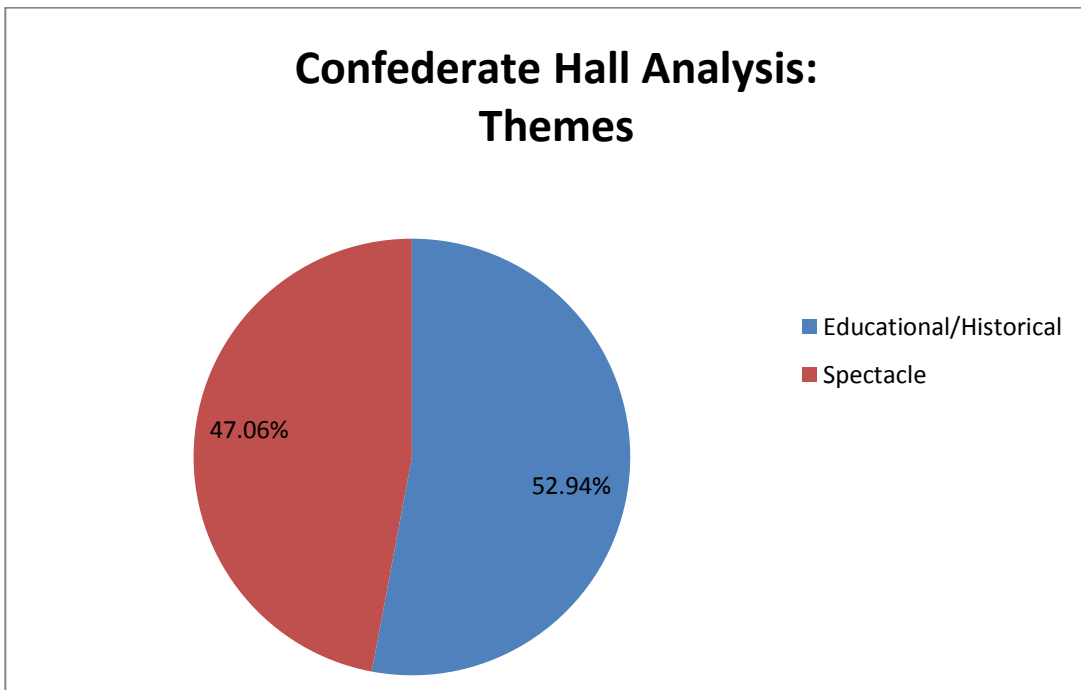


Figure 23 – Confederate Hall Thematic Analysis.

Again in Confederate Hall, as was the case with the Plantation, there is an enormous disconnect between museum's content and the ephemeral analysis. The "Educational/Historical" theme is the most prominent, where that theme garnered virtually no attention in the ephemera. However, the Confederate Hall does devote a large part of its content to the "Spectacle" theme, as did the ephemera. The greatest connection to any museum and the advertising ephemera is found almost exclusively within the theme of "Spectacle." However, it is worth noting, that Confederate Hall is the only museum in the park that was mentioned specifically in the ephemera. Since the park's creation, until its privatization in 1998 (Freeman 1998), the SMMA was the only governing body in the park. When privatization came about, the SMMA was not likely keen to relinquish entire control of the land, and built Confederate Hall to maintain a presence in the park.

### **Memorial Hall**

The featured museum of SMP is Memorial Hall. Created in the push to finish the park between 1954 and 1972, Memorial Hall provides history of not only the carving, but also of the mountain, and the immediate surrounding area (Hale 1998, Freeman 1997). In my initial walk through of Memorial Hall, what most impressed me was the size of the relief carving on the mountain, and the depth of the area's history. In fact, the entire Viewing Gallery is more of a secular shrine to the sheer magnitude of the carving than a museum. First, the most prominent piece in the Viewing Gallery is an enormous window overlooking the large veranda with a spectacular view of the carving on the mountain. There are also numerous life-sized replicas of portions of the carving — i.e. a horse's nose and mouth (see Figure 22) or a portion of one of the general's collars (Figure 23) as well as life-sized pictures of other parts of the carving. However, while the size of the relief is the initial impression, there is certainly a lot more to the museum.



Figure 24 Replica of Jefferson Davis' horse "Black Jack's" mouth (photograph by Sean V. Thomas 2013).



Figure 25 Replica of Robert E. Lee's collar and stars (photograph by Sean V. Thomas 2013).

In fact, as Figure 24 demonstrates, Memorial Hall contains the most categorical breadth of the three museums in the study. Naturally, there is an enormous portion of the museum dedicated to the carving, but the representation of seven of the nine overall categories is impressive. As seen in Figure 24, the remaining categories are fairly small, and of course, all are dwarfed by the references to Stone Mountain, the carving and its history. The museum was, after all, initially created to preserve the history of the carving (Hale 1998).

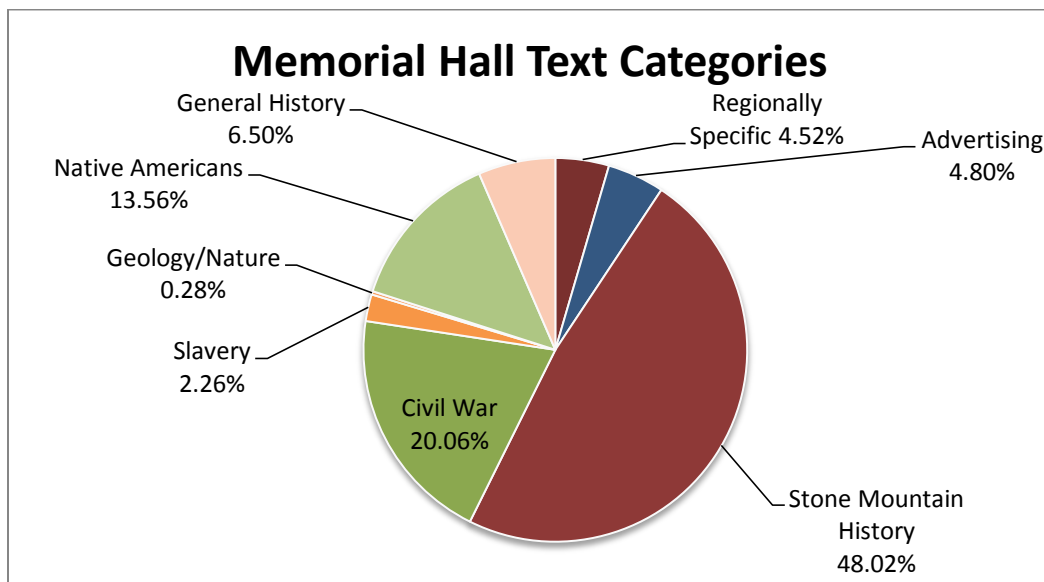


Figure 26 – Categorical analysis of Memorial Hall's text.

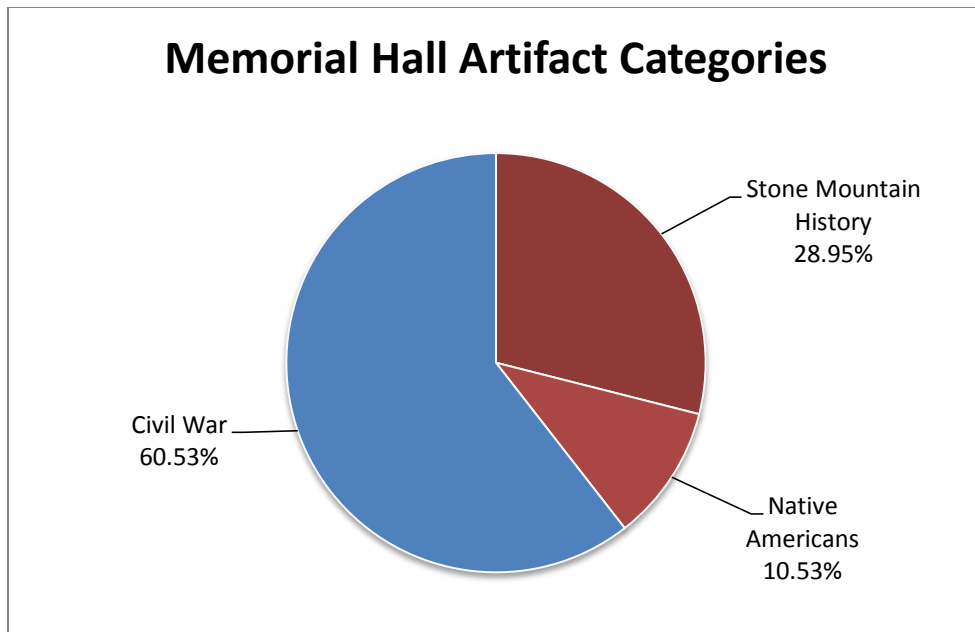


Figure 27 – Categorical analysis of Memorial Hall’s artifacts.

However predictable the textual analysis is, Memorial Hall is not what is expected is with regard to the artifact analysis. Figure 25 demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of artifacts inside the museum are from the Civil War. And, the Civil War section of the upstairs museum is by far the largest section. However, the General History, “The South,” and the historical aspects of the Stone Mountain themes (Figure 26) — virtually ignored by the ephemera — still get the most attention within Memorial Hall. Unlike the two other museums, Memorial Hall contains a recognizable amount of content devoted to the “Entertainment” theme, and as the featured museum in the park, it should have the strongest ties to the ephemera.

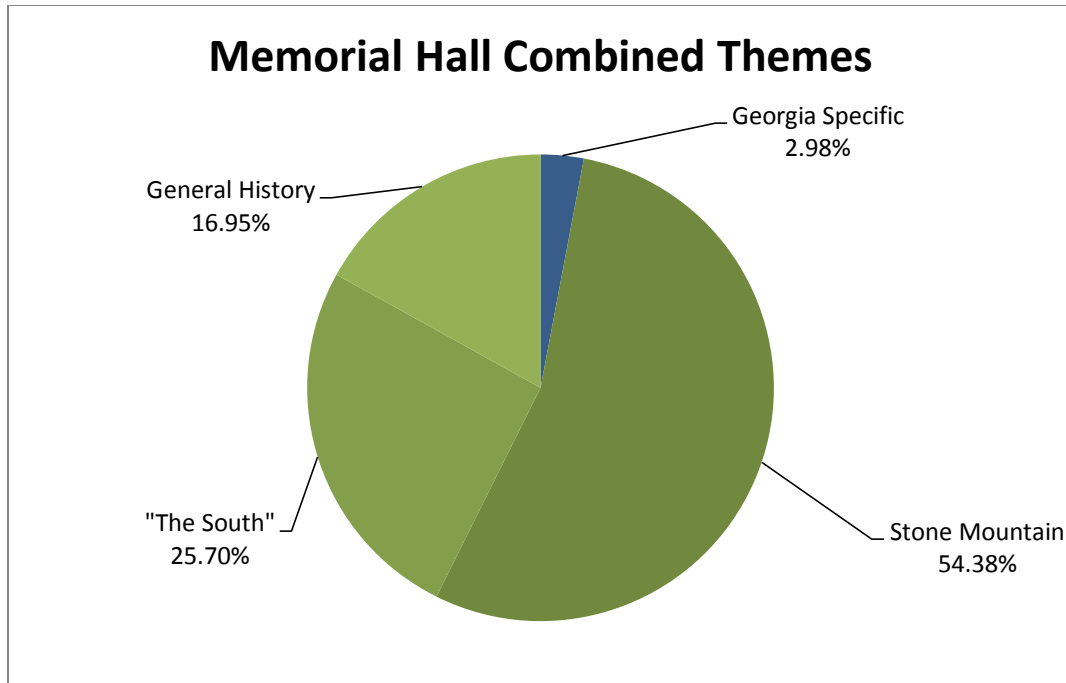


Figure 28 – Combined thematic analysis of Memorial Hall.

### Combined Museum Analysis

In order to answer the third and fourth questions, the data within the museums must be combined. As the data are added together, I find that the categories are quite a bit more revealing about the displays within the museums than the themes that emerged, primarily because the themes are much broader. The categorical analysis (Figure 27) reveals that there is very little representation given to the narrative of slaves and or slavery (5.29% overall), and scarce mention is made at all of the historic ties to the KKK within the park — the only mentions are found in Memorial Hall, and those displays are tiny and mingled in with a “collage-like” display.

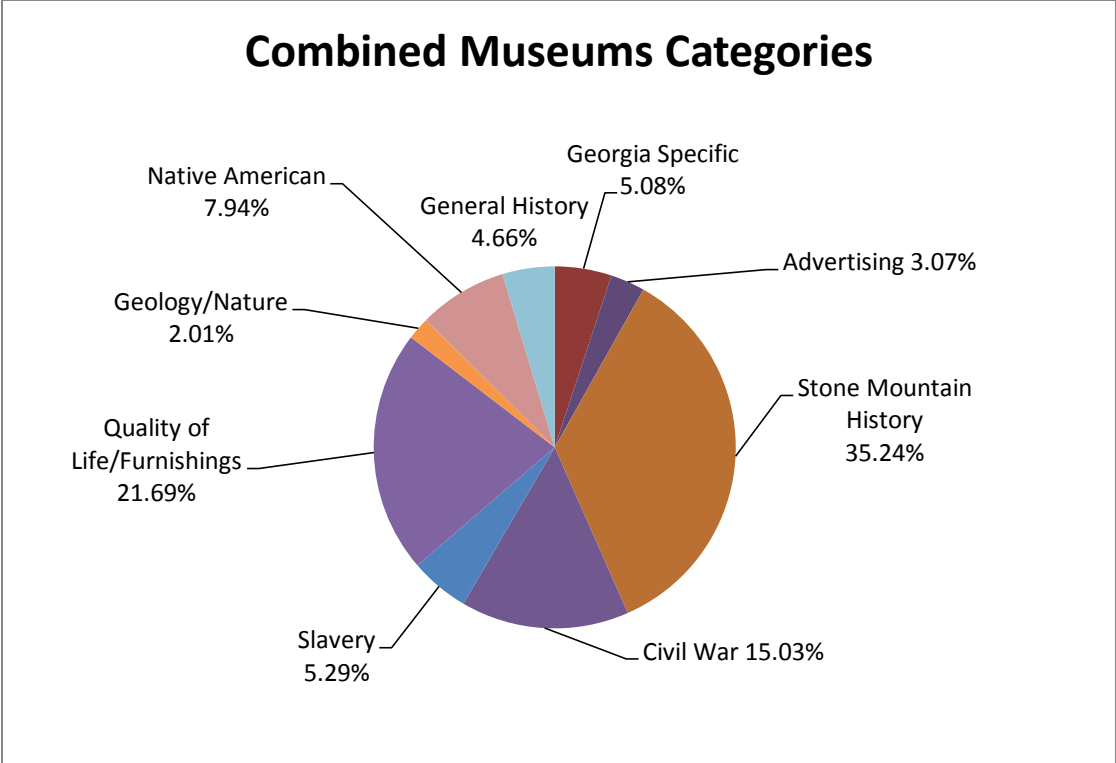


Figure 29 – Combined categorical analysis of the entire sample from dataset 2.

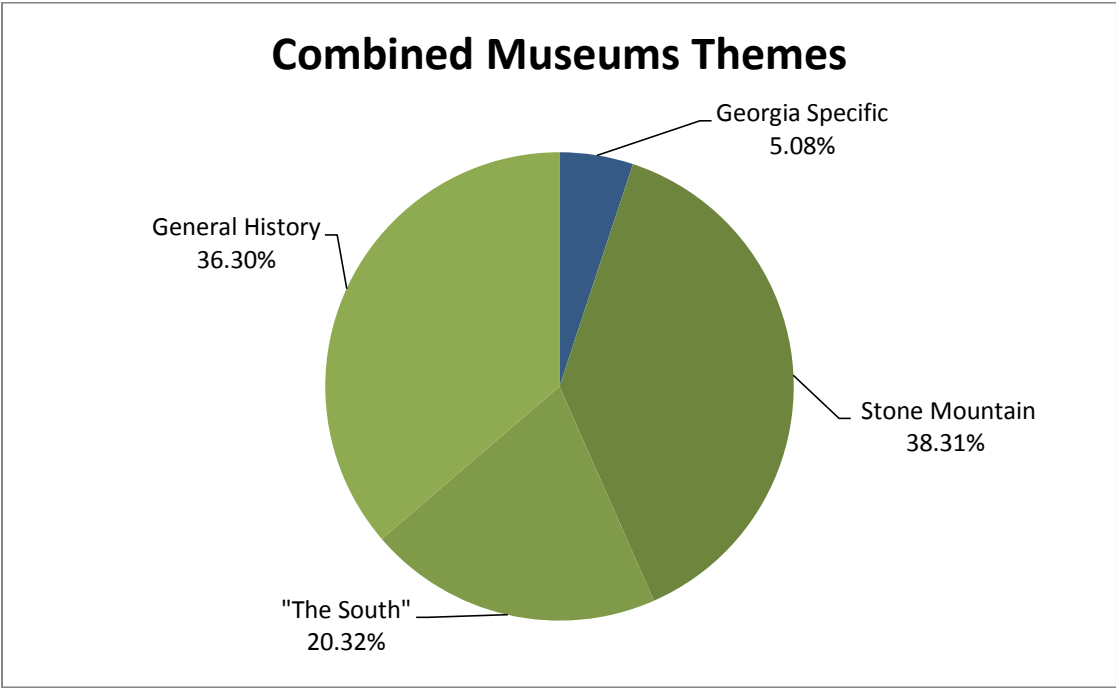


Figure 30 – Combined thematic analysis of the entire sample from dataset 2.

Overall, the initial walk through conducted at museums revealed that each museum was unique, and that each museum had a different primary purpose. The plantation museum devoted most of its content to Pre-Civil War History, where the narrative of slavery should be made very prominent, but it was not so. Then in Confederate Hall, whose name would lead one to believe that it was dedicated to the history of the confederacy, the greatest category is also Pre-Civil War History, but more precisely it was concerned with the pre-historic geological process that formed the mountain. The museum does dedicate some of its content to the carving, which is also to be expected given that control of the museum lay within the hands of the SMMA. And finally, Memorial Hall, which is not only devoted to the creation of the carving — politically, financially, and physically — but also, contains the most detailed historical account of the Civil War of the museums of SMP.

The more important items to inspect on these combined data to answer Research Question 3 are not the overall themes, but rather a closer examination of the coded data along with the impressions left from the walk through sessions. As I have already alluded to in the individual analysis of each museum, the walk through of the Plantation was particularly telling regarding the narrative of slavery and the pre-Civil War South as all of the homes were comparable to modern day middle income homes with the exception of the slave cabins. Additionally, the dedication to the “Quality of Life” category translated roughly to a comparison of the way modern people live and the way that people in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century lived. Without trying to be too colloquial, it was not terribly unlike watching an episode of “The Flintstones” cartoon — where modern conveniences are replaced by an absurd pre-historic make-shift replacement — only in this case rather than a cartoon fantasy, the modern conveniences were replaced by authentic substitutes — an example would be a fireplace with a built-in brick bread oven versus a range/oven unit for the kitchen. The walk through impression in conjunction with



the minimal amount of data concerning slaves, or slavery on the Plantation gives the idea that the pre-Civil War South was ruled by prosperity and whiteness.

Concerning the question of the park's historical tie to the KKK, there is only one photograph with an associated information card representing that tie, and it is hidden within a collage inside of Memorial Hall. One must be looking for the connection in order to find it. The overall combined dataset contains two counts of the code KKK. To say that the tie is underrepresented is an understatement. However, it must be recognized that such a connection is unsavory, and that makes it all the more difficult to include such references in our modern — although arguably — more enlightened world. It would be rather simple to conveniently omit that sordid bit of history from the museums entirely. Unfortunately, there is another side to their recognition of the KKK tie-in; the tie-in from the KKK to Southern identity. While Southern identity is not defined by the KKK, there is undoubtedly a tie between the KKK and Southern identity since the KKK was born in the American South. So any recognition of that tie in Georgia's #1 Attraction — a reference contained twice in the content analysis of the museums — can only work to deepen that relationship. It is often a difficult thing to embrace one's history.

For the remainder of Question 3 — the Confederacy and the Civil War itself — the overall dataset does an ample job, as the walk through sessions reveal little about these two aspects as the two are virtually interlocked within the museum datasets. Overall, there is very little representation of the Confederacy. In fact, there is nearly as much representation of the Union regarding the Civil War than that of the Confederacy. Overall representation of the Civil War is also not large when compared to the other two major categories; "Stone Mountain" and "Quality of Life/Furnishings."

The fourth question, much like the third question, relies on the overall combined analysis of the entire sample from the study area dataset as well as the entire dataset from the VIC. Does

the park present itself as a Southern place? And does it provide a Southern experience? The answer is split between the two questions. First, the data clearly show that the ephemeral representation is overwhelmingly not “Southern.” Actually, the ephemera concentrate more on family oriented activities, park attractions, and seasonal festivals than on any Southern principles. However, the thematic analysis from within the park clearly demonstrates that — at least within the museums of the park — there is a good deal of effort devoted to creating a Southern experience. The two categories of “The South” and “Georgia Specific” combine to equal 25.4% of the thematic data. Also, the “Stone Mountain” theme contains references that are both Stone Mountain related and also inherently Southern (“The Trio” for one example). And, the Stone Mountain theme is the largest theme at 38.31%.

The Southern experience within the park is largely due to the fact that the museums are charged with presenting a history that is steeped in the South — albeit a watered down version of the reality that was the South. However, the real answer to this question would best be ascertained through surveying the patrons of the museums as they exit — as originally planned. Because, it is what the patrons of the museum perceive that determine what the real experience being presented is. The next chapter will summarize the study and the findings of the analysis, and conclude with recommendations for further studies.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

#### **Summary**

The fieldwork for this study was conducted during the winter months of 2013/2014. The material that was studied is likely to change, particularly the ephemera, which by definition is only good for a short period of time and often seasonal. Additionally, my understanding is that the Plantation hires people to work in period costumes to act as participants in the Antebellum Era during the summer, thus making the message of the curators even more powerful. Also, museums may or may not rotate displays and artifacts in order to keep them better preserved. So, the experience that I had at Stone Mountain Park may not be the same experience for everyone in perpetuity. However, if these changes do occur, they will likely occur at a slow pace.

The objective here was to study the messages being put forth by both the VIC and the museums at Stone Mountain to see how they contribute to Southern identity. This included collecting data from the VIC, as well as from the three museums located inside of SMP, querying that data through content analysis to discover the primary themes. The content analysis involved coding the data for recurring words, phrases, and images; categorizing the codes; and finally working those codes into the primary themes. A discussion of the conclusions and recommendations for further research follows.

## Conclusions

One finding of this study indicates that the primary focus of the ephemera is neither history nor education, but rather entertainment. “Georgia’s #1 Attraction” is not likely so for its educational value. Sadly, to judge from the brochures, most people on vacation do not seek educational or enlightening locations or activities. However, in the push to draw more patrons, the “history” is diluted in order to avoid offense. Naturally, the narrative of slavery associated with the pre-Civil War South is not a happy topic. It is understandable why the advertisers do not make the slave cabins in the Plantation Museum the focus of their brochures; just as it is understandable that the photograph in Memorial Hall of the KKK burning a cross atop Stone Mountain is not prominently featured in the advertising. So, for the advertisers that produce the brochures, their foci tend to be what will draw customers to the park, hence they are called “Attractions.” This need to gloss over the history of spaces of commemoration in order to create revenue can only lead to a dilution of the truth, thus diluting the regional identity to more closely match the identity of the greater U.S.

In addition, the study confirms that the museums within SMP are putting forth separate messages, each museum with a unique focus. The Plantation museum focuses on quality of life in the pre-Civil War South, albeit primarily the quality of life for prosperous white people of that era. The prominence of white prosperity within the Plantation museum is the most telling contribution to Southern identities. The historical establishment of social order with white people atop the hierarchy and black slaves at the bottom — in a similar position to livestock — only serves to perpetuate the same social hierarchy. Confederate Hall’s primary focus is the geology that formed the monadnock, as well as the natural environment of the park. Confederate Hall also gives some attention to the spectacle of the carving, but not nearly as much as does Memorial Hall. And finally, Memorial Hall devotes nearly half of its displays, and a considerable amount of its space, to the carving itself; whether it is the spectacle of it, or the history behind the actual

carving, Memorial Hall focused on the carving. In fact, the most prominent display inside of Memorial Hall is not focused on history at all, but rather is more of a shrine to the sheer size of the relief carving. It is also important to note that Stone Mountain Park is not associated with any major battle of the Civil War. It is rather the location of a shrine to the leaders of the Confederacy. As Linenthal pointed out, shrines such as this “define, for future generations, those who are “insiders” and “outsiders” in American culture,” or in the case of the shrine at Stone Mountain; Southern culture (Linenthal 1993, 216). Furthermore, Memorial Hall does not present a great deal of material regarding the historic ties of the mountain to the KKK; although, Memorial Hall did have the only real mentions of that tie. However, the messages put forth in the museums cannot be easily associated with the themes of the ephemera.

### **Limitations**

It bears noting that this study is not without limitations. First, and probably the most obvious limitation, is the lack of patron surveys. Patron surveys would add a rich layer to this analysis to reveal what is really being experienced and perceived in the park’s museums. Second, and perhaps as important, is the park *outside* of the museums. The park itself was designed to reflect the old South (Hale 1998, Freeman 1997), and as such, the entire park would be an excellent study area in which to collect a similar dataset. Finally, the seasonal change in park themes is not considered in this study. The landscape of the park is transformed in the winter for the “Snow Mountain” attraction. Perhaps conducting the study in both summer and winter would provide a different set of data. Do the museums change seasonally as well? Additionally, this study only gathered ephemera from one location. There are several such VIC’s located around the state. Also, the park has a large Internet presence that could be considered for data collection.

## **Recommendations for Further Research**

Upon completing this study, it is clear that there is further need for research, particularly with regard to the ephemera presented to the public through the VIC. One of the foci of this study was to determine how Stone Mountain Park is presented through the VIC, but a future research question is: At whom is the advertising in the VIC directed? This question could be answered by a detailed content analysis of the photographs presented in the VIC in the same fashion as the Alderman-Modlin (2013) in their study of the brochures presented through North Carolina's visitor centers. There is a significant African American presence in the state of Georgia. Are the brochures in the VIC representative of that presence? Do the advertisers aim to draw upon African American tourists?

Another recommendation would be to conduct studies of other plantation museums located in the South. Do they have a similar representation of slavery? Are there other homes present on the museum grounds, and if so, do they represent only prosperous "non-slaves," as the museum at SMP does? Are the representations of slavery a prominent feature? Or do the curators try to show the romanticized and more Hollywood version of what plantation life was like?

The Southern identity — and particularly the way the South is perceived through the dialectic with the greater United States — has long held ties to its history with African Americans (Jansson 2005). There is still research to be done regarding the use of spaces of commemoration to build regional identities, like Southern identity. And more work regarding the representation of African Americans in those spaces of commemoration in the South is also needed. The museums inside of Stone Mountain Park do not devote a great deal of effort to the aforementioned long held ties to African Americans. There is in fact very little space dedicated to that tie. The ephemera do not reach in the direction of that tie either.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Categories, Codes, and Definitions

*Table 1*

*Key Word/Phrase list for Study Area 1*

<b>Category</b>	<b>Key Words/Phrases/Codes</b>	<b>Definition</b>
<b>Miscellaneous</b>	Georgia's #1 Attraction	the words Georgia's # Attraction or any phrase referring to the "4 million" annual visitors to the park.
	Stone Mountain Park	the exact words Stone Mountain Park
	Carving	Any mention of the relief carving, its size, or pictures that included the carving in the background.
	Nature/Natural Beauty,	Exact wording or Coded when any mention of nature, natural beauty, or naturally attractive phenomena
	Lakeshores	Exact wording or any picture of lake/lake activity
	Forests	Exact wording or any reference to forests or woods
	Wildlife	Exact wording or any mention of specific animals (i.e. deer)
	Rock formations	Exact wording or any mention of specific formations (i.e. granite slopes)
	3200 Acres	coded when reference to the park's physical size was made.
	<b>Family Fun / Attractions</b>	Family
Golf Courses		any reference to the two championship golf courses located inside of the park, or pictures of golfing
Geyser Tower		exact wording or pictures of the attraction
SkyHike		exact wording or pictures of families on the SkyHike

	Scenic Railroad	exact wording or pictures of the attraction
	Camp Highland Outpost	exact wording or pictures of the attraction
	The Great Barn	exact wording or pictures of the attraction
	Miniature Golf	exact wording or pictures of families enjoying the attraction
	4-D Theater	exact wording or pictures of the attraction
	Ride the Ducks	exact wording
	Summit Skyride	exact wording or pictures of the attraction
	Paddlewheel Riverboat	exact wording or pictures of families on the
	Lasershow Spectacular	exact wording or pictures of the attraction, typically during the fireworks portion of the show.
	Snow Mountain	exact wording or pictures of families enjoying the attraction
<b>Festivals</b>	Spring FUN Break	exact wording
	Easter Sunrise	exact wording
	Georgia Frontier Days	exact wording
	Memorial Weekend Celebration	exact wording
	Summer at the Rock	exact wording
	Atlanta Fest	exact wording
	SoulFest	exact wording
	Fantastic Fourth Celebration	exact wording
	Labor Day Weekend Celebration	exact wording
	Yellow Daisy Festival	exact wording
	A Tour of Southern Ghosts	exact wording
	Pumpkin Festival	exact wording
	Stone Mountain Highland Games	exact wording
	Country Living Fair	exact wording
	Indian Festival Pow-Wow	exact wording
	Stone Mountain Christmas	exact wording or pictures of the park lit with Christmas lights
<b>Education</b>	Memorial Hall	exact wording or pictures in or around the museum
	Confederate Hall	exact wording
	Historic site	exact wording
	Education Center	exact wording
	Adventure	exact wording

*Table 2*

*Code list for Study Area 2*

<b>Category</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>Definition</b>
<b>Pre-Civil War History</b>	<b>Pre-history</b>	Any reference to pre-historical events including dinosaurs or dates occurring BC
	<b>Geology</b>	Any reference to the creation or formation of rock, monadnocks, tectonic theory, etc.
	<b>Native Americans</b>	Any artifact related to or reference to Native American people
	<b>Pre-Colonial</b>	Historical references to interaction between explorers and native Americans
	<b>Colonial</b>	Historical references or artifacts relating to the period between colonization of North America up to and including references to the American Revolution
	<b>Pre-Civil War/ Antebellum</b>	Historical references or artifacts associated with the United States, and particularly the South, dating from the Revolutionary War up to the Civil War.
	<b>Architecture/ Furnishings</b>	Displays focused on furnishings and architecture - most commonly found in the Plantation
	<b>Quality of Life</b>	Words or photographs describing the historical quality of life or technological improvements – such as the advent of photography or cameras, the telegraph, or particular descriptions of appliance or furniture uses that an inferred contrast may be made to modern conveniences.
<b>Civil War</b>	<b>Confederacy</b>	References or artifacts relating to The Confederacy, Confederate Army, Confederate soldiers, Confederate officials (not including the Trio).
	<b>Union/Sherman</b>	References or artifacts relating to The Union, Union Army, Union Soldiers, Union officials (including the president) during the Civil War, and or General Sherman specifically.
	<b>Railroad</b>	Any reference or picture of a railroad
	<b>Slaves/Slavery/Quality of Slave Life</b>	Any reference or artifact relating to slaves, slavery, or the quality of slave life
	<b>Civil War</b>	Any reference to the Civil War that does not mention the Union or Confederacy.
	<b>Reconstruction/The New South</b>	The exact words Reconstruction or New South on an information card
	<b>KKK</b>	Any mention or photograph of the Ku Klux Klan
<b>The Carving</b>	<b>The History of the Carving</b>	Any artifacts (tools) or pictures of the carving or sculptors in progress along with descriptions of the process
	<b>The Planes</b>	Any reference or artifact relating to the founder of the SMMA Helen Plane or her husband.
	<b>Grandeur</b>	Any display that references the size of the carving – usually by comparing it to other objects
	<b>The Trio</b>	Any mention, photograph, or artifact relating to

		Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, or "Stonewall" Jackson
	<b>SMP/SMMA</b>	The exact words Stone Mountain Park or Stone Mountain Memorial Association
<b>Nature/Natural Beauty</b>	<b>Nature/ Natural Beauty</b>	Any mention or photograph of forests, wildlife, etc. or the words "nature" or "natural beauty"
<b>Miscellaneous</b>	<b>Family-Fun/ Adventure</b>	Any mention of family activities, or photographs of families enjoying the park
	<b>Festivals/Activities</b>	Any mention or photograph of the numerous activities, attractions, or festivals located in Stone Mountain Park

## **Appendix B:**

Ephemera analyzed from Georgia Department of Economic Development's Visitor Information Center stratified by region and their abbreviations in the Excel spreadsheet.

<b>Name</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>
-------------	---------------------

### **Stone Mountain Specific**

- |  |         |
|--|---------|
| • Stone's Throw Tour: a walking tour of Stone Mountain Village |         |
| • Stone Mountain Village: Atlanta's Mountain Town              |         |
| • Stone Mountain Park Driving Map                              | SMP Map |
| • Stone Mountain Park  | SMP     |

### **Atlanta Area**

- |  |           |
|--|-----------|
| • Atlanta: street map and visitor guide summer/fall 2013 |           |
| • The Guide: Atlanta airport area                        |           |
| • Highland Corridor: Atlanta                             |           |
| • Blue Ridge Scenic Railway 2013                         |           |
| • Georgia's Woodstock                                    |           |
| • Atlanta Now: September/October                         | Atl Now 1 |
| • Atlanta Now: November/December 2013                    | Atl Now 2 |

### **Dekalb County**

- |   |          |
|---|----------|
| • Welcome to Atlanta's Dekalb County: Map and Attractions Guide | DeKalb 1 |
| • Visit Atlanta's Dekalb County                                 | DeKalb 2 |
| • Get Out and Play in Atlanta's Dekalb County                   | DeKalb 3 |

### **Georgia**

- The Great Locomotive Chase
- Georgia Travel Coupons and Visitor Guide
- Georgia: The Original Green Guide
- Gone with the Wind Trail
- Gravity with a Twist: Georgia on My Mind

- The Official Interstate Guide: Georgia
- Georgia Department of Natural Resources: State Park Golf Courses
- Georgia's Guide to the Civil War Guide CW
- Georgia's State Parks & Historic Sites
- Alpine Georgia
- Official Highway and Transportation Map
- Guide to Georgia
- Georgia Travel Guide 2013 GA TrGd1
- Georgia Travel Guide 2014 GA TrGd2



## Appendix C

**Table 1C**

Raw Counts for Ephemeral Text

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Codes</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Grandeur</b>		<b>148</b>
	Georgia's #1 Attraction	18
	Stone Mountain Park	120
	Carving	10
<b>Nature</b>		<b>27</b>
	Natural Beauty	15
	3200 Acres	12
<b>Family / Activities</b>		<b>24</b>
	Family / Activities	10
	Adventure	1
	Golf Courses	13
<b>Park Attractions</b>		<b>58</b>
	Geyser Tower	3
	SkyHike	4
	Scenic Railroad	5
	Camp Highland Outpost	3
	The Great Barn	3
	Miniature Golf	3
	4-D Theater	5
	Ride the Ducks	3
	Summit Skyride	4
	Paddlewheel Riverboat	1
	Lasershow Spectacular	6
	Snow Mountain	18
<b>Festivals</b>		<b>58</b>
	Spring FUN Break	3
	Easter Sunrise	3
	Georgia Frontier Days	1
	Memorial Weekend Celebration	3
	Summer at the Rock	4
	Atlanta Fest	3
	SoulFest	1
	Fantastic Fourth Celebration	3
	Labor Day Weekend Celebration	3
	Yellow Daisy Festival	7

	A Tour of Southern Ghosts	3
	Pumpkin Festival	3
	Stone Mountain Highland Games	3
	Country Living Fair	3
	Indian Festival Pow-Wow	3
	Stone Mountain Christmas	12
<b>Educational</b>		<b>13</b>
	Memorial Hall	3
	Confederate Hall	2
	Historic site	6
	Education center	2
<b>Totals</b>		<b>328</b>

**Table 2C**

Raw Counts for Ephemeral Images

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Codes</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Totals</b>
<b>Grandeur</b>			<b>20</b>
	Pictures of The Carving	20	
<b>Family / Activities</b>			<b>13</b>
	Family / Activities	11	
	Golf Courses	2	
<b>Attractions</b>			<b>34</b>
	Geyser Tower	1	
	SkyHike	3	
	Scenic Railroad	2	
	Camp Highland Outpost	1	
	The Great Barn	1	
	Miniature Golf	1	
	4-D Theater	2	
	Summit Skyride	6	
	Lasershow Spectacular	8	
	Snow Mountain	9	
<b>Festivals</b>			<b>10</b>
	Stone Mountain Christmas	10	
<b>Educational</b>			<b>1</b>
	Memorial Hall	1	
<b>Totals</b>		<b>78</b>	<b>78</b>

**Table 3C**

Raw counts for Plantation Text

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Codes</b>	<b>Counts</b>	<b>Cat Totals</b>
<b>Regionally Specific</b>			<b>23</b>
	Georgia	8	
	piedmont	1	
	Chatahoochee	1	
	Atlanta	3	
	Terminus (Atlanta's first name)	1	
	Decatur	6	
	DeKalb	3	
<b>Stone Mountain History</b>			<b>20</b>
	Stone Mtn	4	
	SMP	1	
	SMMA	1	
	Dickey	4	
	Powell	8	
	pioneer	2	
<b>Civil War</b>			<b>4</b>
	American	2	
	Sherman	1	
	Civil War	1	
<b>Slavery</b>			<b>32</b>
	slaves	8	
	cotton gin	2	
	slave cabin	3	
	plantation	5	
	big house	2	
	Marsta [sic]	3	
	homemade	4	
	cotton	3	
	wool	2	

<b>Quality of Life/Furnishings</b>			<b>76</b>
	bedroom	2	
	Construction	4	
	loft	2	
	shutters	1	
	glass	1	
	bed	5	
	table	2	
	tea set	1	
	chair	5	
	rocker	1	
	fireplace	4	
	washstand	2	
	pitcher/bowl	2	
	andiron	2	
	quilt	2	
	bath tub	3	
	rocking horse	1	
	chest of drawers	2	
	figure	1	
	oil lamp	1	
	dolls	1	
	pioneer	2	
	window coverings	1	
	iron	1	
	pots	1	
	loom	1	
	candle	1	
	toys	1	
	cupboard	1	
	chest	2	
	desk	1	
	folding rack	1	
	pine	3	
	oak	3	
	tin	2	
	brass	2	
	horsehide	1	
	walnut	2	
	birch	1	
	cherry	2	

	mahogany	1	
	brick	1	
<b>Native American/Ancient people</b>			<b>15</b>
	Native American	1	
	indian	1	
	Creek	1	
	Cherokee	2	
	Children	10	
<b>General History</b>			<b>4</b>
	Transportation	2	
	stage	2	
<b>Totals</b>		<b>174</b>	

**Table 4C**

Raw counts for Plantation artifacts

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Codes</b>	<b>Counts</b>	<b>Cat Totals</b>
<b>Quality of Life/Furnishings</b>			<b>125</b>
	chair	14	
	bed	5	
	table	7	
	loom	2	
	fireplace	3	
	chest	3	
	chest of drawers	2	
	desk	1	
	changing blind	1	
	washstand	2	
	mirror	1	
	tub	1	
	cupboard	1	
	rocker	2	
	bench	1	
	toys	5	
	oil lamp	5	
	quilt	6	
	broom	1	
	glass bottle	4	
	candle	6	
	plate	11	
	bowl	2	
	cup/saucer	2	
	cookware	2	
	basket	3	
	book	1	
	vase	5	
	pitcher/bowl	1	
	tea set	2	
	portrait	1	
	towels	11	
	glasses	4	

	salt and pepper	1	
	flatware	6	
<b>Slavery</b>			<b>9</b>
	slaves	3	
	slave cabin	5	
	cotton gin	1	
<b>Stone Mountain History</b>			<b>6</b>
	The Barn	1	
	Doctor's Cabin	1	
	Kington house	1	
	Powell School	1	
	Dickey House	1	
	Thornton house	1	
<b>Geology/nature</b>			<b>5</b>
	geological processes	5	
<b>General History</b>			<b>6</b>
	trains	1	
	wagon	1	
	horse	2	
	Queen Victoria	2	



**Table 5C**

Raw counts for Confederate Hall text

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Codes</b>	<b>Counts</b>	<b>Cat Totals</b>
<b>Regionally Specific</b>			<b>9</b>
	Georgia	9	
<b>Advertising</b>			<b>1</b>
	Georgia's Premiere Attraction	1	
<b>Stone Mountain History</b>			<b>19</b>
	Stone Mtn	4	
	SMP	4	
	SMMA	3	
	Trio	6	
	Memorial	2	
<b>Civil War</b>			<b>3</b>
	Confederate	3	
<b>Geology/nature</b>			<b>13</b>
	pre-continent	2	
	tectonic plate	2	
	pressure	4	
	heat	2	
	collision	2	
	cooling	1	

**Table 6C**

Raw counts for Confederate Hall Imagery/Artifacts

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Codes</b>	<b>Counts</b>	<b>Cat Totals</b>
<b>Civil War</b>			<b>15</b>
	American Flag	6	
	Confederate Flag	7	
	Union Army (mini)	1	
	CSA Army (mini)	1	
<b>Stone Mountain History</b>			<b>14</b>
	Trio	1	
	The Rock (aerial views)	3	
	The Carving	10	

**Table 7C**

Raw counts for Memorial Hall text

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Codes</b>	<b>Counts</b>	<b>Cat Totals</b>
<b>Regionally Specific</b>			<b>16</b>
	Georgia	10	
	Atlanta	5	
	Decatur	1	
<b>Advertising</b>			<b>17</b>
	Georgia's Premiere Attraction	1	
	natural wonder	1	
	resort	1	
	family outing	3	
	tourists/visitors/guests	11	
<b>Stone Mountain History</b>			<b>170</b>
	Stone Mtn	66	
	SMP	1	
	SMMA	3	
	Trio	31	
	"carving"	8	
	Gutzon Borglum	21	
	Helen Plane	2	
	Augustus Lukeman	2	
	Venable	2	
	Walter Hancock	1	
	Memorial	6	
	SM Half Dollar	2	
	United Daughters/Confederacy	2	
	pioneer	1	
	quarries	1	
	KKK	4	
	Birth of a nation	1	
	cross burning	2	
	Daring Derbies	3	
	Cars	4	
	Hitler	3	

	Elias Nour	4	
<b>Civil War</b>			<b>71</b>
	American	1	
	Sherman	1	
	Civil War	2	
	Confederate	27	
	Union	22	
	"The South"	3	
	hat	1	
	epaulet	1	
	insignia	1	
	rank	1	
	officer	0	
	war	1	
	cavalry	2	
	infantry	1	
	rebel	1	
	yankee	2	
	Economy	1	
	Inflation	1	
	Hospitals	2	
<b>Slavery</b>			<b>8</b>
	slaves	2	
	"them"	1	
	freedom	4	
	African American	1	
<b>Geology/nature</b>			<b>1</b>
	forests	1	
<b>Native American/Ancient people</b>			<b>48</b>
	Native American	1	
	indian	3	
	Ancient people	1	
	Celts	1	
	settlers	2	
	Children	1	
	pre-historic	1	

	solar/lunar obs	1	
	ceremonial use	2	
	ancient walls	6	
	radiocarbon dating	1	
	artifacts	1	
	tools	8	
	bottle	2	
	check stamped	2	
	shards	1	
	pot	1	
	bowl	1	
	shell	1	
	necklace	2	
	bracelet	2	
	pearls	2	
	polished rocks	1	
	forest clearing	2	
	crops	2	
<b>General History</b>			<b>23</b>
	technology	1	
	photography	8	
	images	1	
	inventions	3	
	portraits	2	
	telegraph	1	
	stereograph	1	
	color photo	3	
	stage	2	
	railroad	1	

**Table 8C**

Raw counts for Memorial Hall imagery/artifacts

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Codes</b>	<b>Counts</b>	<b>Cat Totals</b>
<b>Regionally Specific</b>			<b>16</b>
	Georgia	10	
	Atlanta	5	
	Decatur	1	
<b>Advertising</b>			<b>17</b>
	Georgia's Premiere Attraction	1	
	natural wonder	1	
	resort	1	
	family outing	3	
	tourists/visitors/guests	11	
<b>Stone Mountain History</b>			<b>170</b>
	Stone Mtn	66	
	SMP	1	
	SMMA	3	
	Trio	31	
	"carving"	8	
	Gutzon Borglum	21	
	Helen Plane	2	
	Augustus Lukeman	2	
	Venable	2	
	Walter Hancock	1	
	Memorial	6	
	SM Half Dollar	2	
	United Daughters/Confederacy	2	
	pioneer	1	
	quarries	1	
	KKK	4	
	Birth of a nation	1	
	cross burning	2	
	Daring Derbies	3	
	Cars	4	
	Hitler	3	

	Elias Nour	4	
<b>Civil War</b>			<b>71</b>
	American	1	
	Sherman	1	
	Civil War	2	
	Confederate	27	
	Union	22	
	"The South"	3	
	hat	1	
	epaulet	1	
	insignia	1	
	rank	1	
	officer	0	
	war	1	
	cavalry	2	
	infantry	1	
	rebel	1	
	yankee	2	
	Economy	1	
	Inflation	1	
	Hospitals	2	
<b>Slavery</b>			<b>8</b>
	slaves	2	
	"them"	1	
	freedom	4	
	African American	1	
<b>Geology/nature</b>			<b>1</b>
	forests	1	
<b>Native American/Ancient people</b>			<b>48</b>
	Native American	1	
	indian	3	
	Ancient people	1	
	Celts	1	
	settlers	2	
	Children	1	
	pre-historic	1	

	solar/lunar obs	1	
	ceremonial use	2	
	ancient walls	6	
	radiocarbon dating	1	
	artifacts	1	
	tools	8	
	bottle	2	
	check stamped	2	
	shards	1	
	pot	1	
	bowl	1	
	shell	1	
	necklace	2	
	bracelet	2	
	pearls	2	
	polished rocks	1	
	forest clearing	2	
	crops	2	
<b>General History</b>			<b>23</b>
	technology	1	
	photography	8	
	images	1	
	inventions	3	
	portraits	2	
	telegraph	1	
	stereograph	1	
	color photo	3	
	stage	2	
	railroad	1	



VITA

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